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**MAKING THE HOME WORK: WOMEN'S HOME-BASED WORK IN TIJUANA,
MEXICO**

By

SILVIA LOPEZ-ESTRADA

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

2000

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Abstract**MAKING THE HOME WORK: WOMEN'S HOME-BASED WORK IN TIJUANA,
MEXICO**

by

Silvia Lopez-Estrada**Adviser: Professor William Komblum**

In this dissertation I provide a detailed analysis of the contemporary forms of home-based work in Tijuana, a Mexican city located in the US-Mexico border. By using in-depth interviews with women home-based workers, this micro socio-spatial analysis is able to focus in the relationship between production and reproduction at the scale of the household. I propose that what structures the relationship between both spheres is the socio-spatial conflict and the time-space household arrangements women practice in everyday life to balance home and work.

In this study home-based work is composed of activities of commerce and services carried out in the worker's household for monetary income or barter exchange. This kind of work is heterogeneous in terms of activities, legal regulation, material resources, women's motivations and experiences according to individual and family situations. Women's engagement in home-based work depends on several variables: At the macro structural level, the local labor market conditions and government employment policies; at the level of the household, the structure and organization of daily life; and individual factors like women's occupation, social class and life course.

In revealing the map of daily interactions within the household, this study discloses an array of time-space arrangements women use to accommodate paid work at home. The study emphasizes the spatial consequences of home-based work for gender relations and the social ecology of family life, for which a particular framework focused on the intersection between gender and space at the level of the household, has been developed. The analytical framework used in this investigation demonstrates a new way of organizing research on home-based work in order to avoid dichotomous categories commonly used.

The study focuses on the home as an interactive site for multiple social relationships and addresses the diversity of meanings that women home-based workers attach to the home as living and working space, as a result of the interplay between material practices and social relations that take place when the home is produced as workplace.

To Abril and Tonatiuh

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INTRODUCTION

As a response to economic restructuring, in less industrialized countries women engage in informal work producing the home as a working space while carrying out reproductive activities in their everyday lives. This study examines this process as well as the consequences that these employment trends have for gender relations and the social ecology of family life. The research took place in Tijuana, a border city in Northern Mexico, where in the context of its socioeconomic changes women are increasingly engaging in home based work.

At the turn of the twentieth century Tijuana was a small village of two hundred inhabitants located in the border with the United States. In the words of Zenteno (1993:105) "No one would imagine that this pueblo would be one of the Latin American cities characterized by an accelerated population growth during the century."

Along with the demographic boom of the city has been an increasing female participation in Tijuana's social and economic development. Women's work has been part of the city's economy since its origin. However, it was not until the establishment of the maquiladora industry that women's work, both formal and informal, productive and reproductive, became visible.

In the last decades, border cities like Tijuana have been characterized by high rates of female participation in the labor force mainly due to the establishment of the maquiladora industry. Nevertheless, commerce and services have traditionally been one of the main sources of employment for women, and it is documented that during the years of the economic crisis, in Mexico there was an expansion of the labor force in the

informal sector in specific modalities of work including home based work (Oliveira, 1990, González de la Rocha and Escobar, 1990).

Today, at the end of the twentieth century, female work, in its different modalities, cannot be ignored. In this context, the main goal of this study is to contribute to the understanding of why, how, under what conditions, and with what consequences women are engaged in paid production at home in a buoyant economy.

This research focuses on women's informal home based work in Tijuana in order to analyze the intersection of gender and space at the scale of the household, and to study issues such as new uses of space and time adjustment and the alteration of gender attributes which are not usually covered in the sociological and geographical literatures respectively.

This empirical study will focus on the concrete ways in which home based work and reproductive activities are developed by women in time-space, to explore the spatial constraints and spatial outcomes of paid work at home. Similarly, the study examines how the re-use of space, for example typing at the dinner table or knitting in the bedroom, constrains or helps women to negotiate gender relations and related cultural ideas regarding their place in society.

This research incorporates spatial analysis as a different way of thinking about gender relations and the social relations of production. These sets of relations that are produced by women's productive and reproductive practices in interaction with their environs are unraveled based on the formulation of this inquiry and the specific research questions it poses.

Objectives

The aims of this research were:

- a) To examine the relationship between production and reproduction through women home workers' socio-spatial household arrangements that produce the home as workplace.
- b) To analyze the consequences of (re)producing and conceptualizing the home as workplace for gender roles, particularly with regard to women's social status.
- c) To examine the home as an interactive site for multiple social relations; and
- d) To analyze the meanings of home and work for women home based workers in the context of the workplace.

Problem of study

One of the main effects of economic restructuring in Mexico have been the adjustments in labor markets, which propitiated the growth of informality and self-employment in modalities such as those that are home based, with the specific participation of women. Although at the regional level, these processes have some particularities, in general, in the last twenty years Mexico has been characterized by debt and economic crises that promoted a set of structural adjustment policies, influencing the process of economic restructuring, income distribution and living standards, along with the household dynamics in order to face with these changes (Benería, 1992, Chant, 1996).

According to analysts (Tello and Cordera, 1990, Chant, op.cit.) the implementation of harsh structural adjustment measures included massive cuts in government spending, especially in the social sector. These problems have affected to a greater proportion of the

population. The World Bank regarded Mexico as one of the more successful adjusting countries, and Mexico's neoliberal policies can be summarized by: a process of subsequent peso devaluations which resulted in deterioration of real wages; an austerity program characterized by drastic cuts in government spending and subsidies in basic areas such as health education and social security, and a severe decrease in the amount and quality of government services; and finally a process of economic restructuring that included privatization of state-controlled firms, reduction of public investment, modernization of production, trade liberalization, and the promotion of foreign investment (Benería, 1992:85, Chant, 1996: 306).

The modernization process and the pressures of the international market on the national economy reduced the real salaries and weakened workers organizations in Mexico. The restructuring of the economy had impacted both low- and middle-income groups in the preceding decades, followed by an increase in the number of people living in extreme poverty and intensifying the existent inequity in terms of health, nutrition and education.

How did Mexican families react to these economic circumstances? According to Benería (1992) the economic crisis was privatized in as much as families paid its burden in the absence of a welfare state and in the face of decreasing governmental services and subsidies. Thus, the family had become the only source of support and of alternatives for survival. Scholars (Benería, 1992; González de la Rocha, 1991, Chant, 1996) agree that the main strategies to deal with the deterioration of living standards during recession times in Mexico were: 1) Budget reduction, Mexican families reduced their consumption not

because scarcity of food but because they did not have money to buy it. Some research has shown that cuts varied according to household income and class background (Gonzalez de la Rocha, 1986; Benería, 1992). At the regional level, the effects of economic restructuring also show some differences.

Benería (1992) pointed out that an important effect of economic recession in Mexico has been a restructuring of daily life consisting in changes in purchasing habits, i.e. shopping as a daily chore, networking to obtain lower prices on food, and intensification of domestic work: more cooking, sewing, fixing and mending at home. These responses have increased women's burden as they have been largely responsible for organizing survival mechanisms due to curtails in household income.

Economic restructuring has also been reflected in labor market adjustments. In particular, less educated women with small children have played a major role in household strategies of income generation (García y Oliveira, 1995). Women are usually the least schooled family members and it makes them less able to find a formal job. Many women engaged in the informal sector, either continuously or sporadically, and under the poor working conditions associated to this sector.

In Mexican cities, women's participation in the informal sector was due to the difficulties for poor women to find secure employment, and for their preference to work at home (industrial homework) or in the surrounding community in order to better integrate it with reproductive activities. As Benería (1992:92) points out "This preference, however, was highly determined by the lack of alternatives to deal with child care and domestic work because it confined their ability to earn an income to these activities."

Despite the fact that the federal government has implemented some social programs at the national level, being the National Program of Solidarity¹ the most important of them, and there were some social responses at the level of the community to cover the little attention that federal programs paid to areas of nutrition and health. However, the efforts of these policies to alleviate poverty were not enough. According to Boltvinik (1999) between 1984 and 1996 the levels of poverty in Mexico increased from 30% to 43%. In general, the Mexican population have alleviated the effects of the economic change within the family.

It is in the context of these major economic changes that women's home based work, as a social response to the crisis, is addressed in this study. By working at home, women are actively participating in the economy of their families and communities. However, in the context of an urban economy, the difficulties of home working are reflected both in the precarious conditions of this type of work and in the lack of public facilities which have multiple geographical consequences on women's everyday life.

Some analysts have shown their concern about the fact that this type of work promotes the already deteriorated women's social position within the family and in the society at large, by reifying the home as women's place (Oliveira, 1990). In addition, traditional ideas about division of labor such as 'mother should stay at home,' and husbands opposition to the wife's paid work, (Benería, 1992: 93) reinforce the lack of day-care

¹PRONASOL, the acronym in Spanish.

facilities.

It is usual to assume that women work at home because this strategy facilitates the combination of domestic work and paid work (Pacheco y Blanco, 1998). Although for many women home based workers flexible schedules and family responsiveness are some of the basic reasons to locate wage work at their homes, in practice, their work conditions are far beyond the ideal of home-work integration. As this study will show women might face multiple conflicts in trying to balance home and work.

Studies in feminist geography have stressed the importance of the home as a field of research. Moreover, this research have demonstrated that although the domestic space is a space socially assigned as reproductive, women's social action (re)produce it physically and socially as productive place. However, despite the recognition of the interlink between production and reproduction, it is frequently taken for granted. The study of home working better allows us to understand the connections between both spheres that in this instance are taking place in the same space. This is what I intend to uncover, how these two activities take place within the home environment and how the home is produced as workplace.

In order to unravel these questions I studied contemporary modes of home working and the time-space arrangements that women home based workers practice in everyday life to produce the home as a workplace, while combining productive and reproductive activities. I was hoping to understand the geographical consequences for gender relations of this particular work interaction.

How to examine these issues through a study of Home based work in Mexico?

Home working has been studied in Mexico for several decades, however research done on the topic has been approached largely from the perspective of labor markets and social relations of production at the macro level (Alonso, 1991; Fernández Kelly, 1982 among others). This research has mostly studied home based work in the modality of subcontracting. Self-employment at home has rarely been considered with the exception of those studies about the informal work sector that include home location. However, these studies do not make the connections between physical and social space (Menjívar and Pérez, 1993 and others). Although some of this research takes into account households, such as Benería and Roldán's study (1987), and other research tries to establish the connection between informal work and gender at the level of the household (Menjívar and Pérez, op.cit.), this body of research usually takes space for granted.

Family studies have considered household strategies and gender relations within the household. Research using this approach has also considered space only in its social dimension without considering the materiality of space. The neglected substantiality of space has been one of the main criticisms used to encourage spatial analysis in the study of social relations of production and reproduction. However, there have been a few efforts to overcome this limitation (Lerner y Quesnel, 1989; Lindon, 1996; Velasco, 1996; García Canal: 1993).

Thus, this study seeks to fill the void in the literature about home working by weaving together the insights of the sociological and geographical research, addressing both women's action and the dialectical relationship between gender relations and the

processes of production and reproduction at the scale of the household. From a micro socio-spatial perspective, the analysis provides a better understanding of how women in Tijuana respond to economic restructuring, through the ways in which a specific group of women structure the social practices of production and reproduction within the domestic realm, and how the connections between both spheres are mediated by constraints, conflicts and arrangements socially expressed in time-space, both in daily life and over the life course.

How does the micro geography of the home accommodate work? What is the repertoire of home workers' space and time use? Do these time-space arrangements speak of integration or segregation? How the use and production of home space affects family interaction? What are the consequences of these strategies for family life and gender relations? These are some of the questions that this study addresses.

Hypothesis

Theoretically, this research highlights the intersection of gender relations and the construction of space at the scale of the household. I considered space as socially produced, in the context of the structurationist theory, it shapes and is shaped by human action, it is the means and the outcome. Thus, as socially produced, the home is defined not only as a reproductive but a productive and dynamic space. Most important, it is considered as a site of research for social change (Oberhauser, 1993), which is not just reduced to an economic approach but it rather considers the subjective side of the home as living and working space. The materiality of the home, the social relations that take

place within it, and the related perceptions and meanings constitute the spatiality of the home as a whole.

The hypothesis that guided this study holds that the relationship between production and reproduction is constantly challenged. This is a relation that we cannot take for granted, thus for the case of home working, I propose that what structures the interlink between the two spheres is the socio-spatial conflict and the time-space household arrangements women practice in every day life to balance family and work, to appropriate and produce the home as workplace. As a result, we can have a diversity of situations that may vary from conflict to integration, depending on socio-demographic factors and of women's specific circumstances of their lives.

In trying to balance the relationship between home and work women juggle between production and reproduction in daily life, also transiting between these spheres along their lives. What is embedded in such a juggling and transiting is a set of resources.

Thus, the aim of this study was not only to understand the ways in which production and reproduction are enacted in the home space, but also to examine how these practices enable women's agency. As with Spain (1993) I considered the spatial dimension as a novel way of thinking about gender relations². In these terms, space is considered as gendered, the division of labor is spatially expressed and results in dichotomies: production-reproduction, work-home, public-private. Drawing on a feminist

²Flax (1990) urges us to look for different ways of thinking about gender relations.

geographical perspective, this study speaks to the point that women's agency breaks the theoretical separation between work and home, and in practice there is no correspondence between such dichotomous notions. In their everyday life interaction with the environments in which they live and work, women create their own conceptions of public and private, regardless of whether these environs are the home or the street.

In examining women's multiple uses of the home as a living and working environment, I discovered not only the re-signification of women's roles as wives and mothers but also a plethora of meanings of the home. Some of these meanings were related to female traditional roles, some others related to their role as home based workers and to the new social relations that this role created. As a whole these multi symbolic meanings of the home form an important part of women's identity and may constitute a resource for social action.

At the theoretical level, research on women's home based work encourages the search for new ways of studying the relationship between production and reproduction through analytical concepts and categories that show the shifts in the interlink of these two processes, and the ways in which space affects and is affected by this relationship across time. Central concepts used in this work to reflect the spatial and gendered dimension of women's work at the scale of the household are: socio-spatial conflict, socio-spatial arrangement, juggling, transiting, life course, inter-spatial sociability.

Place of study

Unlike maquiladora employment, the study of self-employment in Tijuana is a recent topic of research. Furthermore, until now the lives of the self-employed have received little attention. Although in the past some isolated studies were done about specific groups of informal workers and self-employees such as domestic servants (Cabrera, 1986), and indigenous street vendor women (Velasco, 1990), women's home based work has yet to be studied. It has not even been statistically documented.

Therefore, it is strategically important to render visible the existence of home based work in the context of a country in which the percentage of self-employment is large (it accounts for 40% of the economically active population), and particularly in a dynamic region characterized by a low rate of unemployment. Moreover, despite the fact that more than 20% of Tijuana's population is self-employed, and 10% of this labor force is engaged in home working, demographers assume the nonexistence of such a type of work because it has not been statistically recorded.

The importance of carrying out this research is highlighted by the fact that most studies about home working have been done in depressed economies affected by unemployment patterns as a result of restructuring processes (Oberhauser, 1993). Conversely, Tijuana is a dynamic and buoyant economy whose labor market offers more job opportunities in the maquiladora industry to women than to men. However, the proximity of Tijuana to San Diego, Ca., which permits transborder traffic, as well as male unemployment along with the lack of a welfare state in Mexico affects not only the popular sectors but also the middle class population, and promotes the development of

different types of work in this city.

Theoretical, political and strategic significance of the study

Because the predominance of empirical studies and theoretical approaches that focus on labor markets and the social relations of production, it is also strategic to carry out research on the home as workplace, as well as the ways in which the processes of production and reproduction take place in the same space (domestic realm) and across time in the context of larger social relationships.

This study intends to complement the literature about women's work in a context of economic restructuring by focusing on some of its absences. This research addresses social reproduction and production at the level of the household, and emphasizes the range of women's work practices in everyday life.

Because little has been said about the conflicts and contradictions, subversions and re-formulations resulting from the interlinking of family and work when both of them take place within the home, this inquiry allows us to examine the impacts of the socioeconomic change in women's lives, and their responses since it uses a perspective that addresses interaction within their living and working space. Therefore, a unique contribution that this research might provide is the analysis of dynamic socio-spatial relations in social processes in which time has been privileged in most analyses.

At the theoretical level, research on women's home based work encourages the search for new ways of studying the relationship between production and reproduction through analytical concepts and categories that show the shifts between these processes,

and the ways in which space and gender affect and are affected by this relationship across time.

This inquiry intends to result not only in a better understanding of the production-reproduction interlink within the household and women's responses to it and its implications for their lives, but also its articulation with wider processes such as the formation of labor supply for formal and informal labor markets. Additional implications can be drawn for women's employment policies and social benefits, as well as a source for further research on the topic.

Because this study shows the problems that women face by working at home for pay due to the lack of public services and facilities, the political implications of studying the production-reproduction interlink at the level of the household are diverse and include the design of public policies to support the development of home working as an income generation strategy. This under the consideration of households as economic and political spaces (either public or private) that might generate forms of organization of the production and family life, as well as the creation of spaces of autonomy for family members, particularly women, changes of roles and gender relations and new definitions and symbolic meanings of work, home and family.

Plan of the dissertation

From the standpoint of the feminist sociological and geographical literature on women's work, this study proposes a conceptual framework using the intersection between gender and space to examine the production-reproduction articulation through the study of

women's home based work, which is the focus of chapter I.

Because home working is usually unrecorded and forgotten, the second chapter analyzes the relationship between productive restructuring and women's home based work in Tijuana. Although home working is usually portrayed as a strategy in situations of unemployment and in depressed economies, the chapter reveals that this strategy also exists in dynamic urban economies with a low rate of unemployment such as Tijuana. In the context of gender and informality, the second part of this chapter depicts home working in the local labor market. Based on the data of the National Survey of Micro enterprises (1994), the chapter describes women's home workers socio-demographic profile, as well as the features of home workers businesses emphasizing differences between women and men home workers.

Chapter three focuses on Tijuana's urban communities as a social scenario for women's homework. The chapter intends to picture home based work as a part of the processes of community action and provision of goods and services in the absence of a welfare state.

How do women accommodate productive activities in the micro geography of the home? Is home working an effective strategy for integrating work and family or does it create problems and tensions? Based on in-depth interviews with women home workers, chapters 4 and 5 will describe and analyze the array of socio-spatial arrangements that women home workers have to deal with their productive and reproductive practices, both in daily life and across the life course, and the consequences of these arrangements for family life and women's social position within the household. Chapter 4 focuses in

contemporary modes of home based work, as well as in the various ways in which women restructure their lives in time and space as a result of their work.

Chapter 5 addresses the socio-spatial conflicts and contradictions that result in the daily time-space household arrangements women do in order to accommodate productive work into the home, having as an outcome situations of home-work socio-spatial integration and home-work socio-spatial conflict, and emphasizes the consequences for gender roles and spatial relations. This chapter analyzes the interplay between work and home both in daily life and across the life course, supporting the idea of home working as a process.

Chapter 6 analyses the change in role and gender relations as a result of working at home. Gender issues are examined through the gender division of labor within the households of women home workers of this study, as well the positive and negative appraisal of women's domestic and productive roles. Patterns of authority within the family are also analyzed in terms of women's economic role, changes in division of labor and women's mobility.

In the context of the public-private debate, chapter 7 addresses the question of to what extent the home is still "women's place" and the consequences for women's status. I argue that home working can create different types of material practices and social relations in a single physical space which might be public or private depending on people's social practices and cultural perceptions of the home.

These different material practices and spatial relations are creating a new sociability which I call inter-spatial sociability that involves different ways of using, producing,

thinking and feeling the home as a living and working environment, and can open up possibilities for improving women's control over their lives. This chapter relies on in-depth interviews and field work observation.

Chapter eight examines the diversity of meanings that women home workers attach to the home as living and working space, as a result of the interplay between material practices and social relations that take place when the home is produced as workplace. Finally, the conclusions address the ways in which the concepts illuminate the lives of the women of this study, the implications for public policies, and an agenda for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

The Production-Reproduction Interlink: A Socio-spatial Approach to the Study of Home-based Work

Introduction

The main goal of this research is to analyze the socio-spatial and gendered dimensions of the relationship between production and reproduction at the scale of the household, as a framework for a better understanding of women's home working from the standpoint of feminist sociological gender and space. Thus, this is an interdisciplinary approach, which combines sociological and geographical perspectives, and attempts to offer a more comprehensive analysis of women's work through the intersection between spatial and gender dimensions.

In discussing the socio-spatial character of the production-reproduction relationship, I first situate the study of home working in the perspective of the Latin American sociology of work and family, and studies about home working. I particularly stress the concept of family household strategies. Despite its detractors this category has been a theoretical and empirical means of studying the practices of production-reproduction in the investigations of family and work.

In the context of human geography, feminism and structuration theory, it is sustained that the home is socially produced and therefore, that homes are experienced differently by women and men, and that home spaces can be challenged by women's changing relationship with their environments as a result of home-working.

The connections between gender and space lead to a better understanding of the

ways in which production and reproduction are structured within the home. A central issue with respect to the connections between gender and space is the public-private dichotomy. These are parallel concepts to production and reproduction, and constitute conceptual categories that in reality have very different content according to the socio-spatial experience of human agents. For example, working at home for a pay or tending children in the street change the private and public character socially attributed to these places.

To approach the study of the structuration of production and reproduction practices at an empirical level, I use the concept of time-space household arrangements. The geography of production emphasizes the tempo-spatial character of these strategies, called 'household arrangements,' as well as the need of studying the household as workplace. In this sense, the question is how are the social practices of production and reproduction articulated when they occur in a single location?

In both the sociological and geographical literatures, production and reproduction are assumed to be a part of the same process. However, the manner in which these processes are articulated should not be assumed. Thus, I will discuss how such articulation has been conceptualized in both disciplines. From this debate I derive the conceptual categories (socio-spatial conflict, juggling and transiting) that constitute the theoretical proposal to analyze the ways in which the articulation between production and reproduction takes place in the case of women's home working.

To sum up, this study emphasizes the socio-spatial dimension of the production-reproduction interlink at the level of the household, in the context of a specific gender and class system. This is the intellectual focus that guides this project and produces its

organizing conceptual categories.

The Latin American sociology of family and work

In Latin American sociology, home based work is considered as a part of the variety of responses that women practice under conditions of economic crisis and economic restructuring, and it is usually studied under the approach of household strategies of social reproduction.

Due to the increasing concentration in industrial homework and informal economic activities, paid work at home constitutes an important dimension in the ongoing discussion around the informal/formal economy (Benería and Roldán, 1987:5). Studies in this field, emphasize the industrial nature of home working focusing on subcontracting (Benería and Roldán, op.cit., Alonso, 1991; Fernández Kelly, 1989 and García). In general, this research has mostly been approached through the perspective of labor markets and social relations of production at the macro level.

Self-employment at home has been rarely considered with the exception of those studies about informality that include home location but only in a descriptive manner and without making the interconnections between physical and social space (Menjivar and Pérez, 1993). Although some of this research takes into account households and tries to establish the connection between informal work and gender within the household, these investigations usually take space for granted.

Family Household Strategies

In addition to unemployment in contexts of industrial restructuring, and urban poverty resulting from economic recession and structural adjustment policies in Third World countries, home based work is considered in both First and Third World countries, as a women's strategy to cope with family-work accommodations, particularly for those women with small children.

In both developed and less developed countries, the study of the family-household, and household strategies of social reproduction emerged as a feminist critique to mainstream gender biased theories that emphasized the theoretical separation between work and home, and ignored the household as locus of social reproduction.

In the context of an ample feminist debate about the family-household and related explanations of women's subordination,¹ research done by feminist socialist scholars in different disciplines emphasizes the work-home integration (Sen and Grown, 1987; Benería and Roldán, 1987; Smith, 1987) as an attempt to overcome monolithic conceptions of the household, and functional explanations about its role in capitalist economies (Pratt and Hanson, 1991).

Although in Third World countries households have traditionally received more attention from sociological research, feminist scholarship in First world countries, particularly in urban studies, has recently focused in the household as an object of inquiry (McDowell, 1986; Pratt and Hanson, op.cit.). In general, Latin American scholarship

¹ See Redclift, N. (1985), and Benería and Roldán (1987) for a review of these theories.

considers the household as a mediating link between individuals and society (García, Muñoz y Oliveira, 1982). Geographers also point out how the organization within the household mediates major processes in the formal economy (Pratt and Hanson, 1991).

Household strategies is a concept largely used to study family survival within deprived urban economies, (Schmink, 1986; Oliveira and Roberts, 1993; Roberts, 1994), as well as a response to economic restructuring in more developed countries (Pratt and Hanson, op.cit.). The concept defines the individual and collective strategies of the members of the household with reference to their maintenance and social reproduction under a family context of conflict and solidarity. It also emphasizes the importance of social networks and barter exchange to households social responses to socioeconomic change (Jelin, 1979; González de la Rocha, 1986; Benería and Roldán; García, Muñoz y Oliveira, 1982; Mackenzie, 1986; Oberhauser, 1993).

In less developed economies, studies on the family-household emphasize the socio-demographic characteristics of the household, and its internal dynamics to explain the responses of working class groups to socioeconomic structural change. Some studies have also stressed the ways in which power relationships within the family constrain women's activities (Gonzalez de la Rocha, 1986a; García, Muñoz y Oliveira, op. cit., Chant, 1992). For instance, some women are prevented by their husbands from engaging in wage work, and daughters are often forced to enter the labor market while their brothers attend to school.

In these studies time constitutes an important variable (Jelin, et al, 1986), e.g. measurement of time spent in domestic work, or longer working days because some family

members have to engage in more than one job (Barbieri, 1984). In addition, the different stages of the life course are recognized as influential on the division of labor within the household. For instance, households with presence of adult women facilitate young women's participation in wage work (García, Muñoz y Oliveira, op.cit.). Research done in Mexico found that during the economic recession there was an intensification of working days for women, particularly for those with small children; and there were more family members forced to work in formal and informal activities (Oliveira, 1990; Oliveira and Roberts, 1993).

Although some research has considered the spatial dimension of the home, these considerations are restricted to their social character. According to some authors this is because the home is more than its physical structure (Salvia, 1995). Certainly, the distinction between home and house has to be made, while the house is considered as the dwelling, a physical structure; the home implies social relations taking place within the house (Friberg, 1993). However, the relationship between the material aspects of the home and family relationships remains largely untouched.

Despite the fact that space and spatial relations are implicit in much of this research, it has usually been taken for granted and not studied as a critical factor in the production cycle. This is to say that the ways in which space shapes and in turn is affected by the production-reproduction processes has not been considered yet. In particular, the ways in which the physical environment of the home influences and is affected by the social action of family members needs to be addressed. Thus, in order to understand the relationship between these processes, it is important to analyze the social and spatial

orientation of women's productive and reproductive practices within the home, as well the articulation between them.

Thus, because little meaningful investigation of work space access vis-a-vis family boundaries has taken place in Third World countries, and because space merits greater consideration as a variable in work-family adjustment than it has received; this study addresses the interaction of women's everyday life social practices within their social environs, considering women's home-based work as a part of the household strategies of middle and working class women.

The feminist geography approach

The increase of home working and the need to study these forms of work highlight the role of space and gender in the work-family relationship. The gender division of work assumes a spatial division, and a social division of space both reflects and influences the sexual division of labor, women's role in the family, and the separation of home life from work, production and reproduction, public and private, and the allocation of gender-specific roles that was developed during the industrialization period (McDowell, 1986:62).

Feminist geography has criticized dichotomous notions that pose the city as the locus of production and the home as the locus of reproduction, and center the attention in the changing relationship between production and reproduction (McDowell, op. cit.). This approach departs from feminist-socialism which has explained women's subordination as the interplay of class and gender. This orientation intends to make the connections between gender relations, patriarchy and capitalism. Besides, the position of women is seen as

variable depending on the forms of production and reproduction in each society.

Based on these ideas, feminist geography has tried to explain women's unequal social position. Recent explanations focus attention on gender relations instead of gender roles. Both gender relations and roles are components of gender. But gender roles, considered as specific attributes and activities socially assigned to men and women, are not the point of departure but the outcome of gender relations seen as power relationships between men and women. To explain how gender relations produce gender roles one must study processes, practices and structures that in a particular socio-spatial context which produce specific gender inequality (Sabaté Martínez, et al., 1995:43). In these terms, one of the contributions of the spatial perspective to feminism is the recognition of the specificity of gender relations in different economic and social contexts.

In particular, feminist geography tries to understand the consequences of the physical separation of public and private spaces, and often draws on a Marxist perspective which considers that social inequality is constituted and expressed through spatial differentiation. This approach investigates the ways in which space is distributed and (re)produced by women and men, and the ways in which it is both affected by and influences diverse social practices.

Thus, within the framework of structurationist theory, feminist geographers look at the construction of gender and how it is related to the constitution of the environment; while gender becomes a space structuring force, environment becomes a component of gender constitution (Mackenzie, 1986:45).

Spaces hides power relationships based on ideological definitions of gender .

Mackenzie (op. cit.:14) makes a plea for the re-examination and reformulation of our understanding of gender and the development of concepts for spatial analysis which are sensitive to a socially constructed idea of gender. The relation between gender and space is constantly restructured and gives a new content to the social categories woman and environment. In studying this relation the author suggests the consideration of women as social actors, and the desegregation of the categories woman and men.

Production and reproduction are the major relationships structuring gender relations. When these relations change, gender roles would also undergo reformulation. Thus, to examine the challenge of gender relations and their articulation to the environment we have to focus on the relationship between production and reproduction.

The ways in which household space is structured are related to specific gender relations in time-space. However, the social organization of space changes in form and in the consequences for gendered social relations. Thus, relations between production and reproduction change in time and space just as social constructions of gender do (McDowell, 1986:63).

This articulation implies re-centering the attention on the concept of everyday life as the starting point, to show and analyze how human experiences are organized by social relations, at the same time that the human agency in everyday life transforms and reproduces such relations which are spatialized (Lefebvre, 1980, 1984; Mackenzie, 1989; Salmi, 1993; Horelli and Vepsa, 1993).

The geography of production - reproduction

The spatial dimension of women's work has been particularly addressed by feminist geographers. Female participation in labor markets is one of the main topics of research in this discipline. Among the main contributions are: re-conceptualization of basic concepts such as work, formal/informal, etc., women's role in the processes of productive restructuring, the time-space conflicts between production and reproduction expressed in the functional division of urban space, and the separation of home and work.

Feminist geographers study economic processes and how these are both affected by and influence economic and social relations in the household. This approach focuses on the spatial dimension of family arrangements and strategies of social reproduction, emphasizing the gendered and changing nature of the relation between production and reproduction as a part of a single process that varies in time and space (McDowell, 1989:59, Hanson and Pratt, 1991, Mackenzie, 1986, Watson, 1990). Thus, the main focus of research has been how household arrangements are worked out in time - space. This type of analysis addresses gender relations and the use and construction of space at the level of the household, focuses on social practices in everyday life and proposes a re-conceptualization of domestic space.

According to home working literature, women are breaking the theoretical separation between work and home, reproduction and production. Some studies have shown that women are creatively using and producing their living spaces and home resources for paid work. By working at home, women make their own time-space arrangements, use the home resources such as physical space, home appliances, etc., and

create new uses of domestic space challenging the content and meaning of their roles (Christensen, 1993; Hanson and Pratt, 1991; Mackenzie, 1986; McDowell, 1989).

Studies using this approach also show that women working at home are creating new sources of employment for themselves and other people, as well as creating services for their communities such as child care, typing, sewing, hair styling, and cleaning. Other activities include the production of handcrafts and foodstuff, both in the formal and informal sector (Pratt and Hanson, 1990; Mackenzie, 1991; Oberhauser, 1993; Arizpe, 1977; Benería and Roldan, 1987; Chant, 1987a).

Home as socially produced space

The relation between production and reproduction at the scale of the home, its use and production as workplace, and family relationships will be better understood when space is considered as socially produced. Space is not an empty entity, we cannot study space without considering what is in it. Space is a product of social relations, the spatiality of social life express how things are related in space, how space is structured by social action and influences it in turn.

In the context of structurationist theory, human geography emphasizes the dialectic relation between space and social action (Soja, 1985; Pred, 1982).² It proposes that while space structures human agency, at the same time social agents are able to modify the use

² Giddens' theory of structuration supposes: the inseparability of space and what it is on it, the relationship between space and things that take spatiality, and the mutual and dynamic transformation. This theory expresses the mutual relationship between space and the society that exist in it.

of space and the implicit social relations).³

Therefore, this kind of analysis emphasizes the importance of social relations and spatial processes in human interaction. It holds that space structures people everyday life practices, but in turn space is socially produced. As a social production, space is both a means and an outcome of human action, it derives from the ways in which people live and experience space. Human agency transforms both material space and the relations that it contains producing in this way a new social space (Lefebvre, 1991:77).

Thus, the focus is on the spatiality of social life (space socially produced) rather than space itself⁴. To E. Soja (1985) socially produced space or the spatiality of social life, must be distinguished from physical space of the material nature, and the mental space of cognition and representation.

According to Hartmann, space of the lived, space of perception, space of imagination, experience and thought are sustained by the space of intuition. Although consciousness has no spatial form, Hartmann considers the space of intuition as linked to spatial life, this is an indirect spatiality of the consciousness. The space of intuition is a space of consciousness. To the author "Images are not in the space, but the space is in the images: the imagined in them is imagined as spatially expanded. This imagined spatiality constitutes the intuition of the space" (Hartmann, 1986: 127-128, Quoted in Contreras, 1998: 8).

³ This is what Giddens (1984) called the duality of the structure.

⁴ (For an ontological discussion about space see Hartmann (1986), Lefebvre y Giddens, 1995 among other).

Despite being theorized separately, these three levels: material, social and symbolic, are incorporated in the social production of space and are transformed significantly in the process. Then, we have to conceptualize and understand them as a part of the spatiality of social life.

In this theoretical context, this study focuses on the home as a physical, social and symbolic space in household research. The material aspects of the home influence the social relations that take place within it, at the same time that the dwelling-home is affected by the actions of their occupants. As Spain (1993:144) poses:

"Dwellings are the most universal of spatial institutions because almost everyone lives in a family and a home of some type. Thus the design of homes has broad implications for the production and reproduction of the social order."

A distinction between home and house has to be made. While the term house refers to the physical structure of the dwelling, home implies social relations taking place within the house. Thus, home space is considered as socially produced, the use and production of home space is affected and affects social action. The home is considered as a dynamic site not only for reproduction and consumption but also for production.

Home implies particular social relations which rely in the gender division of labor. The home is considered as a dynamic living and working space where gendered spatial-relations are (re)produced. It has different meanings according to class and region. Class divisions, ownership and access to technology affect the meaning and physical structure of the home (Watson, 1990).

The spatiality of the production-reproduction within the household

This section aims at a critical delineation of some of the conceptual aspects of production-reproduction in time-space as well as the examination of the proposed interlink between these processes as major factors restructuring gender relations and environments.

In what follows I will address the sociological and geographical literature which reports on the ways in which the relationship between production and reproduction has been conceptualized. This literature is the input for a theoretical proposal that includes sociological and geographical concepts in order to analyze the interplay of social and spatial practices of production and reproduction of women home workers in daily life as well as in the larger context of their lives.

Feminist geography and sociology are examples of how the relationship between production and reproduction has become a central theme for feminist scholarship in different disciplines. However, this intersection is frequently taken for granted. As geographers Hanson and Pratt (1991:57) point out "home and work cannot be treated as separate spheres. It is equally inappropriate to make a priori, overly simplified assumptions about home work linkages."

Space expresses the blurred distinction between production and reproduction within the household. Research on the topic has shown that women often engage in both types of activities at once in a single space (Mackenzie, 1986; Christensen, 1993). This is precisely why, in studying women's work we have to focus on how this intersection take place. Because home working is a type of work in which the dynamics between production and reproduction can be better seen, it is useful to the question. What is the spatial dimension

of this relationship?

We can go beyond disentangling the dichotomy breaking and try to explain how and why it happens, how the spatiality of the home is reconfigured through its use as workplace, and what the implications are for family social and economic relations and women's status and well being. The importance of social and cultural context, as well as the diversity of women's experiences are emphasized.

The socio-spatial conflict: a proposal for the study of home-based work

Based on the extensive theoretical work that feminist social scientists did to explain women's subordination, a more general and widely accepted idea primarily proposed by feminist socialists suggests that production and reproduction are part of a single process (McDowell, 1989, Benería and Roldán, 1987).

However, in both Latin American and Euro-American feminist scholarship, there are different positions in explaining the intersection between production and reproduction. In order to overcome conceptual and methodological problems in the study of women's productive and reproductive work, Latin American and Anglo feminist scholarship in sociology and geography developed new concepts. Their main concern was recovering women's action through new analytical categories. In this section I emphasize the spatial and gendered nature of their theorizing in respect to the links between home and work.

Although articulation between production and reproduction is now a commonplace among sociologists and geographers, a few authors argue against this articulation and some other authors present the relationship between these spheres as in opposition. In the

first case, the geographer Mackenzie (quoted by Rose, 1993:135) who based in her study on home workers in Canada, argues that articulation is not an appropriated term because it implies disjoint, division whereas production and reproduction are part of the same single process. Certainly, production and reproduction are part of the same process, but empirically they represent different types of social practices which articulate each others to produce an entity in both public and private spaces.

In the second case, Rose points out the existence of an opposition between production and reproduction which produces two different ways of recovering women. Although Rose recognizes the empirical link between production and reproduction, her argument about opposition refers to the fact that most research has tended to study these areas separately, developing specialized research on female labor markets on one hand, and household and domestic work on the other hand (Hanson and Pratt, 1993; Redclift, 1985), but not to the study of an empirical opposition between the two spheres.

According to the author, while some research stresses women's shared experience of reproductive work (domestic labor and the role of the isolated mother), other research emphasizes differences among women because of their diverse experience in wage work. This argument led to Ross to the conclusion that, while domestic labor creates sameness, production deals with diversity creating heterogeneity among women. However, this is an erroneous conclusion because in the sphere of the reproduction we can also find a diversity of social practices that may vary according to social class, ethnicity and age, among other factors.

On the other hand, Rose (1993:121) argues that in feminist geography the

opposition between production and reproduction causes a tension in the relationship between both spheres. The tension comes from the role women play as bearing the primary responsibility of domestic work and its effects on women's paid work consistent in low wages and low job positions. However, recent geographical work reflects the fact that the tension also come from production in as much as the concept of employment devalues other types of work than salaried work, besides the interest that some women express about their work despite the priority of domestic issues.

I draw on Rose's idea of opposition not just as an outcome of the separate way in which production and reproduction have been studied, but most important as an outcome of social action, of the ways in which empirically the social practices of production and reproduction are performed by women. Because the ideology in which these social practices are framed, in reality they are frequently in contradiction. I suggest that this opposition is the point of departure to establish the connections between both spheres because it frequently rises the conflict.

Laura Velasco's (1996) argument about the interlink between production and reproduction precisely departs from the empirical opposition between social practices. In her study, carried out with Mexican indigenous street seller women, she suggests that articulation between public and private spaces (productive and reproductive) takes place through the conflict for space between individuals. In respect to the appropriation of the street as workplace, to the author, the conflict works as a mechanism of regulation, organizing the construction, appropriation and control of space between genders, and I would add between generations, social classes and races. Velasco, concerned with

indigenous women's action in the public sphere, emphasizes the existence of empirical spaces expressed in institutions and organizations resulting of women's interaction with other social actors.

Important to note, these different arguments about the connections between production and reproduction involve either of these activities occurring in different places: inside and outside home. However, recent sociological research has emphasized the participation of women in the public sphere (Massolo, 1992), and most theorization about women's action is related to it.

In respect to home working, it assumes both activities, production and reproduction, taking place within the home. A proposal of articulation between home and work which is contrary to the idea of opposition and conflict particularly comes from studies about home working. This alternative view, supported by Beach (1989) among other authors, suggests home-work integration as an ideal strategy . In particular reference to home-working families, Beach's study in a rural area of the United States promotes the concept of integration as a characteristic of home-working families. Beach approaches an ideal image of integration that assumes shared responsibilities and gender symmetrical roles, she writes (1989:11):

"...the ideal of integration of work and family life has captured the imagination if not the full participation of many working families. Attaining an harmonious balance which allows the parent-worker to satisfy commitments in both areas is widely perceived as a desirable goal."

A study carried out by Lindon (1996) in an urban community of Mexico City also portrays integration as a feature of home working families. Although Lindon's study did

not focus gender issues she approaches integration through the concept of role conjunction, in a similar fashion.

However, Beach states that if integration is achieved, it is mostly a female endeavor, flexible sharing of labor across work and home responsibility between genders do not occur. In other words, integration does not mean that women and man share time-space strategies in order to balance home and work. So far, seen as a female achievement integration seems more likely to promote gender inequity than symmetrical roles. In this fashion integration functions to integrate work and family, but not to integrate men's and women's work in both spheres.

My own proposal about how production-reproduction are organized within the household is based on the different arguments reviewed above. The integrative perspective involves two levels: integration of activities in the same space, and integration of gender roles. However, when production and reproduction occur in the same place, such as in the case of home working, full integration of home and work duties is not necessarily the outcome. Conversely, I depart from the existence of an empirical opposition between the social practices of production and reproduction.

I particularly favor Velasco's argument that proposes the conflict as a factor structuring of the home - work relationship. In this way, I suggest that what articulates the production-reproduction is the socio-spatial conflict which is derived from women's new uses of the home as living and working space. But such articulation is also expressed or reconfigured by means of strategies of what Pratt and Hanson (1995) call "critical

arrangements" or time -space household arrangements.⁵ The nature of these strategies or arrangements varies depending on women's social practices and relations, as well as available space.

However, because this study about home working assumes diversity of women's experiences, the existence of the conflict as a factor of structuring of the production-reproduction practices does not leave aside the possibility of home-work integration. As Beach argues, when these practices take place within the household, such an integration is a highly desirable result.

The reuse of home environment as working place may create conflicts between productive and reproductive activities because of the shared space and time among family members, and between family members, clients, friends and neighbors of women home workers. Thus, spatial conflict has a social expression, and it is related to the intrusion of work in home life and vice versa. However, because women want to balance both activities -production and reproduction- taking place at home, they reconfigure home space by creating new time-space household arrangements that may lead to integration. For instance, women may physically modify their home environments (building new ones or reusing the existent), sometimes using the same space for both activities, sometimes separating them within the home; women create specific job and domestic schedules; women implement some changes in division of labor within the home: delegating domestic work on family members, hiring a domestic servant, etc. Although these strategies may

⁵ These authors explicitly introduce time and space as analytical dimensions in the study of household arrangements.

lead to a home-work integration, I assume that because the relationship between production and reproduction is in constant transformation, so the socio-spatial conflict is always latent.

In any case, the existence of situations of integration and conflict give account of the diversity of women's experiences in engaging home working in specific historical, social and cultural contexts. Thus, while Beach's study with farmers and Lindon's study with urban dwellers expressed homogeneity in home working experiences and home-work integration, in my own study with home workers in Tijuana I discovered diversity that range from integration to conflict in a myriad of diverse situations. This diversity is an expression of the economic dynamism of the city, and the result of structural, familial and individual factors that interact to produce difference.

In dealing with diversity, geographers Katz and Monk (1993) suggest going beyond the production -reproduction interlink and they advocate for a life course perspective in order to explain women's participation in both spheres. These authors use the metaphor of juggling to explain women's participation in both spheres of activity. Women make choices about how to negotiate the juggling, and it depends on the control they achieve over their lives, considering the type of social practices and social relationships, and people they interact with across the life course.

To complete my argument, I find the spatial metaphors of transiting (Velasco) and juggling (Katz and Monk) helpful to better explain the linkages between production and reproduction. In spatial terms, while Velasco's concept refers to women's transit between material spaces (the street and the home) and social practices (production and

reproduction), Katz and Monk's juggling refer to women's social interplay between both practices across locations.

In the case of home working the transit between material places does not occur. So in this study I recover the categories - transiting and juggling - making a distinction between them in terms of time. Thus, while juggling will refer to women's daily movement between both productive and reproductive practices at home location, transiting will refer to women's in and outs of home paid work across the life course.

What is embedded in juggling and transiting is a flux of resources consisting of time-space social practices, social relations, roles, and meanings which women take with them from one place to the other and vice versa. Thus, my decision to have my analysis departing from the conflict, the appropriation and reconfiguration of home space was based on this set of resources.

As noted earlier, a comprehensive analysis of the spatial dimension of women's home-based work must involve three different levels: the material, social and symbolic. I suppose that as a result of the socio-spatial conflict and the time-space household arrangements new social relations emerge. In the light of my empirical findings, I will argue that for the case of women home based workers, the diversity of material practices and socio-spatial relations taking place within their homes might result in a new sociability for women, which I call inter-spatial sociability. This new spatiality of the home is expressed in new social relations between women and other members of the family, clients, neighbors and relatives, and in the transformation of gender roles and relations. In chapter 6 I will further develop this argument.

Symbolic representations of the home as living and working space.

In this work we assume that the spatiality of the home is constituted by different dimensions of the home and of what is in it, this is to say its physical, social and symbolic character. In this sense, meanings are considered as spatial expressions that have a relationship with the physical world. According to various scholars (Hartman, 1996; Soja, 1995) this relationship is assumed as mutual, so symbols act as a structuring factor of the material space in as much as material spaces also influence symbols. But since gender is also a fundamental factor structuring socio-spatial relations, the restructuring of home-work relationships has related meanings of home and workplaces for women.

As expression of gendered subjectivity space has a material base, and its valuation is considered as a resource for the action, in the sense of transforming and enhancing space. In the context of feminist geography approach, I will discuss the valuation of home space and propose the concept of home place appropriation to examine the diversity of meanings that women home workers attach to home as living and working space, as a result of the interplay between material practices and social relations that take place when the home is produced as workplace.

Since the appropriation of home space is gendered, then the related meanings of the home as living and working place are also gendered. Women's meanings of the home change in as much as the use and production of home space is re-configured. I propose that for women home workers of this study traditional meanings of the home, which are attached to family interaction, are prevalent for them at the same time that new meanings of the home emerge as a result of women's use of home space as workplace.

Conclusions

Based on the reviewed literature, I will consider the following assumptions in the socio-spatial analysis of the linkages between production and reproduction within the home.

a) The articulation between production and reproduction may occur in either public and private spaces.

b) In the study of the articulation between production and reproduction the consideration of specific historical and cultural contexts, as well as specific family/gender systems is fundamental.

c) Socio-spatial conflict, materially and socially expressed, and women's household socio-spatial arrangements organize the construction, appropriation and control of home space establishing the connections between production and reproduction. To negotiate both rounds -home and work- women daily juggle between them, and over the life course women transit between home work, housekeeping and extra domestic work. Embedded in transiting and juggling is a plethora of resources: time-space material practices, roles and relations.

d) The articulation between production and reproduction within the home may result in situations of integration or new conflicts which depend of the historical context and women's specific circumstances. Due to the constant transformation of the production-reproduction processes, conflict is always latent.

e) As a result of the tempo-spatial transformations of the articulation between production and reproduction, gender roles and relations within the home undergo transition.

f) An outcome of the interactions between gender and space within the household, through home-work linkages, is a new spatiality of the home which is expressed in the diversification of social relations, eroding and make apparent the artificiality of the public/private dichotomy.

g) The new uses of home spaces also may produce new symbolic representations of the home as working and living space. These multiple meanings are considered as a resource for social action.

CHAPTER TWO

Women's Home-Based Work and Productive Restructuring in a Dynamic Border Economy

Usually, literature about the topic describes the existence of home based work as a feature of depressed economies, in particular due to the loss of jobs in the industrial sector (Oberhauser, 1993). This chapter analyzes the relationship between productive restructuring and home working in the context of a buoyant border economy.

Tijuana shows one of the lower unemployment rates in the country. While the industrial base of the city has facilitated women's participation in the formal labor market, its geographical location which promotes transborder traffic and tourism has increased the modalities of self-employment, including home-based work. The process of productive restructuring and successive economic crisis in 1986 and 1994, jointly with an existing tradition of self-employment promoted the proliferation of women's homework. Thus, Tijuana features a dynamic economy in which diverse types of work coexist, home working among them.

Taking as a framework the literature about gender and female work, the aims of this chapter are: first, to establish the relationship between the productive restructuring and home-based work in Tijuana, through the analysis of the evolution of female work in the context of the local economy and labor market, particularly self-employment. Second, in the current situation of economic dynamism, home based work in Tijuana is analyzed emphasizing gender difference.

Employment and industrial restructuring: Gender division of labor

This chapter is framed by the broader theoretical approach of the gender division of labor which is informed by the systems of capitalism and patriarchy. Analysis of women's work is determined by the interrelation of these systems. The impact of both systems on the production and reproduction of the labor force has been studied from different perspectives (e.g., Benería and Roldán, 1997; Oberhauser, 1993:25).

The feminist perspective on women's work attempts to link production and reproduction identifying a strong relationship between patriarchy and capitalism which is expressed in the gender division of labor in both the household and the paid workplace (Oberhauser, op.cit.: 25, Hanson and Pratt, 1995).

Different perspectives have tried to explain women's increasing participation in the labor market. For instance, in location theory there are several theoretical explanations to regional variations in patterns of female labor force participation (Massey, 1993). These patterns are related to diverse theories in different economies. For instance, in Northern Mexican border cities, explanations about the high levels of female economic participation have been related to the process of industrialization, a model of regional development which has been pioneered in this region of the country. While theories of industrial location stress the facilities of the export led industry and the abundance of cheap labor in countries like Mexico, theories of gender segmentation usually frame their explanations of women's concentration in industrial sector on the gender biased idea of women's docility and nimble fingers (Elson and Pearson, 1988).

Under the labor heterogeneity theory, some studies have documented the increase

of the non-salaried and informal sectors in Mexico during the years of the economic crisis (Pacheco y Blanco, 1998). In this context, and in a micro social perspective, the high levels of female participation have been explained in terms of the strategies of social reproduction that families adopt as a response to the unemployment and economic crisis (Oliveira, 1990; Benería, 1992; Roberts, 1994).

However, these theories do not include an exploration of the connections between home and work because the trend has been to study labor markets and households separately (Hanson and Pratt, 1993). Despite this fact, theoretical attempts to link production and reproduction are found in both feminist geography and feminist sociology.

Feminist studies in geography have made important contributions to the study of economic restructuring and female participation in labor markets.¹ One of the main contributions demonstrates that women both affect and are affected by economic change (Oberhauser, 1993). Extensive research on Anglo women contributed to the study of the friction of distance, and the localization and the variations in labor markets (Massey, 1993), as well as the study of family income generation strategies at the scale of the household (Christensen, 1993; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Oberhauser, op.cit.).

Feminist analysis of women's work in Latin American countries have also tried to establish the connections between production and reproduction by studying both the structural and household determinants of female participation in the labor force (Garcia, Muñoz y Oliveira, 1982, Garcia y Oliveira, 1995).

¹ This approach focuses on how gender relations affect the production and use of space.

While most studies have emphasized sex differences, some research analyzed men's and women's economic participation from a gender perspective. A well known explanation of the increases in women's participation in non-salaried activities and home based work views it as an adequate strategy which allows women to combine domestic responsibilities with income generating strategies (Pacheco and Blanco, 1998:85). Domestic responsibilities have been the main factor in explaining how difference becomes inequity.

In respect to home based work, despite the efforts to study the relationship between production and reproduction, with some exceptions (e.g. Benería and Roldán, 1987), this kind of work has received little attention. Besides, there is an emphasis in studying home based work only as subcontracting (such is the case of Benería and Roldán's study, see also Alonso, 1991). Unlike the case in these studies, in Tijuana home-based work is composed of a diversity of activities such as food stuff production, home located grocery stores, and personal services such as child care and hair cutting among others.

On the other hand, at the household scale, wage work done at home is considered only in terms of its location as a variable. The spatial features of working at home, as well as the consequences for the social ecology of the family are ignored. Beside, in the analysis of home working, gender has frequently been considered as variable sex, and it often has been collapsed within other social categories such as class. Benería and Roldán (op.cit.) emphasize the importance of the gender relations as an element of analysis in the study of self-employment, particularly when this type of work is done at home.

Female Work in Tijuana

Although women have played an important role in the economic and social development of border cities, it was only after the establishment of the export-led industry that women's contribution to household and societal economy has been recognized and analyzed. Since 1965, when maquiladoras supported a massive entry of women into the industrial labor force, studies about this phenomenon proliferated, leaving aside female participation in other sectors of the labor market. This section intends to capture women's work during the different stages of the economic development of Tijuana.

Analysis of women's work often ignores women's homework despite the fact that it has always existed in cities like Tijuana. Earlier the century, Tijuana was a very small village where agriculture was the main activity. Women used to work in their households doing some agricultural work and raising domestic animals. At those times there were no medical services in the zone, midwifery was also a very common work for women.²

Later on, the development of the city was driven by an economy of tourism and services oriented to the Northern American population, and by its accelerated demographic expansion as the result of a constant migration flow. The city's tourist boom resulted from the prohibition of alcohol, gambling and prostitution in the United States (Piñeira, 1985). The proliferation of these activities in Tijuana during the twenties gave women new job opportunities outside of the home. Women worked as waitresses, dancers, etc.

² "...mi grandmother was the first midwife and she used nature medicine to cure people, she was very well known." Testimony of Romelia Lopez de Castillo in *Historia Viva de Tijuana*, 1996.

in casinos, bars and restaurants mostly created by American entrepreneurs. In addition, many women engaged in prostitution. Despite the emergence of these paid extra home occupations, many women continued working at home doing domestic chores and producing food and clothes for their families and for money (Murrieta and Hernandez, 1991). Census figures before the 1980s do not show female participation in agricultural work, but women continued involved in farm work, cattle-raising, and some of them used to work as seamstresses in their homes.

The development of commercial activities in Tijuana was based on the establishment of duty-free zones and perimeters along the border. These regulations permit the importation of duty-free merchandise if it is consumed or used within the zones and perimeters. The duty-free zone of the state of Baja California was created in 1937 in order to alleviate the economic crisis caused by the repeal of prohibition in the United States in 1933 (Zenteno, 1995:18).

In 1940, Tijuana's population had not reached 25,000 inhabitants but the following two decades resulted in a demographic explosion caused by the cotton boom along the Mexican border and the Bracero Program (1942-1964) created to supply U.S. needs of labor. These elements attracted a migration flow from Southern states of Mexico, and some people who worked in the United States settled their families in border Mexican cities like Tijuana. Due to these factors from 1940 to 1950 the city's population grew at 10.6% annually (Zenteno, 1995:106).

The 1940s census shows that the service sector provided 45% of the economic structure of the city (Cruz, 1996). By the 1960's Tijuana concentrated 43% of the

occupied labor force in the commerce and services sector . At that time, 20% of the population was working in agricultural and cattle raising activities and only 16% was working in manufacturing and transformation activities (Cruz, 1996).

During the 1950s agricultural activities were still important, however the service oriented character of Tijuana's economy is expressed in the fact that almost one third of the economically active population was working in services, and around one-sixth in commerce (Zenteno, p.19). Despite the emergence of these paid activities outside the home, most women continued working at their homes producing food and clothes for their families.³

Before the 1960's Tijuana was oriented toward commerce and services to American tourism. The principal economic sector that absorbed the female labor force was the tertiary sector. Women worked at the city's stores, restaurants and hotels. In addition to growth of the tertiary sector that traditionally has been a source of employment for women, the development of communications in the 1950s created new female occupations such as telephone operators. According to some testimonies, there were some women who worked as drivers of trucks that transported merchandise across the border.⁴

³ "In the fifties... people's occupations in Tijuana were baking tamales, selling candies and fruit, etc." Testimony of Isidoro Becerril. "Late the fifties.... the mother was commonly on charge of the family, if she worked she did it at home, some of them washing clothes ... and in general they worked on women's duties." Testimony of Lilia Correa, *Historia Viva de Tijuana*, 1996.

⁴ "...earlier the fifties...due to Japanese and Vietnam wars... there was a lot of work, I remember that women drove trucks in the "other side" and here also." Testimony of Cristóbal Río, *Historia Viva de Tijuana*, 1996.

The sectorial distribution of the workers in 1970 and 1990 shows the notorious movement out of the agricultural sector into manufacturing and tertiary activities for both men and women, although female shifts are more pronounced in manufacturing and commerce (Lopez, 1993). Following a national trend, between 1950 and 1970 Tijuana experienced a reduction of agricultural employment, and expansions of both the manufacturing and service sectors. In 1970, 22% of the economically active population in Tijuana was employed in manufacturing, the shift was due to the increase of the female participation in the manufacturing industry (Zenteno, 1995:33).

According to Zenteno, Tijuana's population increased by about five times between 1950 and 1970, which resulted in the enlargement of the regional market. In the case of Tijuana, and taking advantage of the duty-free zone that permitted the import of capital and goods, entrepreneurs began to invest in manufacturing to satisfy the demands of the growing population. While services were the most important activities in Tijuana, employment in commercial activities did not experience important changes between 1950 and 1970. In the 1960s, the growth of public administration and health services supported the emergence of more jobs for women such as nurser and secretary, besides the traditional school teachers.

In 1964, the end of the Bracero program brought new changes to border economies. To stimulate the development of regional economies and achieve better integration of the border to the national economy, the Border Industrialization Program was implemented in 1965. In the last three decades Tijuana has shown increasing economic growth as a result of this new strategy of industrial development implemented by the Mexican federal

government. With the establishment of the maquiladora industry the city was characterized by new patterns of employment and new trends of urban growth. One of the most important labor market transformations in Mexico is the increasing participation of women. The enlargement of female participation rates was mainly due to the demand of maquiladoras for female labor (Zenteno, 1995:37).

Eight years after the initiation of the Border Industrialization Program, Tijuana had about one hundred maquiladoras which employed more than 9, 000 workers (Zenteno: 1995). Since its initiation in 1965, maquiladoras have played a very important role in the development of Tijuana's labor market. Although these industries were created to employ the workers that returned from the United States at the end of the Bracero Program, maquiladora enterprises became specialized markets for the employment of single young women because of their selective hiring policies (Carrillo and Hernández, 1985).

Female employment in this industry had a strong effect in the local labor market, creating new forms of gender segmentation. Despite women's massive entry into the factories, many of them stayed at home due to family traditions that prevented them from working outside home. Analysts (Zenteno, 1995; Cruz, 1996) agree that the growth of maquiladoras was positive during the ten years after its introduction to the border, but it became weaker throughout the second part of the seventies. The main facts influencing this situation were the economic recession in the USA that in the mid 1970s forced many maquiladoras to close down and the national policy of overvaluing the Mexican currency during a 1970-80 decade.

To Zenteno, this period contrasts with the dynamism and economic growth of the

city during the eighties. Paradoxically, during this decade Mexico experienced one of the deepest economic crises of its modern history because its increased dependence on the manufacturing sector. While urban economies were the most affected, Tijuana experienced a significant economic boom. Important elements influencing this economic transformation were: the strategic geographical location of the city, the change in the model of industrial development, the privileges granted by the special customs regime of the area, and the fixing of a more realistic exchange rate for the Mexican currency (Zenteno, 1995:25).

These new economic conditions precipitated the development of the commerce sector of the city. In particular, the fixing of the Mexican currency resulted in the decline of demand for American goods and services. Furthermore, the economic crisis of the 1980's produced a contraction of internal national demand. These circumstances encouraged producers and distributors of Mexican goods to search for markets on the border, expanding the commercial and services sector in the region (Zenteno 1995:27).

In this context, the construction of new highways that better connected border cities with the rest of the country allowed the establishment of supermarkets and department stores branches of national firms. Women worked in those stores as sales persons, and some of them engaged in workshops which provided the department stores with clothes. Among other occupations, an important percentage of women have worked historically as domestic servants, many of them working in the neighboring cities of the United States.⁵

⁵ "Before.... most of the mothers worked as domestic servants in the "other side," they got like 40 dollars that they invested in the maintenance of their families...." Testimony of Lilia Correa, *Historia Viva de Tijuana*, 1996:59.

Some recent data (ENEU, 1992) suggest that domestic service constitutes around 13% of the female labor in Tijuana.

The establishment of universities in the region allowed some women to continue their professional education in disciplines such as Law, Medicine, Administration, and other in which women have gradually increased their participation in higher education.⁶ Despite the fact that there was an increase in female employment, some women still engaged in home working by producing and selling foodstuffs such as tamales and candies, fruits, etc., while some others established small businesses at home such as beauty shops and grocery stores which have traditionally supplied the poorer.

Finally, it is important to highlight the role of women as settlers of the communities. In particular, through their engagement in the Urban popular movement, they have actively participated in housing acquisition and in the promotion and provision of public services and infrastructure in colonies that emerged with the arrival of waves of migrants from different parts of the country to border cities as Tijuana across history.

In these days, Tijuana presents a dynamic economic panorama mainly due to the advantage of being neighbor to the wealthy state of California. This advantage is three fold: Tijuana benefits from the economic activities oriented to tourism. The city represents a good location for high-tech maquiladoras due to its closeness to California suppliers, and finally, there are many job opportunities that Southern California's economy offers for

⁶ "I entered to the Baja California Autonomous University and in the College of Dentist Surgeons in 1973 with the interest of creating the school of Dentistry.... although it has the same number of students, the percentage of women increased from 30 to 70%." Testimony of René Andrade, *Historia Viva de Tijuana*, 1996:28.

Mexican residents.

In comparison to other border cities such as Cd. Juarez, Tijuana nowadays shows a notable diversity in employment opportunities. While 38% of the economically active population is working in services, 30% is in manufacturing, and 18% in commerce (Zenteno, 1995:35) In Tijuana commerce is still one of the main activities. In this sector we find the self-employed whose occupations tend to be less qualified as well as lower paying. In particular, women constitute more than half of the non-wage workers (Cruz, 1996:147).

According to Cruz (1996) Tijuana was considered one of the most dynamic cities in Mexico, its lower unemployment rate provided a very propitious labor market to women's economic participation. Low unemployment rates can be due to the creation of new opportunities in formal enterprises and the creation of economic opportunities by people before the lack of of wage work. For the most part, low open unemployment rate in border cities like Tijuana is product of a significant growth of formal jobs during the 1980's.

In 1985 restrictions on foreign investment were loosened in the country as a whole, and the export led industry developed rapidly in other regions. However, the fact that the border was pioneer in the export-led development strategy lead to the belief that main border cities continued to hold the highest rates of female labor participation (Fusell and Zenteno, 1996: 4).

However, in 1993 Tijuana presented one of the lowest female rates of economic participation, indicating thus, that women were having some difficulty in entering the

formal labor market due to a surplus of labor. Although in absolute numbers female participation in maquiladoras continue to grow, its percentage decreased during the 1980's. While in 1975, 78% of maquiladora' workers were women, in 1990 that percentage was reduced to 60.7% (Hualde and Pérez Sáinz, 1994). In general, explanations of this phenomenon attribute it to the process of productive restructuring and flexible labor (Escobar, 1995), as well as to the economic crisis, currency devaluation and reduction of state subsidies (Cruz, 1996). But in the context of the local labor market, the reduction of female employment in manufacturing finds explanation in a challenge in the work processes and technological change in most modern industries which displaced women to a lower positions or to substitute them by men. In this way, enterprises made a change in their policies by hiring more men and creating a surplus of female labor.

In sum, although in Tijuana a large number of women are still working in formal employment, productive restructures have forced to female population to engage in activities of commerce and services whose dynamism permits a diversity of occupations for women. Self-employment still constitutes an important 20% of the economically active population. As a part of this specific labor market, home working deserves special attention.

Self-employment in Tijuana

Globalization and the economic crisis are unified processes that modify the division of labor between women and men. These transformations have a spatial expression at different scales, while at the regional and sectorial levels there are some changes in the

composition of the labor force, at the scale of the households the impacts are manifested in the intensification of the use of the family labor force, as well in the gender relations within the family.

The relationship between gender, work and space is subject to transformations across time. A great deal of research has shown the ins and outs of women of the labor markets according to the changes in the economy (Mackenzie, 1986; Hanson and Pratt, 1990). This has been the case of Mexican northern border cities like Tijuana, where women's entry to the industrial sector first modified the labor market and a reversal of this trend occurred during the 1980s due to an increasing male participation in this kind of work.

In respect to self-employment, between 1950 and 1990, the salarization process that had taken place in border cities, decreased this type of work from 26% to 19% (Cruz, 1996). Despite this fact, following a national trend, in 1990 self-employment accounted for more than the 20% of the economically active population in Tijuana. Although this trend continued in 1996, there was a gender difference. While men constituted 20.6%, women accounted for 15.% of the economically active population.

Oliveira (1990:49) points out the proliferation of street vendors, artisan workers, subcontracting home based workers, and many other modalities of home working that are facilitators of women's engagement in economic activities, particularly in periods of economic recession. Self-employment many times constitutes the escape from poverty or the preservation of a middle class status. According to García and Oliveira (1992), as a national trend, in Mexico low-income and less educated women are the ones who

increased their participation in self-employment and informal activities.

In Tijuana the existence of self-employment has persisted through history, home based work is frequently one of the most common income generation strategies. Besides, self-employment is a traditional activity related to the commercial and tourist origin of the city. The existence of this type of activity can be due to factors such as: plummeting female participation in the industrial sector, the decrease in the number of small businesses as a result of a reduction in the industrial demand of goods and services (Roberts, 1993). Thus, small scale activities are the result of the surplus of labor force in the region (Cruz, 1995). An additional factor that promotes the existence of self-employment are the facilities that the transborder traffic offers to the development of this activities. Furthermore it is necessary to consider the fact that self-employment on the border pays better than wage work in many cases.

At the national level, research about small businesses and informality has documented self-employment activities such as ambulatory selling and grocery stores. Micro social research has been worthy in showing case studies from both, household and micro enterprise perspectives. In general, this line of research emphasizes small businesses as a family strategy in response to the economic crisis and lack of welfare. Studies carried out in México (Cortés y Benites, 1991) and Bolivia (Escobar, 1988) document the proliferation of small businesses, many of them established at home as a family survival strategy, by people in situations of unemployment. Part of this research focus on the gender bias in the composition of these workers because most of them are women. However, with exception of the study of Menjivar (1993), gender differences have not

been analyzed to any great degree.

Research in some border cities in Northern Mexico has documented activities such as indigenous street selling (Velasco, 1996), production and selling of foodstuff at the doors of maquiladora enterprises (Lara, 1994), and sexual work (Barrón, 1996). Other activities such as home based work has not been studied yet in this region, despite the fact that its presence has been frequently mentioned in the literature (Oliveira, 1990).

At the national level, most of the studies about home based work concern the processes of subcontracting that some industries adopt to reduce the costs of production through the intensive use of labor force, no benefits and tax evasion (Benería and Roldán, 1987; Alonso, 1991). According to these authors informal activities include either self-employment or working for another person or firm.

In the case of home based work, this practice includes a variety of occupations such as the production of goods and services offered to their communities (childcare, hair cutting, foodstuff production, sewing, etc.). Most of these activities have no direct relationship with capitalist production. In general, these different types of work are characterized by the absence of legal regulation and flexibility of schedules (López Estrada, 1999).

Scholarship in feminist geography, has focused particularly on home based work. These investigations have shown that women are working at the intersection of production and reproduction by working at home (Mackenzie, 1986; Christensen, 1993, Oberhauser, 1995, among others). This body of research has also shown the advantages and disadvantages of this strategy of income generation. Among the advantages is the flexibility

of arrangements that permits to women make adjustments among domestic and productive activities. However, this type of work is not well paid, has no labor benefits and is very intensive.

In order to document the existence of home based work as a response to the processes of productive restructuring in cities like Tijuana, a detailed study of how the home becomes a workplace, and the consequences of this process to the family ecology is required. Such an endeavor is the aim of subsequent chapters. The following section describes some of the features of the home based workers in the context of gender segmentation theory.

Female home-based work: Gender segmentation in the informal labor market.

In general, many activities considered as self-employment are part of the informal sector. Although informality is a national trend, this phenomenon is particular important in dynamic economies like Tijuana. Besides, the high heterogeneity of this type of activity emphasizes the need for a better understanding of its dynamic in border cities. In particular, the analysis should consider gender as a structuring factor because this kind of work represent a high percentage of the local labor.

Both the formal and informal labor markets are characterized by a gender segmentation. It is commonly assumed that the informal sector is a female sector due to the high number of women that are concentrated in these activities (Benería y Roldán, 1987; Oliveira, 1990, Menjívar y Pérez, 1993). In respect to this assumption, authors such as Scott (1991) argue that the gender bias is not in the number and proportion of women

who participate in this sector but in the type of occupations that they men and women develop, and the conditions in which informal work is carried out.

Scott suggests that the "feminization" of informal activities is due to the type of occupations that women and men develop in this sector and to the conditions in which informal work is carried out, frequently women have lower positions and salaries than men do. In this sense, is problematic to attribute to the informal sector female characteristics. Then, the informality tends to reproduce gender distinctions.

However, there are some cases that contradict the model of women's concentration in informal employment. For instance, in respect to Tijuana's labor market, it has been said that more men than women work in conditions of informality. But the real gender segmentation lies in the fact that women have lower positions and salaries, and worse labor conditions that men do.

Due to the tourist-oriented and commercial origins of the city, the commerce and services sectors have traditionally been a source of employment for women. The profile of this labor force includes mainly adult women who belong to extended households. However, statistics show a strong male participation in self-employment in Tijuana. According to Oliveira (1990), between 1985 and 1987 there was an increase in the percentage of the economically active male population in this type of work (Table 2.1). Conversely, the economically active female population hold a lower level of participation in these activities. The same source of information for 1992 and 1997 reveals that women's self-employment has been gradually decreasing from 18.4% to 15.9%. Although between 1987 and 1992 men's participation decreased by 5.6%, in 1996 there was a small increase.

Furthermore, men's self-employment continues to be higher than women by 4%.

Table 2.1 Self-employment*
(Percentage of the male and female economically active population)

City	Men				Women			
	1985	1987	1992	1996	1985	1987	1992	1996
Ciudad Juárez	22.4	26.2	20.5	20.3	11.3	12.0	15.6	16.7
Tijuana	21.6	24.6	19.0	20.6	18.4	17.7	16.3	15.9
Cd. de México	21.2	17.7	19.9	21.6	14.7	21.5	21.0	23.6
Guadalajara	23.0	20.5	21.7	24.2	27.5	23.8	23.8	25.5
San Luis Potosí	23.2	22.7	22.1	22.8	14.3	20.3	20.7	24.0

*Self-employees include non-paid family workers.

Source: Oliveira, 1990, table no. 2 1992 and 1996: INEGI: National Survey of Urban Employment.

Despite the fact that the employment surveys do not directly consider home based work, this constitutes an important percentage of self-employment. According to the data of the (National Survey of Urban Employment (ENEU 1992), home based workers (defined by workplace location) in Tijuana represented 10% of the self-employed. However, information from the National Survey of Micro enterprises (ENAMIN 1992) suggests that 15% of the workers in these businesses are home located.

The self-employment data of both ENEU and ENAMIN suggests that there is a predominance of men among the home based workers, 73.8% y 73% respectively in Tijuana, but ENEU included among this type of workers those who work not only in their homes but also in the homes of the clients.

I suggest that due to problems of conceptualization there are both an underestimation and under reporting of home based work, in particular female work, and

because of that the percentage of female participation in home based work is probably being higher than the percentage reported. For instance, both surveys do not consider grocery stores in home locations, these constitute a separate option. However, this kind of micro business are frequently located within the home and many times they are attended by women.

On the other hand, some authors argue that the lack of opportunities for the male population in Tijuana's industrial sector has forced their concentration in the services sector and self-employment (Zenteno, 1995). However, female participation in this sector is also significant and considering that the numeric concentration of one group of population in a labor market is not the only indicator of segregation, it is important to analyze the composition and features of this labor force in order to reveal the different conditions in which men and women participate in specific types of activities. Gender differences are relevant because they reflect inequities and hierarchies resulting from the division of labor, as well as culture and ideology developed both in the family and the workplace.

The comparative study carried out by Menjivar, et. Al (1993:56) in Central America revealed that small businesses located at home have a different profile between men and women owners. Unlike women, men are dedicated to more profitable activities. Women are home located because of lack of money to pay rent, and they frequently have paid workers. The criteria of business location was based on the investment ability, and in general the trends indicated that the separation between home and work favored a logic of accumulation, hiring paid workers, and the intensive use of a labor force.

Table 2.2 Distribution of the home based workers by the type of work installations and sex. Tijuana

Type of installations	Men	Women
At home without special installations	1593	769
At home with special installations	1320	308
Total	2913 (73%)	1077 (27%)

Source: INEGI: National Survey of Micro Enterprises, 1992.

According to table 3, men listed as the main reasons to engage in home working: to be independent, to have better income, and flexible schedule. Other significant answers were: being fired and unemployment. Gender differences commonly related to socially assigned roles are observed in the women's responses. They mentioned as main reasons to work at home: being independent, to complement family income, and flexible schedules. Gender differences which express gender asymmetries in the division of labor and in the access to resources are confirmed in the responses that women and men gave when they were asked about the reasons for home location (Table No. 4). While most men said that they could not buy a locale, most women answered that it was more comfortable to work at home. These findings are similar to those in the study of Menjivar, et.al. (1993:45). According to these authors while in general women tend to establish their businesses at home, men tend to establish in an separate location.

Therefore, a common explanation for the increase of female work in non-salaried activities, in particular those that are carried at home, is that this is an adequate strategy that permits women to combine domestic responsibilities with income generation strategies (Pacheco and Blanco, 1998: 85). However, as this study documents, many times women

face enormous difficulties in order to balance productive and reproductive work within the home.

Table No. 2.3 Distribution of the home based workers by reasons for home working and sex. Tijuana.

Reasons for home working			
	Men	Women	Total
To be independent	2024 (71.2%)	815 (28.7%)	100.0%
Family tradition	113 (100.0%)	-----	100.0%
To complement family Income	496 (54.8%)	408 (45.1%)	100.0%
To have better income	1241 (89.4%)	146 (10.5%)	100.0%
Unemployment	241 (77.2%)	71 (22.7%)	100.0%
Flexible schedule	708 (82.9%)	146 (71.1%)	100.0%
Fired	217 (100.0%)	-----	100.0%
Other reasons	67 (21.6%)	242 (78.3%)	100.0%

Note: Each person was allowed multiple responses

Source: National Survey of Micro Enterprises, 1992.

Table 2.4 Distribution of home based workers by reasons of home location and sex, Tijuana.

Reasons of home location	Men	Women	Total
Cannot buy a locale	722 (73.4%)	261 (26.6%)	100.0%
It is required that way	338 (100.0%)	-----	100.0%
It is more comfortable	80 (4.4%)	1773 (95.6%)	100.0%

Source: National Survey of Micro Enterprises, 1992.

In respect to job position, data from the ENAMIN 1992 show that while all the women who work at home are self-employed, while 22.5% of men who work at home are bosses. It is important to notice that, while 18% of men have salaried workers, only women have non-paid family and non-family workers. Data from the ENEU also suggests that women home based workers do not employ salaried workers, they probably use non-paid

family labor. According to some studies about small businesses (Menjivar, Escobar, among other), this is a feature of precariousness that is a common attribute of women's businesses. To sum up, as Scott (1991) suggests, gender asymmetry crosses the informal and formal sectors, and their internal structures. Thus, even when in Tijuana men constitute a higher percentage than women in activities such as home based work, gender segregation persists in as much as women continue to work in unequal conditions in home located occupations, even in the context of a dynamic economy such as Tijuana.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have argued that female home-based work is a response to processes of productive restructuring not only in depressed economies but also in dynamic urban economies like Tijuana. At the macro structural level, the chapter showed that an increasing participation of women in self-employment, particularly in home based work is due to the following factors: 1) Economic recession in Mexico has forced to less educated women with children to enter the labor market, mostly engaging in self employment and less remunerated jobs. Despite the fact that Tijuana is considered as a dynamic economy, this national trend it is also reflected in the local labor market. 2) Changes in Tijuana's labor market, characterized by a decrease of female labor in the maquiladora industry. This situation is due to changes in the labor processes which promote that enterprises hire more men than women in comparison to the past, creating a surplus of female labor. 3) The transborder traffic and the dynamic structure of the sectors of commerce and services also promoted women's engagement in non-wage work.

In this context, despite the fact that men have participated in a higher percentage than women in self-employment is presumed an increasing participation of women in non-wage work, home based activities in particular. Being home based work the focus of this study, some testimonies of Tijuana's citizens show that it existed historically through the different periods of the city's development, both as a traditional activity and as a response to changes in the local economy. Because statistics show that more men than women participate in home working, I suggested under reporting and underestimation of these activities. Particular, I want to emphasize the importance of documenting this phenomenon at large, as well as the conditions in which women participate in this economic strategy.

CHAPTER THREE

Home-Based Work as a Shared Socio-spatial Experience

The aim of this chapter is to provide the urban and socio-demographic profile of Tijuana as a local context for the development of home based work. In this chapter I envision home working as a part of the processes of community action and provision of goods and services in the absence of a welfare state, and the use of the home as workplace as an extended socio-spatial practice in different social and residential sectors of Tijuana.

As has been pointed out, there are few studies about self-employment in Mexico, and particularly there is a lack of research about home working. However, self-employment has emerged across diverse cities in the country as a result of restructuring processes and economic crisis. One particular form of facing lack of jobs is the creation of small workshops in communities. In this way self-employment is related to industrial unemployment (Bazan, 1995).

As shown in the previous chapter, in Tijuana the phenomenon of self-employment has been present along its economic and urban development in the way of a diversity of occupations such as home based work which provide goods and services to communities. The focus of this research is on home working as self-employment, not as subcontracting. Tijuana's geographical location and transborder traffic are among the main factors that contribute to the creation of self-employment in this city.

In Mexican cities, the existence of some services is a traditional feature in the development of urban communities, either popular or middle class. For instance, some studies portray the importance of grocery stores to provide food and other merchandise

to neighborhoods, particularly in those barrios with deficient transportation. This is the case of many popular settlements in Tijuana, where the uneven topography characterized by canyons and hills makes difficult the access to centers of commerce and services particularly difficult, especially for women.

One of the first and strong effects of restructuring in urban life has been the re-use of space in popular neighborhoods, as well as the re-use of space within the home strongly linked to the emergence or proliferation of productive activities as a way of income generation.

Features of cities also contribute to unemployment and proliferation of modes of self employment. In some cities, the existence of small workshops frequently established in both middle class and working class vicinities is not a recent phenomenon. Homes are being transformed in productive places. Some dwelling spaces are often open to the street to establish a small grocery store or a repairing workshop while family members are re-accommodated in the rest of the home, albeit with a reorganization of domestic work.

Economic development influences the ways in which urban space is structured (Mackenzie, 1986). As Bazán (1995:17) writes "The features that urban space acquired during industrial development are now supporting new modes of work and life. The ways of living and working in the neighborhoods and transiting streets are starting to leave finger prints in the city, constantly transforming them."

The economic, demographic and urban growth of Tijuana

Tijuana was founded in 1889 and at the turn of the XX century, the existence of hot

springs had made this small town of only 106 inhabitants a place for resting and recreation¹. Located in the western extreme of the northern border of Mexico, in 1990 the Population Census registered 747,381 inhabitants in Tijuana,² and today demographers speculate that the city has more than one million people.³ It is one of the biggest international border cities in Latin America, as well as one of Mexico's fastest growing and changing cities. A city of migrants, Tijuana was first developed as migrants came to work in a growing economy of tourism and services oriented to the northern American population. Although tertiarization is a common feature of middle-size Latin American cities like Tijuana (Portes, 1992), what makes unique to this city is its proximity with the United States.

Despite the economic dynamism of the city during the first three decades of this century, its demographic growth was slow. Its radical demographic increase took place when the economic reactivation of the post second world war created a large demand for Mexican workers in the United States. In 1942 the Bracero Program was created by the U.S. government to employ Mexicans in agriculture and the construction of railroad. This event created a strong migration flow from southern Mexico, resulting in a tremendous

¹ This city is characterized by the most accelerated demographic expansion of any Latin American city, according to Zenteno (1995) the city grew 66 times between 1930 and 1990.

² INEGI, Censos Generales de Población y Vivienda de Baja California, 1970, 1990. Table 2.

³ According to demographer Rodolfo Cruz, this estimation of Tijuana's population is done considering Tijuana as Metropolitan area because former Tijuana's delegation, Rosarito, recently became municipality.

increase of Tijuana's population (Piñera, 1985:42; Verduzco, et. Al., 1996:83). By 1940, the city was only 20,000 inhabitants but in 1950 it was 60,000, and in this period the population growth rate was 9 percent. However, after the 1960s population growth strongly decreased (Zenteno, op. cit.: 114).

The economic and urban development of this border city has been linked to the California capitalist economy. This influence accelerated in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the geographical and political isolation of border towns from Mexico's central economy and the growth of California's economy (Herzog, 1990:92; Zenteno, op. Cit.: 108). Thus, Tijuana's economic growth and transformation into an urban settlement was determined by the economic boom in southern California. It was first fueled by the port economy of San Diego, and on by the recreational activities created by the Prohibition Laws.

Urban landscapes reflect both the operation of market forces and the coordination of these processes by local governments. The urban development of Tijuana took place without any kind of plan. After 1950, the city's urbanized area was concentrated around the traditional downtown and Tijuana's structure and spatial organization was strongly determined by continuous waves of migrants initiated with the Bracero program, and a mass of marginal and unemployed poor established in Tijuana (Herzog, op. cit.: 107).

Despite the uneven topography of Tijuana, characterized by many hills with inclined slopes and canyons, low-income migrants created spontaneous settlements in these areas non-appropriated for that use (Guillén, 1988). Conversely, those who were salaried workers could afford to locate nearby urbanized zones. These processes expressed the

polarization of the city's residential structure and Tijuana expanded in a chaotic fashion (Herzog, op.cit.: 109). It was in 1962 that the Federal government first considered a plan for the city's design, but the plan failed due in part to the underestimated growth. Between 1950 and 1970, city organization was characterized by a concentration of commercial activities and proliferation of popular neighborhoods (Verduzco, et. al.: 88).

This disorderly and segregated development of the city continued against government intervention to develop tourist, productive and commercial areas, thus resulting in a more polarized urban spatial structure (Herzog, op.cit.: 113). Successive city plans divided the land into a residential development zone and an industrial development area, which has been a key feature of twentieth century town planning.

Between 1970 and 1980, urban policies included the renovation of the downtown, investment in equipment and infrastructure, consolidation of the suburbia in areas around Tijuana, the state's intervention as regulator of the urban land, and emergence of new irregular settlements (Murrieta and Zambrano, 1992:24). The major impact of urban planning in Tijuana has been the creation of many middle class neighborhoods, as well as the redistribution of the population toward new zones and the relocation and legalization of multiple irregular settlements. For instance, in 1975 the inhabitants of a very poor colony named Cartolandia were evicted and relocated in the suburbia of the city⁴. In this land was created the Zona del Rio, the most developed area of Tijuana, a commercial, financial and business complex that came to resolve the saturation problems of downtown

⁴ For details see José Manuel Valenzuela, *El movimiento urbano popular en Tijuana*, (Tijuana: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, 1987).

Tijuana caused by the convergence of two types of consumers: tourists and local population (Verduzco, et.al.: 93).

Socio-demographic and cultural patterns

Tijuana is one of the Mexican urban centers characterized by a higher population growth. The annual growth rate is 4.5% (Coubes, 1999). During the second half of the century, the growth of both Tijuana's population and labor force was higher than at national level. Until 1970 the population growth was higher than the growth of the labor force. However, during the 1970s and until the mid 1980s, the trend modified mainly due to increasing female economic participation (Cruz and Zenteno, 1989).

Generally speaking, border cities such as Tijuana are characterized by high levels of female engagement in the labor force. As noted before, this phenomenon was the result of the establishment of the export led industry. While in the decades of the 1970's and 1980's there was an enlargement in the female labor force, during the 1990's the rhythm of growth of the female labor force decreased gradually because a higher number of men engaged in industrial work due to restructuring of the economy.

Although Tijuana is a strategic site for international migration, the economic dynamism of the city has generated its own migration flow from Southern states of the country. Thus, the city is distinguished as an important regional migration center. Overall, almost 50% of the population were born out of the state (Zenteno, 1989).

While in the past, migrants come from less developed regions and were characterized by a rural origin and low levels of schooling, recent migration flows come

from more developed regions of the country, these people have higher levels of schooling and previous experience as salaried workers (Cruz, 1989).

Some structural facts that explain these changes in the migration profile are the economic devaluations and political crises faced by Mexico. Besides, there are some events such as the earthquake of Mexico City in 1985, and most recently the increasing pollution in this and other big cities in central Mexico that encouraged out-migration. These elements propelled the migration of middle class and professional workers to less contaminated cities, and particularly cities whose economy offers better job opportunities. Thus, according to Cruz (1989) the flow of migration that in the past was characterized by unskilled, rural workers is now diversified making complex the processes of urbanization and conformation of the labor markets in cities of destiny like Tijuana.

Tijuana has one of the lowest fertility rates in the country (2.5), even lower than the national level (González, 1992). These fertility levels are attributed to economically active women with higher levels of schooling, and the existence of liberal attitudes and cultural perceptions about conjugal life, family size and children care.

Tijuana is characterized by an intense social life. The population of this city is one of the best informed in Mexico due to their easy access to the high number of national and international media that exist in the city. Besides, in the dynamic economic and political context that this city has experienced since the decade of the 1970s, new social actors and non-corporative organizations have emerged (Negrete, 1991).

In reference to the political context, Tijuana is located in the state of Baja California, the most vanguard state of the country. In 1988 Baja California became the first state with

a governor from a political party of the opposition (The PAN). This circumstance led to a challenge in the political culture of the people of Baja California. In particular, middle class population in Tijuana has favored the PAN, which is considered a conservative party. However, analysts consider that this situation must be understood in the context of the emergence of new social and political alternatives in the city (Negrete, op.cit.).

In electoral terms, women in Tijuana are considered more participating but also more conservative. However, in the context of the urban and socio-economic development of the city, new social agents emerged as they opposed to the existing ruling political structure. Women represent an important part of this new agency, in particular, the role of working class and some middle class women was determinant in the struggles for urban land, housing and public services that constituted the urban popular movement started in Tijuana during the 1970s (Valenzuela, 1987).

In respect to culture, Tijuana expresses the confluence of two different cultures mainly by the use of Spanish, English and indigenous languages (i.e. mixtec) that people speak in vicinities and workplaces. The proximity of California offers the possibility of mutual cultural influence. In this context, and in comparison with cities in southern Mexico it is supposed that women are less conservative and certain rules of behavior are better socially accepted, for example women's work outside home. The idea of a more liberal environment is supported by some demographic indicators such as low fertility rates and high divorce levels, this demographic behaviors are mediated by culture and traditions of the female population. However, women's values about work, migration, motherhood, fertility and other issues have not been well explored in this city.

Commerce and Services in the communities

Before 1970, due to Tijuana's location and the problems of connecting to the rest of the country, the consumer needs of Tijuana's population were satisfied in the Northern American markets. The free zone regime had a very important role in resolving the problem of consuming national goods at a local level. While in the 1970s the commercial structure of the city started offering national products as a part of federal policies to expand national markets to the border (Mungaray, 1989; Witte, 1988), it was during 1980 that the structure of commerce and services presented important transformations, border markets represented a platform for national products. Although most of the dynamism of the commerce and service sector in Tijuana is directed to foreign tourism, local consumers represent an important market.

In 1980 supermarkets and big self-service stores of national firms were established in Tijuana. Besides these stores, there have always been small grocery stores in the city that supply the population of marginal neighborhoods, although also there are some self-service stores that cater to popular sectors of low price merchandise.

Economic transformations in border economies have affected the income levels and consumer habits of Tijuana's population because before of the various peso devaluations most of products were bought in border American cities. However, the impact of devaluations have been different for social classes. Although the upper class has been the most affected in their consumption level, there is more direct impact on popular classes because they purchased mainly food in American markets (González Aréchiga and Alonso, 1990).

Despite frequent peso devaluations and their impacts on the level of life of Mexican border populations in cities like Tijuana, the impact of these economic policies has been contingent and Mexican consumers always have the chance to return to American markets. In fact, the economy of reuse has been an option for those groups more affected by peso devaluations and inflation. This particular market offers lower-priced defective merchandise and used goods discarded in the United States. This now quotidian practice became popular during the 1970s as a consequence of national policies to spur national commerce in Mexico, and represents an important support for the living conditions of Tijuana's population. These low-priced second hand articles can be bought in specialized establishments that sell all kind of articles. Nowadays this kind of commerce constitutes, mainly for low-income populations, the chance to get goods and services that otherwise they could not obtain.

Due to the economic crisis and restructuring processes, parallel to these consumer practices, Tijuana is characterized by the proliferation of self-employment. There is a differentiated local labor market within a tertiary economy, on one hand a high percentage of self-employees direct their activities to tourist services; on the other hand many of these activities offer goods and services to local consumers in Tijuana's vicinities.

It is in the context of these activities that home working is located. Yet, self-employment located at home is related not only to unemployment but also to particular economies such as the second-hand economy. This is the way in which many self-employees get inputs and products they re-sell as goods and services, for instance sellers of merchandise such as diapers and clothes, and food-producers who get products in

American warehouses.

Tijuana's neighborhoods

In terms of social class, Tijuana follows the same pattern of urban segmentation than non-border cities in Mexico (Alegría, 1990), while upper class people reside within the central and most urbanized area of the city, middle class families live near the beach and in the sector known as La Mesa, and poor people live in marginal and less developed areas located southeast of city's downtown and in the periphery. Late the 1970s, the middle class established in a residential zone located near the beach. In these urbanized areas, the population has access to all kind of services such as schools, transportation, department stores, etc. In contrast with working class sectors, many families living in these areas have a passport and the facility to get merchandise such as food and domestic appliances in the U.S. border cities. Another alternative to get supplies in these communities are the small grocery stores located around the corner.

Unlike middle class residential sectors, popular neighborhoods have their origin in land invasions. The development of these communities started with the waves of migrants looking to cross the border. These communities have some features in common: they are settled on hills and canyons of uneasy access and communicated through stairs made with old tires. Although some of these communities have some services such as health centers, elementary schools and churches, their populations often have access to these and other services such as markets in the surrounding areas.

After years of struggle these neighborhoods were provided with electricity, water

supply, sewerage and pavement in the main streets. Pavement has made possible the access of other facilities such as public transportation and garbage service. However, many streets remain with no pavement that all. Public services have usually been acquired through community organization and municipal programs such as "Hands to work" in which women have had a strong participation in them (Delhumeau, 1996).

Although these neighborhoods first emerged as irregular settlements, nowadays in most of them land tenure is regular and most families own their dwellings. However, continuous migration flows propitiate the creation of new settlements in very precarious conditions. Housing is mostly made of block, wood and carton, and a small percentage is made of bricks. People get facilities such as laundry and nurseries outside their communities because usually these barrios do not include them.

Furthermore, in order to face the lack of social welfare, under the support of Rockefeller and Ford foundations, Non-governmental organizations offer health and work-training services to the population. Community houses, mainly organized by women, have also contributed to supply some of these services, and to provide assistance to families affected by problems like alcoholism and drug addiction, particularly among youth population (Vargas, 1997).

In respect to employment, most families in popular barrios make their living through salaried work. However, many goods and services can be acquired within the community. Thus, an important percentage of employment is made of self-employment in informal activities. Popular neighborhoods usually have three or four grocery stores, foodstuffs sellers and other services such as shoe repair, hair cutters, a bakers, baby sitters,

seamstresses, etc. These goods and services are lower priced than in the local market. Under the support of the World Bank, some credit programs to support small businesses have been implemented particularly to improve the well being of poorest communities.

In general, home working is considered as a part of the family survival strategies to cope with neoliberal policies implemented by the Mexican government (Benería, 1992, Chant, 1994). For the most, families have paid the burden of decreasing governmental services and subsidies. Analyst Elson (1992:41) have recommended "transformative strategies" to reduce the deterioration of living standards. Some of these strategies have been implemented in Tijuana's communities among them: credit programs, creation self-help programs and fostering of social networks. These policies suppose to include a gender dimension specifically dealing with women. (Benería, 1992:101) However, these strategies are intended just to alleviate the effects of neoliberal economic policies (Benería, 1992:101). Because of this, women's home based work might represent the backbone of family economy in context of productive restructuring.

Despite the socio-economic differences that distinguished middle class and working class residential sectors, these communities have some similarities such as the possibility of getting supplies within the neighborhood. Besides the existence of grocery stores, the access to personal services is possible in most vicinities. This local provision of goods and services is the result of a mixed urban design. On the one hand, Tijuana's urban design is characterized in general by the spatial segregation of the activities of production and reproduction. On the other hand, the limits of this spatial segregation that in many ways intend to follow the patterns of American cities, have been set by the urban disorder in

residential design and by informal social relationships that in particular are characteristic of migrant communities.

These spatial circumstances, the process of productive restructuring and the lack of provision of services from part of the state, have permitted the proliferation of multiple activities in the communities, and the emergence of the home as a work place in both middle class and working class sectors.

Conclusions

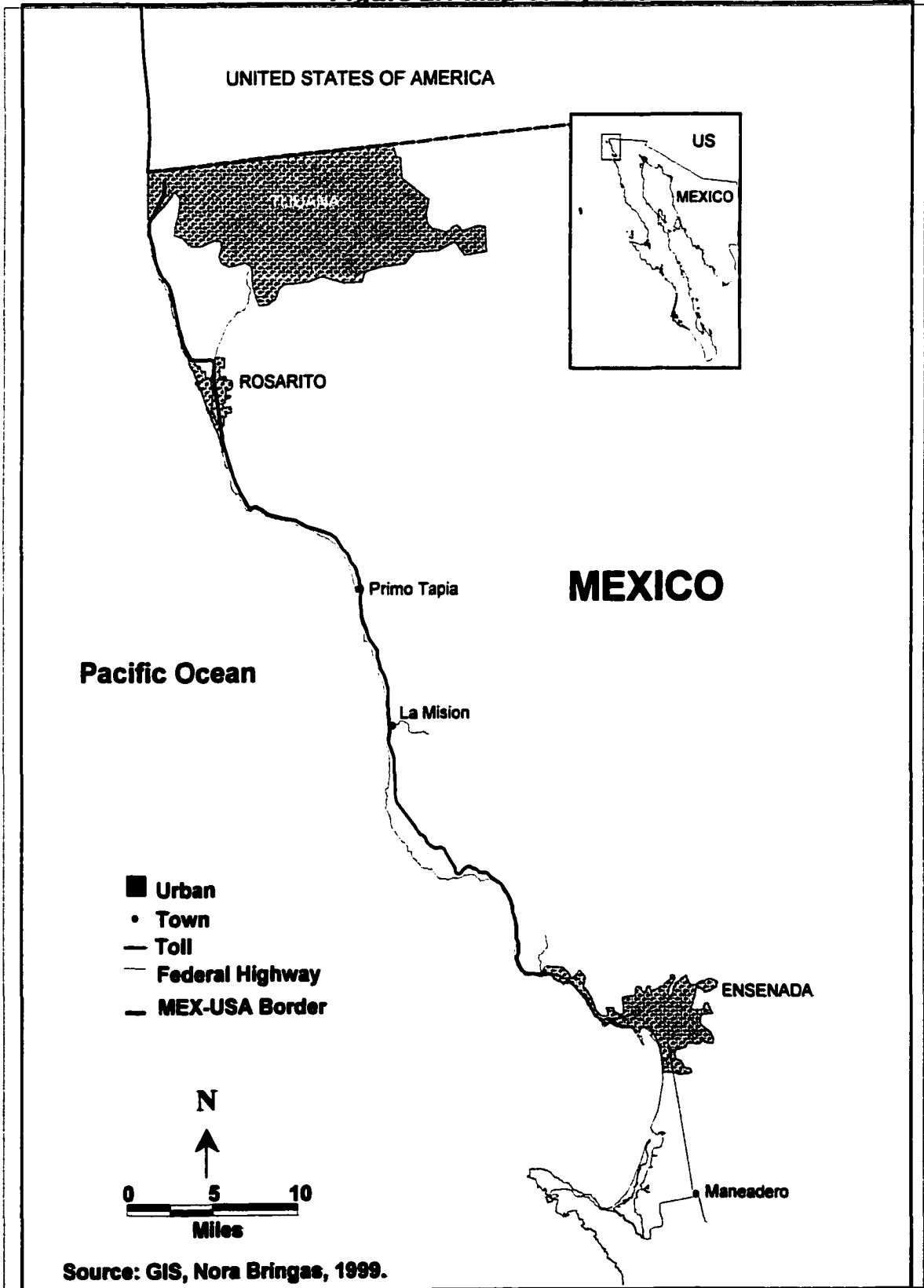
This chapter has shown the more ample context of the Tijuana's communities as the scenario in which home working is being developed both as strategy of work and life. Although this is not a new type of work, it seems there is a revival of this type of work which can be explained by the interaction of different factors. Thus, home based work is a social response to the impacts of economic change in the local labor market and urban development.

As a shared socio-spatial and economic experience by urban dwellers, particularly in popular neighborhoods, home working fulfills economic and social functions. On the one hand, it is a response to the economic crisis and unemployment. In this context, by working at home, women and men are creating their own sources of income generation.

On the other hand, it is also a response to policies of urban development which continue to promote the segregation of the communities from the commercial and productive areas of the city. However, these urban forms find a resistance on the part of the city dwellers, by using the domestic space as workplace, creating a community economy that

offers to the inhabitants of popular colonies a diversity of goods and services many times restricted to them not only because the location and topography of their barrios, but because they are lower priced than in the market. Although in some way, home based work has been part of the culture of work in the city of Tijuana, the contemporary ways of this type of work are also redefining the social life of the communities, by creating and promoting new forms of social organization through the development of their productive activities at home. But most important, this type of work is redefining the social organization and ecology of the family-household, as the following chapters will show.

Figure 2.1 Map of Tijuana



CHAPTER FOUR

Women Home Workers' Time-space Household Arrangements

Introduction

The general goal of this work is to show the articulation between production and reproduction at the scale of the household, emphasizing the spatial dimension of this relationship. The main premise of this dissertation is that production and reproduction are articulated by means of the socio-spatial conflict and the time-space strategies women work out to deal with both rounds: home and work. The aim of this chapter is to show how the definition of women's uses of home space and time is actively involved in such a relationship.

The chapter documents contemporary forms of home based work, and examines the time-space household arrangements women practice in the course of creating the home as a workplace. Although the material and social levels of the spatial dimension of homework are dialectically related, due to methodological purposes this chapter focuses the material and physical aspects of women's time-space arrangements to accommodate paid work at home. Thus, the leading question of the chapter is how do women manage to accommodate paid work in the micro geography of the home? This chapter is based on information from in-depth interviews and nonparticipant observation with women home workers in Tijuana.

Visions of work

Conceptions of work are usually related to formal employment. This emphasis that ignores

the household as economic location has led to the concealment or under valuation of women's work. It is concealed because female's work outside and inside the home is always mirrored in male employment. In addition, dimensions of time and space served to obscure the view of women as workers. Social perceptions of women's homework are based on the home/work relation. However, because concepts of work are shifting due to productive restructuring, the meaning of work needs redefinition.

In Anglo literature home work is easily identified with remunerated activities taking place at home. For instance, García Ramón, et.al (1995) defines industrial home work as productive, wage work which takes place at the worker's home. However, in Latin American studies about family and work, home based work is understood as domestic work, or if understood as remunerated work, it is defined by scholars as subcontracting.

Oberhauser (1993) defines homework " . . . as the production of goods or services in the worker's household for monetary or barter exchange." These are self-employment and small businesses established at women's homes. These are activities of commerce and services such as foodstuffs production, handcrafting, marketing of groceries, catalog marketing (tupperware, cosmetics, clothes), child care, hairstyling, sewing; and professional services such as dentistry and cosmetology (see table 4.1).

I would add that these types of activities can be carried out at the employer or employee's home, and they work on flexible schedules, and produce non-regular income. In addition, this can be informal or formal work, it does mean that the business sometimes is taxed and workers may have regular salaries and labor benefits.

This type of employment is heterogeneous in terms of kinds of activities, material

resources, as well as women's motivations and experiences according to their labor conditions, and individual and family situations. What distinguishes this type of work is that it takes place in households using the home's space and resources, and women's time. Thus, the uniqueness of these activities is based on their location.

Home based work is commonly judged as informal due to the fact that such businesses do not pay taxes. However, it is a problem to equate self-employment with informality because such is not always the case, for example, some home workers in this study paid taxes.

Table 4.1 **Types of Home-based work**

	Services	Production of Goods
Formal and Informal	Hair styling Dentistry Cosmetology Childcare Community services Grocery store Sewing Accounting Tarot reader Restaurant	Baking foods (cakes, snacks, traditional foodstuff) Packing and marketing second hand products Marketing medicine, clothes, etc. Handcrafting

Source: Oberhauser, 1993, figure 2, p.17.

The participants and their characteristics

Fifteen women generously contributed to this study by let me in their homes and lives. The details of their everyday social practices revealed the connections between work and family, reflecting situations of integration and solidarity, but sometimes resulting in conflict and contradiction.

I interviewed 15 women home workers of diverse occupations both formal and informal: dentistry, hair styling, food stuff production, among others (see table 4.1). While nine of the women had previous work experience and six of them were working at home in similar occupations to the ones they had before. The rest of them were housekeepers before working at home. Three women had been home workers for more than 10 years, sometimes intermittently. The rest of the participants had worked at home between one and five years. It is interesting to note that three of the recent migrants has been working at home in their cities of origin. In general, the work trajectories of the respondents enabled comparison and the analysis of the ins and outs of home working across the life course. Regarding residence, in the context of a city that attracts high migration, it is no surprise that with one exception all women were born in the southern states of Mexico. While seven of the home workers had lived in the city for more than 10 years, seven of them had between two and five years of residence.

I selected the participants primarily on the basis of their age, marital status and motherhood. While participants were contacted by a snowball sample technique, my sample proved more diverse than I anticipated. Because most studies on the topic are dedicated to middle class, middle-aged women married with children, in pursuing diversity this study also included working class women.

Women ranged from 33 to 67 years old. In terms of their civil status, most women were married, two of them were living in cohabitation, three were separated from their husbands and two women were widows, one of them living at the home of one of her daughters and her family. The other widow, although living in an extended arrangement

with her daughters and their families, was head of household. Four women out of 15 were in this position, and the rest of the families were nuclear and headed by men. In nine families there was at least one child under eighteen residing at home.

The study considered respondents of different social classes. I define as middle class to those women non-manual workers and with educational attainment higher than high school¹. In terms of schooling, while professional women had college degrees and a couple of them also had a graduate degree; most working class women only went to elementary school or high school. Additional criteria to determine class position was the residential location.

All respondents lived in the city of Tijuana at the time of the interview. Working class women mostly lived in small houses, sometimes made of second hand materials, in peripheral and densely populated urban neighborhoods. Some of these vicinities lacked public services such as paved streets, sewers, water piped into the house, etc. Conversely, middle class women lived in single houses in well developed urbanized neighborhoods which were provided by all public services.

In the case of married women, their husbands shared similar occupations. Middle class women's husbands were engineers, administrators, or other professionals with a college education. The working class women's husbands were primarily employed as

¹ However, my qualitative sample included some exceptions which are due to the nature of home based work. Sometimes, income levels are higher in this type of work than in formal employment and are reflected in workers' living condition. So, we have for example, a seamstress that has only basic education, however, she lived in a residential sector with a high grade of urbanization in Tijuana.

skilled craftsmen and unskilled laborers.

Women's Businesses Profile

In general, features of small businesses are related to their regulated or unregulated character. Those which are regulated pay taxes, hire employees with labor benefits, and also engage formal accounting procedures. Conversely, non-regulated businesses do not pay taxes, they use family labor, and do not have formal accounting.

Most of the businesses of the interviewees were unregulated, particularly in the cases of poor women. The money they earned was simply to replace inputs and to provide some income for their households. Some middle class women registered their businesses. It depended on the size of the business (whether or not they had wage workers), and sometimes because they were afraid of having troubles with tax collectors. Although most of the businesses of the women I interviewed were not taxed, they used alternative mechanisms of legitimation such as belonging to professional organizations. For example, in their workplaces they displayed certificates which credited them as members of any occupational association.

In respect to financial resources, most women invested their savings in establishing their businesses. Few of them had the opportunity to secure a bank loan. In those cases it was because they had the support of a major company. In other cases, women got credit from companies where they bought raw materials. This was the case, for example, of a woman who distributed pharmaceutical products.

**Table 4.2 Socio-demographic Characteristics of Women
Home Based Workers**

Name	Age	Marital status	Number of children	Schooling	Occupation
Elodia	48	Consensual Union	5, three live with her	Elementary School	Foodstuffs Production
Rosa	43	Married	2	M.D.	Dentist
Elsa	33	Married	3	Bachelor 1 (One year)	Marketing Diapers
Laura	35	Married	3	M.D.	Cosmetology
Carmen	63	Separated	4, one lives with her	Elementary School	Hair styling
Tony	54	Married	3	Accounting	Marketing medicine
Mariana	42	Married	2	Elementary school/ Sewing	Sewing
Juanita	66	Separated	7, one lives with her	Elementary School	Childcare
Elisa	39	Married	3	Elementary School	Foodstuffs Production
Sagrario	44	Married	2	Preschooler teacher/ Psychology	Tarot Reader/ Teacher
Teresa	63	Widow	6, she lives with a married daughter	Accounting	Handcrafts and Childcare
Lucía	36	Consensual Union	2	Bilingual Secretary	Handcrafts
Matilde	67	Widow	6, 2 married daughter live with her	Junior High School	Foodstuffs Production
Lucha	49	Separated	2	Junior High School	Restaurant
Delfina	51	Married	4, none lives with her	Elementary School	Grocery Store

Source: In-depth interviews carried out during February-September 1996.

In general, all the respondents used home space and resources such as domestic appliances, the telephone, the car, etc. The use of domestic appliances was particularly the case of poor women who did not have money to invest in their activities. It depended on the type of activity and the financial resources they could count on. Such was the case of the professionals who had adequate, and I should say sophisticated equipment, i.e. the dentist and the cosmetologist. Conversely, poor women had to use domestic resources such as furniture for their work. Of course, some home based activities such as child care and foodstuff production did not require special or additional equipment. In the case of registered businesses, they charged phone and gas bills to the business, otherwise bills were paid from the domestic budget.

Home based work is usually portrayed as an activity that uses unpaid family labor. Among the respondents, in more than the 50% of the cases children and husband participated in the activity with no compensation. Only one woman hired two of her relatives to work with her. Women's income was variable and unstable in most cases. Monthly income ranged from 200 pesos (26 dollars) to 6,000 pesos (800.00 dollars). The amount of money women got from their home based work depended of the type of activity, social class, type of customers, quality of the service and the time they dedicated to paid work. Women had diverse qualifications and training depending on their social class. Working class women had only elementary education, which is why they carried out 'domestic occupations' such as cooking foodstuffs or child care which are learned within the family. On the other hand, middle class women had high school and even professional studies. While, sometimes they did not have qualification to do some type of

Table 4.3 Characteristics of Women's Businesses

Name	Business Location at home	Investment	Equipment	Accounting	Training	Paid/ Unpaid workers	Monthly Income*	Legal Regulation
Elodia	Kitchen	Savings	Kitchen appliances	Informal	Informal	No	1,200	
Rosa	Annex	Savings	Adequate	Formal	Formal	No	2,000	Yes
Elsa	Living room/ rear yard	Loan	Home equipment	Formal	Informal	2 unpaid/ 2 paid workers	800	Yes
Laura	Annex	Loan	Adequate	Balance book	Formal	No	2000	No
Carmen	Dining table	Savings	Home equipment	Informal	Formal	No	300	No
Tony	Annex	Savings, Loan	Home/ office equipment	Formal	Formal	2 paid workers	2500	Yes
Mariana	T. V. room	Savings	Sewing machine	Informal	Formal	No	6,000	No

Table 4.3 continues. . .

Sagrario	Dining table	-----	Home equipment	Informal	Informal	No	700	No
Teresa	Dining table	Savings	Home equipment	Informal	Informal	No	1000	No
Lucia	Living room/bedroom	Savings	Home equipment	Balance Book	Informal	One unpaid worker	1000	No
Matilde	Kitchen	Loan	Kitchen appliances	Informal	Informal	Three unpaid workers	4500	No
Lucha	Kitchen/dining room	Loan	Kitchen appliances	Informal	Informal	One unpaid worker	2400	No
Delfina	Annex	Savings	Adequate	Informal	Informal	One unpaid worker	2500	No

***Mexican pesos, in 1996 Mexican currency was seven pesos to one dollar.
Source: In-depth interviews carried out during February-September 1996.**

special work, their level of knowledge permitted them to learn or develop activities that they did not know how to perform in the past. Usually this kind of work has been seen as women's traditional activities. However, case studies show that women not only do child care and hair styling, but they also engage in professional occupations such as accounting and dentistry. Despite women's schooling level, particularly for those who did not have a profession, through home based work they learned and practiced new kinds of knowledge. For example, Elsa, a distributor of diapers, had to innovate a new way of packing diapers in order to do it quicker and more efficiently. She also learned how to manage a business although she had not prior experience of it.

Regulated small scale businesses usually hire an accountant. Conversely, non-regulated businesses do not pay taxes and do not have formal accounting procedures. Among my case studies, most women practiced rudimentary forms of accounting such as using an account notebook, or else did no accounting at all. Only two of them required accounting services.

Some women would like to make bigger their businesses, but they faced certain obstacles in pursuing this goal. For example, to Elsa, the lack of home space to store products was an impediment for her to develop her business. Then, she decided to close the business and relocate it outside home in a place with enough space to store her products and also to separate work from family issues. Among other frequent problems were the lack of financial resources to modify home space or to locate the business outside home, as well to invest in appliances and equipment.

Finally, women complained about not having adequate environmental conditions

such as light and/or enough space to work at home. While middle class women sometimes had the chance to rebuild their homes to locate their paid work, poor women confronted spatial restrictions to developing their home based activities.

Women's reasons for working at home.

According to the ENAMIN² when home workers were asked about the motives of their work location, most of them, women and men, said that it was because it was more comfortable. However, this option was higher among women (75.7%) than among men (63.6%). To men the second cause for home location was because they could not afford a locale for their businesses. In addition, 11.6% of them declared that home location was required to do their work.

The responses of the interviewed women are consistent with the above information. Besides flexible schedules, women reported as causes of home working the economic crisis, being independent, and inability to find a formal job because their advanced age.

Regarding the motives for the business's creation, data from the ENAMIN informs us that both women and men, reported the desire to be independent as the main cause for home working. Among the interviewees, middle class women declared being independent was one important reason to work at home, one of them stated:

I am the owner of my time, I have no boss, I am self-employed.³ Laura, 35-year-old cosmetologist, two children.

² Spanish Acronym for the National Survey Of Micro Enterprises.

³ "Soy propietaria de mi tiempo, no tengo jefe, soy autoempleada.."

In the survey, more men than women reported that they wanted to secure a higher income (4.6%). Among women a second reason given was to complement the family's income (37.8%). Interviewed women also assumed that their wages were complementary even when they constitute an important contribution to their families. Although women's responses reflect traditional gender division of labor, we can observe a contradiction between their discourse and social practices. Sometimes women's earnings constituted the main source of family income due to men's unemployment, but in order to preserve their husband's status of breadwinner, women continue to assume their economic contribution as complementary. The current economic situation in Mexico has forced many middle class and poor women into self-employment in order to contribute to the family's economy. While women's income is substantial for subsistence in working class families, in middle class households it helps to maintain consumption levels. However, even in middle class families, the woman's income may be the substitute of the man's, particularly when the man faces unemployment. We can see this situation in the following narrative:

I did not decide to work at home, it was my husband who told me about it because he was worried about losing his job. He wanted to establish a business, and he asked me to be in charge of it. This is how we started marketing and distributing pampers.⁴ Elsa, 33-year-old diapers' distributor, three children.

Interestingly enough, the interviewees frequently argued that they are working at home only for a while, although some of them have been working for years in such activity. This is the case of Mariana, who has been a seamstress for 28 years. In her

⁴ "Yo no decidí trabajar en casa, me lo pidió mi esposo porque temía perder su trabajo. El quería establecer un negocio y me pidió que me hiciera cargo de él. Así es como empecé a empacar y distribuir pañales."

family of origin, her income contributed to the education of her brothers and sisters. In her own family, she also cooperated to buy the family's home, furniture and to pay the tuition of one of her children.

Some women decide to work at home because they can set their own schedules according to family needs. To women with small children, unfixed schedules allow them to combine productive and reproductive activities. Older women prefer home working because they can not get a job in the market, can avoid formal responsibilities and easily remake their daily schedules.

At my age it is difficult to work in a beauty shop, it implies more responsibility. If you do not feel well, you have to tolerate any inconvenience. If one morning I feel sick I can not go to work, I feel I can not do formal schedules anymore. Conversely, if I work at home I do not have any problem because if I do not feel well, I can call my customer and make up the appointment⁵. Consuelo, 63-year old hair cutter, widow living with one child.

However, as we will see later on, home working can be problematic and women have to implement new time-space strategies to deal with it in daily life.

Home-based work and time-space arrangements

The spatial dimension of women's work has been addressed by feminist scholarship in geography. This approach highlights the gendered and changing nature of the relationship between production and reproduction as a part of a single process that varies in time and

⁵ "A mi edad es difícil trabajar en un salón de belleza, implica más responsabilidad. Si no te sientes bien tienes que tolerar cualquier inconveniencia. Si una mañana me siento enferma no puedo ir a trabajar, siento que ya no puedo hacer horarios normales. En cambio, si trabajo en casa no tengo ningún problema porque si no me siento bien, puedo llamar a mi cliente y hacer una nueva cita."

space (McDowell, 1989:59). The focus is on how household arrangements are worked out in time - space.

Feminist geographers argue that by working at home women are breaking the dichotomies private-public and productive-reproductive. Women are using and reusing their living spaces and home resources for paid work, readapting the domestic space and rescheduling reproductive - productive activities within the household (Hanson and Pratt, 1991; Christensen, 1993; Mackenzie, 1986; McDowell, op.cit.). From a spatial perspective, this approach focuses on social practices in everyday life and emphasizes gender relations at the level of the household, as well as a re-conceptualization of the domestic space.

How to approach time-space household arrangements?

The aim of this study is the understanding of the articulation of production and reproduction at the scale of the household. To uncover the spatial nature of this interlink, we need to understand how families accommodate work within the home space. The methodological strategy to better approach these experiences is examining how time and space are utilized in work and family life of the women's home workers.

Feminist geography concerned about women's lived experience focuses on every day life as the point of departure. The need of accounting for the viewpoint of social actors has been stated elsewhere (Smith, 1987; Katz, 19 ; Salmi, 1993, Horelli and Vepsa, 1993). This methodological perspective emphasizes observation of women's social practices in their living and working contexts, as well as privileges women's interpretations

about their everyday life experience over the researchers' interpretation.

In studying the links between home and work many scholars (Friberg, 1993; Pred, 1983 among others) have based their research on the time-geography methodology⁶. This perspective describes the paths taken by individuals to fulfill their everyday tasks or projects. Although there are some criticisms to this methodology,⁷ it allows one to examine the constraints that time and space place on social actors and how gender relations, among other things, structure their time-space patterns. As a means for revealing the everyday patriarchy, this methodology has been used to trace times and movements between the home and the street (workplace, school, supermarket, etc.) but not within these spaces.

Although time-geography is an amenable option to the study of home working, I think that a better way of methodologically approaching home-based work comes from the study of Betty Beach (1989). She conducted research with home workers in rural Maine, and from her fieldwork she derived some indicators to approach work-home in time-space. In exploring the details of the daily life she arrived at space and time indicators such as work-space and public contact space which indicate the readiness of clients and family members to access workplaces. Indicators of use of time were determined by the nature of the occupation (task-oriented, time-oriented), and the temporality of the activities, multiplicity (multiple activities carried out at the same time) and unicity (a single

⁶ This is a perspective of the tempo-spatial structuring of social life developed by Swedish geographer Torsten Hagerstrand.

⁷ See Gillian Rose (1993) and Friberg (1993), among others.

activity at once).

For this study I considered work space categories (separate and combined) as indicators of use of space. I also took into account the home places most used by women as workplaces. In terms of time, I define different types of schedules depending on the family needs or clients' needs, as well task-oriented, time-oriented activities depending on the nature of the occupation. Finally, I considered the temporality of the occupations defining three categories: simultaneity of activities (two or more activities carried out at the same time), and a single activity (carried out at once).

Beach begins from the concept of (home-work) integration as a topic of research that has been ignored by scholars. It is perhaps that scholars take it for granted when assuming home working flexibility and advantage. Thus, Beach emphasizes the importance of focusing on home-work integration because it gives the opportunity to study the processes of production and reproduction as a whole. So also does the study of home-work conflict. Thus, what I am proposing in this work is that we have to study production and reproduction without assuming integration as the dominant manner in which both processes are articulated. In any case we have to define the concept of integration in the context of the experience of home working. Is it physical integration of activities? Whose activities? what type of activities? In what cases is integration not possible?

As with Beach, my study stresses the importance of researching production and reproduction at once. Unlike Beach, my research departs not only from integration but also and very importantly, from the study of conflict, to show how production and reproduction are interlinked within the home. I had no prior categories to analyze the

conflict. However, the same patterns of location and similar time patterns that Beach found in her search for indicators of integration, resulted in my fieldwork. Subsequently, I discovered situations of conflict as well as integration, and in some cases both of them present in the same household⁸. Thus, because this study is fundamentally empirical and supports diversity, to present a full picture of home working in Tijuana, I consider both (home-work) conflict and integration within the household as aspects of my analysis. While Beach's analysis is based on gender differences, and because this study includes only women, intra gender differences (age, number of children, schooling and occupation) are considered in the interpretation of the results.

In my own work it has been difficult to trace patterns of integration and conflict. Each involves an array of diversity, even in the same family. But this diversity is precisely what allow us to show the articulation between production and reproduction as a process in constant challenge.

Where in the house were women working?

Women home workers look for alternative ways of organizing their paid activities in the micro geography of their homes. They are creating new uses of space, e.g. using bedrooms and kitchens temporarily as work spaces, and remodeling yards, laundry and T.V. rooms, and building extra rooms to carry out paid work (Mackenzie, 1991:89; Christensen, 1993).

This section focuses on the patterns of use of home space as a workplace, as well

⁸ Latin American research on household strategies has documented both solidarity and conflict as features of households (Gonzalez de la Rocha, 1986).

as time patterns of home working women as indicators of situations in which there is either integration or conflict, and which will be further analyzed in the following chapter. As I already stated due to heuristic purposes this chapter just refers to the physical aspect of the time-space strategies, socio-spatial aspects will be analyzed in chapter 5. The information for this chapter comes from semi-structured interviews with women home workers carried out in Tijuana as well from fieldwork observations. In analyzing the information I compare my own findings with results of similar studies.

Patterns of location of paid work within the home

Physical space is strongly linked to functions, standard dwellings are designed to fulfill specific family functions and roles. Material space organizes adaptation, and the specific location of paid work at home expresses and influences family interaction, which in turn shapes the physical environment.

While in wage work (outside home) different events take place in different rooms, in home work there is no definite association between rooms and tasks because tasks occur in small intervals (Friberg, 1965). Physical siting of work at home might involve the use of separated areas, or the combined use of home space, sometimes through means of temporary or permanent adaptations. The range of options depends on available space, the type of occupations women develop at home and women's life course.

Space expresses the blurred distinction between production and reproduction within the household. Research on the topic has shown that women often engage in both types of activities at once in a single space (Mackenzie, 1986; Christensen, 1993). For example,

women sew at the same time that they do the family's laundry; or they interrupt packing products to tend to their children.

According to my interviews women transform home spaces in temporary working areas such as the kitchen where they produce foodstuff using domestic equipment and appliances like the oven. I call these spaces as shared space insofar they are utilized as they are arranged for domestic functions to carry out these and productive activities too.

According to table 4-4 women with home related occupations are more likely than women with professional occupations to use shared work/home space. My interviewees reported working in their kitchens, dining rooms, living rooms and bedrooms. Professional women tend to work in a separate area within the home, these places are transformed into working areas by the installation of equipment and furniture.

Table 4.4 Work space use by occupation

Work space category	Occupation	
	Home related	Professional
Combined work and home space	9	0
Separate work space	3	3

Source: Interviews carried out by the author in 1996

I found that some women with non-professional occupations also established their work space in separated locations within the home, or outside it (See table 4-4). In general, all these women are trying to establish separate careers, so they have a separate working space in order to avoid mutual interruptions between work and home. However,

the attempts of these women to build boundaries sometimes do not function as I will show in the following chapter. Some women rebuilt home spaces to be used as workplaces. These modifications are done for a specific activity and they have a permanent character. For instance, while the seamstress adapted the T.V. room as a workshop, the dentist rebuilt the laundry room to install her consulting room there:

When we moved to this home the only thing we did was to build a laundry room in the rear, in that way we leave this space free to establish the consulting room there. Rosa, dentist, two children

and a pampers' seller built a roof in the rear yard of her house to pack the product.

Some places are specifically built to shelter a workplace. For instance, the owner of a grocery store established the shop downstairs at her home:

Our grocery's store has always been separate from the home. At the very beginning, before we bought (a home), we paid rent, we use to live one block of the grocery store, we had a commercial location. When we built this home we decided to establish the shop downstairs. Delfina, grocery's store owner, 4 children.

Material modifications to permanently establish a separate workplace were sometimes just done with furniture. A women distributor of pharmaceutical products modified a part of the living room to install her office there through rearranging furniture and equipment:

⁹ "...cuando llegamos aquí a la casa lo único que hicimos, la inversión real fue que construimos allá atrás un cuarto de lavado para dejar éste libre para el consultorio."

¹⁰ "Al principio cuando compramos, pagabamos renta y este vivíamos a una cuadra de la tienda. Era otra casa, teníamos un local comercial aquí en la colonia Altamira. Si aquí si, ya cuando hicimos así, la tienda la hicimos la tienda abajo y la casa arriba."

I rented this home as a living place, my business came in because I use to have a very big workplace, a warehouse, and I did not needed that lot of space. (At home) I had some furniture in this space but we did not use it, then we moved that furniture (to separate the space) and leave it as . . . and stay (to work) here.¹¹
 Tony, 54-year-old medicine distributor, 4 children.

In the case of shared space areas, home were transformed into temporary working areas using furniture and home equipment; while the bedroom functioned as a fitting room for a seamstress, the kitchen was usually used to produce foodstuffs, the dinning room was established as a restaurant, meanwhile the whole home was utilized by a woman who worked tending children.

Some women temporarily adapted home space with furniture and equipment to function as workplaces during the day.

...my bedroom was a place to sleep and to be with my husband when he was there. It has nothing to do with the mornings when it (the bedroom) became in a consulting room, nothing because there were no things mine there, there was nothing but the bed. I arranged it in a way that it looked as workplace. I put my massage table, a mirror and some rugs to make the environment comfortable. I arranged it in a way that it did not look as a bedroom, It transformed physically . . . It was a disguised space.¹² Laura, 35-year-old cosmetologist, two children.

¹¹ ". . . no, eh en esta casa yo cuando la renté era para vivir, se vino a dar al negocio porque vuelvo a repetir de tener una bodega grande, un almacén grande, y sobre todo que este pedazo es suficiente para, me sobraba se puede decir. Tenía muebles, tenía la cantina hasta acá, me sobraba todo el montón, entonces lo que hicimos fue recorrer la cantina, dejarla como mostrador y quedarnos ya aquí."

¹² ". . . Mi recámara era un lugar para dormir y para estar con mi marido. No tenía nada que ver con ls mañanas cuando se transformaba en un consultorio, no había cosas mías ahí a excepción de la cama. Entonces me cabía mi mesa de masaje y la acondicioné de tal manera que no parecía una recámara, parecía no? . . . tenía una mesa de masaje, un espejo y tapetes para dar un ambiente agradable, se transformaba físicamente. Si claro, es que era solo la cama lo que estaba ahí, no había burós, no había nada, era el closet cerrado y era solamente la base de la cama . . . o sea . . . a veces disfrazado el espacio. . ."

Table 4.5 Work places by type of home space

Work space category		
Combined work space		Separated work space
Living room	4	Yard 1
Dinning room	4	Laundry room (modified) 1
Bedroom	2	Living room 1
Bathroom	2	T.V. room 1
Kitchen	4	Specially built space 1
Yard	3	
Whole home	2	

Note: Some women use more than one place to work within the home

Source: Interviews carried out by the author in 1996

The use of home space as workplace depends on the productive activity that women develop, but also on available space and the economic resources women have to physically modify home places. Working class women have less room to develop their home based activities. This is why frequently they use the same home place to carry out two or more activities. Many times women work in restricted spaces and inadequate environmental conditions, for instance they complain about not having enough light and space to work at home. Elodia, producer of tamales and bread, who lives with her five member family in a three-room dwelling made of second hand materials, has to work only during weekends in a very reduced kitchen because it is also used as a family meeting place. Conversely, middle class women sometimes have the opportunity to rebuild or adapt some home spaces to set permanently their productive activities there. For instance, these are the cases of Rosa and Laura. that I already mentioned.

To home working women with home related occupations that use home places for work and family, the advantage of being within the home space is that they can have direct

control about what is going on with the family, they are not worried about the intrusion of family members. An important difference between these group and the group of women with professional related occupations that use separate home places as working space, is that while women with home related occupations integrate children or other family members to their workplaces without conflict, professionals do not.

When do women work? Uncommon work schedules

Arrangements in home based workers households change in terms of space but also in terms of schedules. The chance to get detailed information about what happens within some home workers households allows one to examine the type of organization that occurs not only in space but also in time. In this way, we can see that work schedules within the home have nothing to do with the standard time of the outside workplace (Friberg, 1993, Salmi, 1993). Women's primary responsibility for domestic issues and the persistence of traditional gender relations within the household imposes the need of a different, even diverse way for women to organize work time.

Work-home separation implies not only a different use of space but also of time for women and men. Thus, time and space are two criteria which distinguish the nature of work between genders (Beach, 1989:39). The workplace established standard and routinized time schedules which replaced irregular, seasonal schedules, subject to personal or natural rhythms. Along with this change, there was a transformation from task orientation to a more disciplinary and modern orientation. This demarcation between work and family is gender related, while men's time is modern oriented, linked to the cycles of

nature and domestic responsibility, women's time has become task oriented (Friebert, 1993). In this respect, Beach (1989:40) writes:

"women's control over home work meant that it could be subordinated to other pressing needs and thus accommodated into the task rather than time orientation allowing women to fulfill properly their household responsibilities."

The flexible character of many of the time arrangements of home workers reflects such a nature, sometimes as an arrangement that by itself forms part of the domestic dynamic, sometimes as a response to the fixed schedules imposed by the formal workplace.

However, time arrangements are far more complicated because some professional women, for whom the advantage of working at home is to be close of children and family, are attracted by their careers and even while working at home try to separate work and family issues in time and space.

Within the home, time and space are related to socially established functions and norms, home places are reserved for different and specific uses, and to specific times. As stated, domestic time is different and by working at home women modify home space in such a way that one place fulfills different functions at the same time, but also in shifts.

Among the women home workers I interviewed in Tijuana the work day mostly consists on work shifts determined by tasks. The work journey was heterogeneous and ranges from a couple of hours a week up to 50 hours a week. I also found diverse work schedules, women worked on weekends, at night, in the morning, depending of their reproductive and productive activities (see table 4.6).

In general, all women try to take advantage of flexible schedules. However, while women with domestic related activities were more task oriented, women with professional

Table 4.6 Distribution of home workers by type of schedule and occupation

	Occupation		
		Professional	Non-professional
Flexible schedules			
School	1	1	0
Weekend	2	0	2
Fragmented	2	0	0
Slept shift	4	0	4
Fixed schedule	6	4	2

Source: Interviews carried out by the author in 1996.

Table 4.7 Home workers use of time by occupation

Occupation	Time orientation	
	Task oriented	Time oriented
Professional	0	4
Non-professional	9	2
Total	9	6

Source: Interviews carried out by the author in 1996.

activities were more time oriented and tried to set fixed schedules in order to separate work and home (see table 4.7). Because home location tends to devalue home based work, to these women fixed schedules was a way of offering a "professional service."

Flexibility of schedules is in some cases, an advantage of working at home. For instance, women can pace their own hours and combine productive and domestic responsibilities. Women may also feel liberated from fixed job schedules and thus may have more control over their lives (Salmi, 1993). It allows them to reschedule, increase or decrease work in order to accommodate particular family needs. For instance, women

frequently took advantage of mornings, when children were at school, to do their home work. Sometimes women home workers had to set work schedules according to the needs of their customers. An example of this practice is the case of a children dentist who worked only during the afternoons when children have time to attend the appointments.

In other cases, women work only on weekends. For instance, a woman producer of foodstuff used to work on weekends due to space restrictions in her home where the kitchen was also used as living room. By working on weekends when family schedule was relaxed she also avoided the conflict between cooking for her family and cooking the foodstuffs. Another woman who baked cakes, also worked on weekends because children birthday's parties usually took place on these days:

People usually ask me the cakes on weekends because parties are on weekend, but not always. A party in midweek is rare but sometimes it occurs. There is also a person that ask me (cakes) on Mondays morning. Then, on Sunday I go to the supermarket and I bake the cakes and decorate it at night or early in the morning, but this is only once a month¹³.

Many women worked by appointment due to the flexibility of this arrangement. For instance, if the client could not attend the appointment she/he called to postpone or cancel it. In this way, women could continue doing domestic chores, which would not be possible if they were working outside the home. This was the case of Consuelo, a hairdresser who said:

¹³ "A mi me encargan los pasteles para fines de semana, porque las fiestas son en fin de semana, pero no siempre es así. Es raro que sea entre semana, pero eso no indica que nunca haya entre semana. También tento una persona que me encarga para los lunes a las 8:00 am entonces yo el domingo voy al mandado y me pongo a hornear, y si puedo lo decoro en la noche o sino en la mañana, pero eso es cada mes."

Working at home is more comfortable. I set the schedule with my customers, they call to make appointments, in that way is easier to organize my work.¹⁴ **Consuelo, 63-year-old, divorced, 4 children**

In the rationale of working at home, age is also an important factor. To elderly women such as Consuelo and Doña Matilde, a foodstuffs producer also in her sixties, the chances of working out of the home were also restricted by their health conditions.

These time arrangements seemed to work well for some women, however, other women sometimes faced longer days and worked more intensively than if they were working outside the home. Their flexible schedules may result in longer work hours (Christensen:1993; Salmi:1993).

Although working at home supposes to be a flexible arrangement, some women try to work around fixed schedules. Among my case studies was Tony who distributed pharmaceutical products and had long lasting work days because although she attempted a fixed work schedule, her clients did not respect it and called her and came over to her home any time interrupting her family life.

Some women also used to do the sleep shift, they worked while their husband and children were sleeping. This was, for example, the case of Mariana, a seamstress who used to sew while the family rested, and Elsa, who packed pampers after her children had gone to bed.

Some studies depict homework as simultaneous to domestic work (Christensen, 1993; Oberhauser, 1993) however, in some of my case studies this did not occur because

¹⁴ "Trabajar en casa es más cómodo. Yo establezco mis horarios de trabajo con los clientes, ellos llaman para hacer una cita, en esa forma es más fácil organizar mi trabajo."

even when both activities were carried out in the domestic space, they were not taking place at the same time. This is the case of some productive activities which demand concentration so that women cannot do anything else at the same time. In this study, while most home related occupations accounted for simultaneity or multiplicity, professional activities required women's complete attention (See table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Home workers temporality of activities by occupation

Occupation	Temporality	
	Simultaneity	A single activity
Professional	0	5
Non-professional	10	0

Source: interviews carried out by the author in 1996

Thus, the temporal constraints of homework reflect differences according to the traditional or contemporary character of the activities. In this way, while (re)productive activities such as baking goods and childcare allow women to do other reproductive practices at the same time, this is not the case for professional activities such as dentistry. As a dentist I interviewed said, she cannot attend a patient while simultaneously cooking. The so-called simultaneity is only perceptible in domestic activities or in domestic related occupations. Doing reproductive and salaried work at the same time seems to be impossible due to the different kind and quality of attention required by some occupations, mainly non-domestic work (García Ramón, et.al, 1995).

The connections between Time and Space

In this study I analyze women's use of time and space separately, which I found helpful for heuristic purposes. However, I found some complex situations which demanded a crosscut analysis of space and time. Four different situations emerged as shown in diagram 4.1. In the first case, work is established in a separate place within the home. However, because the workplace is home located, it is possible to juggle between productive and reproductive activities. I argue that this situation occurs depending of the type of occupations women develop and the stage of their life course. These cases are often conflictive, and sometimes balance is pursued only after a new time-space arrangement is accomplished.

Diagram 4.1 Types of Time-Space Arrangements

Use of Space	Temporality
1. Separate space	Simultaneity of activities
2. Separate space	A single activity
3. Shared space	Simultaneity of activities
4. Shared space	A single activity

In the second case, paid work and domestic work are carried out in separate spaces and because the nature of paid work it is not possible to deal with both activities at the same time, unicity is required. As a matter of fact, women establish productive activities in a separate place within the home to avoid blurring them with domestic issues. However,

frequently these situations can end in conflict and a new strategy has to be developed if women want to continue working at home.

A third type of situation refers to shared space and simultaneous activities. In theory, this case reflects full integration by itself. Nevertheless, considering class differences, restrictions of space might cause some conflict. Presence of children and type of occupation must be taken into consideration.

A last situation accounts for shared space. Activities are carried out in the same home place but in different times. In other words, although physical integration of activities occurs, however, it does not imply simultaneity. Thus, productive and reproductive activities that women develop within the same home place, are integrated insofar they are carried out in the same space but in different times. Indeed, this strategy accounts for balance but demands an extended working day for women.

Conclusions

This chapter focuses on the contemporary modes of home based work and the time-space strategies women home workers implement to accommodate productive work at home. These types of activities, formal or informal, involve spatial restrictions as well as inadequate labor conditions such as long hours and low wages.

The new time-geography of these households is expressed in the installation of special equipment and machinery in the case of professional occupations or specific craftsmanship such as sewing. In general, women use regular home resources, particularly in home-related occupations (foodstuff production, bakery, etc.). Because of that, in these

cases the home geography has few or no modifications that all. In that sense, shared spaces, kitchens, living and dining rooms become places that bond work and home life together. Conversely, women in professional occupations tend to separate their work spaces from the rest of the home.

The ways in which home space is used as workplace is influenced by social class, women's occupation, life course and how long have they engaged in home working. Social class determines the access to resources, and very important to say, to available space. For instance, the heaviest domestic workloads are related to spatial constraints (Hanson and Pratt, 1995:149). That is the case of women that have reduced home space and no adequate installations to work at home. As we have seen, to avoid conflicts with family members they have to work on unusual schedules.

Life course is also an element that introduces differences in the use of home space as workplace. While those families with small children might have less room to accommodate work at home, women with married children have available space to be reused. To those women who have been working long a time at home, the workplace within the domestic space is part of everyday life. However, to those women who are newly engaged in home working, laborization of the home space creates conflict, even if that space is separated from the rest of the home.

This chapter has illustrated the ways in which women home workers are using and reproducing space in everyday life. By working at home women attempt to invent creative solutions to the problems of fixed schedules of formal employment, long journeys to work, low paid jobs, and economic crisis (Mackenzie, 1989; Dyck, 1989; Watson, 1991; Hanson

and Pratt, 1993; Friberg, 1993). However, because women continue to be responsible for most of the domestic work, home based productive work often creates tensions and conflicts. Negotiating the two rounds in the space of the home can be complicated and even oppressive for women.

The consideration of material aspects of the home is important insofar as it influences the strategies women implement to work at home. However beyond its physical elements the home is a social space. As Beach writes (1989:73), space is a crucial medium facilitating the interaction of work and family systems, but sometimes the way of organizing space may impair the working out of family dynamics. The following chapter will further analyze the socio-spatial dimension of women's time-space strategies having as conceptual framework the categories of socio-spatial integration and socio-spatial conflict.



Figure 1 Landscape of Cañón K, a popular neighborhood in Tijuana.

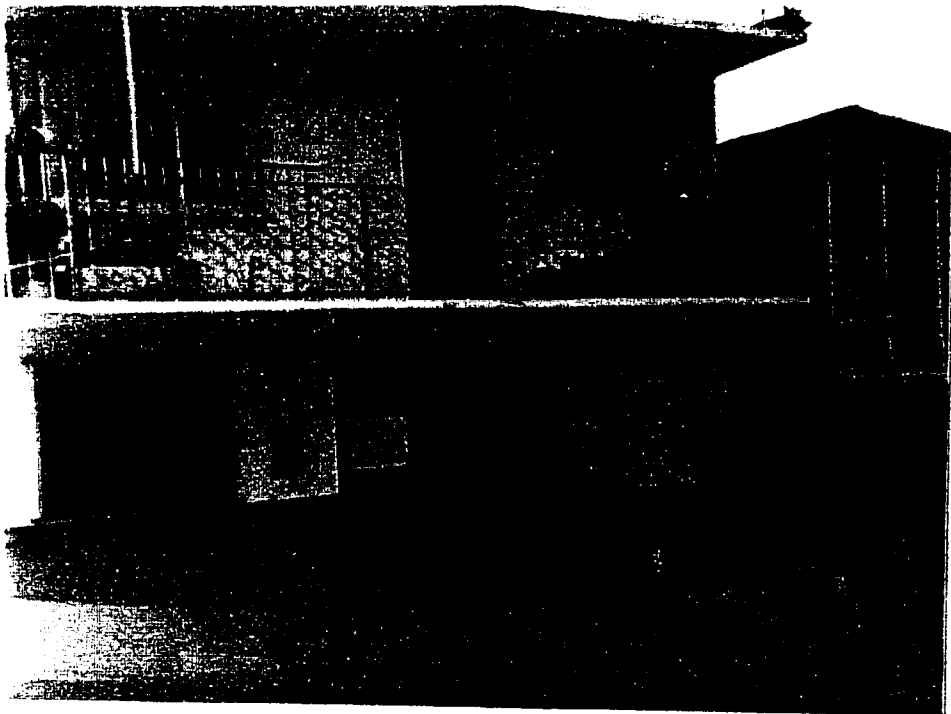


Figure 2 Doña Delfina's shop around the corner established downstairs her home.

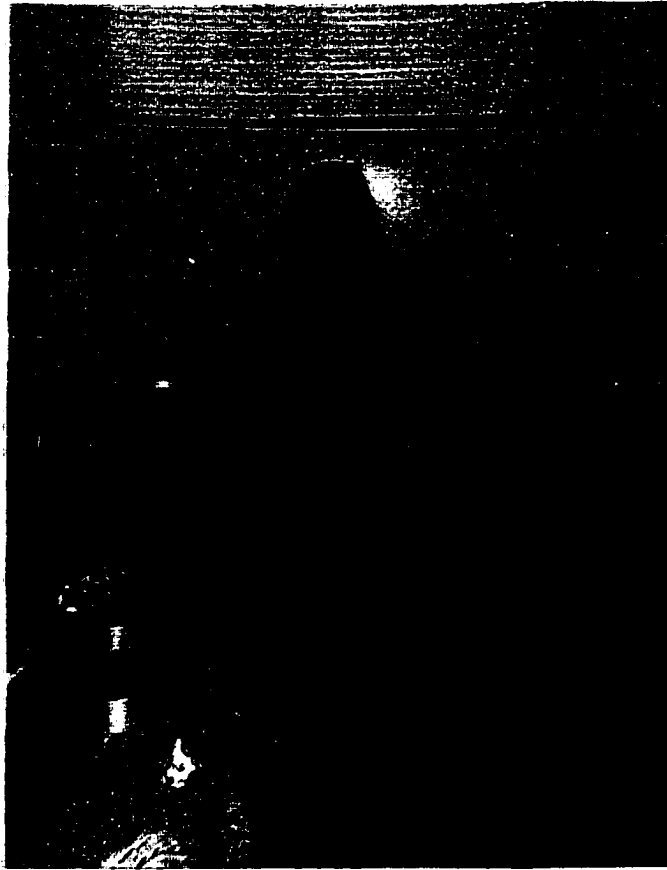


Figure 3 Elisa displaying the cakes she bakes at her kitchen.



Figure 4 The facade of Elisa's home in a popular neighborhood in Tijuana.

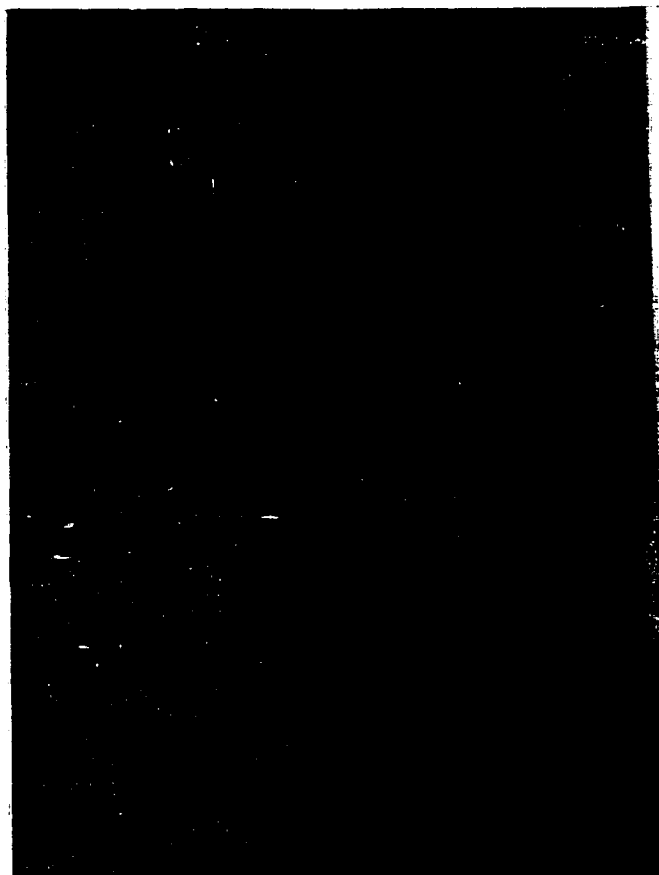


Figure 5 Doña Lucha working at her kitchen.

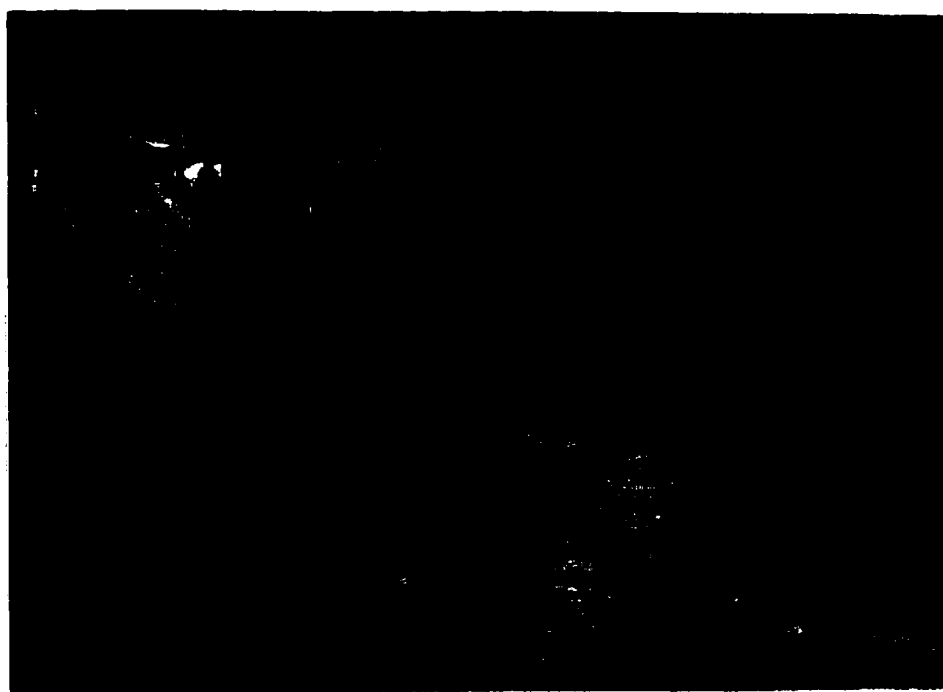


Figure 6 This is Doña Lucha's dining room transformed into restaurant.

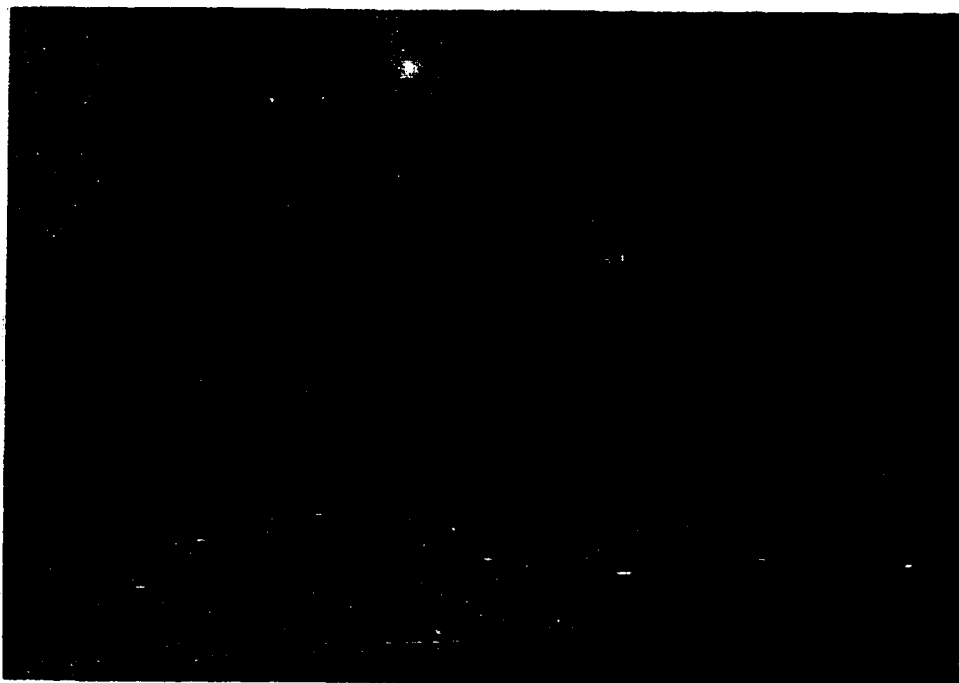


Figure 7 Sagrario and her daughters at the dining table which she used to read the Tarot.



Figure 8 Mariana at her workshop established in the T.V. room.

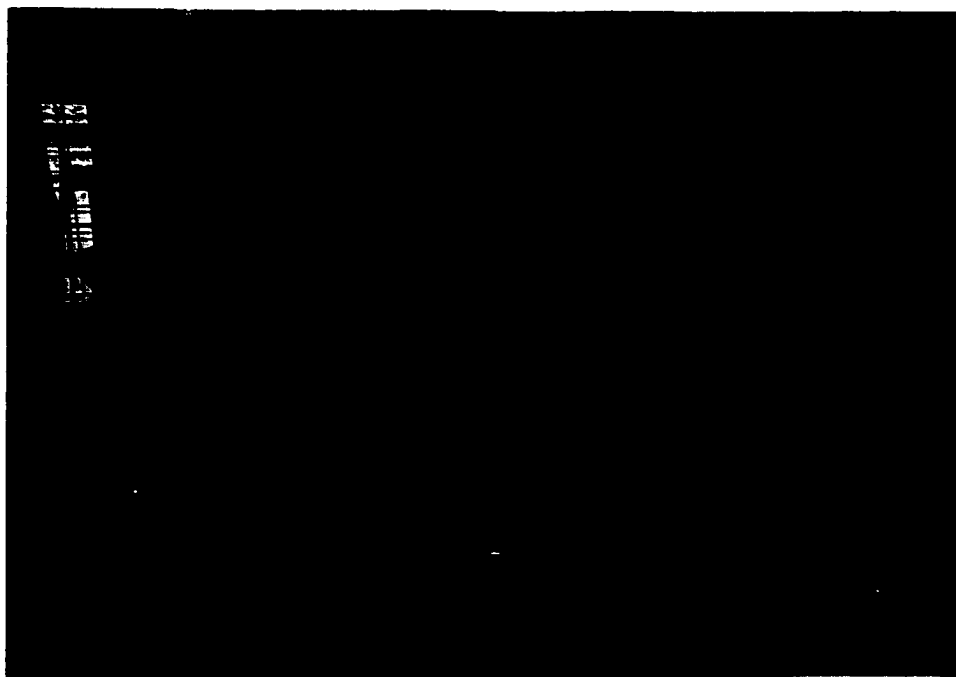


Figure 9 Teresa displaying the handcrafts she does while taking care of her granddaughter.

Photos by Silvia López-Estrada

CHAPTER FIVE

Home, a Sweet Workplace? Conflict, Integration and Accommodations in Home Workers' Families.

As a woman home worker, being tied at home may have consequences for the social ecology of the family life, and women's condition. Is home working an effective strategy for integrating work and family or does it create problems and tensions? This chapter addresses socio-spatial relations within the home, and emphasizes situations of home-work integration as well as the conflicts and contradictions that result of the time-space household arrangements women make in order to accommodate productive work into the home.

In the previous chapter I analyzed women's uses of the home as workplace, focusing the material aspects of space and emphasizing differences between women in terms of social class and the life course. Both elements resulted from my fieldwork as the most influential in women's ability to accommodate paid work in the home.

This chapter aims to show the socio-spatial details of the articulation between production and reproduction at the scale of the home. The chapter is based on 15 in depth interviews carried out with women in Tijuana. In order to present the results of this study, I used social types seeking to make sense of the diversity of women's experience, emphasizing situations of socio-conflict and socio-spatial integration and the particular strategies women practice in trying to balance home and work.

This study seeks to explain general trends of the interconnections between production and reproduction, as they are related to the gendered use of home space, focusing on class

and life course differences. However, because this investigation addresses a methodological perspective on the everyday life, the focus is in both individual differences and women's collective narratives.

Homeworking: Integration or Conflict?

The first chapter outlined the debate about the connections between production and reproduction, and particularly the ways in which the sociological and geographical literature have explained this articulation, which can be better understood through the study of homeworking.

In reference to the study of homeworking, some authors pose the question if this is a strategy of exploitation or conversely, an integrative strategy (Beach, 1989; Christensen, 1993; Salmi, 1993, Lindon, 1996). To authors like Beach integration between work and family is always desirable for those who work at home. However, integration as such is an ideal, and reality many times shows that the relationship between family and paid work can be very conflictive within the home. For example, Christensen (1993) in her study with women home workers in the United States, shows the spatial restrictions and social conflicts that these women face by working at home.

Do time-space arrangements account for integration or conflict? How does women's use of space as workplace affect family interaction? Do clients have free access to family space? Do family members have restrictions on entering work space? What are the consequences of these strategies?

Since the relationship between production and reproduction is constantly challenged

in time-space and in the context of specific gender relations, the question that if home work is a healthy strategy or an oppressive one remains. This is why we have to look to the particular experiences of social actors in specific historical and cultural contexts, as well as concrete types of home based work.

In pursuing this goal, I focus on disentangling the various ways in which production and reproduction are structured within the home. Thus, in order to explain how this relationship is expressed in its spatial dimension, I reconsider Velasco's argument about the conflict as the element that articulates the use and appropriation of space. I reformulate this argument in the sense that what articulates production and reproduction is the socio-spatial conflict, and I add as elements of articulation, strategies and accommodations that women practice trying to resolve such a conflict in both the physical and social levels.

Although in my argument socio-spatial conflict is a central topic, in general this study assumes diversity in the ways in which both paid work and reproductive work are articulated at the level of the household, Thus, I also consider situations of work-family integration. Considered as a whole by using a spatial perspective, conflict, strategies, integration, balance, unbalance, are seen as part of a process that is constantly challenged by women's interaction with their environments in the spheres of both production and reproduction.

The methodological strategy to approach the articulation between production and reproduction empirically within the home relies on examining women's working and living experience. Thus, we have to focus on how women perceive things in everyday life. This concept covers the totality of people's activities both at work and in the home. Studying the everyday life experiences of people reveals how they are organized by social relations, as

well as how women's daily action reproduces social structures and relations (Pred, 1982; Salmi, 1993).

As Beach (1989) argues, analysis of home work requires inclusion of both extrinsic (wage rates, piece work, work conditions and workday length) and intrinsic factors. That means including the voices of social actors. I analyzed extrinsic elements in previous chapters of this document. Women's social practices in every day and over the life course are addressed in this chapter.

In the light of this theoretical proposal, in what follows I will describe and analyze situations of integration and conflict that take place in families of women's home workers. In analyzing the intersection between work and home I use women's life stories and their responses to specific issues. This information was obtained by ethnographic fieldwork.

This research solely includes women home workers. Thus, when I talk about integration I do not mean role equality between women and their partners. Instead, I refer to the time-space integration of productive and reproductive activities, and in my case studies this is a strategy carried out solely by women home workers.

The families of these women are families in which a traditional division of labor is supposed to exist; while men are considered the main economic provider and work outside the home, women are in charge of the home and related domestic duties. However, at the same time, they do paid work at home. While some of the interviewees were housekeepers before engaging in homeworking, some other women used to work outside the home. In exception to the rule of nuclear families, this study also includes separated or widowed women home workers in the status of head of households.

In the previous chapter I showed the patterns of use of domestic space among the women home workers of this study. Considering the types of use of home space: a) Separate space, multiple activities; b) Separate space, a single activity; c) Shared space, multiple activities; d) Shared space, a single activity, in relationship to the social class, occupation and life course of the women we have the following patterns of home-work integration and home-work conflict:

1. - Middle class, professional or semi-professional women who are in the middle stage of the life course, when children need less attention. While some of them have more available space at home to locate their paid work, others have to combine both activities within the same space. Although this situation is not conflictive for family members, some of these women faced conflict in the past and reached integration after many years of working at home.

2. - Working class, nonprofessional women. Because these women have less space available at home, they intensively use the home space available. The home related nature of their occupations facilitates home-work integration. Frequently the same place within the home (kitchen, living room, bedroom) is used to develop reproductive and productive activities. A common strategy to avoid mutual interruptions between work and family is shifting schedules. Some of these women have developed high social interaction with neighbors and clients through their home-based work.

In general, class differences between these groups are related to available domestic space and resources. However, regardless the separated or combined location of productive work within the home, it is combined with reproductive activities without conflict. It is

important to mention that family members have ready access to work areas as well as clients do.

3. - Middle class, professional or semi-professional women who work at home while tending their small children. Because these women have more space available at home, they tend to separate their productive activities from domestic areas. However, the presence of small children involve many conflicts due to their work interruptions and demands for mothers' attention. Other times, there is a mutual conflict between family and work issues, and in some cases work overcomes family demands surpassing time-space strategies. In this situation women may quit their jobs in order to preserve the domestic realm. The types of strategies women pursue have to do with their domestic or work orientation. For example, a woman who gives priority to her family would quit the job, while a woman with a professional orientation will try to balance both rounds with strategies such as hiring domestic service and rescheduling activities.

4. - Working class, nonprofessional women. These women face a specific conflict related to the lack of space within their homes. Some of them work in precarious conditions, living in reduced dwellings and lacking proper domestic furniture. There is an intensive use of domestic space, and a juggle between production and reproduction is also intensive. Presence of small children complicate the situation. Some strategies to resolve the conflict include shifting schedules and avoiding the presence of clients in the workplace.

Considering that space may be a facilitator or an inhibitor of production and reproduction articulation, in what follows I will analyze specific situations of socio-spatial integration and socio-spatial conflict between home and work, as examples of the above

patterns. In order to make sense of the analysis I first present detailed stories of home-work integration in middle and working class women. Then, I introduce situations of home-work conflict for women of both social classes.

Socio-spatial Integration

In respect to home working, Beach (1989: 92) distinguishes two main features of this type of work which provide a strategy of integrating home and work. First, women have control over the work process, they can stop working to break routine, and there is a clear demarcation between work and home in time-space. Second, a reported feeling of family responsiveness is present. In addition, family members have ready access to work space and might become involved in home work, so work-family roles are blurred.

Situations of family and work socio-spatial integration assume that work space located within the home is accessible to family members, even if this is a specific area assigned to work. Besides, socio-spatial integration assumes simultaneity or multiplicity of activities (Salmi, 1993); this means that women may juggle between diverse productive and reproductive activities within the home space.

It is important to mention that while Beach found these patterns of integration in rural families, Salmi characterized Finland home-based artisans by the same features. These are very specific socioeconomic contexts and occupations. In the case of Tijuana, the diversity of its economy is reflected in women's occupations. I found situations of home-work integration in women home workers devoted to home-related activities such as sewing, cooking, selling groceries.

In these group of women, those which had available space established their work spaces in separate places within the home by rebuilding or refurnishing them. Conversely, women with lack of space, use the home resources: home space, furniture and other facilities to carry our their homeworking activities. In what follows I present the details of these two different situations of home-work integration in the lives and words of five women. While Mariana and Doña Matilde belong to middle class, Elisa, Doña Lucha and Doña Delfina are working class.

Establishing a sewing workshop in the T.V. room

Mariana is a 42 years old middle class seamstress who has worked at home for 29 years. She has contributed to both, the economy of her family of origin and the economy of her own family. She was born in the state of Michoacan and migrated to Tijuana with her family when she was a child. Mariana wanted to study but according to her own words, her father was a macho man who prevented his daughters from going to school. So, Mariana studied fashion design by mail and she started sewing at her home when she was a teenager.

Mariana got married to the owner of a small broom factory and they went to live to a small apartment. Mariana continued working at home but because the lack of space she installed the sewing machine in the kitchen.

Mariana, her husband and two children lived in a three-bedroom home that her husband and she built many years ago. In this home, Mariana established her workshop in the T.V. room, just next to the kitchen. A kitchen bar separated both rooms. The workshop had a door to the yard which is the only source of day light. There was a small closet and the

working table was installed next to the closet. There were fabrics, threads, magazines and materials spread on the table. The sewing machine was also on the table, and there was a chair and a table lamp.

... this is the room in which I work, it is supposed to be the T.V. room but we only have the T.V. which is in the living room, so we never used this room. This is my corner, I like it because there I can see all the movements of the home. Because of that I never worked in my bedroom, here I have good time¹ .

Although Mariana's workplace was some kind of separate space within the home, the location of this room allowed her to be in control of the home space and the activities of its members, as she said:

This room allows me to be in control of everything that is going on at home, what my husband and children are doing² .

The spatial organization of domestic and productive work allowed juggling between them. The home-related character of sewing facilitated home-working integration. While Mariana was sewing, she could cook and she also could check the washing machine which was installed in a closet in the kitchen.

Well, the laundry room is just right there, then I stop sewing and I load the washing machine, I do one thing and then the other. I also stop to check what I am

¹ "... es el cuarto en el que yo trabajo, se supone que es el cuarto de la televisión, que está en la sala, así que nunca usamos este cuarto. Este es mi rincón, me gusta porque ahí yo puedo ver todo el movimiento de la casa. Por eso nunca he trabajado en mi recámara, aquí estoy muy agusto."

² "Este cuarto me permite estar en control de todo lo que pasa en casa, de lo que están haciendo mi esposo y mis hijos."

cooking. This is why my work is not a routine. There I can do everything³.

To Mariana homeworking had also the advantage of allowing her to control her schedules:

...time is very accessible, I distribute my time, it allows me to break routine. Sometimes I am struggling with my work, it takes me more time than usual because I am tired and things start going wrong, then I stop working, the day after, I get started and so on⁴.

Other places of Mariana's home were also related to her job, in her bedroom she showed me some dresses she just finished for the madrinas of a fifteen year-old girl. Hanging in the wall with a plastic cover, the dresses were better kept in the bedroom because in the workshop they would be more exposed to dust. In addition, her customers used the bathroom as fitting room.

Mariana had worked as a seamstress for a long time to get family ends meet and also because she liked her work. However, she clearly had a family orientation and she controlled her work in order to avoid its interrupting her family life:

I do not let the work take control of me; I do not let the work absorb me. Because of that I always organize my work, I only take the work I can do . . . the work

³ "Bueno, la lavadora esta justo ahí, entonces yo dejo la costura yhago una cosa y luego la otra. También me paro para checar lo que estoy cocinando. Por eso no siento que mi trabajo sea una rutina, ahí yo puedo hacer todo."

⁴ "... el tiempo es muy accesible, yo distribuyo mi tiempo, me permite romper la rutina. A veces yo estoy batallando con mi trabajo, me toma más tiempo que de costumbre porque estoy cansada y las cosas empiezan a salirme mal, entonces dejo la costura, al día siguiente vuelvo a empezar y así".

I need to do because I need the money.⁵

Mariana felt under the control of her work, she worked on the premises and only for the people she knew. She did not like to take many jobs because she was conscious that it would interfere with her family life or vice versa, and also because she only made bridal gowns and to her, this was a very special work that required dedication.

I do not want to establish a formal business because this is a very demanding work. I am going to do it. One day, I would like to have a workshop, yes. But I know that I cannot, maybe when my children grow up.⁶

To Mariana, working at home let her be attentive to what was going on at home. In this way, being in control of both work and family, she could achieve balance.

Preparing food to go at the family kitchen

Doña Matilde cooks for the family at the same time that she cooks the meals that her clients will take out for dinner. Doña Matilde, her married daughters and their families established in Tijuana a couple of years ago. She was a middle class-educated woman who used to work as a secretary before marriage. She was domestically oriented, home and children were her priorities. However, she engaged in paid work in different stages of her life. A native of Veracruz city, she got married at 17 and moved with her husband

⁵ "Yo no dejo que el trabajo me controle, me absorba. Por eso yo siempre organizo mi trabajo, solo tomo el trabajo que puedo hacer... el trabajo que necesito hacer porque necesito el dinero."

⁶ "No quiero establecer un negocio formal porque este trabajo es muy demandante. Voy hacerlo un día, me gustaría tener un taller de costura, si. Pero se que ahora no puedo, quizá cuando mis hijos crezcan."

to Mexico city. When she was 24 and she had three children she started working at home cutting buttons and sewing glasses holders until she was 24. At this time her husband's salary was insufficient to support the family, so she decided to work at home because in this way she could take care of her small children.

Three years later, the family got back to Veracruz and because she was a good cook she decided to establish a small restaurant. However after many problems with her husband because he did not want his wife working outside home, she closed the business. She started producing foodstuffs at home in the family's kitchen.

Doña Matilde has been engaged in homeworking intermittently through her life and in the different cities in which she has lived. This is why at this time there is no conflict between her paid work at home and family duties. Her family accustomed not only to her paid activities at home but also to collaborating with her.

The reasons to engage in homeworking as well as the conditions in which she has developed this work have changed across time and space. When living in Mexico city, she was young and her children were small, she engage in subcontracting. Later on, the family was back in Veracruz and she established a small restaurant which she attended for four years. She continued working at home, despite the fact that her husband objected it. She narrates her experience as follows:

I attended the restaurant during four years but I had some health problems and my husband closed it. But I went home and I continued working there, in Veracruz people like gorditas, picadas, enchiladas, which I cooked on weekends, and daily meals during weekdays, just like I am doing here. After that when my children grew up, I was about 50 years old, they told me "do not work anymore mom," but there were some clients that liked my cooking and they were still buying my food." My children insisted "we do not want you working anymore, we are going to help

you, but I quit working just when my husband got sick, he suffered an accident and I started baking cakes from time to time.

My husband died two years ago and then we had to move to Tijuana because my 12 year-old granddaughter was sick and needed an operation. Then, we decided to come to Tijuana, we sold everything and here we started a new life. What did I do? I started working again, my daughters helped me, thus, we passed the word to friends and neighbors that I was cooking foodstuffs to take out . . .

In this case of home-work integration in time and space, socio-spatial conflict is eluded due to the organization of domestic and paid work at home among members of the family. Men did not participate in the kitchen but they helped Doña Matilde to deliver the meals in the neighborhood.

Most important, home-work integration was possible due to women of the family. Thus, in Doña Matilde's kitchen there was an intra gender organization. Doña Matilde organized the activities for the foodstuff production, and while she cooked, she delegated to her daughters activities like doing the shopping and cleaning the kitchen after she cooked.

⁷ "Yo atendí un restaurant durante 4 años pero tenía algunos problemas de salud y me esposo lo cerró. Pero me fui a la casa y continué trabajando ahí. En Veracruz a la gente le gustan las gorditas, picadas, enchiladas que yo cocinaba durante los fines de semana, y comidas corridas entre semana, tal como lo hago aquí. Después, cuando mis hijos crecieron, yo tenía como 50 años, ellos me dijeron "no trabajes más mamá," pero había algunos clientes a los que les gustaba mi comida y la seguían comprando. Mis hijos insistían "no trabajes más, nosotros te vamos a ayudar," pero yo dejé de trabajar cuando mi esposo se enfermó, tuvo un accidente y yo empecé a hacer pasteles de cuando en cuando.

Mi esposo murió hace dos años y entonces tuvimos que irnos a Tijuana porque mi nieta estaba enferma y necesitaba una operación. Decidimos irnos a Tijuana, vendimos todo y aquí empezamos una nueva vida. Que hice? Empecé a trabajar otra vez, mis hijas me ayudan, entonces pasamos la voy a los amigos y vecinos que yo estaba haciendo comida para llevar...."

In this case, domestic work and productive activity were thus, integrated in time and space, as well as work and family life were.

. . . I work all the day, I wake up at 5:30 in the morning, I prepare breakfast for two clients , then I prepare the meals of the day, for instance I cannot cook everything the same day, I have to prepare some things before. At 11:30 the meals are ready to deliver, I make some breakfast . . . and we also take breakfast. I also prepare the meals for us, I attend to my grandchildren, and they help me to deliver the meals, I do not go out.

The only problem was that Doña Matilde 's customers would like to eat at her home but to her this was not a good idea because she felt that it would interfere with her family life. Besides, she did not have appropriate furniture and equipment to do that.

I would like to attend my clients here but in an adequate place, because sometimes come the mechanics with their dirty cloths, they can destroy my furniture. I would like them to take their meals here but in a space in which I would put a table and there they can do wherever they would like to, but here it is not possible .

Important to notice, this case study shows the diversity of strategies that doña Matilde played across her life to work and get family ends meet, as well as the current strategies that she practices to structure her productive and reproductive activities. When doña Matilde was young she worked at home and tended their children at the same time,

⁸ "... yo trabajo todo el día, me levanto a las 5:30 en la mañana, preparo el desayuno para dos clientes, luego preparo la comida del día, por ejemplo no puedo cocinar todo el mismo día, tento que preparar alguna cosas antes. A las 11:30 la comida esta lista para entregar, hago algunos desayunos.... y nosotros también desayunamos. Yo también preparo la comida para nosotors, atiendo a mis nietos y ellos me ayudan a entregar las comidas, yo no salgo."

⁹ "Me gustaría atender a mis clientes aquí pero en un lugar adecuado, porque algunas veces vienen los mecánicos con su ropa sucia, ellos pueden destruir mis muebles. Me gustaría servirles la comida aquí pero en un espacio en el cual yo pudiera poner una mesa y ellos pudieran hacer lo que quisieran, pero aquí no es posible."

while at the present her grown up daughters collaborate with her paid work at home.

A shop around the corner

In popular colonies of Mexican cities as Tijuana, a common commercial establishment is a grocery store that supplies of foods, beverages and other products to neighborhoods.

Doña Delfina and her husband owned one of the four groceries stores established in their block.

A 51-year-old working class woman, Doña Delfina only completed primary school in her native town. When she was a fourteen years old she entered to work as a maid with a rich family. But she got tired of working to pay her father's debts, and then she decided to get married to get rid of that burden.

As many people in Tijuana, Doña Delfina, her husband and children migrated from her native town in the state of Jalisco. In Tijuana, her husband opened a butchery in a rented location where Delfina worked too. Later, they decided to sell groceries. At that time, Doña Delfina's children were small and it was difficult for her working in the shop and tending them at the same time:

It was heavy . . . I woke up at 5:00 in the morning to prepare breakfast before the children went to school, and between 5:00 and 11:00 I did all the domestic work, I had to prepare lunch, . . . to do all the work, to wash school clothing. So, when the children were back from school I served lunch to them and I went to work in the shop. They stayed alone from one to ten.¹⁰

¹⁰ "Era muy pesado, pues ...me levantaba como a las 5 de la mañana a preparar los desayunos para que se fueran a la escuela, y desde las 5 hasta las 11 de la mañana, era todo el quehacer, la comida la tenía que dejar preparada, ... hacer todo el quehacer, lo que es lavar y arreglar los uniformes y todos los detalles de la casa, y ya se iban los niños a la

Because Doña Delfina did not want the children being alone for long time during the day, she and her husband decide to build a house and a joint location for the store, as she explains:

And the reason I had to build the home upstairs and the shop downstairs, it was to keep children under sight.

However, to achieve that goal took them ten years and she had to work hard for it:

There was a time, when we built this home, that I had a fixed idea about having house of my own, because I want a shelter for my children, I want to have my house, their own house, my house. At that time I did not think very much about me but about them, . . . I worked at the shop from seven in the morning to ten at night, the whole day. At that time my daughter had grown up and she took care of her brothers, she cooked for them, serve the meals to them, she had clean clothing for them, and I just gave to her all types of recommendations: do this and that . . . In other words, my daughter was my strongest arm and I delegated to her all my responsibilities and I dedicated myself to work. My husband was on charge of buying construction materials and supervised the building of the house, but sometimes he came back drunk, very drunk, and I was disillusioned, because you see that you do not have your partner, that you are here enslaved, secluded,¹¹ and he, what is he doing? And you deceive yourself of not quitting your work.

escuela, para que ya cuando regresaran a medio día ya ...les daba de comer y luego ya me iba a trabajar. Y ya se quedaban ellos, todo lo que era desde la una hasta las 10 de la noche se quedaban ellos solitos."

¹¹ "Hubo un tiempo cuando adquirimos aquí esta casa, que para mi era así como una idea fija que yo me había propuesto, yo quiero tener mi casa porque quiero tenerles a mis hijos en que vivan, una casa que sea de ellos, una casa que sea mía. En ese tiempo no pensaba tanto en mi, sino que pensaba en los demás, pero este, y yo trabajaba desde las 7 de la mañana hasta las 10 de la noche en la tienda, todo el día. Ya para ese tiempo mi hija ya estaba grande, ya estabn grandes mis hijos, y ella se encargaba de sus hermanos, de darles comida, ella les preparaba la comida, que tengan ropia limpia, y darle todas las recomendaciones: que haces , haces lo otro. O sea ya tenía yo a mi hija que era mi brazo fuerte, a la que yo le relegue mi responsabilidad y yo me dediqué a trabajar, y mi esposo se venía para acá a comprar el material, a estar pendiente de que se progresara en la casa, pero a veces llegaba tomado, bien tomado, y esas desilusiones no? de que falta ver al compañero, que dices ay que darle, estar aquí esclavizada y metida y él como anda y desengañarte así, desilusionarte de no abandonar el trabajo."

Despite the fact that the shop was downstairs from her home and she could supervise her children from time to time, when I interviewed her Delfina thought that it was not good to work intensively, leaving her children alone during long time. She discussed the consequences of this situation for children:

I would have liked to, this is how I think now, I would have preferred to dedicate time to my children, the time that is for them, time to give them some knowledge, dedicate time only to them instead of letting them to grow up alone. Because when one works, one is always with the problems of the business, one becomes neurotic, even more with the problems of the husband, and the family absorbs all the discussions and conjugal problems, and children acquire this behavior.

You can teach them integrity, (otherwise) respect and love are lost, everything is lost. Because of that, it would have been better for me to be with my children, raising them, being with them, giving my support to them, raising a happy family. But it is impossible right? There is always something that children lack¹².

At the time of the fieldwork Doña Delfina was still working in the grocery store. Her husband and married daughter also worked there. They usually took shifts to work at the shop. Doña Delfina's husband worked from 7:00 to 11:00, her own schedule was from 11:00 a.m. to 16:00 p.m. while her daughter worked from 16:00 to 8:00 p.m. In her

¹² "Para mí a mí me hubiera gustado, este así a como lo razono ahora, hubiera preferido dedicarles el tiempo que es a mis hijos, el tiempo que es para ellos, el tiempo de darles conocimientos, dedicarles el tiempo a ellos, y no este haberlos dejado crecer solos. Eh porque cuando uno trabaja... este esta uno siempre, y con los problemas del negocio esta uno todo neurótico, con los problemas del esposo esta uno más todavía, y todas esas discusiones y todos esos problemas que uno entre pareja tiene, la familia los va absorbiendo, y ese comportamiento que tiene uno ellos lo van a agarrar. Esa integridad que uno les va dando, ellos la agarran para ellos, y pierden, este se pierde la comunicación, se pierde el respeto, el cariño, se pierde todo. Y por eso para mí hubiera sido más agradable tener a mis hijos, criarlos, estar con ellos, este darles mi apoyo, que creciera una familia feliz. Pero yo se que es imposible no? siempre va ha ver algo, algo que a los hijos les hace falta."

current situation Delfina also enjoyed more time for herself although sometimes she had to negotiate her work schedule with husband and daughter in order to participate in community issues, a work she liked very much to be involved in.

Once her four children got married, Doña Delfina lived only with her husband in the three bedroom home they built. Because of that, they had some empty rooms that were available for re use, for example, one bedroom was used for storage of merchandise because as Doña Delfina explained:

The storage is upstairs since four years ago because it is very dangerous, for instance, to have merchandise on display, it is a temptation for robbers, it is dangerous.

In addition, she used the other bedroom for reading, thinking and writing, to retreat and be with herself.

Doña Delfina's work story shows that homeworking is a process that changes across the life course. At the very beginning when her children were small Delfina faced some difficulties in combining her paid work at the grocery's store and domestic work. She had to face long journeys and be away from her children many hours. Establishing the store downstairs from her home in some way facilitated Doña Delfina's supervision of her children, even when she delegated the children's care to her older daughter.

As a mature women, Doña Delfina continued working at the shop, but she lived a very different situation. After many years, Delfina achieved a balance between work and

¹³ "El almacén esta acá arriba desde hace 4 años porque es muy peligroso, por ejemplo, tener tanta mercancía porque no está escondida sino que se ve y pues ponerles mucha tentación a los muchachos con eso, es peligroso."

home, having space and time of their own enabled Delfina to experience her roles as mother, grandmother, wife and neighbor with more freedom.

A Home Bakery

Elisa baked cakes for selling and cooked for her family in her kitchen. She also looked after her nieces during the afternoons when they got back from school. She had been engaged in the bakery for many years and her husband and children got used to it. So, she did not experience any conflict in using the kitchen as workplace.

A daughter of migrants from the Northern states of Mexico, Elisa was born in Tijuana. As a member of a big family, she only went to elementary school. Her father was baker and Elisa learned to bake cakes and bread from him. She and her sisters helped him in the bakery which was established at home:

Eh my father worked at home and he had a big oven and everything there, after that he rented a business and we started to help him more. Then, he got tired because he always had to work, day and night, to have bread available for the customers all the time. And he went back to work at home, but after that he died and the business ended¹⁴.

Before she got married, Elisa worked some time as secretary in the business of her godfather. After marriage she continued working until her first child was born. Then, she stayed at home taking care of children and domestic duties. Elisa's husband worked in a butchery and he lost an arm in a work accident. After this he got a job in a supermarket.

¹⁴ "Eh mi papá trabajaba en la casa y tenía un horno grande y todo ahí, después rentó un negocio y ya fue cuando nosotros le ayudamos más. Entonces él se cansó porque siempre tenía que trabajar de día y de noche para que hubiera todo el tiempo pan en el negocio, y volvió a la casa otra vez a hacer pan, pero después mi papá ya falleció y se acabó.

Elisa decided to engage in bakery when her sister, who also baked cakes, asked she to bake a cake because she could not do it. After that, Elisa knew that she was experienced in baking and because the economic circumstances of her family, she starting making cakes for neighbors and friends. In addition to baking, she also looked after the children of her sister-in-law when they were back from school. Elisa explained her daily routine:

I started like 6:00 or 6:30 in the morning, I cleaned up the living room, then the kitchen, the bathroom and my bedroom, and if I hurry at 11:00 a.m. I get done. Around twelve I start cooking dinner, this is, I go to pick the girls up at school, when I get back I cook because my son arrives around 1:30 from school, and then I do little things. My husband comes later, until 17:00. We almost never are (for dinner) at the same time. Sometimes I wash the dishes, sometimes I said no, I better wash them later, but then my husband comes to get dinner, and then comes supper time, but they rarely do because they get back home late¹⁵.

To Elisa, the organization of both activities, paid work and domestic tasks, is the key to avoid mutual interruption:

I organize my time. Sometimes my husband's relatives come to visit us and I organize myself to bake the cakes and also attend t them. At the very beginning it seemed difficult to me, but I learned to take advantage, when they arrive at home I have the cakes ready, just to be decorated, and then I can attend my family¹⁶.

¹⁵ "Hoy empecé como a las 6:00 ó 6:30 de la mañana, me puse a limpiar la sala, luego limpié la cocina, el baño, mi recámara; y si me apuro para las 11 ya terminé. Como a las doce empiezo a hacer la comida, o sea, me voy por las niñas a la escuela, regreso y me pongo a hacer la comida porque mi hijo ya llega como a la 1:30 de la escuela, y ya me pongo a hacer varias cositas, y ya mi esposo llega más tarde. Casi nunca estamos a la misma hora. Sí. A veces que si los deajo, le digo que mejor al rato los lavamos, pero ya come mi esposo y luego ya vienen la cena; aunque casi no cenan, nada mas Corn Flakes o pan, porque como salen muy tarde."

¹⁶ "No, porque yo me organizo con tiempo. A veces vienen de visita algunos familiares de mi marido, y yo me organizo para hacer los pasteles y atenderlos a ellos. ... es cuestión de organización. Al principio se me hacia dificil, pero le fui agarrando el modo como decia un anuncio "sacale ventaja", cuando ellos llegan ya tengo horneado el pan solo para decorarlo y entonces puedo atenderlos."

In organizing her productive work, Elisa set schedules, she started baking cakes before she cleaned the home:

Yes, regularly when I have to bake big cakes, I start baking early, like 7:00 or 8:00 in the morning I start baking¹⁷.

However, she prepared all the ingredients, made the mix and baked the cakes the night before, so she went to bed at eleven or twelve.

She usually washed dishes or did any other domestic tasks while the cakes were in the heat. Sometimes, to get advantage of time, she decorated the cake Friday night to have it ready for delivery the following morning. Elisa did not make home deliveries, she preferred that their clients picked the cakes up at her home:

I like people come to pick the cakes up because in that way I do not have to make deliveries. It is only when I make a big cake with a fountain in the top, then I go to the place of the party to install the cake. But I regularly bake cakes for children's parties, when the cakes are big or elaborated I ask to my sister to make them.¹⁸

Elisa has worked at home for 10 years and she has organized her daily life in such a way that work did not interfere with family life. Although sometimes she played among multiple tasks, both productive and reproductive, she has achieved home-work integration.

¹⁷ "Sí, por lo regular cuando...cuando yo tengo que hacer pasteles grandes, yo empiezo desde temprano a hornear; como a las 7 ó 8 empiezo a hornear."

¹⁸ "Me gusta que vengan a recogerlos para no tener yo el compromiso de entregarlos. Solamente que sea un pastel de varios pisos y con fuente, entonces voy al lugar de la fiesta para instalar el pastel. Pero por lo comun los pasteles que hago son de cumpleaños de niños. Cuando son muy grandes o elaborados se los paso a mi heramana."

A restaurant at home

A common home working occupation for aged women is foodstuff production. The kitchen is used to cook for the family and for clients, and sometimes the dining room becomes a restaurant like in the case of Doña Lucha.

Doña Lucha was a working class, separated woman who used to work in a fonda installed in her neighborhood. However, she was fired because her boss could not pay her salary anymore. Native of Tecuala, state of Nayarit, Doña Lucha only went to elementary school. She wanted to be a nurse but as her father opposed that she continue in the school. Her uncle convinced him to let Lucha go to Tijuana to work as Red Cross volunteer. In Tijuana she completed high school and also did a First Aid course. Then, she was engaged as a volunteer in a community hospital where she worked sometime before getting married. Doña Lucha had four children and because her husband, who worked as a trailer driver, very soon proved to be a man who could not fulfill his responsibilities as breadwinner, she had to work in the United States when their children were small. First, she worked as a maid and after as a waitress in a restaurant. Finally, when she got separated from her husband she decided to look for a job in Tijuana because she did not want the children being alone for long time. In Tijuana she also worked as maid, and as cook in small business. Doña Lucha engaged in homeworking because she was fired from her last job in a small fonda located in her neighborhood. Some of Doña Lucha's neighbors and clients convinced her up to open her own business at home and lent to her some money to do it.

I was working in a foodstuff stand and I was fired, then the clients . . . Most of them are from the neighborhood, they told me "Doña Lucha, why you do not prepare lunch for us just like in the fonda, you can do the same at your home." I

told them "I am going to think about it, I am going to take some rest because I have my home unattended. Then, one morning I told them I was ready, this week I will cook for you, and then I got started.¹⁹

I feel that I am relaxed because I am inside the home, right? People help me, collaborate with me and I can attend my daughter who is the most important thing for me.²⁰

Besides tending her daughter, by working in her kitchen, Doña Lucha carried out domestic chores when she did not have many clients to attend. So, her life went on between cooking and serving clients, washing dishes or family's clothing.

Yes, yes, the cleaning . . . if there are not many clients what can I do?I go to load the washing machine . . . but when there are more people I can, I have to be here, . . . in the kitchen . . .²¹

Although Doña Lucha worked more than before, to her, working at home was

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"Yo trabajaba en un puesto de tortas y pues que me había quedado sin trabajo, entonces como los mismos clientes, ...casi son de aquí de la colonia, ellos fueron los que me dijeron "oiga Lupita por qué no nos hace de comer usted si usted siempre nos ha hecho nos ha servido, pues que tiene que nos haga en lacasa y ya podemos estar igual, como estabamos yendo al puesto. Y entonces este les dije, ay pues voy voy a pensarlo un poco porque voy a descansar dos semanas para que haga mis labores de la casa, porque he tenido un poquito descuidada la casa. Bueno pues entonces ya llegué un día en la mañana y les dije a los muchachos ahora si ya estoy dispuesta, en esta semana ya les hago la comida, y así fue como yo empecé. "

²⁰ "Yo me siento que, que estoy tranquila porque estoy dentro de la casa, verdad? la misma gente me ayuda, colabora conmigo y todo y yo puedo hasta atender a mi hija, que es lo más, que es lo mas importante para mí . . ."

²¹ "Si, si y la limpieza y este pues como aquí uno verdad, que por ejemplo entre paréntesis vamos a decirlo así, que ya no hay clientes pero que hago?, como dice usted pues ya me salgo un poquito de lo que tengo y ya me voy, ay voy a poner esta lavadora de ropa, verdad, pero eso es cuando si veo que no hay mucha gente, pero cuando tengo mas gente no, no puedo o sea tengo que estar aquí pegada pendiente a la cocina porque es una orden porque es esto, porque . . ."

much better in comparison to her previous work. Despite the fact that she got a variable income, she felt it was safer because it depended on her.

I work more now but I think that I got more money although this business gets up and down. But it is better than having a salary, I have less economic pressure now. Thus, I feel more relaxed, I feel that I resolved here the problem I had before²².

To a mature woman that who might face difficulties in getting a job in the labor market, working at home has not only an economic advantage, because she spent most of her productive life working outside the home, this strategy is also a re appropriation, a recovering of the home as both living and working space. Besides, by being at home doña Lucha spent more time with her eleven-year daughter who sometimes helped her to attend the clients.

These five life stories of women of different social class but similar productive-reproductive organization within the home, reflect many of the features of situations of home - work integration portrayed in other studies in different social and cultural contexts. As found in Beach, Christensen and Salmi's studies, these women also freely decide their working hours and pace of work, and they can play between multiple activities. This is in fact, one of the most valuable advantages in working at home. Class distinctions are reflected in the availability of home space and resources. In particular, the lack of home

²² "Si trabajo más ahora, pero como le digo yo creo que si me rinde un poquito más económicamente, verdad, por decirlo así me sale más de lo que yo podría ganar ahí, porque ya ve que el negocio es así, a veces hay a veces no hay y así. Pero si le doy el rendimiento de que se puede salir sobresalir mejor que de tener un salario normal, yo le he visto eso sí, gracias a Dios que lo he visto aquí, que he sentido menos presión con mis compromisos, verdad, entonces este por esa parte sí he estado muy tranquila... me he sentido de que este, este el problema que yo tenía se me resolvió aquí."

space forced some women to make shifts between production and reproduction.

Home-work integration has been portrayed as a desirable situation in the literature, but considering the experience of home working as a process, as I will show in the next section, before achieving that ideal women home workers face the conflicts and contradictions of balancing the production-reproduction equation.

Socio-spatial Conflicts, Contradictions and Accommodations

Women combine several projects in daily life, when projects compete with one another about given space, in this case production and reproduction at home location, they have to make decisions privileging one project over other. These constitute critical situations in daily life, how do women deal with them? Dealing with different projects women homeworkers have to make a choice, sometimes benefitting home, other times privileging work. Activities that are taking place in the same space may create a conflict for women. For some of them it is difficult try to separate work and family in the home.

In her study, Christensen showed that women with small children face more difficulties in trying to balance home and work. But for some of them who pursue a professional career, this strategy is the option while they raise their children. To some others, home based work is a choice to avoid traveling between home and work (Christensen,1993; Salmi;1993).

Christensen shows that situations of socio-spatial conflict are characterized by mutual interruption of home and work, frontiers between both spheres frequently blur and women do not have much control over the work process. Even in those cases in which

women can have a separate work space within the home, sometimes their work orientation confronts family demands. The following stories present the conflicts that women of different social class and age experience face by working at home in the city of Tijuana.

A crossed conflict between work and home: together but separate

Conflict among family members for the use of home space as productive space is present even in families where the woman home worker established the workplace in a separate location within the home.

Rosa, native of Mexico city, was a 43-year-old dentist and mother of two children who worked at home. When she was younger she wanted to be an elementary school teacher but her parents encouraged her to enter the university and she decided to study dentistry. After finishing her studies she started teaching at the university and some time later she entered a graduate program.

After Rosa got married she continued her academic career at the university. At that time she lived in Mexico City and while working at the university as a program coordinator of Public Health, she first established the consulting room in a bedroom at her home. Her parents took care of her children while she attended her patients who were neighbors, friends, and co-workers. Because of economic circumstances, her husband went to work outside of Mexico city and at that time the income she obtained from the consulting room was very important for the family's economy.

In 1992 the whole family moved to Tijuana because Rosa's husband was offered a job there. Besides, they were tired of the Mexico City's contamination and way of life.

Rosa and her family live in a two-story house in a middle class neighborhood near the sea. Her husband bought the house because it had enough space for the consulting room there.

Although Rosa planned to prioritize her family for a 5-year period, she could not deny her professional aspirations and thus she decided to reopen the consulting room at home. Rosa would prefer to work outside home to better achieve her goals but because her children were small (nine and six years old), she remodeled the laundry room to install the consulting room in the house, in that way she could work and be close to the children.

But working at home in that condition benefitted family demands but not work demands. After some months of working at home as a dentist, she experienced conflict between her family and her work because she had more patients than she expected. Home working started to be intrusive on her family life and she said she felt she was losing control over it. Rosa narrates the situation:

When the number of clients increased, I did not look after my children. I am a dentist and children come to see me in the afternoons because during mornings they are at school. Then, I stopped supervising my children's homework, and they radically changed, they watched T.V. all the time. There was a woman that looked after them but there is no one like the mother, they only ate cereal and cookies, I really did not attend them.

In addition, her husband complained that she did not take good care of their children.

...for instance, my older son, I suddenly knew that there was an oratory contest and

²³ "... la consulta interfirió con el cuidado de los niños porque los tuve que descuidar, porque a veces me subía mucho la consulta por la tarde. Porque como soy odontopediatra pues los niños vienen en la tarde y definitivamente dejé de supervisar tareas, dejé de supervisar el baño de la tarde y mis hijos cambiaron radicalmente, se dedicaron a ver la televisión, porque hay una señora que los cuida pero como no hay la mamá, ellos prendían todo el día la televisión, comían el cereal, la galleta, verdad que sí se dió el descuido."

Alejandrino had to participate but it was like nine or ten at night and he told me: "mom, I have to write a discourse," but the child almost fell asleep on the table and he did not do it . . . and my husband got so angry about it because he said "how is it possible that you did not do it that school duty." Then, I think that my marriage it has been so nice, we have never had a big fight, . . . but that day I told to him: "you do not understand that I work." He does not understand that money is not free, because although I am there (in the consulting room) it is like if I were thousand of the kilometers away, because the work I do requires so much care, it involves children and has to be accurately done, I am handling conduct, pain . . . The, he told me "what we are going to do? Is that what we want? Moving to a luxurious home and have the children abandoned?"²⁴

In these cases the advantage of home working as flexible is not evident. Conflicts emerge in a much women do not fulfill their domestic roles, just as in the case of those women that work outside the home.

Then, after talking to her husband and discussing the situation with him, Rosa answered his complaints by attempting another strategy in order to pay more attention to her children at the same time that maintaining the consulting room. She said:

A mother cannot divide, then we said no, no and we analyzed the situation and I made a change in my policies, established new schedules and increased the fees, in that way I reduced the number of clients. Since then, I have time to see Ale, now I know his books and what he is doing for school. I did lose three months of the life of my kid and I did not like it because we (mothers) encourage them (kids) very

²⁴ "...por decirte un ejemplo mi hijo el grande....de repente me enteré que había un concurso de oratoria y que Alejandrino tenía que participar pero como a las 9 o 10 de la noche me dijo: ' mamá tengo que hacer un discurso' pero el niño casi se quedó dormido en la mesa y no lo hizo y perdió la oportunidady mi esposo se molestó mucho porque dijo que como era posible que 'no hayan hecho la tarea'. Entonces, yo creo que mi matrimonio jamás, ha sido bien bonito, nunca hemos tenido un pleito así feo jamás, siempre hemos sido muy de acuerdo pero ese día le dije: "es que no entiendes que trabajo". Es que no entiende que el dinero no es gratis, pero aunque este ahí es como si estuviera a mil kilómetros porque es de mucho cuidado el trabajo que yo hago, es con niños y es con mucha precisión, estoy manejando conducta, dolor, muchas cosas no? Entonces él me dijo: "bueno entonces que vamos hacer?" Los dos nos planteamos: "eso queremos? un montón de dinero, cambiarnos a una casa más elegante y los niños abandonados? "

much. I did a master degree but I know that the work a mother does at home is harder than any other, and we do not have a school for that kind of work.²⁵

Rosa and her husband discussed the situation, but she was the one that acted implementing new strategies to balance home and work.

In Rosa's case there was a clear crossed conflict, on the one hand, work was being intrusive and disturbed her family life. Besides, work prevented Rosa's performance of her roles as mother and wife. On the other hand, she also faced the opposite conflict: her children interrupting her work at the consulting room.

Look, first time that Andy broke up yelling and I wanted that the earth swallow up me. But what I did wisely, was too kindly quest to the patient to wait for me and to close his little mouth. I asked my child to calm down and said to him "come with me and you can make some drawings." I gave to him paper and colors, and explained to him "look that tooth, it hurts to the poor child." I let him know about the work I was doing, then he got happy and I made it. After that I talked to him and when I am working I try them to be in other place or with someone to help them out. Since three months ago they have become more mature, so I am more relaxed. Then, when they get into the consulting room and ask me something, I get back to them steady : "we want cookies," "so get the cookies." In that way I avoid the conflict but during the afternoon they eat and do whatever they want²⁶.

25 "Una madre no se puede partir, entonces dijimos no, no y lo analizamos los dos y de ahí fue cuando yo empecé, retomé mi cambio de política, establecí nuevos horarios e incrementé los precios y empecé a tener tiempo para Ale y todo, me fui dando cuenta de que estos libros ya no los conocía, no sabía que mi hijo estaba viendo esto, entonces me perdí así de mi hijo como tres meses y no me gusto porque es mucho lo que uno los impulsa, el trabajo de una mamá en la casa, yo que hice la maestría les digo que es más difícil ser mamá y no hay escuela para eso."

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"Mira al principio, la primera vez que rompió Andy dando de gritos quise que se abriera un hueco, meterme y morirme. Pero lo que hice sabiamente fue decirle al paciente que por favor me permitier un segundo, que cerrara su boquita. Le dije al niño que se calmara y le dije porque no te vienes aquí conmigo y te pones a dibujar. Le di un dibujo y colores, y mira que la muela, al niño le duele, que pobrecito como la tiene, y lo metí como al trabajo explicándole lo que estaba haciendo, y entonces se puso feliz y salí del paso. Y ya

Her patients got socialized to the idea that she had children and that they may interrupt her work, so the parents of her patients cooperated to look after Rosa's children:

If my my girlfriend is here and my child cries, my girlfriend hugs him and gives a sausage or an apple to him.²⁷

After some time, Rosa's children got accustomed to their mom's patients coming into the home, and learned to respect her work area:

I told them to respect the space, the older child respects it, he never comes in, if he needs something he knocks on the door and waits. I have problems with the little one. I told him "if you go to play with your brother and stay away from the consulting room I will give you ten pesos. He is so smart, he goes to play and gets some money. That is what a working mother can do, there are a thousand details to take care of."²⁸

According to Rosa, these situations became familiar to her, as these types of problems got quotidian, they got routinized and were not a problem any more. However, she thought that family interruption in work life was fundamental, at the very beginning

después hablé con él, y trato que cuando tengo yo consulta ellos estén en otro lado, o haya alguien que los auxilie. Hasta hace ya como unos tres meses que ya están más maduritos, y yo también ya estoy mucho más tranquila. Entonces ya de plano, cuando entran al consultorio y me preguntan algo, con la mayor tranquilidad se los contesto: queremos galleta, tomen las galletas. Y de esa manera se evita el conflicto, pero toda la tarde comen lo que quieren y hacen lo que quieren."

²⁷ "Si está ahí mi amiga y el niño llora, mi amiga lo alza y le da la salchicha, se la asa y le pica la manzana."

²⁸ "Si les digo que respeten el espacio, el grande lo respeta, jamás entra, si necesita algo toca la puerta y se espera. Con el que he batallado es con el pequeño. De hecho, a el a veces le digo si te vas con tu hermano a jugar canicas y no me molestas te doy 10 pesos. Y el otro que es muy listo, se va a jugar, y gana su dinero. Y eso es lo que puede hacer una mamá que trabaja, es que son mil detalles."

these interruptions made her to think about closing the consulting room.

Despite the strategies Rosa did to cope with the unbalance between home and work, the tension continued and she had to rearrange the situation once again, in order to balance the equation. The first time I meet her, she let me in by the front door of her home and the interview took place in the dining room. At that time, she told me that because of the tension that her double role was causing to her she was thinking of closing the consulting room.

At the very beginning I did not realize (the problem). This is until you live the experience right? I did not realize and I was so happy that many people were looking for me. But now that I am retaking it, I do not know if it is the life maturity, or my children are growing up or anything else. Yes, I am disliking not having an area of . . . because my children are growing and they need more space, we need an area to grow. I feel that the consulting room is taking my space and privacy. No I do not think that this consulting room is surviving by December. I have some plans, in this coming academic year, I guide myself by academic years, but this period the consulting room has to go and I have to get an adequate academic position, or to install the consulting room in other place. This was just an experience, and I do not think it will last.²⁹

Our following meeting took place in the consulting room. This time I was a

²⁹ "Si. No me siento agusto, y esto acaba de pasar. O sea, al principio no me di cuenta sinceramente. Es que es hasta que vives la experiencia verdad? Al principio no me di cuenta y me daba mucho gusto que me hablara mucha gente. Pero ahorita que lo estoy retomando, no se si es la propia madurez de la vida, o mis hijos están creciendo un poco más o algún detalle. Si, no me está gustando tener un área de porque mis hijos están creciendo y necesitan más espacio, necesitamos un área para crecer. Siento que el consultorio me esta quitando espacio y privacidad. No, yo creo que este pobre consultorio no sobrevive ni a diciembre. Ya tengo los planes ... en este año académico que viene porque yo me rijo por años académicos, pero este periodo tiene que salir el consultorio y yo me tengo que buscar en una posición académica adecuada, o en el consultorio pero en otro lado. Fue una experiencia nada más, no es algo para que perdure."

patient. When I arrived at her home, a maid who I had not seen before received me and asked me to wait in the front yard of the house where there was a small table and a couple of garden chairs which served as waiting room. After a while, Rosa met me. Dressed in a dentist robe with a childlike print she invited me to come into the consulting room through the service door. She really treated me as a patient but after a while she started asking me about my research. She told me that the interview had been very helpful to her because of it she realized the amount of work she did both in the home and in the consulting room. She hugged me and she said that she had talked to her husband about the interview and the things that she had learned from it. She told her husband that he and the children were exploiting her. At the same time that she laughed, she stated that "now, my husband hates you³⁰."

It was evident that after our first meeting she had second thoughts about closing the consulting room, and instead she hired a maid (who also works as an assistant) to clean the house and look after the children while she was working in the consulting room. Through this new arrangement, domestic work and child care were better organized and she could attend to her patients without being worried about her children. In addition, the new schedules and fees she established diminished the number of clients and she had more time to be with her children.

Rosa was able to implement this strategy because her husband supported her decision and also because she had money to hire a maid. In general, while middle class

³⁰ Within a perspective that promotes feminist methods of research, I found that the interview opened up possibilities for women's consciousness raising.

women may partially resolve the work - family conflict by hiring someone to help them with domestic chores, poor women delegate this work to daughters or increase their own work loads.

This case study shows that even when women home workers establish a separate workplace within the home, the socio-spatial conflict emerges, and sometimes persists, particularly when they have small children. Therefore, women have to develop new strategies in trying to deal with both, home and work. As Christensen argues (1993:65), for many women, home working represents the chance to satisfy the need to be a good mother and the need to be a career women.

A dispute for home space: Shared space, simultaneous activities

Additional conflicts come out because women have to share the home space with other family members creating a dispute over home places such as the bedroom, the living room and the kitchen. This is the case of Elsa, a 33-year-old mother of three children who packs and distributes shop-second pampers. Like many people in Tijuana she and her family are migrants. She was born in Campeche, in southern Mexico. In that city she studied until the first year of Law because she got married at 19. At that time she was also working as secretary. After she married, she went to live in Puebla with her husband and there she entered the university to study psychology but dropped the program when she was in the first year because she got pregnant. Elsa arrived in Tijuana in 1990 with her husband and three children because her husband, a salesman, was offered a job promotion. However, due to the economic crisis that affected the whole country in 1994, her husband was afraid

of being fired. Then, he decided to open the diapers' business and asked to her to be on charge of it. As a salesman, Elsa's husband knew some contacts that helped him to buy shop-second diapers from U. S. companies that discarded their defective products. At the very beginning Elsa did not want to work in the business because she was afraid of not doing it well. Her husband consulted other distributors that taught them how to replace or fix the pamper's adhesive tapes and how to quickly pack them.

Initially she packed the pampers in the living room of her home but as the demand for pampers increased they were all over the house, and it soon proved to be conflictive for her children and herself.

I was packing the pampers in the living room, but my home was messy all the time and my kids could not watch T.V. I also felt that I was losing my home. Then, we decided to build a roof in the yard to pack the diapers.

Elsa had to negotiate the use of the home space with her three children. To her, it was very important to maintain the home space and although they were at home, she and her children missed their home. Her husband did not experience the same feeling because he frequently traveled due to his job.

The home is a place that is continuously renegotiated, and to recover her domestic space Elsa reallocated her paid work in the rear yard of the home where she built a roof. However, although this new work location kept her home clean of merchandise, she was uncomfortable working there. In addition, this location made the juggling between paid work and domestic work difficult and she also could not supervise what her children were doing within the house.

Another socio-spatial conflict emerged when she realized that she could not do all

the packing by herself. She asked her children for help but after some days they protested and refused to do it anymore. Thus, Elsa and her husband decided to hire her brother-in-law and his wife to help her in the business. The brother-in-law distributed the diapers to stores in popular neighborhoods, and his wife and small daughter stayed at Elsa's home where the wife helped her to pack the product. But Elsa's relatives spent the whole day at her home, even on weekends, and she felt her space and privacy invaded. She was also concerned about her small nephew because of the danger of consuming the polymers (the content of diapers), and she had to keep an eye on him all the time. As the situation became more stressful, she asked her in-laws to do the work in their own home.

Although Elsa's sons cooperated doing some home cleaning, her double role taking place at home resulted in a burden on Elsa's workload because her husband and children demanded hot meals and clean clothes.

The demand of diapers increased and I had to pack them all the time, so I did not make beds, I did not cook and when my husband arrived home, he complained about it. My children also missed the cookies and pastries I used to cook for them.³¹

After her children's and husband's complains, Elsa protested:

....for instance on Saturday I was paid 200 pesos but I had already packed the diapers, I had supervised my brother in-law's work: if the van was in good conditions, how much he sold, how much was left, this and that; then the home, clothing, children: school, husband: my shirt, dinner; and there it comes a moment in which there are only complains: "how is it possible that there is 1:30 and dinner is not ready," "you know what? I was asked for some packages and I wanted to

“La demanda de pañales se incrementó y yo tenía que empacarlos todo el tiempo, así que no hacía las camas, no cocinaba y cuando mi marido llegaba a la casa se quejaba. Mis hijos extrañaban las galletas y pasteles que yo les hacía antes.”

make them and the time just passed through." No, it is impossible, . . . and I said: "You made me to do this against my will, you got to convince me and now you are demanding me, so you know what? Take your things out because before, I was happy at my home, there was no demands because I knew very well what my duties were and there were not so many problems. So, I better quit this (job) and get back to my home, to do my domestic work early, and then, or read a book, to do what I like to, instead of killing myself (with this job).³²

Interestingly to note, this passage of Elsa's discourse very well illustrates at what extent can homeworking be intrusive in family life that it took Elsa out of her home, in both senses, objectively and subjectively. Elsa was working in isolation in the rear of the home, and the task of packing diapers became so demanding and oppressive that she left aside domestic roles, even when she privileged being a mother and wife. In fact, her narrative also denotes how much she valued her roles, how she experienced in those roles, and how much she enjoyed her domesticity which she missed.

And it was after some discussions that Elsa's husband realized that it was too much for her to be in charge of both, home and work, as she said:

We had three or four discussions like that and my husband told me: ...no m'ija,

³² "...por ejemplo el sábado, yo cobraba 200 pesos cada sábado, pero yo ya había empaquetado, ya había visto a mi cuñado y el cuidado de base de la camioneta, que no le falte nada, cuánto vendía, cuánto le queda, quién le falta por cobrar, esto y el otro, luego la casa, la ropa, los niños, la escuela, mi esposo, que mi camisa, que la comida; y pues llega un determinado momento en que son reproches, de que "mija cómo es posible que son la 1:30 y no está la comida." "Oye es que fijate que sabes qué? me surgió un pedido de tantas bolsas y quiero que salga y se me pasó el tiempo; no, no es posible...y llega y dices bueno: Tú me hiciste que yo lo hiciera en contra de mi voluntad, me convenciste, y ahorita me estás exigiendo, así que sabes qué; toma tus cosas porque antes yo era muy feliz en mi casa, no me exigias porque yo sabía muy bien mis obligaciones y no había tantos problemas; así que mejor dejo esto y yo regreso a mi casa tranquilamente hago mi quehacer tempranísimo, me pongo a leer un libro, lo que a mí me gusta, en ves de estarme matando...."

you know what? You are right, forgive me, I am going to help you because it is true, this is very tired, very problematic. On Saturdays he is free, and then he came in the afternoon and he helped me, he said: ah you are right, I am going to help you". And between pushes and pulls, he helped me but I definitively quit, it is good, if we live limited, I do not care . . .³³

Finally, she could not resolve this conflict. While her husband asked her to run the business he did not cooperate with domestic chores nor in homework, even when he promised to engage in the last one. In spite of hiring two workers to help, homeworking became oppressive to her. She used to work the whole day, juggling between packing diapers in inadequate environmental conditions and cleaning and cooking for the family.

Even after reallocating her paid work in other spaces of the home, the conflict between the domestic demands of husband and children and the work demands persisted. So, Elsa decided to close the business. She would like to reopen it outside the home in a place with better light conditions and enough space to store the product, and also to separate work from family issues³⁴.

To sum up, both Rosa and Elsa, who have small children, found that by working at home they experienced constraints and conflicts between their paid work and their role

³³ "o sea, eran como 3 o 4 situaciones así, y mi esposo me dijo: 'no mija, sabes qué? tienes razón, disculpame, te voy a ayudar porque si cierto, esto es muy cansado, muy problemático;' sábados y domingos él trabaja, viaja, y los sábados en la tarde ya está libre, y llegaba los sábados en la tarde y como me veía pues me ayudaba, decía: ' a si cierto tienes razón, te voy a ayudar.' Así que con jalones y estirones, me ayudaba, pero definitivamente lo dejé, que bueno, si vivimos limitados, no importa..."

³⁴ When I called Elsa to schedule the interview, she accepted to meet me immediately and she said that she needed to talk about her homework to relieve herself. At that time, she had just closed the business.

as mothers. While Rosa changed the strategy to preserve her business at home negotiating their professional expectations, Elsa closed her business because it was becoming oppressive to her. She felt trapped between the work demand and her family's complaints about abandoning them. Before her paid work at home, she was a full-time housewife and to her, it was more rewarding to be a mother and wife.

When space facilitates work but not family demands: separate spaces but simultaneous activities.

There are some cases in which the workplace was materially and socially blurred with the domestic space, and intrusion of work into the home sometimes requires careful negotiation among family members. This is the case of Tony, who works at home distributing pharmaceutical products. She lived in a three-bedroom house with her husband and three daughters.

This story tells us that it is not only the type of occupation what influences how production and reproduction are articulated within the home, but the tempo-spatial organization of both types of work in combination with some other elements.

Tony was born in Guadalajara, Jalisco where she studied accounting but since she really wanted to be a beautician, her family established a beauty shop for her in the garage of her parents home. When she got married, she continued working as beautician in her home, where she installed the beauty parlor in one of the bedrooms. She used to work only during the time that her husband was out of the house. Her friends, who also were her clients, took care of her small children while she made their hair. She closed the

beauty parlor when she moved to La Paz with her family. In this city, her husband asked her to work with him at a pharmaceutical products company. In 1988 the company moved them to Tijuana to open a branch. In 1992 the company closed the warehouse and asked them to administer the business on their own. While she and her husband continued working for the company as salaried workers, they established the distributing office at their home because it was more convenient for the business. The office was located aside the living room only separated by a wood bar. Initially, one of her daughters was in charge of the business but when she got a job related to her professional training, Tony decided to run the business herself.

Tony's daughters were in their twenties and they did not demand much attention. Anyway, she recognized that her working arrangement gave her more time to be at home and to take care of her family. For example, although the business seemed to be her priority, due to her office location, right next to the kitchen, she could take a look at what she was cooking while attending her customers.

But her workplace was materially and socially blurred with the domestic space, and the intrusion of work into the home required a careful negotiation among the members of her family. Tony said that since she was working at home, family and business issues were frequently blurred. She resolved the conflict between family and work issues establishing some rules. She agreed with family members to discuss work issues in the office and family issues in the living room or any other part of the home. In this case, is clear how the spatial problem became a temporal one because as Friberg (1993) argues women usually are not conscious about space.

Despite this arrangement, Tony's work at home has been problematic to her because although she set work schedules, their clients did not respect business hours and called at seven in the morning or at ten at night. Although she insisted that her customers call and visit only during business hours, this was unsuccessful because her husband continued to answer the phone and received clients at the office any time.

Ah no, I have told them many times: "these are the office hours, for instance, on Fridays you can pick up checks from 13:00 to 14:00, or from 16:00 . . . But there are sometimes that they come by at 15:00 and this is my Lunch time. And if the phone rings I answer it. So, I cannot set fixed schedules. Because I do not want to have problems with Juan, fixed schedules do not work. But I got accustomed, I gave up educating him."³⁵

Tony partially resolved the conflict between family and work through the mental separation of space but she could not set regular work schedules because of the interference of her husband.

The diversity of these homeworkers' time-space strategies shows that home working is a process related to the larger condition of women's lives, and that it changes in its temporal and spatial character according to the conflicts and time-space strategies that may result from its practice depending on women's activities, available home space and

³⁵ "Ah no, yo les he dicho muchas veces, de tales horas a tales horas los puedo atender, por ejemplo, los viernes que es para recoger cheques. Los cheques se recogen de la una a las dos, o de las cuatro en adelante. Pero hay veces que son las tres de la tarde, llegan y... es mi hora de comida. Y si suena el teléfono yo contesto. Es lo que le digo, es una de las cosas que no podemos, que no he podido, y eso no he podido. Y por no tener problemas con Juan no... pero este... es lo nico que yo he tenido, o como quiero decirle, es lo que yo he visto que no me ha funcionado. En lo demás estoy muy agusto. Ya me acostumbré porque si no tengo problemas, digo si no lo puedo llevar a una educación, bueno pues ni modo."

domestic resources, as well as the stage in the women's life cycle.

Handcrafting and children tending

Lucia lived in a tiny two bedroom apartment with her partner and two children. She was born in Torreon, state of Coahuila, she studied until the second year of Business Administration. When she was in her twenties she migrated to Tijuana and got a job in a Real State, at that time she went to live with a musician and they had a child. Some year later they broke up their relationship and Lucia decided to get back to Torreon with her son. In this city she worked a couple of years in her brother's business. Here Lucia met the father of her second son and she convinced him to go with her to Tijuana. This time Lucia decided to prove her abilities in arts and handicrafts by doing quilting. She wanted to establish her own business and become independent at the same time that being at home with their children. However, due to the lack of space at her home, she had to do her work in any place of the home: the living room, the bedroom, and she also faced many interruptions in tending for their children, particularly the little one.

Lucía usually worked in her bedroom, it was the lightest room of her tiny apartment:

Look, I have a place in front of the window, but I work in the bed with artificial light, depends on what I am doing. It is not the most appropriate place, definitively it is more tiring to cut and that things . . . but I adapt to what I have. I try to adjust to the place in which I am³⁶.

³⁶ " Mira, frente a la ventana tengo un espacio, pero ya con luz artificial pues en la cama o según lo que este haciendo. No es el lugar más apropiado, definitivamente es más cansado porque para estar cortando y eso pues,.... pero me acoplo a lo que tengo. Trato

Lucia also had to work long and intensive shifts due to the nature of her job.

For instance, some weeks ago we had a request, I got it on Thursday morning and I was asked to deliver it on Friday morning. We work from 10:00 a.m. until 4:00 a.m. of the next day. That day . . . I did the drawing, started the quilting and at seven p.m. I went to my mother's home. She does the sewing. At that time I was asked to take care of a the home of one of my mother neighbor's and there I finished the job.³⁷

I would like to have a place exclusively to work there, to leave my things over there, otherwise if you are working in a home you have to pick your things up, I cannot leave the dyes there . . . because children can reach them . . . but this (working at home) is not necessarily a problem for me.³⁸

When she used to work outside home, Lucia did not care about cleaning the home, but was currently doing so and she asked to her children and partner to cooperate in some domestic chores.

It happens that we do not have a place for working. A place apart from the home, domestic work and this work are mixed up; then, I would like to for instance, do this like a normal job, you get done and then you leave at the end of the day. This is the inconvenience, both things are mixed up, sometimes it is good sometimes it is not.

..... well it depends, if I am in a hurry it can be bad otherwise there is no problem. But it is an inconvenience that you are working in the same place, because children

de acoplarme al lugar en el que estoy."

³⁷ Por ejemplo, hace unas semanas tuvimos un pedido, me lo pidieron el jueves en la mañana y era para el viernes. Trabajamos desde las 10 de la mañana hasta las 4 del día siguiente. Ese día.... hice el dibujo, empecé el acolchado y como a las 7 me fui con mi mamá, ella es la que hace la costura a máquina. Entonces estaba yo cuidando una casa que esta enfrente de con mi mamá y ahí termine el trabajo."

³⁸ "Me gustaría tener un lugar exclusivamente para trabajar, para poder dejar tirado, que dejes cosas así, no que así, si estás trabajando en una casa, pues tienes que recoger, no puedo dejar las pinturas ahí...porque las pueden agarrar los niños...pero no necesariamente me causa problema."

go and ask you something, they disturb you, you lose rhythm but it is not so hard . . . just the normal.³⁹

Conflict is much more evident in families with small children and adolescents, in these cases integration can hardly be achieved. As I showed, in practice Rosa, Lucía and Elsa proved that working at home can be as conflictive as working outside home.

Shared space, shifting schedules

Situations of shared space are difficult for those women who lack space. For instance, this was the case of Elodia who cooked foodstuffs only on weekends to avoid interference and conflict with the rest of the family.

A native of Guamuchil, state of Sinaloa, Elodia came to Tijuana after her partner got sick and he and his sons migrated to this city looking for a job. In Guamuchil the family has a house of its own and because Elodia did not like living in Tijuana, she was back and forth between her native town and that city.

At the time of the interview, the family had been living in Tijuana two and a half years. The family established in a house made of second-hand materials located in an irregular settlement. This dwelling belonged to the older son who had arrived in the city

³⁹ "Lo que pasa es que no tenemos un lugar para trabajar, un lugar aparte de la casa, se mezcla mucho el trabajo de la casa con el trabajo éste; entonces a mí me gustaría por ejemplo, ya haciendo esto, acabar como en un trabajo normal; acabar y ya te vas a la hora de la salida. Ese es el inconveniente, que se mezclan las dos cosas, que a veces es bueno y a veces no. ... pues depende, si esoty muy apurada puee ser malo sino pues no hay problema. Pero si es un inconveniente que estés trabajando en el mismolugar, porque los niños van, que les ofrece una cosa, ya te distraen, ya no te puedes dar la misma prisa, pero no es tanto..... lo normal."

before them. He built another tiny house for him and his family in the same area.

Elodia's partner and sons worked as sellers of second-hand auto parts in a flea market. She had been a housewife her whole life and she decided to engage in homeworking to contribute to the family's economy.

The family had a serious lack of space, the house was composed of two bedrooms, the kitchen that fulfilled multiple functions (dining room, family place, working place, and a bathroom. Because the family members had to share that tiny space, Elodia made shifts between domestic work and paid work, in that way she avoided the family interference with her work, as she stated:

I take advantage when they are not at home, for instance in the morning or in weekends. I ⁴⁰bake the bread in the morning, when they come home I clean everything up.

Besides the lack of space, in doing paid work at home, Elodia also faced the lack of adequate work conditions because her kitchen did not have a sink and faucet, making cleaning difficult for her. She also complained that her second-hand oven did not work well and baking bread and tamales took longer. In addition, even when her paid work is home-related she cannot combine with domestic tasks because as she explained:

Well, look if we have to make bread tomorrow I cannot get wet, I wash everything I have to wash the day before . . . And my child or my ⁴¹daughter in-law helps me to wash dishes or everything that has to do with getting wet .

⁴⁰ "....pero aprovecho cuando no estan por ejemplo ahorita en la mañana, yo hago el pan en la mañana para cuando ellos vienen yo ya levanto las carteras."

⁴¹ "Bueno, mire como si nos toca mañana hacer el pan yo no me puedo mojar, yo desde un día antes lavo todo lo que sea de lavar.... Y me ayuda la niña a lavar la loza, coss que son de mojar, o si no mi nuera la que vive aquí me ayuda."

Due to the changes of temperature, to combine baking bread and washing dishes or clothing could result in a health problem to Elodia.

In general, despite the fact that all these women confront contradictions and face crossed conflicts, they also proved their capacity to make new arrangements that permit them to continue their productive activities without leaving children and home unattended. This flexibility, reflected in the chance to work at one's pace is advocated by Salmi (1993) as one of the main advantages of working at home.

Home working as a heterogeneous experience

Case studies show that home is a place that is continuously renegotiated. Home working can be an integrative strategy that allows women to combine productive and reproductive work. But it also might result in a conflict that women intend to resolve remodeling and reusing home space and establishing their own schedules.

Situations of socio-spatial integration or socio-spatial conflict are due not only to women's occupations but they are also given by the material conditions of their dwellings, the use of the physical available space, the organization of paid work within home space, work trajectories, and the time they have been engaged in home working and the life course as a whole. According to case studies, the home related nature of some activities like sewing, selling groceries, baking cakes and cooking foodstuffs promotes work-home integration for both middle class and working class women.

In respect to physical space, because working class women have less space in which to work at home, they make shifts to use the same home place for productive and

reproductive activities. Although middle class women have more space available to establish a separate workplace at home, in general the domestic character of these activities leads to an intense juggling between paid work and reproductive work. However, in these cases women were not forced to combine paid work and family issues, instead of they did break routine. They have accomplished a rhythm in these practices that jointly with work organization led to women's control of home and work. In terms of social space, in general, a feature that distinguishes home-work integration is the permeability of space expressed in the ready access of family members to the workplace.

Most of the women that present a situation of socio-spatial integration had been engaged in home working for long time, more than 10 years in average. Most of them were old migrants to the city. Their work trajectories show that these women worked outside the home before marriage and after that they stayed at home. Some time after, they engaged in home working.

The life course played an important role in achieving home-work socio-spatial integration. Women that pursued integration were in the middle or advanced stage of the life course, while in the former case children were adolescents, in the last case children were married. These circumstances diminished domestic work at the same time that it increased available space at home, facilitating home working experiences.

Unlike women in situations of home-work integration, women who experienced socio-spatial conflict at the moment of the interview had been engaged in home working less than five years. Most of them were recent migrants in Tijuana, and some had also worked at home in their native towns.

Although some of these women had a separate work location within the home, case studies show the mutual interrupting of home and work, and the resulting conflicts between the worker and family members, or between family members and customers. Sometimes, the husband's disturbance in women's home working also provoked disorganization.

These women were in the earlier or middle stage of the life course, they had small children or adolescents at home whose demands about home space and mother's attention, often cause a conflict between work and family.

The articulation between production and reproduction was manifest in the existent unbalance of the times and spaces women home workers dedicated to each activity, as well in the adjustment strategies they did to deal with both rounds. Sometimes related to a struggle for physical space, the conflict revealed its socio-spatial character in the strategies and negotiations that women practiced to re use and appropriate home space as workplace.

Some women faced extreme situations of lack of space and inadequate environmental conditions. Furthermore, some families' domestic furniture was in very bad condition making difficult both domestic and paid work at home. Thus, while restricted home places and inadequate environmental conditions might be oppressive for women home workers, case studies also showed that women's management of the household as a workplace helped them and their families to reevaluate home working as well as the domestic roles opening possibilities for an improvement on women's condition.

In general, all women implemented a diversity of time-space strategies to reconcile work and family issues. While middle class women can hire domestic service, have separate work/family spaces, build special workplaces within the home, and reduce

their work loads, lower class women have few resources; for instance they do not have available space, so time is a more valuable resource for them: they make shifts, reschedule, intensify their work days. In addition, more frequently than middle class women, these women have to share space leading to an intensive juggling between productive and reproductive activities.

Home working as a process

This study is about the interaction between production and reproduction at the scale of the home. In this chapter I have shown a diversity of situations of socio-spatial conflict as well of socio-spatial integration of family and work that lead to the conclusion that home working is a process both in daily life and across the life course. The complexity of home working shows the ways in which production and reproduction are interlinked both in daily life and across the life course.

Unlike some studies which present homeworking as a homogeneous reality in terms of pursuing integration in time and space (Beach's farmers in the States, Lindon's urban families in Mexico City), I found an array of situations which depend on the socioeconomic context in which women were living, the heterogeneity of the homeworking occupations, and the life course.

As with other studies (Christensen, 1993; Katz and Monk, 1993) this investigation emphasizes the importance of the life course by the inclusion of aged women. The term life course is commonly used in sociology of the family. According to Ojeda (1989), this concept better apprehends the transitions in family events through their temporality and

does not assume a sequence in events.⁴²

Geographers Katz and Monk (1993) warn us that most research has focused on younger and middle-aged women and less attention has been paid to the years of childhood, adolescence, as well as to women of mature age. The consideration of the life course takes into account earlier stages of women's lives and considers the influence of these stages in adult women development (Christensen, 1993; Gerson, 1987).

Unlike other studies that analyze a moment in the lives of women of different ages, this research uses work trajectories to analyze women's home working experience in the context of their multiple insertions in the economic activity across their lives.

This methodological strategy clearly shows that home working is a process not only in daily life but along women's lives. The interlinks between production and reproduction are manifest through the juggling women do in everyday life to deal with home and work, and through the shifts between work and home that women's work trajectories display. Thus, as a process, home working undergoes changes across time and in space, and according to the specific circumstances in the lives of women.

In respect to daily life, in both situations integration and conflict, most women played with production and reproduction at the same time. Sometimes, situations of shared space facilitated the interaction between both activities, for example, sewing and doing laundry, cooking for customers and for the family, baking cakes and doing house

⁴² Course life analysis considers family cycle as a multi-variable process in which family stages are considered as intersections of individual, family and historical time (Ojeda, 1989:35).

cleaning, among many others. These experiences show the process of interaction between family and home in everyday life as a fluent one. But some other times, sharing space for multiple activities created tensions among family members, or between family members and clients.

On the other hand, situations of separate space sometimes promoted interaction between work and family issues, for instance working at the office while also cooking. However, in the case of women with professional occupations, juggling between activities was not possible. Sometimes professional activities demanded the complete attention and dedication of the worker, making it difficult to combine this type of work with domestic tasks. This finding challenges the notion of simultaneity as a general advantage of home working.

The consideration of the life course gave us a picture of the transitions in women's work trajectories, leading to the discovery that some of the women who participated in this study had been engaged in home working in different stages of their lives and in specific historical circumstances. These findings break the static picture of women's home working solely as a response to processes of economic restructuring.

Along their lives, when working at home, these women experienced diverse situations of socio-spatial conflict, in particular when their children were small. The balance they have achieved in their work-family equation is the outcome of the practice of multiple time-space strategies across the life course. However, this should not give us the erroneous conclusion that integration is necessarily pursued after long years of working at home because the conflict is always latent in women's lives.

As women's stories of home working show, situations of socio-spatial integration of socio-spatial conflicts at the intersection of paid work at home and domestic activities have to do with how long have women worked in that type of activity. Thus, women who had worked all their lives at home are supposed to be better integrated than those woman that recently engaged in home work. However, they passed through a process of transformations in terms of the environmental and socio-spatial conditions in which they worked. For example, once again I will refer to the case of Mariana, who had been working at home for 28 years. At the very beginning she worked at her parents home to contribute to the family's income. After marriage she continue working to cooperate with her husband, and her family lived in a small apartment where she had to install her sewing machine in the kitchen due to the lack of space. Some years later, when the economic situation of her family improved, in part thanks to Mariana's contribution, the family built a home where she could have more space to install her workshop there.

As a process along women's lives, home working also revealed the importance of the intra gender division of labor. The participation of other women of the family in both productive and reproductive work in different phases of their life was a factor that promoted the existence of integration or conflict between home and work. For instance, in the first case, women's stories show that when their children were small, the older daughter took the responsibility of tending her siblings while her mother was working. Such was the case of Doña Delfina. Aged, widowed or separated women counted on the support of their daughters to carry out both domestic work and productive work. This was for example the case of Doña Lucha and Doña Matilde. Conversely, those women with

small children and no adult women available at home, experienced difficulties in combining production and reproduction.

The diversity of these findings challenge the homogeneous notion of home-work integration proposed by authors like Beach, and show us that in analyzing the social practices of production-reproduction at the scale of the household, we have to take into account the social context, gender and race dimensions, and the life course that make complex the relationship between both spheres.

Generally speaking, in both socio-spatial integration and socio-spatial conflict, women's strategies involve a new division of labor, physical modifications of space, mental separation of places, rescheduling. Among these strategies, some women made shifts between production and reproduction not only to avoid family conflicts but also to mentally separate their activities. Women tried to organize their lives differently in order to continue working at home. However, they responded distinctly according to their specific situations.

Usually women were not conscious about space and the conflicts it may cause for family and work relations. Although women clearly perceived the conflict between family and work, they did not always perceive it as related to the use and transformation of the domestic space into workplace, in the sense of both material and social space. Instead they were concerned about time, and spatial problems were turned into temporal ones (Friberg, 1993:200). They often resolved conflict by adjusting their schedules.

Due to heuristic purposes I traced women's use of time and space separately, however in analyzing socio-spatial integration and socio-spatial conflict I found that time

and space are strongly linked. In reality women experience them as profoundly attached. As one of the interviewees clearly stated: "...the space was modified by time, space fulfilled its function depending on time, the time in which I was using it . . ." ⁴³

Home workers' socio-spatial conflicts and time-space strategies show that home working is a process that changes in its temporal and spatial character according to the conflicts that may result from this practice. As a process it can be modified by women's action space and it may lead to a some changes in gender roles and relations. The relationship between gender and spatial dimensions is the topic of the following chapter.

⁴³ "...el espacio era modificado por el tiempo, el espacio cumplía su función dependiendo del tiempo, el tiempo en que yo lo estaba ocupando,"

Table 5.1 Socio-demographic profile of middle class women in situations of socio-spatial integration

Name	Type of Space	Temporality	Age	Marital Status	Schooling	Occupation	Life Course
Mariana	Separate	Simultaneity	42	Married	Elementary School	Seamstress	Middle
Teresa	Shared	Simultaneity	63	Widow	Accounting	Handicrafter/ Child care	Advanced
Matilde	Shared	Simultaneity	67	Widow	High School	Foodstuff production	Advanced

Source: In-depth interviews, February-September, 1996.

Table 5.2 Socio-demographic profile of working class women in situation of socio-spatial integration

Name	Type of Space	Temporality	Age	Marital Status	Schooling	Occupation	Life Course
Elisa	Shared	Simultaneity	39	Married	Elementary School	Baker/Child care	Middle
Lucha	Shared	Simultaneity	49	Separate	High School	Foodstuff production	Advanced
Delfina	Separate	Single activity	51	Married	Elementary School	Groceries store	Advanced
Carmen	Shared	Single activity	63	Separate	Elementary School	Hair cutter	Advanced

Source: In-depth interviews, February-September, 1996.

Table 5.3 Socio-demographic profile of middle class women in situations of socio-spatial conflict

Name	Type of Space	Temporality	Age	Marital Status	Schooling	Occupation	Life Course
Rosa	Separate	Single activity	43	Married	M.D.	Dentist	Earlier
Elsa	Separate	Simultaneity	33	Married	Bachelor	Merchandise-distributor	Earlier
Tony	Separate	Simultaneity	54	Married	Accounting	Merchandise distributor	Advanced
Sagrario	Shared	Simultaneity/ Single activity	44	Married	Bachelor	Teacher/ Tarot Reader	Middle
Laura	Shared	Single activity	35	Married	M.D	Cosmetologist	Middle

Source: In-depth interviews, February-September, 1996.

Table 5.4 Socio demographic profile of working class of women in situations of socio-spatial conflict

Name	Type of Space	Temporality	Age	Marital Status	Schooling	Occupation	Life Course
Elodia	Shared	Simultaneity	48	Cohabitation	Elementary school	Foodstuff production	Advanced
Lucia	Shared	Simultaneity	36	Cohabitation	Secretary	Handicrafter	Earlier
Juanita	Shared	Simultaneity	66	Separated	Elementary school	Child care	Advanced

Source: In-depth interviews, February-September, 1996.

Appendix: Work and Space Trajectories

Rosa

Age: 43 Born in 1953 in México, D.F.

Schooling: Studied a degree in the United States.

Age	Work	Time-space arrangement	Social relationships
22-year-old, she lives in Mexico city with family of origin	She works as professor at the UNAM*		
24-27-year-old, she is still living with family of origin	She gets a position as administrative director		
27-29-year-old, she still in Mexico city	She studies a specialization and continues working as professor		
29-31-year-old, she moves to Boston	She goes to Boston to study a degree in Dental Care Admon.		
32-36-year-old, She gets married, first child was born	She is back in Mexico and works as researcher at UNAM.		
36-37-year-old, Second child was born, she still living in Mexico city.	She gets a position as coordinator of Public Health Department at UNAM.		

38-year-old, her husband moves to Aguascalientes because he gets a job there. She stays at Mexico city with their children	She is still working at UNAM, she opens the consulting room at home.	A bedroom is adapted as consulting room with furniture and equipment to attend patients at home. Her parents take care of her children at her home.	Social interaction with parents of her patients (children) take place at her home.
38-year-old, She and her children move to Aguascalientes for family reunion.	She quits her job at UNAM, dedicates only to her family.		
39-44-year-old, Family moves to Tijuana because husband gets a better job.	She establishes the consulting room at home.	The laundry room is adapted as consulting room with furniture and equipment. The front yard and living room function as receiving room. Service by appointment, a domestic servant is hired.	Social interaction with parents and children take place at her home, also social interaction with neighbors increases because her job at home.

Source: In-depth interviews carried out by the author, February-December 1996.

*Spanish Acronym of the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

2. Tony

Age: 54. Born in 1942 in Guadalajara, state of Jalisco.

Schooling: Accounting, Hair cutting course.

Age	Work	Time-space arrangement	Social relationships
1-17 year-old, she lives in Guadalajara with family of origin	She opens a Beauty Shop in parents' home garage.	Garage is adapted with furniture and equipment.	
24-year-old, she is still in Guadalajara and gets married	She Stays at home		
30-year-old, family moves to La Paz, state of B.C. Sur	She establishes the Beauty Shop at home	A bedroom is adapted with furniture and equipment.	Clients help her to look after her children while she worked.
36-year-old, family is still living in La Paz, they have three children.	She starts working as a vendor in a Pharmaceutical company.		
47-year-old, family moves to Tijuana	She and husband get on charge of a branch of a pharmaceutical company.		
49-year-old, family still living in Tijuana	She and her husband establish an office to distribute medicine on their own.		
51-year-old, family is still living in Tijuana	She and her husband establish the office at their home. On of their daughters was first on charge of the office. She quits her job at the company and takes charge of the home office.	Living room is divided with a bar to set up the office with furniture and equipment. Sometimes bathroom is used by clients.	Social interaction with clients takes place at the office.

Source: In-depth interviews carried out by the author, February-December 1996.

3. Mariana

Age: 42 years. Born in 1955 in Morelia, state of Michoacán

Schooling: Elementary school, Sewing mail course

Age	Work	Time-space arrangement	Social relationships
1955-1960, she lives with her family in Michoacán			
5 year old, Family moves to Tijuana.			
17-year-old, she is still living in Tijuana with family of origin	Starts working at home as seamstress	she installs the sewing machine in her unmodified bedroom	
23-year-old, she is still in Tijuana, she gets married, family lives in small apartment in city's downtown	She continues working at home	she installs the sewing machine in the kitchen, no modifications are made.	
25-year-old, first child was born	She continues working at home		
27-year-old, second child was born. Family moves to a home of it own in a suburban neighborhood	She continues working at home.	T.V. room adapted as a workshop with furniture and equipment. Bedroom closet used as storage, bathroom as a fitting room.	Interaction with clients took place at the workshop.
42-year-old, Family continues living in the same place	She continues working at home	Same conditions	Same conditions.

Source: In-depth interviews carried out by the author, February-December 1996.

4. Elisa

Age: 39 years. Born in 1957 in Tijuana, state of Baja California.

Schooling: Elementary school.

Age	Work	Time-space arrangement	Social relationships
15-year-old, lives with her family	Starts working in the family's Bakery		
17-year-old, lives with her family	She works as a cashier in a super market		
20-year-old, she gets married	She continues working as a cashier		
21-22 year-old, first child was born	She is still working in the same job		
23-year-old, second child was born. Family moves to a home of its own.	She stays at home		
31-year-old, third child was born. Husband had a job accident.	She engages in home-bakery production	Family kitchen as unmodified workplace	Social interaction at the kitchen table
37-year-old, first child left home. Husband's aunt moves to live with the family.	She is still working in home bakery and starts doing child care at home	Home space unmodified	
38-year-old,	She engages in clothes' selling for a while, but continues working in bakery and child care at home	A home space was modified to storage the clothes	

Source: In-depth interviews carried out by the author, February-December 1996.

5. Doña Matilde

Age: 39 years. Born in 1930 in Veracruz, state of Veracruz

Schooling: Secretary

Age	Work	Time-space arrangement	Social relationships
14-year-old, she lives with family of origin	She starts working as secretary in a governmental agency		
17-year-old, gets married and moves to Mexico with husband	She stays at home		
24-28-year-old, they have three children	She works at home cutting buttons and sewing lense holders	Dining table is used as workplace	
31-year-old, family moves back to Veracruz and live with parents. They have 6 children	She stays at home		
33-37-year-old, family lives in a home of its own	She establishes a small restaurant in a rented location		
35-57 -year-old	She engages in foodstuff production at home	Family kitchen as unmodified workplace	
66-year-old, husband gets sick and dies, all children were married	She continues working at home from time to time	Family kitchen as unmodified workplace	
67-year-old, she moves to Tijuana with a married daughter and her family	She engages in home production of meals to take out	Family kitchen as unmodified workplace	

Source: In-depth interviews carried out by the author, February-December 1996.

6. Doña Delfina

Age: 39 years. Born in 1945 in Agua Escondida, state of Jalisco

Schooling: Third grade of elementary school

Age	Work	Time-space arrangement	Social relationships
4-14 year-old, she lives with family of origin in native village	She works at home doing cleaning, laundry, taking care of small brothers and sisters, carrying water and collecting wood, etc.		
14-19 year-old, she moves to Guadalajara and lives at her boss home	She works as domestic servant		
20-30 year-old, she gets married and gives birth to four children	She works at her husband's butchery		social interaction with clients takes place at the shop
30-year-old, family moves to Tijuana because husband job	She stays at home taking care of children		Social interaction with clients and friends takes place at home and the shop
33-37 year-old, family moves to a home nearby the shop	Husband opens a grocery's store in a rented location, she works there.		
42-51 year-old, family moves to a house of their own in Cañón K, a popular neighborhood	She continues working at the shop	The shop is built downstairs the home in order to be close to the children	

Source: In-depth interviews carried out by the author, February-December 1996.

CHAPTER SIX

Home Based Work, Gender Roles and Relations

Feminist geographers argue that home working as economic strategy may not necessarily represent continued exploitation but may instead represent a tool for change. Working at home may create a setting for restructuring home and work (Mackenzie, 1986), as well as restructuring gender relations. In this context one can question How does the use of the domestic space shape the gender division of labor within the family? To what extent can working at home reinforce women's subordinated position in the family? What are the consequences for gender roles and relations? What does home-based work mean to women?

In this chapter I analyze the change in division of labor and gender relations in the families of women who work at home, as well as positive and negative appraisals of women's domestic and productive roles. I furthermore, formulate some of the implications of this type of work experience for the development of women's autonomy.

In analyzing the division of labor I depart from the concept of gender roles. Here I consider gender roles not as ascribed to the sexual category, but as a challenging social category, a product of socialization processes in specific historical and cultural contexts. According to Perez and Mummert (1998:25) gender roles are a component of gender relations, they are always dynamic and represent a map that guides men's and women's proper behavior. Based on this cognitive map, men and women know who they are and how to behave in specific time-space circumstances vis a vis each other.

In studying the division of labor within the families of this study, I propose that

home-working promotes a new domestic organization, both productive and reproductive, that implies a change in gender roles. However, this reorganization of life within the home is mostly carried out by women and among women. Thus, in particular, home working conveys a challenge to the content and valuation of women's domestic and productive roles.

In analyzing gender relations I address the concept of power relations, understood as asymmetrical relations that result in male privilege and women's subordination, and which might be contested. Besides focusing patterns of authority within the family, I emphasize women's spatial relations through the analysis of women's mobility.

In the analysis I particularly focus on intra gender differences and dimensions such as social class and the life course. My interpretation is based on women home workers' narrations about the organization of domestic and paid work, and conjugal relations within their families.

Division of labor within home working families

Gender and space are interrelated in different and more complex ways than is usually proposed theoretically. Studies done with working women have shown that public spaces like the street may become sites for social reproduction, leading to a new content for roles like mothering and housekeeping (Dyck, 1990; Mackenzie, 1993). In the same manner, home working can guide women to a new way of using domestic space and the emergence of new roles, or at least to challenge the existent ones.

In reference to gender equity within the family, including those cases in which working at home had led to home-work integration, I argue against the idea that this work strategy promotes role conjunction. Conversely, I propose that when women engage in home working and their husbands work outside the home, and changes in division of labor within the home mainly involve other women, relatives or workers. Although husbands rarely cooperate with domestic activities, in some cases home working enforces an incipient participation of men in child care.

In fact, research on the topic shows that although some husbands cooperate with domestic work and child care, women are generally left with the main responsibility of household care (Christensen, 1993, Gerson, 1985). However, Gerson observed some differences in male participation in domestic tasks depending on female work and women's orientation to family or work. Men were more collaborative in the cases of women less family-oriented due to the fact that they worked outside the home.

In respect to domestic work, according to my case studies, husbands and male children did not cooperate very much in domestic work. This only happened in three out of 15 families but such a division of labor already existed in two of them before women started home working. These were families with children less than 18 years old. In contrast with traditional divisions of labor, women in these families were trying to inculcate in their children, particularly males, involvement in domestic tasks. I found this situation in one working class family and in two middle class families, for example:

My husband does not work on sundays and sometimes he cooks, when I arrive the dishes are washed, but I have inculcated to my sons, although they rarely do it, to make their beds before going to school, and on weekends I do not make their beds.

I do not care if they do it or not but on weekdays sometimes I do for them.¹ Elisa, working class baker, two children.

Elsa, a middle class home worker, whose children were engaged in domestic tasks before she started working at home indicated:

...my children clean the furniture, . . . one of them sweeps and I mop, wash the dishes, and cook. Upstairs they clean the bathrooms, make their beds, and if I cannot make my bed, I ask them to do it, I feel more relaxed than before.

....it was not that way before. I was struggling a lot because my husband . . . Ay! Is machista. Yes, machista in the sense that, for example, if I do not work I have to do everything (at home), I cannot ask any help from the children because they go to school, return home tired and have to do their school duties. But it was a moment in which I started, not to discuss but to try to change his mind about what the children are going to do the day when I am not here anymore, when he is not here anymore? They are going to be useless. Nobody is going to like them. We better teach to them the things they need to know.²

As reflected in her words, Elsa did not try to force children's participation in house work

¹ "Pues mi esposo los domingos que descansa, a veces él hace la comida, cuando yo llego ya están los trastes limpios, pero yo, o sea , a mis hijos los he impuesto, pero casi no lo hacen, de que nada más tiendan su cama antes de irse a la escuela, y el fin de semana si se las dejo. Si la tienden o no es asunto de ellos, pero yo el fin de semana se las dejo y entre semana hay veces que se las tiendo pero otras veces no."

² ...mis hijos me sacuden los muebles, me aspiran, uno barre y yo trapeo, lavo los trastes, hago la comida. Allá arriba me arreglan los banos, me aspiran su cuarto, me tienden sus camas, y si yo no puedo tender mi cama porque ando ocupada aquí, los mando y me la tienden, me siento más desahogada que antes.

...antes no era así. Lo que pasa es que yo estuve batallando mucho por que mi esposo, ay! Es machista, si. Machista en el aspecto de que por ejemplo, yo no trabajo y debo de hacer todo, no hay que poner a hacer nada a los niños porque van a la escuela y vienen cansados, deben hacer su tarea. Pero llegó un momento en que empecé, pues no a discutir, sino a meterle la idea de qué va a pasar el día que yo no esté, que él no esté y no hay nadie quien les haga? Pues van a ser unos inútiles que nadie los va a querer, y si ellos necesitan saber cosas para ganarse la vida, pues mejor que nosotros se las enseñemos.

but rather tried to introduce the change surreptitiously. However, when she started working at home, she lost control of the children's participation in domestic tasks:

It was before my business that they already had specific tasks to do. At that time I did not work and I supervised them, but when I started the business I did not supervise them anymore, I did not know if they did domestic chores or not, they went out and I did not realize this.³

When Lucia used to work outside of the home, she did not care about cleaning it as much as she currently does. So, she had to ask to her children and partner to cooperate in some domestic chores, as she stated:

...for instance, Cesar has to clean his bedroom, . . . the little one picks up his toys. These are things they can do. For example, Cesar takes the garbage out every day, although I have to tell him again and again, but he does it. And Victor also cooperates, if there are some dishes he washes them.⁴

And in some cases, a husband's participation in house work appeared more related to a more egalitarian relationship. However, this situation seemed to be independent of women's paid work at home.

If my husband comes and the dishes are dirty and there is no one to wash them, then he does it. But if there is someone to do that work, then he rather prefers to go to the park with the children. Ricardo works outside and if I know that he is making his better endeavor to bring money to the home, I am not going to ask him to wash the dishes. I think that it is needed to make a balance, and take into account

³ "Y fue antes del negocio que ellos ya tenían su quehacer específico, entonces cuando no trabajaba yo veía que ellos lo hicieran bien, cuando empezó lo del negocio ya no tenía que yo andar atrás de ellos porque ya lo hacían, pero como luego me estaba yo tan metida ahí que no me daba cuenta si lo hacían o no. Entonces, como no estás al frente, ellos se salían a la calle y no me daba cuenta."

⁴ ". . . por ejemplo, Cesar tiene que limpiar su recámara, . . . el chiquito recoge sus juguetes. Hay cosas que ellos pueden hacer, por ejemplo, Cesar tira la basura todos los días, aunque yo tengo que decirle una y otra vez, pero el lo hace. Y Victor también coopera, si hay platos sucios, él los lava."

that both you and the other are making their better effort.⁵

In some home working families changes of division of labor involved only female members. In reference to domestic tasks, it was common that large families delegate child care to the older daughter or to relatives like the grandmother. As I showed in previous chapters, when some women home workers' families were in the earlier stage of the life course and their children were small, they used this strategy.

In general, in nuclear families of this study men had a limited participation in domestic life. Cleaning yards, taking garbage out, doing some domestic repairs and paying the bills were the common tasks that most men accomplished at home.

However, women's arrangements to work at home sometimes required their husbands' participation in child care. For instance, Rosa, Laura and Lucia's husbands took care of children while these women attended to their clients.

...and I begged to God that my husband arrived early at home that day because then . . . I could work in peace. When he arrived he took charge of everything at home, he fed the children, supervised that they took a bath, everything, everything. Ricardo cooperated, I had his support. Yes, yes without that support it would not be possible, that would be too much. In this case I think that having some help is fundamental, and it was a determinant that my husband was here⁶. Laura,

⁵ "Si mi marido llega y los platos están sucios y no hay quien los lave, entonces lo hace. Pero si hay quien haga ese trabajo, entonces él prefiere irse al parque con los niños. Ricardo trabaja fuera, y si yo sé que él está haciendo su mejor esfuerzo para traer ingresos a la casa no voy a pedirle que lave los platos. Creo que es necesario hacer un balance, y considerar que tanto tu como el otro están haciendo su mejor esfuerzo."

⁶ "... y le rogaba a Dios que llegara temprano ese día porque entonces....podía trabajar agusto. Él llegaba y se hacía cargo de pe a pa en la casa, bañarlos, darles de comer, todo, todo. Ricardo cooperaba, tenía apoyo en ese sentido. Si, sin ese apoyo hubiera sido imposible, sería mucho no? Pero en este caso creo que sí es fundamental el apoyo, y creo

35-year-old cosmetologist, two children.

And

...on Saturdays that my husband was at home, I had a patient that day and my husband took care of the children, or I called him to ask if he could be at home at seven because I had a patient, and asked him if I could make the appointment. Yes, he arrived at seven and took charge of the children. . . . this labor is not compatible with child care.⁷ Rosa, 42-year-old dentist, two children.

Thus, home working forced some men into child care but they did not do it a regular basis with the exception of Laura's husband who was highly involved with child care and some domestic tasks like washing dishes.

Gerson (1985) argues that this kind of arrangement in which women share responsibility with their partners led to a less mothering but not to more fathering. However, Gerson's argument seems based more on the amount of time that mothers and fathers dedicate to children than in the quality of the assistance parents provide to them. Furthermore, Gerson (1985:175) argues that: "...domestically oriented homemaker women have no incentive to induce their husbands to withdraw from the workplace to care for children; this group depended on a committed male breadwinner to support their own domesticity."

In my study, women home workers with professional occupations showed

que fue más determinante que mi marido estuviese aquí."

⁷ "....nada más el sábado que estaba mi esposo, tenía un paciente ese día y mi esposo estaba con los niños, o le hablaba yo a Alejandro y le decía tengo un paciente a las 7 puedes llegar, doy la cita? Si. Llegaba a las 7 y el ya se encargaba de ellos. Porque no, no es una labor compatible con el cuidado de los niños para nada."

evidence of behavior in the opposite direction. In particular, one woman was reluctant to do domestic chores, and she was equally reluctant to demand of her partner what she refused to do. This situation illustrates that doing paid work at home does not necessarily reinforces women's domesticity. In part, it seems to depend on women's previous experience of working outside the home.

In reference to productive activities, in some cases husbands and children participated in women's home working. For instance, Rosa's husband helped her to deal with the parents of the children she attended at her consulting room. And the husband of Lucia got involved himself in her work because as she said:

When he arrives from work, sometimes he helps me to sew, he has some ability to easily learn manual things. For example, he already knows how to paint. He painted some of these things, of course, he could not do it only by himself but he helps me a lot.

Karen, the eleven-year daughter of Doña Lucha helped her in the restaurant doing small tasks such as taking groceries from the store, attending clients while they were eating, providing them with refreshments, delivering meals in the neighborhood. To Karen, helping her mother in the restaurant was an aspect of her daily life, and she liked doing it.

⁸ "...por ejemplo César ya tiene que hacer su recámara, el niño no; o si el niño recoge sus juguetes, recoge todo, cosas que ellos pueden hacer. A César por ejemplo le toca sacar la basura todos los días; aunque tengo que estar dicele y dicele, pero ya lo hace. Y Víctor también me ayuda, si ve que hay trastes se pone y los lava para que no se junten. Cuando llega del trabajo me ayuda mucho, a veces hasta se pone a coser; tiene mucha facilidad para aprender todo lo que es manual muy facilmente. Y por ejemplo, ya sabe pintar, algunas de estas cosas él las ha pintado, claro no las podría hacer solo pero si me ayuda mucho..."

The situation was different for Elsa's children, who at the very beginning were cooperating with her packing baby diapers. However, as this task became repetitive, boring and very demanding, the children complained and refused to do it anymore.

....and then when the children came I asked them to help me, help me for a while, it was against their will. Because it is true that we did not ask to them her opinion neither about opening this business nor about if they wanted to help us, it was kind of forcing them . . .

It is important to mention that friends and relatives of home workers also participate in child care while the mothers were working. I have illustrated how the parents of the dentist's patients, took care of the dentist's children while she was working at the consulting room.

On the other hand, the organization of productive work at home sometimes was strongly based on the participation of the women of the family. I found this strategy in families headed by a woman. It was for example the case of Doña Matilde, a producer of foodstuffs who, in her kitchen, delegated some productive tasks to her daughters. The men of the family were not engaged in the production process but rather in the distribution of meals.

By working at home women are changing their roles, they are not only housekeepers but also income providers. However, these double roles, taking place as they do at home burden women's workload because as I showed in the previous chapter, the demands of husbands and children did not decrease when women work at home. In these

⁹ "y luego venían los niños y les decía ayudenme, ayudenme un rato; en contra de su voluntad. Porque si es cierto a ellos no les pedimos su opinión para poner este negocio ni para ver si nos querían ayudar; sino era ya un poquito obligatorio ..."

circumstances women have to reschedule, lengthen their work journeys, and juggle between productive and reproductive tasks. In other words, changes in the division of labor within the home continue to rely on them.

As we have seen before, while some middle class women home workers hired domestic service, lower class women home workers delegated domestic issues to their daughters or other women of the family. Families of lower class women home workers had less home space and less furniture, in consequence they had less house cleaning to do. However, the lack of electro domestic appliances makes some domestic tasks difficult (Barbieri, 1980). Although in general women seem more oriented to domesticity, middle class women are more conscious about gender inequity in respect to division of labor within the home.

When there are small children, working at home increases women's work load. The opposite happens when children get married, domestic work usually decreases and it changes the organization of women's paid work. For example, this was the case of Doña Delfina, who lived only with her husband because their four children got married and went to live apart:

Actually, there are not many things to do, only for my husband and me. It is relatively little. I have never had domestic service for many reasons, right? First because for me is too easy to wake up in the morning and do my daily routine, then I like to do everything by myself, I do not worry about it. It is maybe because I always did everything running and now I am not in a rush anymore. After all if I do not do it, nothing happens. But when children were here it was different because the home was messed up and it is heavy for one to work and have a family, it is difficult because with children the home is never clean and one wants

to have it in order but . . . ¹⁰

All women home workers of this study were always concerned about the comfort and beauty of family environment. The interviewees frequently complained that home working messes their homes, and they were always worried about cleaning the spaces they share with their clients. Some of them resolved this situation locating their activities next door to their homes.

When I was working in my bedroom I was worried all the time about cleaning my home, a good appearance is important for my clients. Now, we rented this home because it has an independent room in the rear yard and I do not have to worry about washing the dishes.¹¹ Laura, 35-year-old cosmetologist, two children.

Women's meanings of productive and reproductive roles

Feminist sociologists (Velasco, 1996; Garcia y Oliveira, 1994) conclude that women place an ambiguous valuation on family and work because while discursively they privilege family issues over work in practice they seem to enjoy their extra-domestic occupations.

¹⁰ "Pues si, en realidad ya no son tantas, ya nada más para mi esposo y para mi. Es relativamente muy poco. De hecho nunca, nunca he tenido quien venga a ayudarme por muchas razones no? Este primero porque este se me hace tan fácil que me levante en la mañana y es de rutina hacer las cosas, y luego tengo la mentalidad de que si yo puedo hacer una cosa yo la hago, no me preocupo mucho, este tal vez sea porque siempre lo hice todo a la carrera y ahora no tengo prisa, total si no se hace no va a pasar nada. Pero cuando estaban los niños era diferente porque la casa estaba toda tirada, y era una cosa, es muy pesado para uno trabajar y tener familia, es muy pesado porque con niños la casa nunca esta en orden y uno que la quiere tener ordenada y ellos que en cualquier jalón ya tiran todo."

¹¹ "Cuando yo estaba trabajando en mi recámara siempre estaba preocupada por limpiar mi casa, una buena apariencia es importante para mis clientes. Ahora rentamos esta casa porque tiene un cuarto independiente en el jardín y no tengo que preocuparme por lavar los platos."

Velasco argues that women's ambiguity about family and work is mediated by instrumental and meaningful aspects of extra-domestic work.

I would add that such an evaluation is relevant to both domestic and extra domestic work, no matter the site in which they are carried out. Furthermore, evaluation of both types of work may result in a change in the content of feminine roles like motherhood and home worker. Some studies in feminist geography have shown that women's appropriation of domestic and non-domestic space, has resulted in a change in social relationships and a re signification of women's domestic roles (Dyck, 1990; Mackenzie, 1993).

Women's domestic roles

The reorganization of domestic work that mainly involves the women home workers of this study, caused to them differentiate feelings about their domestic and productive roles. For example, Rosa and Elsa said that they felt they were losing control over their family life because they were not performing their domestic roles as mothers and wives very well.

The following narratives display this situation:

When the number of clients increased, I did not look after my children. I am a children's dentist and they come to see me in the afternoons because during mornings they are at school. Then, I stopped supervising the children's homework, and my kids changed radically. They watched T.V. all the time because there was nobody to take care of them and they only eat cereal and cookies.¹² Rosa, 45-year old, dentist, two children.

¹² "Cuando el número de clientes aumentó yo no atendía a los niños. Soy una odontopediatra y los niños vienen a verme en las tardes porque en las mañanas ellos van a la escuela. Entonces, yo dejé de supervisar la tarea de mis hijos y ellos cambiaron radicalmente. Ellos veían la T.V. todo el tiempo porque no había nadie que los atendiera, y solo comían galletas o cereales."

And

The demand of baby diapers increased and I had to pack them all the time, so I did not make beds, I did not cook and when my husband arrived to home complained about it. My children also missed cookies and pastries I use to cook for them.¹³
Elsa, 33-year-old, three children.

The intrusion of home working in family life could cause women to have feelings of devaluation of their role as mothers and wives, as well as feelings of role ambiguity.

But home working also leads to the learning of new roles. For instance, to Rosa working at home gave her maturity and the chance to develop other roles different from the ones she used to enact. She learned to be a housewife, to be a neighbor, giving a new content to her concept of being a woman.

Ah, yes, it has affected my life. I simply believe that . . . it has to be a consequence, right? It has given me a lot of maturity, and it has given me a lot of things. By being here I have learned to be Rosa a little bit more, to be a woman, because I just knew to be a doctor, researcher. And now I am more a mom, a wife, the neighbor who runs to bring a soup to the next door lady. I step down to a more common and quotidian reality, what is expected to be a woman, because I thought I was in a men's world or what is expected from them.¹⁴

Other women reevaluated their domestic roles through the experience of working

¹³ "La demanda de pañales se incrementó y yo tenía que empacarlos todo el tiempo, así que yo no hacía las camas, no cocinaba y cuando mi marido llegaba a casa se quejaba de eso. Mis hijos extrañaban las galletas y pasteles que yo antes hacía para ellos."

¹⁴ "Ah si, o sea que ha afectado mi vida. Yo simplemente creo que, . . . tiene que tener un efecto no? porque existe, pero . . . me ha dado, me ha dado mucha madurez, me ha dado muchas cosas. Me ha dado mucha madurez, estar aquí he aprendido a ser . . . he aprendido un poco más a ser Rosalva, a ser una mujer, porque yo solo sabía ser nomás doctora , investigadora. Y ahora como que ser más mamá, ser esposa, se ser la vecina que corre con el caldito cuando se enferma la señora de enfrente. Como que me he bajado a una realidad más cotidiana y común de lo que se esperaría de ser mujer, porque yo creo que me moví en un mundo como de hombres, o lo que se espera que sean los hombres no? y lo que se espera que sean las mujeres."

at home. For example, this was the case of Elsa, who said to her husband:

You made me to do this against my will. I was happy at home, and you were not so demanding. I knew very well what my duties were and there were no problems. So, I better quit this (job) and get back to my home, to do my domestic work early, and then to read a book, to do what I like instead of killing myself (with this job).¹⁵

After an oppressive experience of wage work within her home, Elsa decided to be only a mother and wife because she realized how much her husband and children demanded and valued these roles.

I think that the approval that I get at home from my children and husband is more satisfactory than working . . .¹⁶

Besides, she also appreciated her domestic roles because she felt she was very experienced on enacting them.

To older women, working at home at the advanced stage of their life course, sometimes may lead them not only to reevaluate their roles as workers and mothers, but to experience domestic roles with more freedom, such is the case of Delfina (see chapter 5 for details).

In general, women who faced role ambiguity, lack of control over work process and family life, were usually in the earlier stage of their life course, had small children and their experience of working at home was recent. But I also found some women in the

¹⁵ Tu hiciste que yo hiciera esto en contra de mi voluntad. Yo era feliz en mi casa, no me exigías porque sabía muy bien mis obligaciones y no había tantos problemas. Así que mejor dejo esto y yo regreso a mi casa, tranquilamente hago mi quehacer... me pongo a leer un libro, lo que a mi me gusta en vez de estarme matando tanto."

¹⁶ "...creo que el reconocimiento que me dan en casa mis hijos y mi esposo, me es más satisfactorio que trabajando...."

middle stage of the life course that had a lack of schedules or experienced a conflict for space both physical and social. Not surprisingly, these cases were characterized by a home-work conflict.

Conversely, as long as women acquire ability in performing home working, they also acquire more control and self-confidence about their roles, both productive and reproductive. These women who have usually worked at home for long time, were in the middle or advanced stage of the life course, and were engaged in home-oriented occupations, successfully integrating home and work.

Women's productive role

Despite the fact that some research (Ahrentzen, 1997) has limited the analysis of women's meanings of work to middle class, well-educated women, feminist geographers have particularly addressed the meaning of work as a socially constructed term (Watson, 1990) which involve structural differences according to class, gender, race, etc.

García and Oliveira (1994) studied the meaning of work in Mexico and to make sense of the diversity of values they found, they concluded there were eight types of values taking into consideration women's social class. The authors distinguished for middle class women: 1) work as a career, 2) work as complement, 3) work to maintain social status, 4) staying at home; and for working class women: 5) work as useful and satisfactory, 6) work as secondary activity, 7) work for children's well being, and 8) staying at home.

Regarding the meaning of working at home, Ahrentzen argues that in understanding the meaning of work, and how women feel about it must be considered in light of society's

view of that ¹⁷ work. Because women's paid work is usually considered as an extension of women's domestic roles, its most common social perception is simply as supplementary to the family income. Although this perception, which predominantly devalues the unpaid work and home workers' skills inside and outside the home, it is not the only one.

As in other case studies, middle class women define themselves as domestic workers and as wage workers. It is a mistake to assume that there are no rewards attached to home working for women. Although by working at home, women are dealing with the socio-spatial conflict between family and work, they appreciated their work as something basic in their lives. One of my middle class interviewees said:

For me it was fundamental to still be working, it was necessary. ¹⁸ Laura, 35-year old, cosmetologist, two children.

However, the conflict between family and work involves cultural ambivalence oriented toward the devaluation of homemaking activities and the homemaker role (Saegert and Winkel, 1980:43).

Ahrentzen (1997:82) refers to this ambivalence as identification and misidentification. As she points out 'identification with the domestic role is desirable and hence non conflicting.' Situations of identification were common among the respondents with home related occupations and a high degree of home-work integration, in both social

¹⁷ Ways of work are changing under productive restructuring and it is needed to discuss the concept of work itself. Pacheco and Blanco (1998:88) suggest that we can go further in this task through the articulation between production and reproduction, and the complementary use of qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

¹⁸ "Para mi es fundamental estar trabajando, es necesario."

sectors.

As an ideal situation of home-work integration, Beach distinguishes two main features in home working. First, worker's autonomy based on control over work process and time, and control over work schedule; and second, a feeling of family responsibility based in the fact that work schedules can be interrupted and re-created to meet family needs.

Some women of both social classes fitted the features portrayed by Beach. For instance, to these women working at home meant breaking the routine:

....here I have the washing room, I stand up, take the clothes from the machine and that is what helps me to avoid routine, I do one thing and then I do another thing. "...because of that I have my workshop messed up because I work a while and then I go to check what I am cooking. I have noticed that my work is not a routine. And the schedule is very accessible, I distribute my time, I accommodate myself to break routine.¹⁹ Mariana, 42-year-old seamstress, two children.

And

Look. I break routine right? I break that routine because it is a little but I socialize with my neighbor when I bring the bread to her, I go to Doña Amalia's home, I seat there for a while, the other seller also seats there to chat, and yes, I break the routine of daily being here, then I meet other persons.²⁰ Elodia, 48-year-old

¹⁹ "...aquí tengo mi cuarto de lavadora, ya me paro, enguajo y saco y eso es lo que me ayuda a no caer en la rutina, yo hago una cosa y luego hago otra. "... por eso tengo mi cochinerito ahí puesto porque me pongo un rato y luego ya me paro a ver la comida. Por eso he notado que mi trabajo no es una rutina. Y el horario es muy accesible, yo distribuyo el tiempo de tal hora a tal hora, yo me acomodo y me permite no hacer rutinas."

²⁰ "Pues mire se sale uno de la rutina verdad? Se sale uno de la rutina esa porque ya ve que es poquito pero ya convivo más con la vecina que le llevo el pan, hasta allá con Doña Amelia voy, me siento un rato, la vendedora de ellos también se sienta platicar, y si, me salgo de la rutina, de estar a diario aquí, luego pues conoce uno a más personas."

foodstuffs' producer, three children.

These breaks were related to women's reactivity to family needs. Control of schedules and the ability of rescheduling were also present.

Independently of social class and age, these situations were particular to women that were housekeepers before working at home, or in the case when they had been home workers for long time.

According to Beach (1989) devaluation of home working has been one of the most serious consequences of the home-work separation. Thus, as a value laden term home working implies a lower status (Saegert and Winkel, 1980). The lack of professional credibility of home workers has its roots in the historical association of women in the home as mothers, wives and housewives (Ahrentzen, 1997:83).

I found disturbing situations of domestic misidentification of women's work by others among my case studies which are congruent with Ahrentzen (1997) and Christensen (1993) findings. These referred to those women who were trying to establish a career, particularly those with a high schooling level. Although some of these women had a positive perception of their role as home worker, this perception conflicts with others perceptions (Ahrentzen, 1997; Christensen, 1993). For example, they characterized their work as professional as if they were doing it outside home. In doing so, they organize schedules by appointments, just like any doctor or lawyer established in a public site.

I do contact my clients through friends and relatives, as any physician. This is a reliable way of having patients, I have more faith in this strategy than in advertisement because I had an experience, I announced my clinic and it did not work. Then, I became conscious that my job is very much like the work of a

physician.²¹ Laura, 35-year-old cosmetologist, two children.

However, women's positive perceptions about her work may differ depending on the type of work that women are doing at home. This negative image is mostly related to professional and semi professional occupations developed at home. Some people did not recognize women's professionalism because their work takes place at their home and this may affect the confidence of the clients on them. On words of one home worker:

"No, it would never be the same (to work at home than working outside home). It is very different because look, when you leave home and cross the doorstep and go to the UNAM. There you are Dr. Martinez and you have a salary like all those of your same category and level, you are respected, have a schedule and everything. But when you are working at home, you are the Mrs. who is a dentist, but first you are the "Mrs." Then, I feel as if it were a second hand job. It would not feel the same if I were working in a consulting room at a hospital. I do exactly the same but I cannot charge the same, thus I do not feel good, right?"²² Rosa, 45-year-old dentist, two children.

People's perceptions about home working are attached to conventional definitions and meaning of the home as a non-working place, as Rosa said:

²¹ "Yo contacto mis clientes a través de amigos y parientes, como cualquier médico. Esta es una forma confiable de tener pacientes, yo tengo más fe en esta estrategia que en anunciarme porque ya tuve esa experiencia, anuncié mi clínica y no funcionó. Entonces me hice conciente de que mi trabajo es muy parecido como el que los médicos hacen."

²² "No, jamás sería igual. Ese muy diferente porque has de cuenta porque fijate bien, cuando tu sales de tu casa y cruzas el umbral y vas a la UNAM, tu ahí eres la doctora Rosa M. y tienes un sueldo que te corresponde por igual que a todos los que tienen tu categoría y tu nivel, y tienes el respeto y el horario y todo. Y llegas y te sientas y te tomas tu café y tan tan, verdad? En cambio, cuando trabajas en tu casa eres la señora que da consultas, la señora que es dentista, pero eres primero la señora, verdad? Entonces todo mundo espera, como si yo me siento como si fuera un trabajo de segunda y no de primera. No me sentiría igual en un consultorio en la Clínica Médica del Noroeste verdad? Hago exactamente lo mismo pero logicamente no puedo cobrar lo mismo, entonces logicamente que no me siento bien, verdad?"

"No, I do not think people will change (their perception about my work), particularly because their perceptions are based on appearance right? When we go to the physician we take a look in the waiting room, and in the physical appearance of the secretary. Then, here (in my home) people get in and see a baseball bat in the middle of the yard, the seedless to feed the birds, It would never be. That is why only my friends and relatives come right? Because this is not a consulting room, this is not this is not the ideal way of having it, it would never be."²³

However, many of them expressed ambiguous feelings about their work, in particular because of the value attached to home working.

As in other studies about women's work, working class women home workers I interviewed declared being satisfied with their work.

I feel satisfied with my work, although I do it frequently I do not get tired of seeing my work, it gives so many satisfaction to me and I always ask for a photo of the cake, sometimes they give it to me, sometimes not.²⁴ Elisa, 48-year-old baker, three children.

Some of these women also expressed that their work was needed for the survival of their families, and they worked to buy food and children's school supplies. To some of them, life has been a life of work. According to their life histories, being born in large, poor families, these women started working when they were small children. As children, they participated in domestic chores and agricultural work under parental authority.

²³ "No, no creo que las cambie, sobre todo porque la gente se va mucho con la apariencia si? de las cosas. Cuando nosotros vamos a un médico yo creo que desde que entramos nos fijamos en la sala de espera, hasta si la secretaria está peinada y con las uñas recortadas, verdad, se fija la mente en todo. Entonces, aquí la gente desde que entra ve un bate de beisbol a la mitad del patio, las semillas de los pericos, y de veras que (solo) vienen mis amigos y parientes no? porque la verdad que no es un consultorio, no es la forma ideal de tener un consultorio, jamás lo será."

²⁴ "Pues me siento muy satisfecha cuando hago mi trabajo, aunque lo hago seguido no me canso de ver mi trabajo, me da muchas satisfacciones y siempre les encargo una foto del pastel, a veces me la traen, a veces no."

For example, this is why Doña Delfina thought about this period of her work history as "imposed work."

The interplay of class and gender is reflected in the fact that those women who previously had jobs in the market, this type of job was also for them an "imposed work" because they were subject to rules, schedules and orders. Thus, we can see that both middle class and working class women home workers have a similar vision of work as oppressive. However, these notions are mediated by the rural or urban contexts in which women were raised.

Meanings of work are mediated by the impact of women's experiences, at the same time the impact of work experience is mediated by the social and cultural context in which women live (Mummert and Ramírez, 1998). Latin American scholars (Garcia y Oliveira, Barbieri, Velasco among others) who conducted research on women's work suggest that women are resisting and trying to transform a misplaced value of their work.

Some women were trying to reevaluate their paid work at home. Despite women's educational level, particularly for those who do not have a professional education, in doing home work they learn and practice new kinds of knowledge. And this was true for middle class and working class women. For example, such was the case of Elsa, who packed and distributed baby diapers to small grocery stores. She had to be innovative in ways of packing the pampers in order to do it quicker and more efficiently. She also learnt how to manage a business although she did not have any previous experience. Although she had a terrible experience working at home, in the balance she appreciates what she learned and she expresses the desire of having a business of her own but located outside home.

Home working forced working class women who did not have any work experience at all, not only to learn but to face their fears about their own capabilities:

I had no experience, and I got all my experience in practice. During five years I was afraid to stay alone in the shop. So much merchandise scared me, I complained to myself "Ay no," I was learning to make budgets, requests, to receive merchandise, to pay, to . . . everything. I was scared, right? When my husband had to go shopping or sometimes when he had to travel. But one day I said to myself "well" . . . and I am here.²⁵ Doña Delfina, 51-year-old grocery's store owner, living with her husband.

Some women learned to work within the family. Such was the case of Elisa whose father was baker. According to Elisa's words, the fact that the bakery was established within the home determined that, unlike her brothers, she and her sisters would be engaged in that activity.

In my home . . . only women learned . . . as women we have to . . . my brothers also but they hardly did it, and we were just there . . . we were more women, we were seven women, then we helped in the bakery. After school we use to sell (bread) from door to door, and so our childhood get through . . .²⁶

The teachings of her father have guided to Elisa in her work as baker:

²⁵ "Ninguna, toda la fui adquiriendo en la práctica. De hecho duré como unos cinco años que era un pavor para mi quedarme sola en la tienda. Me daba mucho miedo, veía tanta mercancía, tanta cosa y decía yo "ay no", me estaba enseñando a hacer presupuestos, hacer pedidos, recibir mercancía, estar pagando, estar cobrando, todo eso. Me daba miedo no? Cuando mi esposo se tenía que ir de compras o a veces tenía que salir de la ciudad por alguna emergencia o algo. Pero en una ocasión dije "bueno".... y aquí estoy."

²⁶ "En mi casa, ...nada más las mujeres aprendieron. ...es que a nosotras como mujeres como que sí, también a mis hermanos pero como que muy a fuerzas aunque no hacían caso, y nosotras como estábamos ahí. Pues.... o sea como fuimos más mujeres, fuimos 7 mujeres, entonces pues ayudábamos con lo del pan. Después de que salíamos de la escuela andábamos vendiendo en las casas también, y así transcurrió como quién dice nuestra niñez..."

My father said: "bakery is something that one never ceases to learn, you can learn something every moment." Thus, I never imagined that I was going to learn how to decorate with piping gel, this is something hard to do in bakery.²⁷

But because she got confidence in her work sometimes she went far beyond what her father taught to her:

My father always said: "Never make a complicated cake, make it as simple as you can," but I like doing them as people like, I just need the figure to scale and then I put it in the cake.²⁸

Husbands and children also recognized the work women were doing not only because of the economic reward, but also because they respected women's skills and knowledge.

My daughter did not realize the value of my work until she saw that her friend's mothers only watched T.V. in the afternoons. Now she thinks "my mom is very creative," and she is proud of me.²⁹ Mariana, 42-year-old seamstress, two children.

This is particularly important for children's socialization. They may learn that home working is as worthy as working outside home. Christensen (1993) who got similar responses in her study, refers to this process as role modeling.

²⁷ "Sí, decía mi papá, la repostería es una cosa que uno nunca termina de aprender, cada rato aprendes algo. Pues yo, nunca me imaginé que iba a enseñarme a decorar con piping gel. Y es uno de los trabajos que cuando voy a las panaderías es muy difícil."

²⁸ "Mi papá siempre me decía, nunca hagas un pastel tan complicado, sino lo más sencillo que puedas; y a mí me gusta hacerlos como lo quieran, nada más que me traigan amplificado y ya lo paso al pastel."

²⁹ "Mi hija no se dió cuenta del valor de mi trabajo hasta que ella vió que las mamás de sus amigas solo veían la televisión por las tardes. Ahora ella piensa 'mi mamá es muy creativa,' y esta orgullosa de mi."

Generally speaking, the interviewees expressed the priority of children and home in their lives. However, for middle class women this assumption was a source of conflict and they could not ignore their home based occupations and particularly the meanings attached to them. Being home workers was also an important part of their identities.

Yes I am satisfied with my work because I see the result in my children. Well, with my occupation as a mother, not with this occupation. My occupation is being a mother, I am conscious about that, the other is an extra and I am satisfied with it because it allows me to do something meanwhile I am doing the important thing.³⁰
Rosa, 45-year-old dentist, two children.

The above quotation denotes the ambiguity between both roles and their attached meanings, although Rosa speaks about the primacy of her domestic roles, she is concerned about being a professional.

Patterns of authority

Using a gender perspective, conjugal relations are related to power relations where women occupy a subordinated position (Benería and Roldán, 1987; Oliveira, 1998). Patterns of authority within the family are related to divisions of labor, women's position as the one with primary responsibility for domestic work often prevents them from participating in family decisions. Because men are generally the main income providers, these decisions are considered a male privilege. Thus, women's economic participation

³⁰ "Si porque si veo el resultado en los niños. Bueno con mi ocupación de mamá con mi ocupación esta pues no. Es que mi ocupación es ser mamá, estoy bien conciente de que es esa, el otro es un extra que estoy satisfecha con esa y te puedo decir que no es decir porque mira, estoy satisfecha porque me ha permitido estar haciendo algo cuando estoy haciendo lo importante.

is supposed to be a tool for changing power relations. However, diverse research has shown that women's work both inside and outside of home it is not a guarantee of power (Blumberg, 1991).

Regarding patterns of authority within the family, Oliveira (1998:25) reports that in general, despite increasing female economic participation, in Mexico male power is still a constant, particularly in working class households. However, these relationships imply variation along women's lives. Oliveira distinguishes three types of situations: submission, represented by women's acceptance of male authority; imposition, male authority is exerted by violent means; and confrontation, men's authority is met by forms of female resistance.

In the case of home based work it has been said that it reifies women's subordination (Barbieri and Oliveira, 1986; Braden and Chant, 1989; Salmi 1993) or makes it more difficult for the woman to change these patterns (Salmi, 1993:17). As the last author points out, the woman works either at home or outside it, she has to negotiate or fight for her position, if she is aware about inequity.

In my case studies I found patterns of relationships related to acceptance of traditional gender division of labor. This was the case of a middle class woman who in a situation of economic difficulties, was asked by her husband to work and found home-based work as the choice to engage in paid work without leaving aside family needs. But this woman enjoyed her domesticity, it was her life project. This is why when home working demands created a conflict with family demands, she decided to quit her paid work. Thus, she fought with her husband to preserve her domestic orientation:

And there it comes a moment in which there are only complains: "how is it possible that there is 1:30 and dinner is not ready," "you know what? I was requested some packages and I wanted to make them and the time just passed through." No, it is impossible, . . . and I said: "You made me to do this against my will, you got to convince me and now you are demanding me, so you know what? Take your things out because before, I was happy at my home, there was no demands because I knew very well what my duties were and there were not so many problems. So, I better quit this (job) and get back to my home, to do early my domestic work, and then, or read a book, to do what I like to instead of killing myself (with this job)"³¹. Elsa, 33- year old diapers' distributor, three children.

In other cases women can be aware about gender inequity and hard economic circumstances such as male unemployment gave them the option to work at home, sometimes increasing their possibilities of negotiating their conjugal situation. This was the case of a middle class woman who was in constant communication with her husband, and he supported her paid work at home:

...an advantage with my husband is that there is a good communication between us. We both needed to work, and he gave me the choice, he said "go ahead." He is not a person that says no because you are going to earn more money than I do. He said: " Ok, I will take care of the children."³² Sagrario, 44-year-old tarot reader, two children.

³¹ ". . . y pues llega un determinado momento en que son reproches, de que "mija cómo es posible que son la 1:30 y no está la comida." "Oye es que fijate que sabes qué? me surgió un pedido de tantas bolsas y quiero que salga y se me pasó el tiempo; no, no es posible...y llega y dices bueno: Tú me hiciste que yo lo hiciera en contra de mi voluntad, me convenciste, y ahorita me estás exigiendo, así que sabes qué; toma tus cosas porque antes yo era muy feliz en mi casa, no me exigias porque yo sabía muy bien mis obligaciones y no había tantos problemas; así que mejor dejo esto y yo regreso a mi casa tranquilamente hago mi quehacer tempranísimo, me pongo a leer un libro, lo que a mí me gusta, en ves de estarme matando . . ."

³² ". . . una ventaja con mi marido es que hay una buena comunicación entre los dos. Ambos necesitabamos trabajar y el me dió la opción "Ok. Adelante" me dijo. El no es una persona que dice que no porque yo vaya a ganar más dinero que él. El me dijo "Ok. Yo voy a cuidar a las niñas."

Even in couples characterized by traditional divisions of labor, some kind of egalitarian relationship can be observed, such in the case of the seamstress, whose husband frequently took her opinion into account even in decisions that have to do with his work:

We both always talk, he is accustomed - he says that I am his best friend- and he calls me and he says "you know what? I was asked to do a job but I have run out of inputs and I do not know what to do," and he has to do something and I help him to look at what he needs, then I call him back to let him know that I found the inputs, and so on . . . ³³ Mariana, 42-year-old seamstress, two children.

In other cases, women's education and previous extra domestic work gave to them the possibility of negotiating. Such is the case of Rosa:

...my husband told me "what kind of work could you do in order that you do not feel out of control?" Because believe me, not doing anything else than taking care of the children, when you are a professional that has developed an activity, you know what? I think that nobody can. It is very difficult. ³⁴

As reported in other studies, middle class women have more chances of negotiating a more egalitarian position within their households. In the case of working class women most of them accept their assigned social position and assume that as bread winners their husbands are the ones to make decisions or to have the last word about it. It is important to say that for many women of both classes, a traditional division of labor by gender is an

³³ "Los dos, pues siempre lo platicamos mi marido y yo. El tiene una costumbre, dice que su mejor amiga soy yo, y el este me llama y me dice "fíjate que ahorita me hicieron un pedido pero me faltan algunos materiales y no se que hacer", y pues tiene que hacer algo y ...yo le ayudo a buscarlo y pues ya lo encontré, así por el estilo."

³⁴ " ...mi esposo me dijo "que puedes hacer tranquila, para que no te sientas descontrolada," porque de veras que no hacer nada más que ver a los niños cuando tu ya eres una profesionista que ha desarrollado una actividad, sabes que? Yo creo que nadie puede, es muy difícil."

ideal and they consider their role as housekeepers as a privilege. However, some other women, particularly those that worked outside home before marriage and children face conflicts with their husbands when they want to reincorporate themselves in the labor market. In these households where husbands systematically opposed to their wives paid work outside home, working at home was a good option for women. This was the case of a working class home worker woman:

I have always proposed to my husband that I want to work, but first it was not possible because my children were small, and now . . . because they are older.³⁵
Elisa, 48-year-old baker, three children.

Situations of male's imposition in conjugal relationships are frequent in the literature, as well as cases of domestic violence (Benería and Roldán, 1987; González de la Rocha, 1986, García and Oliveira, 1995) that many times are hidden by the so called 'intimacy' of the home. Although in my case studies I did not find traces of intra-conjugal violence beyond verbal disagreements and discussions, these expressions of power might exist.

Sometimes, women's gained terrain in their conjugal relationships because across time they might arise awareness about their situation, and also because their participation in community activities empowers them. Such was the case of Doña Delfina:

And now, well I let him to made pressure on me (before), forced me to do this and that. And now, when a decision has to be taken we talk about it and I tell him "look I am going to do what I have to do, and you are going to do your part, and you do not even have to mention about what I have to do because I will do it. And I do not have to tell you what you have to do. I could not do this before because I was

³⁵ Yo siempre le he propuesto a mi esposo (trabajar), (pero) primero no se pudo porque mis hijos estaban chicos, y ahora...pues porque están grandes.

afraid of taking a decision about the things I liked.³⁶

As Oliveira points out, patterns of authority vary according to the family contexts and dynamics, so the case of women heads of households is different. On the one hand, it has been argued that these women have more autonomy because of the male absence (Chant, 1987), on the other, it is proposed that the authority of the absent father is transferred to male children (González de la Rocha, 1986).

In my case studies of home working women, with one exception elderly women hold not only economic but moral authority. Among other things this situation of privilege permitted them more freedom in the use of the domestic space as workplace. This was for example the case of Doña Matilde and Doña Lucha, both of them narrated in the previous chapter.

However, Doña Lucha questioned herself and felt guilty because her husband abandoned her and her children:

Sometimes I ask to myself, I did not have the ability to perform as the wife or as the lover he would have liked to have, or as a mother that did not know how to raise her children, I wish he understood me a little³⁷.

³⁶ "Y este ahora, o sea yo también me dejaba que el me presionara, que el me obligara, has esto, has lo otro. Y ahora cuando haya que tomar una decisión platicamos los dos y ya le digo pues mira yo voy hacer lo que a mi me corresponde, y tu vas a hacer lo que a ti te toca y de lo que a mi me toca ni me lo vuelvas a mencionar porque yo lo voy a hacer, pero de lo que a ti te toque tu lo vas ha hacer y yo no te lo voy a estar diciendo. (Antes) No lo hubiera podido hacer porque tenía miedo de decidirme a hacer cosas que a mi me gustaban."

³⁷ "Es que a veces yo me pregunto, no tuve capacidad ni como la esposa que él hubiera querido o como la amante que él hubiera querido o como la madre que no supo tratar a sus hijos pero de que, que mas hubiera querido yo que él me entendiera un poquito."

Doña Lucha's feelings about her performance as mother and wife were contrasting with the achievements she had pursued as economic provider, the roles he had to perform when her husband left away.

Women's Mobility

Women's status is a result of a variety of cultural and socioeconomic factors. In sociological literature women's status within the family has been mainly studied by their participation on decision making (Benería and Roldán, 1987; Oliveira, 1998).

Among other factors that explain women's social position, Spain (1993) emphasizes physical segregation because it contributes to and perpetuates gender stratification by reducing women's access to socially valued knowledge. Thus, women's social status is related to spatial segregation insofar as existing physical arrangements facilitate or inhibit the exchange of knowledge between women and other social agents. The degree of physical segregation of the home from the outside world will influence the use and meaning of the home as a workplace for women.

Measurement of spatial segregation has to do with patterns of use of space at different scales as well as with mobility (Spain, 1994; Katz and Monk, 1993). I will refer to mobility as a spatial indicator of women's status for the case of women home based workers.

According to other studies (Alcañiz, 1995) women's mobility depend on the roles they mainly play in everyday life. For instance, those women who are solely dedicated to domestic tasks have a local use of space, and their mobility is many times restricted to

their homes. When they go out, their spatial relations are a function of their domestic roles. Based on her study with women in the city of Valencia, Spain, Alcañiz (op.cit.) characterized to these women as elderly, from rural origin low qualification and schooling.

In contrast, women with an ample and more egalitarian use of space are those which are incorporated to extra domestic work. These women move in spaces beyond the dwelling/home. In general, as women develop new roles they also develop new spatial relations, for instance they learn to travel alone. Furthermore, as they get better job positions, their possibilities of breaking barriers increase, for example, these women go out alone at night.

My findings for the case of women home workers are similar in some ways. Places women home workers go to and move around depend on their social class, schooling, life course, as well as on their activity and home location. In my qualitative sample, I found that some working class women did not know the city and did not even know their neighborhood. This spatial segregation is partially due to the fact that they were recent migrants in Tijuana. Besides, women's residential location in hills and canyons made difficult their access to transportation and restricted their spatial mobility to the confines of their neighborhoods in order to fulfill their domestic roles.

In respect to their paid work, the clients of these women who were engaged in foodstuffs production and childcare, among other home related occupations, were local. To get inputs, these women go the closest store in her barrio, or if their husbands have a car, ask them for a ride to the super store. These spatial restrictions can be oppressive for women in as much as it impedes the development of their homework and other daily

activities as domestic shopping.

These women went out with their children, visited their relatives and friends who lived in the same vicinity. In particular, working class women focused their spatial relations in the community. Some of them because they had a strong participation in community issues such as Delfina, some others because as recent migrants, they very much relied on the support of friends and relatives, such was the case of Elodia:

...here I am comfortable, I chat with my neighbors, we do not have any problem, we talk to each other. We live here since a year ago, or may be two. And I am back and forth (between her native place and Tijuana), back and forth, but I have a good relationship with my neighbors.³⁸

Generally speaking, the mobility of working class women was partially restricted by their husbands. But one woman mentioned that she had to negotiate her freedom of movement when her husband protested because she decided to teach a bakery lesson and she was not at home to serve dinner to him. Elisa explained:

My husband complained when I started teaching my class that was from 2 to 5 in the afternoons. But I used to walk to my class and I was back at home after 5. Because he leaves work at 4 he got disappointed because I was out, I told to him "I do not take the oven with me, you can heat your meals by yourself." It was only once a week, then I asked him if he wanted me to quit, because I have to let the class know about it. The, he said "it is up to you." He has never prevented me to have something that I like. He paid for a course that I took before³⁹ ..

³⁸ "...aquí estoy muy agusto, muy agusto con las vecinas todas, aquí no hay dificultades, nada, todas nos hablamos, todas convivimos bien agusto aquí, no hay problemas, muy agusto con todas. Y ya le digo ya tenemos más de año aquí, ya va para dos años yo creo. Y yo voy y vengo, voy y vengo, pero convivo muy bien con todas, aquí no hay dificultad con las vecinas."

³⁹ "Pues no me dicen nada. El que a veces me decia era mi marido cuando empece a tomar las clases que eran de 2 a 5 de la tarde. Pero como me iba a pie salia desde la una y

In addition, working class women did not travel frequently, yet they did not do it alone. This is way when some women learned to do it, and it meant a great achievement for them. This is what Doña Delfina said about it:

The day I decide to go to Guadalajara, I am so happy, I pack my things and talk to my husband, "you know what? I want to go to Guadalajara and since we cannot go together because of the store, we both can go only if we close the store, so I am going to go alone for 15 days and I am going to be with my family, happy, free of having to do anything else . . .⁴⁰

In contrast to working class women, middle class home workers had more mobility because they or their husbands owned a car. In addition, they lived in well developed communities and had access to public transportation. They moved within the community and the city to fulfill both their domestic and extra domestic responsibilities. In general, they took their children to and from school, went for shopping, and visited relatives and friends. In addition, some of these women traveled for vacations with their families, had a car and on weekends they went out for dinner with their husbands and children.

regresaba despues de las 5. Como el sale a las 4 del trabajo se molestaba, por mi salida mas que nada, yo le decia "no me llevo la estufa, tu puedes calentar la comida." Pero como era solo un dia a la semana yo despues le pregunte que si queria ya no daba las clases pero que me dijera porque tenia que avisar. El me dijo, pues como tu quieras. Nunca me ha quitado nada de lo que a mi me gusta. Antes cuando tome un curso el me dio para pagarlo, pero los otros cursos fueron gratis, asi que ahora que yo enseño me digo "si yo aprendi gratis porque voy a cobrar".

⁴⁰ "...el día que yo decido ir a Guadalajara, me lleno de gusto, me lleno de alegría, empaco mis cosas y platico con mi esposo, sabes que? Yo tengo ganas de ir a Guadalajara y como no podemos ir los dos juntos por el trabajo, o cerramos la tienda y nos vamos los dos, o me voy yo sola unos quince días y me estoy con mi familia, estar agusto, sin compromiso de que tenga"

Regarding their paid work at home, some women visited to their clients, went to buy inputs, and visited professional organizations in order to socialize with other people. Some women preferred to work in solitude at their homes, and some other did not have to go out to socialize because they did it at home with their clients and neighbors, as we will see with detail in the next chapter.

In general, leaving aside the fact they work at home for a pay, due to their personal decision or because of their husbands' disagreement, middle class women home workers seemed to have less restrictions imposed upon them on the part of their husbands.

For example, Tony said:

Because I am free of doing whatever I want, he never has told me that he disagree with that. If I want to go out, I tell him "I have a dinner, I am going out," or "look, I have to go to this place." Perfect. I have never asked permission. And he tells me "I am going to be late at home because I need to do this or that. And this is the way in which we have get along together, we have been married 29 years and to this date it has worked out well."⁴¹

Mobility restrictions were particular for elderly women in both sectors. They did not go out alone either because they did not know the city or due to health problems.

Women of both sectors, middle and working class, very much appreciated the place in which they lived, most of them knew their neighbors and chatted with them. Particularly, some working class women had a special attachment to the neighborhood because they actively participated in its settlement or were involved in community

⁴¹ "Porque yo soy libre de hacer lo que yo quiera, el nunca me ha dicho que no esta de acuerdo en las cosas. Si yo quiero salir, si yo le digo tengo una comida, voy a salir o fijate que necesito ir a esta parte. Perfecto yo nunca he pedido permiso. Y él, él me dice voy a llegar tarde porque necesito esto, porque voy a lo otro. Y asi es como hemos llevado nuestro matrimonio, tenemos 29 años de casados y hasta ahorita nos ha funcionado."

activities.

To some women of both social classes, the neighborhood in which they lived was linked to a question of social status. A middle class home worker women stated:

I like my neighborhood very much, because everything is close, the people has, I am not elitist, but the people have certain cultural level, well, more and less . . .
Sagrario, tarot reader, two children.⁴²

Although this woman lived in a middle class neighborhood, her dwelling was in a very bad material condition. Being aware of the stressful economic condition of her family, to her was very important to emphasize her class condition and making reference to the neighborhood was a way of doing it. And for working class women, move to a better neighborhood meant also a move in social class:

I would like to move to other place, because my father always told us: move from "La Gloria, " and sometimes I would like to live in other neighborhood⁴³. Elisa, 48 year old baker, three children.

These examples reflect that for both middle class and working class women, living in a residential area is an ideal, a way of acquiring social status.

Conclusions

This chapter examined the consequences of working at home for roles and gender relations within the families of study. In doing so, the chapter focused gender division of labor,

⁴² "Me gusta mucho mi vecindario, porque tiene todo cerca, la gente toda es, no soy elitista, pero la gente tiene cierto nivel cultural, pero más o menos"

⁴³ "Me gustaría vivir en otro lugar, mi padre siempre nos decía "vayánse de la Gloria," y a veces quisier vivir en otro vecindario."

patterns of conjugal authority and women's mobility patterns.

In respect of divisions of labor, case studies show that working at home does not lead to a gender role conjunction. As with Beach's study, this investigation found that in situations of home-work integration are a female endeavor. It is important to mention that while in Beach's study all the women home workers had previous work experience outside home, only half of my interviewees had that experience before engaging in home working. This study describes a variety of situations that depend on women's occupation, social class, marital status, and life course and women's particular circumstances of their lives in the specific social and historical context of the city of Tijuana.

The analysis of division of the labor in the families of the home worker women shows some changes in domestic work that mainly involve to women. They continue to be in charge of the main responsibility for the domestic organization. However, the case studies show evidence that in nuclear families with small children, some men cooperated with children care when their wives engaged in home working.

In respect to productive work, rarely women hire wage workers, they basically rely in non-paid family work. Although some husbands and children participated in the women's productive activities at home, major changes in division of labor relied on women of the family. In particular, in families headed by a woman, productive and reproductive work within the home was delegated to daughters and other women in the family.

Home working leads to the performance of women as income providers but also to a challenge on women's content of their roles that involves both positive and negative notions, ambiguity, and the reevaluation of traditional definitions of women's roles. This

diversity of feelings corresponds to the various situations women experience. The impact of the working experience is shaped by women's place in the map of the domestic interactions, where gender roles are played based on previously assigned codes. Thus, these meanings are not simply accepted by women but they reflexively choose and modify them, resulting in a greater chance of freedom and responsibility in their lives.

In respect to patterns of authority I found among women of this study similar situations of submission, imposition and negotiation. However, these situations are characterized by a diversity of tones that reflect class condition, life course, occupation and women's specific circumstances. Patterns of authority can be analyzed by women's participation in decision making about their economic role and their patterns of mobility. Women with professional occupations and previous work experience have more chances of negotiating their conjugal and work situation. To some women of both social classes working at home is a strategy to avoid conjugal conflict. However, this strategy might become in a tool of women's negotiation and increasing mobility.

Patterns of authority in families of home working women are similar to those found for women that work outside the home. So, this proves that gender as social construction set limits for women irrespective of the site of their work. Middle class, young and educated women have more possibilities of negotiating an equalitarian relationship. However, I found that some working class elderly women achieved a better position through time. In addition, women heads of household seem to have more freedom due to male absence.

In respect to women's spatial relations, these are defined by women's productive

and reproductive roles. I found that besides social class, schooling, and age, migration also influences women's mobility. While working class women have a more restricted mobility, middle class women diversify the spatiality of their everyday lives in part because they have more resources. These results are similar to those findings in studies with women who work outside the home.

Overall, these findings suggest that there is a relationship between the ways in which women elaborate their experience of working at home and their spatial mobility. In this sense, it questions the idea that working at home reifies this space as women's place. The spatial consideration of productive and reproductive practices can help us to a better understanding of specific modes of work, and the consequences for women and family life. The constant interaction between women and their living environments help them to redefine gender roles and relations, as well as the social ascriptions of what home and work are.

Finally, home working has led to the idea of its reification solely as women's place. However, it is important to understand that the home is not always an oppressive place. Socially assigned as women's place, the home can be a public, dynamic site in which women experience a diversity of relationships, and by reproducing their homes as workplaces, they have more chances of control over their lives. The relationships that take place within this dynamic environment will be the topic of the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Women's Inter-Spatial Sociability at Home

This chapter discusses the extent to which the home as a private site and woman's place, has consequences for the family's ecology, gender relations and women's status. I will argue that in the case of women home based workers, the diversity of material practices and socio-spatial relations taking place within women's homes will result in a new sociability for them, which I call inter-spatial sociability.

I define inter-spatial sociability as a context for the analysis of the transformation of home space into a place for another kind of social relationships different from the familiar ones. These new social relationships include interactions of family members with clients, friends and neighbors. I will analyze the impact of these relationships on women's lives. In order to define the concept of inter-spatiality I first discuss the concepts of private and public and the spatial consequences of this dichotomy. As in previous chapters the analysis is based on women's everyday life experiences in the home as living and working space.

The public - private debate

To gain a better understanding of how social relationships different from the traditional family relationships develop within the home space, I will refer to the public-private dichotomy. As feminist geographer Rose argues, these concepts are paired to -or in complicity with, the production-reproduction dichotomy. In fact, the conceptual pair public-private is one of the most used in the analysis of the dialectics between space and

gender.

Public and private have been categories long criticized by feminists. While white feminist scholars have reworked their criticisms,¹ Latin-American feminist scholarship has also reconsidered the public-private debate. Summarily this critique emphasizes that these dichotomous categories rely on masculine ways of social action rendering invisible women's political action, while maintaining a positive valuation of the public realm and a devaluation of the private.² One of the most important conclusions of the public-private debate is that these are not universal concepts. Instead, their content is based on culture and they change across time and space.

As part of a proposal that emerged from this criticism, feminist sociologists use spatial metaphors to explain women's presence in the public arena, but in focusing women's action they leave aside physical space as an element that can modify social action at the same time that can be affected by it. Despite a great deal of research that has considered power relations within the household, the connections between the home as

¹ Although the debate about this dichotomy decreased in American sociology, since the English edition of Habermas' *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, feminists argued that women were not considered in Habermas' theory (Johanna Meehan, 1995).

² Since the public-private dichotomy did not take into account women's work, particularly domestic work, some scholars turned to the productive-reproductive dichotomy. The use of these concepts had some positive effects in as much as they explained women's role within the household and their position in societal processes. Some authors (Tarres, 1989; Velasco, 1996) suggest that the concept of reproduction is helpful in the understanding of women's work in the private sphere but not in explaining women's action in the public sphere. However, since the household perspective did not define the public-political, this approach just considered the public as contextual and did not explain how women -and other family members- participate in this domain.

physical space and social relations within the family remain unexplored.

The consequence of not considering the interaction between material and social space is a reification of the separation between public and private. On the one hand, if the focus is on social reproductive practices, the public sphere is left aside, reifying the home as women's place. On the other hand, if production is the focus, the female participation in the public sphere is emphasized leaving aside the private sphere.

In respect to uneven valuation of the public and private, generally speaking, the feminist critique proposes to eliminate any valuation. In particular, white feminist scholar Iris Young (1987:74)³ urges to transform the distinction between public and private in a way that does not correlate with an opposition between reason and affection and desire, or between particular and universal. According to Young, the women's claim to privacy "the personal as political" do not deny a distinction between public and private, but it does deny a social division between public and private spheres, with different kinds of institutions, activities and human attributes, (and also places, I would add). In other words, public and private should not be correlated to home and work, production and reproduction, masculine and feminine⁴.

Despite the theoretical complicity of these dichotomies, there is no exclusive empirical relationship between private and reproduction, public and production, neither

³ The author proposes that "Instead of defining privacy as what the public excludes, privacy should be defined as an aspect of his or her life and activity that any individual has a right to exclude others from.... the individual withdrawing rather than being kept out."

there is an implicit connection between social relationships and physical spaces as it has been stated theoretically.

The public-private dimension of home space

Despite the public-private debate intends to overcome the complicity between concepts by suggesting that the processes of production and reproduction may occur at any place (the household, the street, the workplace), this complicity persists in as much as the political is still only related to the public sphere. Private spaces and spheres are binary ideal types whose coherence is undermined by socio-spatial structuring practices. That is to say, human agency transforms spaces and places into public or private. In this sense, Nancy Duncan (1996:129) proposes that both public and private spaces are heterogeneous and not all space is clearly private or public. Thus, there are many public and private spaces, some of them very critical.

According to Duncan, the need for privatizing is related to the need for personal autonomy. However, sometimes family autonomy assumes individual autonomy and this kind of private may lead to submission, oppression, and isolation. But a private space can be conducive to powerful forms of autonomy such as autonomy in conjugal relations. The private space can be a site for empowerment, an open and political space. It depends on the social structuring practices. For instance, there are many examples in the literature about the home as a site of resistance (Brusco, 1995; hooks, 1980). Thus, as Duncan states, there are no politically neutral spaces. Social practices recreate private and public spaces and spheres as political in many ways.

Therefore, the household can be a public and private space at the same time. Private in as much as it is related to interpersonal relations between family members, and to the autonomy of family and individual decision making. But households can also be public sites when they involve the presence of non-family members, the uses of home space by both family and non-family members, and the existence of different types of material social practices and relations within it.

Political aspects of the household are also related to the knowledge of family members and their ability and possibilities of applying it, as well as to the ways in which decisions about family, work, and other issues are made and who makes them. In this way, social agents, particularly women, transit across public and domestic spaces, within and outside the home, with different uses of space, material practices, social roles and relations, reproducing all them, sometimes politicizing space, sometimes depoliticizing it.

Public or private dimensions are largely attached to what kinds of people and how they are related to one another, as well as to the ways in which they use produce physical space, the kind of social practices they carry out and the social relationships they engage in particular spaces and places.

Although the Latin-American feminist critique recognizes the intersection between the private and public domains (as well as the link between production and reproduction), in this perspective the separation persists in as much as the public-politic is considered only out of home. So, we need to consider different dimensions of the public-political as occurring at different spatial scales. The importance of studying social processes at the

scale of the home can help to uncover notions of public and private which theoretically are parallel to the production-reproduction dichotomy.

The household has to be considered also as a political domain at the micro social level. The dynamics of social relationships at the household may involve not only family members but also relatives, employees, neighbors, co-workers, and also as in the case of home working, clients, providers and members of other social institutions. Although these types of relationships have been studied through the concept of social networks (Hareven, 1987), but the spatiality of such a relation has not been considered in detail.

As stated before, much of the sociological literature has focused on household economic strategies and the family household was very much considered as a mediation between individuals and society. Thus, the home-household as physical and social environment for family relations was taken for granted in the analysis. Recent feminist geographical research on home working has adequately posed the home as a field of research (Oberhauser, 1997).

In particular, feminist geographers recover the micro geography of households in the study of the processes of production and reproduction by taking into account the relationship between space and social action. In this context, notions of home as a specific space for reproduction are contested. Connected to production, the home becomes a workplace in feminist geography (Sabaté, 1995:179), since "work is not restricted to waged labor, nor does it take place exclusively in specialized locations in urban space." (Quoted by Rose, p. 131). However, because the economic aspects of the household still persist, working to hide the broader socio-politics of the home as a living and working

environment, in this work I emphasize the household not only as an economic but also a social and cultural site.

Inter-spatial sociability

Work-home separation implied spatial segregation and gender division of labor. As a result, while women were confined to the sphere of the home and to fulfill domestic responsibilities, men came into the workplace. Although much of the segregation of these spheres persists, women's action has led to new ways of experiencing and conceptualizing space at various scales, the scale of the home among them. Home working has produced the home as a working place, challenging not only the notion of the home as a segregated place for reproductive activities. Moreover, home working has created social relations different from the familial ones. As a result of the configuration of the home as a workplace, feminist studies in sociology and geography suggest that women are developing a new spatiality of the home. In particular, feminist scholars emphasize the political character of women's action in relation to the spaces in which they live and work.

Geographical literature about women's work makes reference to the creation of a new sociability for women, and a third space as a result of the interlink between production and reproduction. This alternative space has been conceptualized in various ways. For instance, to geographer Mackenzie, women are developing their own networks of labor which are neither productive nor reproductive, and express the creation of a new kind of space, a supportive and interpersonal one, and a new kind of sociality for women (Rose, 1993:136). Watson (1990) observed the same process in her study with home

workers in Australia.

In defining the new spatiality created by women at the intersection of production and reproduction, Rose (1993: 159) argues that women are neither in production nor reproduction but as a result of the tension between these spheres, women are creating a new space, a third space which she calls **paradoxical space**, "spaces that would be mutually exclusive if charted on a two-dimensional map -center and margin- -inside and outside- are occupied simultaneously" (Rose, op.cit. :140). Katz (1992) suggests the concept of **betweenness**, which means to be in the frontiers of different roles and identities, and to be able to transit between them. Feminist geographers recover women's experiences in their theoretical reflections. For instance, there are multiple examples in the literature that make reference to spaces of sociality that women have constructed such as the relations between home, work and community (Mackenzie, 1986; Watson, 1990; Dyck, 1991).

From a sociological perspective, Velasco speaks of about the existence of **empirical spaces** constituted by organizations and other social groups resulting from indigenous women's interaction with other social agents in the streets.⁴ Tarrés (1991:86), in a study on middle class women collective action in Mexico City, proposes the concept of **feminine field and spaces of action** to refer to the ". . . control women develop in different areas of their everyday space, considering this objectively and taking into account women's definition of that space . . ." Among sociologists conceptualizations are

⁴ Although Velasco is interested in indigenous women's transiting between the home and the street, she focus the attention on women's action in the public sphere.

grounded in women's empirical experiences and because their interest in women's action in public space, their spatial categories such as female fields of action and empirical spaces emphasize collective action.

In both literatures, sociological and geographical, occupation and control of space seem to be the aim of producing a new spatiality of the home. So, in both disciplines, feminist scholars are concerned with recovering women's action in their theorizing. The problem with concepts such as empirical spaces and female fields of action is that they seem to refer exclusively to social space. Physical space is taken for granted. However, these are socially constructed spaces that have a material base. As I stated before, sociologists have considered physical space in a descriptive way without making the connections to theoretical space. The opposite problem is present in geographical literature because there is an emphasis in spatial metaphors that many times are disconnected from empirical practices.⁵

In general, these definitions do not transcend but rather reclaim production and reproduction. However, I consider that the last two concepts are restricted categories insofar as they just make reference to the encounter of only two spaces creating a third one. Conversely, sociological concepts of empirical spaces and feminine fields of action

⁵ Geographers Smith and Katz (1993:68) have adequately posed the abuse of metaphorical concepts of space to apprehend social reality. They argue that metaphorical concepts of space have evolved independently from material treatments of space. To them spatialized politics require us to comprehend the interconnectedness of material and metaphorical space. The problem is not spatial metaphors per se but their taken for granted meaning that renders strange what tries to make familiar. To the authors, the undifferentiated fusion of material and metaphorical space, creates a false unity and they suggest the use of explicit translations rules in order to overcome this problem.

make reference to the creation of a multiplicity of spaces. The problem is that these concepts are only related to women's participation in the public sphere.

The discourses of the women I interviewed show that everyday life home space refracts in a multiplicity of places and social relationships. Moreover the women speak of an awareness of the distinction between public and private, and the plurality of definitions about these categories, which are culturally grounded. Based on my empirical data, I employ the concept of inter-spatial sociability when referring to the multiplicity of social relations taking place within the homes of women workers and their families. Inter-spatial sociability involves social relations of different spaces -home, workplace, the community- and different nature, - public and private- taking place within the home space but that may occur at other places different of the home.

Materially grounded in the home, inter-spatial sociability could be the third space that feminist geographers call for, but I see it as an entity, as a 'meeting place' for different social relations that are in constant transformation. It is a space that reunites different fields of women's action, enabling the creation and reconstitution of different identities that might be in conflict. Overall, the ways in which women experience this lived and imagined a spatial entity materialized in the home, depends on the forms in which they elaborate the socio-spatial experience of working at home.

Female sociability as emerging at the conjunction of these various spaces and places has been highly related to motherhood and domestic activities. Then, the types of social relations that take place within these places are defined as emotional, relational and embodied creating a specific type of subjectivity and sociability. This sociability has been

called "domestic sociality" (Rose, 1993:26).

A common feminist claim is that women are distinctive from men, and difference is associated by feminists to different spaces (public and private) and to reveal these spaces feminists focus on women's everyday world and the centrality of women's embodiment. They celebrate the emotions of mothering and the nurturing compassion they find in the domestic sphere (Rose, 1993:28). However, as Rose argues this strategy has the risk of implying a reification of the domestic nature of female action. And although undeniable, after all female behavior is based on the social construction of its domestic nature, there is another type of social relation that takes place within the home but from different nature, a public nature associated to extra domestic space. To what extent are these relationships different from the domestic relationships?

They are not in terms of affectivity, but I argue that what distinguishes these relationships is that they involve interaction with non-family members, and most important the possibility for social action. Moreover, these types of relationships are mediated by work, although they have an informal nature, these are very specific social and emotional ties that are introduced by women's productive activity. I want to highlight the viewpoint of social actors, in this case those of home working women who define the home or home places as public and private depending on the social relationships that take place in them.

The ways in which women experience inter-spatial sociability at the intersection between work, family and the community may lead to a challenge in gender relations, as well as an improvement of women's control over their lives and/ or to a reinforcement of the traditional notions of the home as a private space. Although this kind of sociability has

been related to female subjectivity as opposed to masculine subjectivity, it is important to emphasize intra-gender differences such as those introduced by the type of women's occupations.

A map of relationships within the home

A question remains, is inter-spatial sociability the necessary outcome of women's home-based work? The literature on the topic has reported different situations (Christensen, 1993; Beach:1989; Ahrentzen, 1997). Home working may be a facilitator of social interaction within the home but while some types of home work involve a gregarious character, other are carried out in solitude. Such was the case of Elsa, narrated in a previous chapter. A housekeeper before engaging in home working, she worked in isolation during long work days and felt displaced in her own home by her productive activity.

Some other women's home-based work is very social. For instance, establishing a restaurant at home implies a lot of people going in and out of the home, as well as interaction between the domestic and work dynamics. I will expand on this type of situations in the following section.

What are the consequences of the inter-spatial sociability for women's social position? Because I do not want to romanticize, I want to elaborate on the different outcomes of working at home. According to research on the topic, when home working is oppressive due to the demanding character of the labor process and the labor conditions, the consequence for the worker is isolation and the home is experienced as oppressive

(Christensen, 1993). The literature reports situations of nongregariousness in which some women enjoy working in solitude. This experience gives home working a liberating character (Salmi, 1993; Beach, 1989). Gregariousness, which could be expressed in inter-spatial sociability could be also a liberating experience, but it is inclusive of non-family social relations when the home opens its doors to the community.

The consequences of these different situations are very political. On the one hand women might be exposed to exploitation and subordination, on the other hand women could be exposed to new roles, and most important, they are exposed to the chance of creating new social relations and meanings about their productive and reproductive activities.

I will show through the voices of my interviewees the different types of social relationships that can take place within the home when it becomes a workplace. In particular, I address social interaction of women's home workers with non-family members, clients and community members, social relations between family members and clients. Thus, this social dynamic may involve family-work, or family-work-community, with work being the mediation between family and community.

The Restaurant at Home: A family center for the community

Sometimes home working transforms the home in a very dynamic location, a site for social interaction, an open place for everyone in the community. This was the case for example of Doña Lucha, who runs a restaurant in her dining room:

What I felt, the emotion that I felt and I wanted to express to them when I saw my

dining room as a restaurant. I was very excited about it because I had always lived in a family and suddenly this group came into my home, it was very exciting for me.

Doña Lucha had worked for years as a cook in a restaurant and her home was always empty during the day. She and her 11-year-old daughter arrived late at night. By working at home, Doña Lucha redefined her domestic space into a very social site in which her clients interact. She said:

I am going to tell you why it is different, why they look it differently. Look, do you believe that there they are going to speaking loudly and playing with each other (in another place)? ...here what we do? A family center, they are comfortable, just like if they were at their home. Here, you will see them. It is like a joy. I put little tables there (in the yard) and everything is like at their homes, they feel happy and they make me happy because I feel the satisfaction of serving people, because I give them what they ask for. People are always telling me "Doña Lucha, what do you do that all the people like coming to your home," It is just that they come to eat, that is all about.

The dining room of Doña Lucha is a space in which various social relationships

⁶ ...porque yo sentí esa emoción de expresarle a ellos cuando yo vi convertido mi comedor en un restaurante. Yo estaba muy emocionada por eso, que siempre a vivido una familia y de pronto venía este grupo, para mi fue una cosa emocionante.

⁷ "Le voy a decir porque es diferente, porque ellos lo ven diferente. Mire, usted cree que ellos iban a hablar fuerte y a jugar unos con otros en otro lugar? . . .aquí que tenemos? Un centro familiar, ellos se sienten en confianza, como si estuvieran en su casa. Usted ya los verá. Y es un regocijo, les pongo las mesitas allá, los muchachos y todo como en su casa, y ellos se sienten contentos y a mi me hacen feliz porque me siento que que tengo, tengo esta una satisfacción para la gente pues, o sea que que no hay una cosa de yo sepa, que lo voy a hacer mañana, no que con Lupita esto, que con Lupita esto otro, siempre me estan diciendo, oiga Lupita pues que tiene, que usted tiene la gente toda allí embobada, así me dicen, pues nada mijo es que van a comer eso es todo, no pero me dicen, anda con Lupita y anda con Lupita, pues dicen al otro día dije voy a ver con Lupita. Pues que hay comida mijo les digo nomás."

intersect. Members of the family interact with the clients, and the clients interact each others. Doña Lucha's home transformed in an extension of the community by means of her productive work. In this case, the intersection among family, work and community is very tight. This interaction is facilitated by the ready access of family members to the workplace, and of clients to family areas of the house. As I showed in a previous chapter, Doña Lucha has pursued home-work integration. An empty house and a very private space, it became public through Doña Lucha's home-based work. But its private character remains when she appropriates the kitchen as a place of their own after her clients are gone.

The attention that Doña Lucha provides to her clients is very affectionate. Her words reflect how she cares about them beyond a work relationship, she is like a mother who feed her children and makes her clients feel that place as of their own. This affectionate and nurturing character of Doña Lucha is socialized among those who daily eat dinner at her home restaurant, creating strong ties between neighbors and people that work nearby.

We are like a family

Unlike Doña Lucha, Rosa is a middle class home worker, but she also has strengthened her ties with her neighbors not only by offering them her professional services as a dentist but also by establishing an exchange network:

(My work is) a service to the community because they are truly good people, they come and give presents because they love me. If a need a child costume I do not

have any problem to get it because everybody wants to help me, they bring me a hat, a cap or wherever I need, I have one thing for other. I have learned that you can manage well without money, because we all know how to do something and we are good people. I do not attend to a child for free because after that the mother comes to give something and you have a friend forever. Besides, this is a very nice community, very cooperative community.

As reported in other studies (Watson, 1990; Rose, 1993), women's home working promotes some type of relation that challenge the notion of work. In this case productive work creates a network that provides of goods and services to the community, and many times they are for free and reciprocal. The intersection between family and work relations was clearly shown when Rosa questions to what extent, her paid work at home was a productive or reproductive activity:

If I get sick, the physician comes to see me and he does not charge me, and her daughter is my patient and I do not charge her, then comes her mother and brings me tortillas and fruits. They love me and I love them, but . . . is this productive work? It is productive work, I am saving my husband's money because I have the consulting room, and I get not just money but I exchange services with my clients and neighbors.

To Rosa networking not only implies the exchange of goods and services but also

⁸ "Un servicio a la comunidad porque la verdad son gente que son buenas, y al ratito me traen los regalitos y todo porque la agente me aprecia. Yo no batallo para conseguir disfraces porque todo mundo me ofrece el sombrero de charro, eh una cosa por la otra. He aprendido que te puedes manejar sin dinero bastante bien, porque todos sabemos hacer algo, y todos somos buenas gentes. Que yo no atiende a un niño gratis porque la mamá al rato, no sé, de alguna manera tienes un amigo para siempre. Además todos aquí, yo hallo aquí una comunidad bonita, servicial y todo.

⁹ "Que yo me enfermo y viene el doctor a verme y no me cobra, y viene su hija para que yo la atiende y no le cobro, y luego viene la madre y me trae las tortillas, los datiles. Me quieren y yo los quiero, pero dime es trabajo productivo o no? Es productivo porque yo le ahorro a mi marido el gasto de ir al doctor. A el le rinde su dinero porque yo tengo el consultorio, y no es solamente dinero lo que recibo sino también servicios de intercambio con mis clientes y vecinos.

social relations that involve care and attention for other people, at the same time that these people also care about her family. In relation to her clients, Rosa said:

...They are only friends, my husband even invites them to drink coffee, they play with my children because they are friends from school, most of my patients are from there. My children say "my mom is a dentist, if you have a toothache, she can take care of it," because they know what dental decay is, they know and are very conscious about it, then their friend comes to see me. And if children are well-behaved I let them see a movie with my children as a reward. Because they come to my home and have a good time, then they let me to do my work with them. Anyway I invite children to play with my sons, be or not my patients, because I do not modify my family dynamic.¹⁰

This mutual responsiveness between Rosa and her clients, between the services she offers and the care that the parents of her patients provide to Rosa's children is expressed in her own words:

If I am attending to my friend's child and my son Andrés cries, my friend hugs him and give some fruit to him. We are like a family.¹¹

And at the same time the boundaries between public and private become diffused, the private relationship that takes place in Rosa's consulting room between patient and

¹⁰ "Pues no, nada si son puros amigos y todo, mi marido hasta les invita un café, platican o los niños, como son amiguitos de ellos, del kinder, porque son los que más me traen a consulta. Porque mis niños dicen ah mi mamá es dentista, si tienes una muela picada, ay no arreglate tu muela, porque se preocupan porque ellos ya saben lo que es la caries. Como ellos ya saben, están muy concientes, entonces viene el amigo. Y si se porta bien el niño y de premio le doy que vea con Ale una película. El premio para él es venir aquí a la casa y divertirse conmigo no? Entonces me abre la boca y se deja atender. Y me paso así toda la tarde por decirte, pero a la vez que comparto con el niño de todas maneras le invito a sus amigos a jugar, así que a mi me da lo mismo que sea mi paciente o no, porque como que no modifico mi dinámica familiar no?"

¹¹ "Si, si, si estoy viendo al niño y esta mi amiga y Andrés llora, mi amiga lo alza y le da la salchicha, se la asa y le pica la manzana. Ya, somos como una familia."

dentist, result in relationships of exchange and friendship which are recreated within the home around Rosa's home work, creating the sense that all of them; family members, patients (neighbors and friends) constitute a family, a sense of community.

Work, family and the community

To Doña Delfina, her living room is a public space because it is opened to relatives, friends and members of the community in which she lives. In this case, she has a workplace separated from home, but because of both her paid work and community work, the home and the workplace are sites of high social interaction.

The home place I better like is the living room because there I sit chatting, and I can stay there hours and hours talking or listening. Now I realize how important it is for me to be part of the community, that I never imagined how many people were going to come here, and only God knows how many people are coming yet.¹²

While at home, Doña Delfina enjoyed receiving visits and she particularly liked chatting with the women of her neighborhood, who shared with her their daily problems. She had a strong sense of belonging to the community, and that feeling came in part from the fact that her living room is an open and public space. As a member of the Community House, many people from the neighborhood met at Doña Delfina's home because she had the key of the Community House and she also got phone messages related to the activities of that organization.

¹² "El lugar de la casa que más me gusta es la sala porque ahí me siento a platicar y me puedo sentar horas y horas a estar platicando o a estar escuchando, por decirlo ahorita que me doy cuenta no? La importancia que tiene para mi el ser parte de la comunidad, que tanta gente que nunca me imagine cuánta gente fuera a pasar por aquí, y que sabrá Dios cuánta gente todavía llegue."

But the conversations that started at her home were many times continued at the shop Doña Delfina jointly runs with her husband, while attending to her customers they engage in some chatting about different issues: the weather, community problems, some clients ask to her advice about personal situations, etc. When Doña Delfina changed her work schedule, women of her neighborhood were pleased about it:

...many people were not accustomed to see me in the morning (at the shop), then the señoras came and told me "that is good that you are here in the mornings," they like to see me here. I like the shop because I have the chance to listen to many people. Sometimes, I talk to them about my living experiences, about how I lived, how I resolved things and give them advice.¹³

Besides of involving and recreating relationships with customers and friends, the shop also provided to doña Delfina the chance of promoting community activities. For example, she took advantage of her work at the shop to collect funding for the community house:

What I like about my work is that the people like talking to me and I love chatting. A neighbor told me yesterday "You always are doing something for other people, light of the street, darkness of the home ah?" She told me that because I was collecting money for the community, this is a compromise I had with them¹⁴.

¹³ "...y mucha gente no está acostumbrada a que yo esté en la mañana, entonces las señoras llegan, ay que bueno que ya cambió ahorita en la mañana, que suave, que quien sabe qué, o sea les da gusto verme ahí, y así pero si o sea, si me agrada la tienda me gusta porque tengo la oportunidad de escuchar a muchas personas. Hay veces así inconscientemente hablo, a mi me gusta hablar de mis vivencias, de mis cosas como yo las he resuelto, como me ha tocado vivirlas, que darles un consejo."

¹⁴ "Lo que me gusta de mi trabajo es que entran personas que les gusta platicar y a mi me encanta platicar. O sea este como me dijo ayer una señora? Me dijo, ay usted siempre haciendo por los demás, candil de la calle y obscuridad de su casa no? Porque andaba recogiendo unos donativos, que es un compromiso que yo tengo."

Doña Delfina's role in community work is as important as her role as home based worker. These positions have helped her to negotiate with her husband and daughter to release her from her work at home and at the shop when sometimes she needed to dedicate full time to the community, as she explains:

We had a lot of activity in the Community House. We were organizing the kindergarten. Then, I dedicated all my time to it, I did not attend the home, I did not cook, we use to take breakfast and dinner to my daughter's home, then I took a rest because the day after I had a lot of activity, a lot of work. My husband and daughter did everything, my daughter got someone to look after her children, and they both my husband and daughter did all the work at the groceries store. I was completely released of that work. Of course, I did the community activities because they agreed with it. I told them that during a month or so I was going to be out of the home and the shop, I could not give them any time, all my time was going to be dedicated to the kinder-garden.¹⁵

However, the home was still the scenario of doña Delfina's activities because her neighbors met there to organize and implement community projects such as the opening of the kinder-garden. As she told to her family:

That the home was going to be in movement, people getting in and out. They accepted because they are also involved.¹⁶

¹⁵ "Tuvimos mucha actividad aquí en Casa de la Comunidad, el tres de marzo comenzamos a hacer este Preescolar y se terminó el 28 de abril. Entonces yo este dediqué mi tiempo por completo allí, yo no atendía la casa, no hacía comida, no hacía nada, siempre todo, este a comer con mi hija, a desayunar con mi hija, a cenar con mi hija y a llegar a descansar porque otro día era mucha actividad, mucho trabajo. Y mi esposo casi entre el y mi hija hicieron las actividades, mi hija tenía a una persona que le cuidaba sus niños, y entre ellos dos hicieron las actividades de la tienda, yo me desligué por completo. Claro que esta actividad yo la tomé de acuerdo con ellos, o sea yo hablé con ellos y les dije durante un mes, mes y medio yo voy a estar completamente este fuera de lo que es la casa, la tienda, todas las actividades, yo no les voy a dedicar nada de tiempo porque me voy a dedicar completamente para allá."

¹⁶ "Este la casa siempre va estar que van a entrar, van a salir, y van a ver mucho movimiento, aceptan? Pues que si, porque ellos también están involucrados en lo mismo

We have previously seen that Doña Delfina's organization of productive and reproductive work is characterized by integration, which is due to the spatial strategy of establishing the workplace downstairs in the home. In this case home-work integration has been pursued through different strategies along time. For example, at the present it was possible because Doña Delfina, her husband and daughter set shifting work schedules. In addition, in this stage of her life, she has more home space and time available due to the fact that her children got married.

These circumstances permitted to doña Delfina to participate in the promotion of community activities in the shop and the organization of such activities at her home. This case study clearly show us the intersection of three different spheres: community, work and domestic life within the same space. Unlike the cases of Doña Lucha and Rosa, in which relations between family and community were recreated by means of work, in the case of Delfina there is a flux of interaction that goes from the home to the shop and vice versa, and in both spaces community relationships are recreated.

In these stories we can find some common elements: they address the notion of domestic sociability or women's sociability as related to nurturing and motherhood. For instance, in the case of Dona Lucha, sociability is grounded in feeding her clients, her motto "Nobody leaves my home without taking his/her meal" expresses the care and

si?"

service for them. Doña Delfina's chatting and listening with their clients, friends and neighbors, also expresses women's sociability. But most important, this sociability created by women within the home space by mediation of her productive work, lead to a sense of community to them, both as creators and as part of the community.

It is important to notice that although this sociability is associated to domesticity it is not solely related to home related occupations. Professional women also develop this type of relationship by working at home, such in the case of the dentist.

These stories also reflect the inter-spatiality of social relations that take place at home by means of women's home working. So, we can see how women's work promotes relationships between family members and women's clients, or how relationships between the community are recreated at women's homes, and how women themselves expand their roles and relationships beyond domesticity within the home space.

Conclusions

Literature about home working pictures positive and negative images of this time-space strategy. On the one hand, situations of isolation and vulnerability are bound to the idea of the home as a site of oppression, on the other hand situations of isolation that some people may enjoy, and gregariousness that may promote social interaction are related to a re conceptualization of the home as a transformative place.

Seeking to unravel the notion of the home as women's place, this chapter focused in the diversification of social relations within the home by means of women's home

working, emphasizing those cases in which home working promoted a high social interaction within the home space.

Cases studies were analyzed as a way to address the feminist proposal of deconstructing the home as a private space. Thus, this chapter has shown that by establishing the workplace at home, women transform domestic space into a very dynamic site due to the nature of the distinct social relationships that are recreated into it. Although sometimes work and family relations are counterposed, other times they are bound together constituting a sociability in the very same space of the home. I have called this space inter-spatial sociability.

The implications of this sociability for women are diverse and depend on women's occupation, previous work experience, community context and their participation in other activities. Some women have learned new social roles or giving a new content to the existent ones. They use their domestic and professional skills in helping the people of their communities. Most important, since the domestic space, they help to construct a sense of community.

For both women who used to work outside home and women who were housekeepers before engaging in home working, there is a re-appropriation of the domestic space and an attachment to the home place that emerges from experiencing it as working space. In particular, for those women with previous work experience there is a recovering of the home as living place. This new spatiality of the home might give women a sense of autonomy and independence, at the same time that a sense of being part

of the community.

In this chapter I wanted to unravel the bourgeois and Anglo notion of the home as women's place. While home working may transform the home in an oppressive site for women, it can also be a site where they exert power and control, and this action of women over their environment exceeds monolithic definitions of the home as women's place. The chances of women's control over home space seem to be linked to available space and the time they have been working at home.

What these accounts tell about is a diversity of relationships is that they are (re) created by women's paid work at home. What I intended to recover was women's social action in everyday life, and the home as a dynamic site in such a way that lead us to different notions about what the public and private means.

Thus, home working creates a diversity of territories and social relationships within the home that do not correspond to conventional definitions. But unlike other authors, I do not see only one heterogeneous space (Rose, 1993), a third space. I suggest that a diversity of social spaces exist within the same physical space. Yet, the temporary transformation of home places that some women do to carry out paid work at home, tell us about the existence of different empirical and social places within the home. The emotional and informal nature of these socio-spatial relations, associated to female subjectivity, is socialized by means of women's home-based work.

In previous chapters I have focused in the study of the relationship between production and reproduction at the scale of the household, departing from the idea that this

should be not a taken for granted relationship. In order to uncover the specifics of the interrelationship between these processes I have shown the material and social dimensions of the spatiality of the home, through the study of women's home working. In each of these levels, I have tried to address the consequences of spatial differentiation for gender relations, in particular for women's well being.

Along with the material and social dimensions of reproducing the home as work space, is the symbolic dimension which plays an active role in the ways in which women envision their homes as living and working places. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Home Place Appropriation: Women's Meanings of the Home

In the sociological literature about family and women's work there is an emphasis in the analysis of the meanings of work (García and Oliveira, 1995), whereas less attention has been paid to the significance of the home in women's life. Conversely, geographical literature has focused women's meanings of the home, both as a living and working environment, and has analyzed them as diverse and polyvalent.

In this chapter I argue that this multiplicity of experiences is produced by a process of home place appropriation. Besides, women's meanings are mediated by their notions of public and private, and are informed by traditional ideas of the home as a domestic space and new values derived from the use of the home as workplace. In general, women share similar values, but structural elements such as class, age and type of occupation introduce differences about the ways in which women build their identities around these different values.

This study was carried out with Mexican women home workers and it highlights intra gender differences based on the life course, social class and occupation. I first elaborate the concept of home place appropriation and some theoretical issues about the concept of home. In the light of previous studies, I analyze women's meanings of the home, both as living and working environment, based on interviews with women home workers in Tijuana, Mexico.

Home Place Appropriation

I assume the mutual relationship between the objective and subjective aspects of the space, particularly, I assume home space as a cultural expression. In this context, I suggest that home place appropriation, through a process of signification, functions as an element that structures the spatiality of the home.

According to Ahrentzen (1997:78) homes are psycho social constructions women and men actively build and use to interpret their lives. The author also stresses the need of considering material aspects of housing and societal forces in the production and reproduction of the home. In trying to approach the relationship between the material world represented by the physical space of the dwelling and the subjectivity embodied in the spatiality of the home, I will refer to the concept of place. A central theme in Human geography, this concept considers the emotional response of people to places (Rose, 1993:41).

Thus, places are locations which, through being experienced by ordinary people, became full of significance. However, according to Rose, the feminist critique accuses humanist work of being masculine in the way that the concept of place has been equated with women and the home. When the concept is feminized it more nearly reflects the difference between men's and women's interpretations of place.

As with Rose, I think that it is a better strategy to overcome masculine notions not by searching the opposition between men and women but rather to look at difference of meanings among women. We assume that women and the related feminized concept of the home are categories which have guided our lives, but we also can assume that these are

social constructions and can be challenged by social action.

In my empirical data, among women home-based workers the notion of the home as 'heaven' persists. This is the result of women's socialization in a gender system which promoted separation of home and work. However, my fieldwork data shows challenges in women's socio-spatial practices that are conducive to changes in women's meanings of the home.

In order to analyze my data I propose the concept of 'home place appropriation.' Rooted in physical space and the presence of human interaction, this concept reflects both women's belonging to home physical space and their meanings about that space. Social agents can appropriate space physically but it does not imply a symbolic appropriation. Conversely, symbolic appropriation requires physical one. Thus, the concept of home appropriation includes both, physical and symbolic dimensions of home space. In particular, symbolic representations of the home as part of women's identity are highlighted in the literature (Saegert and Winkel, 1980). Women identify home spaces and places and the special meaning they have for them.

I also assume that division of labor has a spatial expression. Women and men use space differently due to their socially assigned roles. In this context, the home is a gendered space in as much as women and men live and experience it in different ways, and they also have different meanings of the home. However, the emergence and development of roles and activities in spaces not assigned for them might lead to a re-signification of the home place. For instance when the home becomes a workplace. Literature about home workers meanings of the home celebrate difference as a way of approaching women's

valuation of home places (Ahrentzen, 1997).

As with Ahrentzen, I conclude that in the course of overcome mutually contradictory meanings of the home,¹ I conclude that these meanings are variable among women, and I propose that as living and working space, the home results in a plethora of meanings for women. In other words, women home workers may have as many different and contradictory meanings of the home, as many as there are ways in which they use and produce the space of their dwellings. As the home functions as a multi-space (family, community, work space), there will be a plurality of meanings related to and derived from these uses and social relations.

It is important to notice that women meanings vary according to social class, life course, race and women's specific circumstances of their lives. Because use of domestic space is related to gender roles and functions, as women's roles undergo transition, home place appropriation expresses both traditional meanings of the home attached to family interaction and new meanings related to the new uses of domestic space and new roles for women.

The analysis of women's meanings of the home is based on information from interviews with women home workers. This information was analyzed through discourse analysis. In doing this I followed two different strategies. First, I recovered the perspective of the subject of study, that is the women's definition of the home in their own words,

¹ Dichotomous meanings of the home -ideal place for women- place for women's oppression- are related to the public-private notions. These theoretical notions are broken by women's action, as home spatiality is restructured, new functions and social relations emerge.

their own interpretation of what the home means for them.

However, in women's discourses I discovered many other meanings related to home space that were not so explicit. These meanings have to do with feelings related to the activities and roles that women play within the home. I think that both methodologically and theoretically it is important to distinguish between meanings of the productive and reproductive activities, meanings of gender roles, and meanings of the work location. These three levels in the symbolism of work involve a different interpretation.²

Ahrentzen's review of the literature about home workers' meanings of the home highlights women's feelings of identity and miss identity, isolation and entrapment, as well as the popular imagery of the home as a refuge and questions of vulnerability. These meanings are related to the home as workplace. However, despite the fact that homes are also productive places, we cannot deny women's strong attachment to homes derived from their reproductive roles.

Thus, in this chapter I will show the diversity of women's meanings of the home, that emerge when they use it as workplace. In the interviews home workers expressed an ample variety of conceptions about the home. Therefore, on what follows I will consider women's meanings of the home related to both traditional as well as new uses and functions of space. Because most studies on the topic are dedicated to middle class women, this study also considers women of popular sectors and different stages of the life

² This analytical strategy has been stressed by Clifford Geertz (1983) in his piece Thick description. He distinguishes between the perspective of the subject of study, his/her interpretation according to his/her own words, and the interpretation of the researcher about what the subject says.

course.

An emotional map of the home as living space

The home as a family place

Socially, while men are identified with the public sphere, women are identified with the private sphere, represented by the domicile and domesticity. Despite the idea of separation of spheres has been challenged by feminist critique, this social idea continues to persist in the minds of some politicians, researchers, even in the mind of some women. In Mexican culture, it is an underlying premise that sustains the family-home.

Conventional ideas represent the home as the site for intimacy, for being with family members, a place for retreat with family and oneself. In general, the home is considered as a place for resting, a non-working place (Saegert and Winkel, 1980; Barbieri, 1991). This conventional meaning of the home as a family place is prevalent among all women home workers of this study.

To me, how to say it? (The home) is the center of my family and here I have dedicated all my life, all my youthfulness, I can say that . . . Lucha, 49-year-old restaurant owner, two children.

Part of the private character traditionally assigned to the home is its function as a place of the extended family, a social site in which the family members socialize with friends and relatives. This home function and its related meaning are also prevalent among my interviewees, particularly for those who belong to large families. Thus, the home opens

³ "Para mí?, pues como le diré, el centro de mi familia y que aquí he dedicado toda toda mi vida, toda mi juventud puedo decirle..."

its doors to be a place for conviviality and due to this social interaction, some women give to the house certain attributes and values that humanize it.

... (I like) to receive my friends and family. (If) this home could talk . . . sometimes there were 35 persons, for instance in family meetings, just the family, on Christmas day⁴, on baby showers, weddings, etc. To me that means to get warm to many people. Doña Delfina, 51-year-old groceries store owner, lives with her husband.

To women themselves, the home is not only a material but also an emotional "shelter" for relatives and friends. While these meanings were openly expressed by middle class women, working class women did not verbalize this perception of the home. However, it does not mean that such a valuation does not exist for them.

Everybody has a place within the house/home

As I stated in an earlier chapter, homes places have specific functions and they reflect gender division of labor. Traditional middle class homes are designed to cover basic functions like sleeping, eating, etc. These functions and the places assigned to carry out them are based on norms and rules. Common places like the bathroom are used on the principle of rotation, and monopoly implies conflict. Synchrony and order rule quotidian space to protect fair access to home space to all family members. Thus, spatial routines within the home are rooted in order, and such order implies gender and age hierarchies, as Douglas (1991:301) writes:

⁴ "...(me gusta) recibir a mis amistades, recibir a mi familia. Esta casa si hablara, ha habido ocasiones en que aquí ha habido 35 personas, que son estereuniones, por ejemplo reuniones familiares, pura familia, en navidad, quince años, bodas, baby shawers, o una comida. Para mi, eso significa para mi abrigar a mucha gente."

"Round the table each knows where to sit. The order of seating corresponds to other orderings, such as the order of chores, the order of privileges and birth, the order of bedtime. Rankings are scored in space. "

Thus, socialization in the family teaches to the children where the place is that they occupy in the spatiality of the home as well as in the world outside. At home, everybody has a place according to her/his age, gender and activity. Moreover, home places hide power through hierarchies and division of labor.

.... all children are concerned about their space, their place, we all have a place in the world, a function, then at home everyone has her/his own place as father, mother, son. My mom always sited at the head of the table, then the oldest daughter and then the rest of us. It was nice because we were only women and she taught us that women deserve a special treat and she reserved a seat to each of us at the table. Then I learned as a child that we always have a place and it is nice because learn that respect is an issue.⁵ Sagrario, 44-year-old tarot reader, two children.

...children are very conscious about space . . . all of us human beings need time and space, we need to have our own private space, and many times when you arrive at home, you have a place that you like to seat, right? For instance, my daughters fight with me for this seat and I tell them that this is my place, my space, here I feel happy Why? Because here, I have everything under control.⁶

The ideal home implies common and shared spaces for the family such as the

⁵ ".... a todos los niños les concierne lo que es su espacio, su lugar, todos tenemos un lugar en el mundo, no? una función, entonces en casa siempre cada uno toma su lugar de padre, de mamá, pues mi mamá siempre iba a la cabecera, luego la hija mayor y todos no acomodábamos, no? Entonces, pues era muy lindo porque como tenía puras mujeres, ella nos enseñaba que teníamos que tener un trato adecuado a la mujer, no? Entonces nos sentaba a cada una y este, entonces pues se me quedo desde niña que teníamos siempre un lugar y es bonito porque aprender a respetar es uno de los puntos, no?"

⁶ "...(los niños) están muy concientes de su espacio, es que todo ser humano necesitamos tiempo y espacio, tenemos que tener nuestro propio espacio privado, y muchas veces cuando tu llegas a tu casa, tienes un lugar en tu casa que te gusta sentarte no? Por ejemplo mis hijas me pelean esta silla y les digo es que este es mi lugar, mi espacio, ahí me siento agusto no? (se ríe), porque? porque controlo todo no?"

living room and supposes enough space for each family member, a space for everyone.

...in this home everybody has her/his space, the main space is here (the living room), there is the tv, my children receive their friends. Upstairs, my husband has a workshop and there is also a comfortable study room, there is a computer where the children make school duties, that is their environment, that corner is a living place for them. Mariana, 42-year-old seamstress, two children.

However, in poor families, dwellings do not fit such a standard and home places have two or three functions. This was for instance the case of Elodia, at her home the kitchen was also used as living room and workplace.

The home as expression of women's domestic roles

The meaning of the home as the center of family life was particularly true for that women that were solely housewives before they engaged in home working. Across time, they mainly structure their lives around the domestic space and related activities.

Because the home is theoretically defined as a space for reproductive work which is mostly done by women, the meanings of the home are strongly attached to women's roles. Despite the fact that women home workers carry out roles different from the domestic at home, to most women a house without a mother and wife is not a home. In such a circumstance, home space loses its individual and social meaning.

If my husband arrives (at home) and I am not in . . . es because he feels that

⁷ "...en esta casa cada quien tiene su espacio, espacio el principal aquí es ahí (señala la sala), la televisión, mis hijos reciben a sus amigos. (mi marido) allá arriba tiene el su tallercito. Y arriba hizo, es un cuarto así largo, agradable, lo tenemos alfombrado, ahí esta la computadora, en la que niños hacen la tarea. Cuando ellos tienen ganas de ir allá, tienen su ambiente de trabajo, es un escape que tienen ellos, es un rincón que les ayuda a vivirse."

there is a mom, I love my husband and children getting home and . . . what does they smell? A home where there is a mom smells, right? It is warm, a home where there is no mom is not a cozy home.⁸ Rosa, 43-year-old dentist, two children.

Moreover, the home was still the place to express affection and intimate feelings.

Yet, women home workers justify their domestic tasks on the base of love and care to the members of their families. Such is the case of Sagrario.

Then, now the home is a place, how I can tell you? It will sound a little poetic, ridiculous . . . but it is the place of the source of your family's love isn't it? Because when you find linens that were washed for you with love, and they smell nice for the family, and there is a delicious and warm dinner, because you cook what they like, for instance Ilse, one of my children likes chicken with broccoli and the day I cook it is her day . . .⁹ and at meals time we try to give us to each other. Bad things stay outside, no?

According to her words, walls and doors protects family's intimacy from everything what is outside the home. Besides, to some women the home also represented their physical safety and the safety of family members.

The home is like my refugee, for example . . . if the children are here, if Victor is with me I feel that . . . I do not feel afraid. They are inside, and we are safe.

⁸ "Si llega mi marido y no estoy.... es que se siente que hay mamá, o sea a mi me encanta que entran y a qué huele? una casa donde hay mamá huele, verdad? esta calentita, una casa donde no hay mamá no hay calor de hogar."

⁹ "Entonces eh, ahora la casa es este lugar donde estás, es un, como te diré, te va a sonar un poco poético, ridículo, pero es como el lugar de, la fuente del amor de tu familia no? Porque ahí encuentras unas sábanas limpias que te lavaron con amor, y huelen bonito para la familia, y hay una comida calentita y rica porque, pues es más sabroso porque esto es lo que le gusta a fulanito, por ejemplo, a Ilse, una de las niñas le encanta el pollo con brocoli no? Y la hora de comer tratamos de que ese momento es el momento de darnos. El mal se queda fuera no?"

Well, I know that anything may happen but I feel like a safety.¹⁰ Lucía, 36-year-old handicrafter, two children.

The home as children's place

In addition, to all the interviewees, the meaning of the home is attached to children. However, this meaning changes across the life course, while to young families children are a reason for having a home, for being at home, to those women which were in the middle or advanced stage of the life course, children symbolize the home because it was the place in which they were raised.

...well . . . I think that (the home) has strong value for us. Sometimes my husband and I see that our children are adults, and they grew up here, it (the home) has an important value in our life.¹¹ Elisa, 39-year-old baker, three children.

And to aged women, the meaning of the home as children's place was attached to the past. This nostalgic idea seemed to be stronger in widows. For example, the home in which a woman lived with her husband and children did not subsist but in her memory.

...and it was a very nice house, very special because it had a nice yard, it is a beautiful and big house. But it was difficult for me (to live there) because it had so many stairs and it is inconvenient for aged people. Since I moved . . . no, I do not miss it, I am uninterested in it because what is important is not there anymore, the important thing was he (her husband), he is not there anymore, there is nothing to

¹⁰ "La casa es pues como mi refugio, como...por ejemplo si están aquí los niños, si está Victor aquí donde estoy yo, o sea siento que ... no siento miedo. Están aquí adentro, estamos seguros. Bueno, yo sé que puede pasar cualquier cosa, pero lo siento como una seguridad."

¹¹ "Pues...pienso que mucho. Bueno hay a veces que mi esposo y yo nos ponemos a ver; pues que ya los hijos están grandes; y pues aquí se criaron mis hijos; tiene un valor importante dentro de nuestra vida."

do about it.¹² Teresa, 63-year-old handicrafter widow living with one of her daughters.

Teresa denied her family home because it was far away from Tijuana, the city in which she now lives. On the one hand, she recalled that home with nostalgia because she lived there with her now deceased husband. Thus, the widow state and migration contribute to produce new meanings of the home for these women, particularly when they live in a house they do not own. Among aged women home workers the meanings of the home were also related to their present arrangement. Following the same example, Teresa established a clear distinction between the house in which she used to live with her own family, and the house she was living in with her married daughter and her family. In these circumstances, she felt homeless. Conversely, Doña Matilde, who was living with her children and their families, was very respected as the head of the household because her age, experience and economic position within the family. Because of this, she had more freedom in using and experiencing the home space as workplace.

Overall, children give a strong value to the home, to some women home workers a home would not exist without children.

...I am really enjoying (working at home) because it gives me advantage, a lot of advantage, . . . my children are growing up, I am at home because it is required for my children, this is the only condition. When my children leave the home, it

¹² "... y era una casa muy bonita, muy especial porque tiene un patio muy bonito, o sea que la casa esta muy bonita, que como quien dice para mi era muy dificil, porque no era plana, tenia cinco niveles, y para donde quiera que subiera las recamaras, la sala, la cocina, un poco no práctica para personas mayores, pero muy linda, pero cuando me cambie de alli, entonces para mi... no extraño, no me interesa y menos ahorita, lo importante no esta, verdad, lo importante era él, no esta pues ya ni modo."

will be not so needed.¹³ Laura, 35-year-old cosmetologist, two children.

Yet, Laura would no stay at home if hey children were not there. In other words, without them, the home is not needed for her. Laura is a professional woman who is working at home precisely because the convenience of being with her children. Otherwise, she would be working outside home.

Among these women the life course proved to be an important factor in the production of the meanings of the home as living environment, showing that the home is not a static cultural symbol. Thus, despite the fact that traditional meanings of the home still exist, these are recreated by women according to their specific living situations and major social contexts.

Home as the product of work: the family's patrimony

Homes cannot be only defined by their functions, what makes them valuable for women is the social interaction which takes place within them, women live and signify that space because of the human presence (Friberg, 1993). However, as material space, the house has also attached meanings for women.

The home as family's patrimony is a concept related to traditional notions of the family. In this sense, as breadwinners men are expected to provide housing to their

¹³ "...que realmente lo estoy disfrutando porque me da ventaja, mucha ventaja. ...mis hijos van a crecer, estoy en mi casa porque requiero estar en mi casa por mis hijos, es la única condición. El día que mis hijos dejen mi casa, mi casa no es tan necesaria ..."

families. Nonetheless, women are engaging in these obligations as a part of their increasing economic participation. To women home workers, having a house of their own was the result of many years of work. Their efforts became materialized in a house. Home ownership gives to families economic stability and also represents children's patrimony.

This is why for some middle and working class women home workers and their husbands, having a house of their own was an important goal to achieve when they formed their families.

Yes, my husband built it (the house) and little by little we bought things, we got the fireplace, the tv, with the money I am saving, his salary is to make a living. We get small things with our savings, and we get what we need little by little. ¹⁴ We have had very hard moments, and we built this house with so many sacrifices.
Mariana, 42-year-old seamstress, two children.

And for women, to have a home of one's own also means to be independent from relatives, to have their own family budget, to have a place for their children, a home in which every family member has a place of her/his own.

Uh, to me the house means so many illusions, a lot of work. Since I got married, I had the idea of having my own house, to live in a home without paying rent. My illusion was to have my own things, because I grew up in a home of rich people, I used to work there since I was 14 to 20 years old. Thus, a home of rich people has everything, right? And I thought that I wanted to have my own bedroom, a

¹⁴ "Si, mi marido la hizo y poco a poco entre los dos hemos ido, que la chimenea, que la televisión, aquí las cosas que yo, que yo voy juntando y él con lo que sale, con lo que el trae alcanza para para vivir, para comer. Y ya, los detallitos ahorros que vamos haciendo entre los dos y ya vamos saliendo, lo que se va necesitando poco a poco. Hemos tenido momentos muy difíciles, esta casa la hemos hecho muchos esfuerzos."

bedroom for each one of my children, a washing room, etc.¹⁵ Delfina, 51-year-old grocery's store owner, lives with her husband.

It is important to notice that for Mariana y Doña Delfina their paid work at home has played a fundamental role in home acquisition. They both had worked at home for a long time and they have economically contributed to the construction and furnishing of their homes. These elements have contributed to their sense of home appropriation, both instrumentally and symbolically.

Although ownership creates a strong attachment to the home, sometimes women live in rented houses for a long time and this is what created in them a strong sense of belonging to that home space. Doña Lucha has lived in an old home made of wood since years ago but she pays rent. When she was with her husband she had plans about buying the home. However her husband did not cooperate and she could not do it by itself. Now, she is the head of her household and it is even more difficult for her to buy a house, however this is and has been one of her priorities in life.

Home as workplace

The organization and use of the domestic space are socially determined by the gender

¹⁵ "Uy para mi significa la casa tantos, muchas ilusiones, mucho trabajo. Yo a menos que tuve desde cuando me casé de tener mi casa, de vivir en una casa donde no me sacaran, que no dijeran no tienen para pagar renta, eran las ilusiones de tener todas mis cosas, decía yo ya quiero tener mi casa, como me crié en una casa, digo que me crié porque de los 14 años a los 20 años duré trabajando, entonces en una casa donde vive pura gente acomodada pues todo tiene verdad? Y yo decía uuh yo quiero tener una recámara para mi, para cada uno de mis hijos, un cuarto de lavar..."

division of labor within the family. In this way, home space is supposed to be the social scenario for reproductive roles, for instance while cooking is represented in the kitchen, the rituals of meals take place in the dining room, resting and sleeping in the bedroom, personal cleaning in the bathroom, etc. These home places and the social practices that take place within them support the development of specific social relations within the family. The family-house, in its physical form and conventional use is a determinant of the family activities and interrelations.

Studies in feminist geography have shown that by working at home women are changing their space and time patterns through their activities, breaking down the separation between production and reproduction, while altering at the same time the content of gender and environment categories, as well as the meanings about home and work (Mackenzie, 1986; Watson, 1991).

Home working illustrates how this dynamic relationship happens in the domestic space through its use as a workplace, as well as the diversity of meanings that result from this transformation. This process redefines what the family-home means to women as working and living environment. Women home workers in Tijuana have also adapted home places to develop their productive activities. These women have appropriated home space materially by rebuilding and (re)furnishing it, but also socially, because of their presence and the social interaction they develop through their working activities; symbolically in as much this new social interaction led to new meanings of home space.

While transforming the home into a work environment may be conducive to a harmonic combination of family and work, it also may lead to situations of conflict and

contradiction. These different outcomes of working at home have related meanings about the activity, the role and about the home as work location.

Misidentification and isolation within the home

In reference to the home as workplace, literature about home working has reported feelings of identity, miss identity, isolation and vulnerability as a result of adapting home places as occupational places (Ahrentzen, 1997).

As in many other studies, among my interviewees misidentification with the home as workplace was related to home working devaluation due to its location. Some interviewees expressed the importance of the home in their lives, but they also expressed a positive feeling of the workplace which sometimes led them to report conflicting in an ambiguous manner:

Let me explain, what is important for me is the home. But I cannot erase myself, disappear, at least a little shade is alive. Then I feel good because If I would not have the consulting room, I would cry of sadness. I love it.¹⁶ Rosa, 45-year-old dentist, two children.

As it is expressed in this narrative, women's identity is also linked to the appropriation of the workplace within the home. However, these perceptions may differ by occupation. Misidentification and ambiguity about the meanings of home location were primarily related to professional and semi professional occupations. Women with other home related occupations did not express these feelings.

¹⁶ A ver si me explico, lo importante para mi es la casa. Pero yo no me pude borrar toda, desaparecer; por lo menos una sombrita esta ahí viva. Entonces si me siento agusto porque si no tuviera el consultorio lloraría, de tristeza. Lo quiero."

In previous research isolation is portrayed as a homogeneous feeling only related to women home workers who used to work outside the home. In my own study I found isolation as a feeling that might be present in both, women who previously were housekeepers and women that used to work outside home. For example, Elsa, a woman who used to be a housewife before being home worker, when worked at home experienced isolation related to the loss of social relations with relatives and friends. Furthermore, because she dedicated a great deal of time to work, her home space was invaded by her productive activity. She experienced the feeling of losing her home in all three dimensions: physical, social and symbolic. Conversely, Lucía, a handicrafter who used to work outside the home before engaging in home working, also experienced isolation but it was related to the loss of social relations with her co-workers.

Positive and negative feelings of working at home are also highlighted in studies about the topic. While for some author's isolation is a common theme (Ahrentzen, 1997:84), others report homework as a nongregarious occupation that women enjoy (Beach, 1989, Christensen, 1993).

The workplace as a place of control and power

But beyond these positive and negative feelings, which are so often linked to environmental and working conditions, I would like to emphasize the point that home places represent power and control for those women that have worked within the home for long time:

...we all human beings need time and space, we need to have our own private

space, and many times when you arrive at home, you have a place that you like to seat, right? For instance, my daughters fight with me for this seat and I tell them that this is my place, my space, here I feel happy. Why? Because here, I have everything under control.¹⁷ Sagrario, 44-year-old tarot reader, two children.

Sagrario refereed to her place at the dinning table which was also the table she used to read the tarot. Her place was located just in front of the living room, where her daughters and husband sometimes watched T.V. while she was working.

A similar situation was that of Mariana, a seamstress who consciously recognized that she liked her workshop location within the home because in that way she could exercise control over everything, specifically control of what her children and husband were doing.

Thus, some workplaces within the home have a strategic location, therein lies their power, the power of whom occupies them. These situations reflect women home workers' appropriation of home places physical, social and symbolically. In particular, women's symbolic representations of these sites reflect the position and power that some women can achieve within the home space.

Conversely, feelings of vulnerability resulting from the confines of one's home have been attributed to home working (Ahrentzen, op.cit.). Private notions of the home sometimes cause this feeling, for example while the seamstress preferred her clients to use the bathroom as fitting room, the cosmetologist used her bedroom as consulting room. In

¹⁷ ". . . todos los seres humanos necesitamos tiempo y espacio, necesitamos tener nuestro propio espacio privado, y muchas veces cuando llegas a casa, tu tienes un lugar en donde te gusta sentarte, si? Por ejemplo, mis hijas pelean conmigo por esta silla y yo les digo que es mi lugar, mi espacio, aquí me siento agusto. Por qué? Porque aquí yo tengo todo bajo control."

some sense these strategies are also related to women's occupations.

On the other hand, women tend to see the meaning of the home as involving important relationships with other people and to feel that the home is a personalized place. This in part explains why women home workers work only with people they know, or with those persons introduced to them by relatives and friends, many times they do not want to break the intimacy of their families:

My clients are my friends and neighbors. My home is not like an emergency room in a hospital, I cannot attend to anyone who knocks my door¹⁸. Rosa, 45-year-old dentist, two children

However, women attempt to maintain some control over the places in which they work and live and this control is exerted through their own definitions of what public and private is. The home is a setting that establishes the boundary between public on-stage activities and private interpersonal pursuits (Saegert and Winkel, 1980:45). The use of home spaces is daily transformed for productive activities involving a juggling between private and public.

The workplace as a place of one's own

The home can be experienced as a physical refuge that protects the family, and as an emotional refuge in the sense of a place for the expression of feelings. Usually, the metaphor of "the home as heaven" clearly represents this image in the literature (Ahrentzen, op.cit.).

¹⁸ "Mis clientes son mis amigos y vecinos. Mi casa no es la sala de emergencias de un hospital, yo no puedo atender a cualquiera que toca mi puerta."

As in other studies I found among my interviewees that some areas of the home that fulfill traditional functions such as women and children's bedrooms represent a refuge. However, in my study home places were experienced by women more realistically than a haven, as a place of their own. Internal working places within the home were meaningful to women home workers. Because these women spent much time at home, they adapted certain home places as a site for reflexing, a space of their own. The workplace represented a retreat from the rest of the house:

....I dedicate Saturdays in the morning to the consulting room and although I have no patients I like to study there. I read something about my work. I also dedicate that time to myself that morning. It is about three or four hours. ¹⁹ Rosa, 45-year-old dentist, two children.

and

I like my kitchen . . . I do not know why but I get accustomed to my little kitchen, I feel happy there. I cook everything for my clients, it means that my kitchen is all mine and I do everything with happiness. And when my clients are gone, I sit there and while I am preparing the meals for the following day, I think about myself, about my daughter, about the things I want to do in the future. ²⁰ Doña Lucha, 49-year-old restaurant owner, two children.

These women appropriate and enjoy their work spaces within home both as workplaces and refuge sites. However, to some women having the workplace at home was

¹⁹ "...los sábados en la mañana se los dedico al consultorio y aunque no haya pacientes yo me pongo a estudiar algo, o leer algo relacionado con mi profesión. O sea, ese día lo dedico a mí también toda la mañana, como unas tres o cuatro horas."

²⁰ "A mí me gusta mi cocina.... no se porque, será que ya me acostumbré a mi cocinita... pero ahí me siento feliz. Yo cocino lo que mis clientes piden, ...entonces que quiere decir, que yo mi cocina la siento toda con seguridad, porque ya tengo esto 'pa 'ca, esto 'pa 'lla y con alegría." "Y cuando mis clientes ya se fueron, Me siento ahí y mientras estoy preparando la comida del día siguiente, pienso acerca de mí misma, acerca de mi hija, acerca de las cosas que yo quiero hacer en el futuro."

disturbing, so they do a mental separation of productive and reproductive places as a strategy to deal with this conflict. For instance, while Doña Lucha liked her tiny kitchen as reproductive place, workplace and site for solitude and retreat, to Doña Matilde, another foodstuff producer, the kitchen was just a workplace and the bedroom she shared with her granddaughter was the site in which she took a rest after her daily journey.

Married women have to share their bedrooms with husbands and sometimes bedrooms become in the arena in which conjugal conflicts are expressed. This is why some women home workers enjoy being at their workplaces, particularly when they can have a separate workplace within the home. But some other women have to wait until children have left home to have a place of their own, such is the case of Doña Delfina:

I have a room of my own, and I seclude myself there. My children are gone, bedrooms became empty and then I got a room for me. And he criticized me (her husband), he told me "you are like an owl" and I got angry. Now I tell him, excuse me. He used to knock my door: "do not stay late, do not do this, do not do that" and I told him "you know what? I will go to sleep when I feel tired."

Ah, that room for me means a place for retreat, for spirituality, of being with me and with God. There I realized about my feelings and behaviors. In that room I write things that happen to me, things I read, things I want to do, things that I have not done but I would like to, things that I actually live because I want to take advantage of that experiences, how²¹ to get solutions, how to live my life without interfering in others' peoples lives.

²¹ "...ahí tengo mi cuarto para, me encierro, ahí tengo mi cuarto. Mis hijos se fueron, las recámaras quedaron solas y yo agarré un cuarto para mi. Y (mi marido) me criticaba, me decía 'pareces un búho' and I got angry. Ahora le digo, conpermisó. Antes me tocaba, 'no te desveles tanto, no esto, no lo otro,' y yo le dije 'sabes qué? Que cuando yo ya me sienta cansada me acuesto."

"Ah esa habitación significa para mí un lugar de recogimiento, de espiritualidad, de estar conmigo misma y con Dios. de darme cuenta de mis sentimientos, de mis comportamientos... Que yo era inteligente, que yo logré sacar a mi familia adelante, ah

According to these experiences, in home places of "their own," women home workers think, cry, write about their life experiences, raise consciousness about their specific living and working situations and take decisions about their lives.

These conceptual dimensions are attached to what kinds of people are related to each another, the ways in which they use and produce physical space, the kind of practices they do, and the social relationships they engage in particular spaces.

Conclusions

Symbolic home and home places appropriation are still related to traditional functions and women's domestic roles, but the use of the home as work space by women diversify their meanings of home space.

Women home workers in this study gave primacy to the family, and in that sense the home is represented as a place for reproductive issues and family social relationships. However, they did not dismiss their homes as working places, which also represented an important part of these women's identities. Thus, to home workers, domestic space represent their multiple roles and women may assume a positive identification and attachment with the home both as productive and reproductive place (Ahrentzen, op.cit.),

es porque soy inteligente, que yo era valiente en cuanto a fracasos que han sido difíciles, este que yo era valiente.

"En ese cuarto yo escribo las cosas que me pasan, las cosas que leo, las cosas que quiero hacer, las cosas que no he hecho y me gustaría hacer, las cosas que realmente vivo porque yo quiero tomar ventaja de esas experiencias, como encontrar soluciones, como vivir mi vida sin interferir en la vida de los demás."

but also opposite feelings of misidentification or loss of the home.

Women home workers considered their homes primarily as private places for family life and intimate relationships. All women home workers have feelings of the home as a traditional place that fulfills domestic functions and womanly roles are attached to the home. Children make homes valuable places, in particular the nostalgic idea of the home as a site of childhood is important for those women that do not live in the house where their children were raised. Social class, the life course and women's occupations introduce some intra gender differences. For instance, in general the home is a site for childhood, but while for aged women this is a nostalgic idea, for young women this meaning is strongly attached to their present life.

Women also think about their homes as product of work, and they actively participated not only in the modification of the home space but they also contributed economically to home acquisition. Having a home of their own is an ideal and a strong representation of the home, even for poor women. They want to have a place for everyone in the family, but lack of resources prevent these women of achieving this desire.

In addition, this valuation of the home should not be interpreted as a simple expression of a dominant ideology, because in the tension between home and work, women rescued and re-elaborated some of these meanings. In reconciling home and work women rejected their domestic roles as a full-time job and re-evaluated their role as workers. Parallel to the re-signification of their domestic roles, by working at home, women's also re-signify or diversify the meanings of the home. While dwellings preserve their traditional meanings to women, at the same time they signify those parts of their homes that are

used as workplaces.

As with other parts of the home, the workplace might become in women's room of their own or in a place for high social interaction within the home. But work spaces can also result in nongregariousness, isolation and feeling of losing the home. Vulnerability is another feeling derived from home working and it associated to the private notion of the home.

The emergence of these new symbols of the home or home places have different manifestations: sometimes, when work appropriates domestic space, the home loses its social meaning; the meaning of the home as working and living space are in tension. But women try to conciliate the different roles they develop within the domestic space and the meanings of their homes representing them as both, private and public spaces.

To a woman home worker the diversity of meanings about the home or home places includes both, as living and working space: for example to Dona Lucha the home was the family place, but it also shelters the workplace. In this case the kitchen was a place for productive and reproductive activities, cooking for the family and for the clients. And as workplace, the kitchen was an extension of the community when the clients appropriated the place, but it also was a place of retreat for the woman home worker.

In previous research, it was thought that to home workers the home as work place involved negative feelings of isolation and vulnerability, but also positive feelings of working in solitude. Because representations of the home are associated with private and public notions, in this chapter I highlighted situations of empowerment based on women's control of home space, women's appropriation of the work place as a site of their own,

and women's representations of the home as a public site.

By working at home women are not only challenging their roles but also the attached notions of public and private that mediate their symbolic representations of the home as living and working environment. My differences with previous studies are based on an analysis of distinct social classes and life course. This work intends to fill the void about home working women in other societies different from Anglo populations. Although some white scholars (Rose, 1993; Katz and Monk, 1993 among others) have recognized the ethnocentric character of their studies, I want to stress the need for further research that take into consideration theoretical differences in the analysis of spatial experiences of women of different classes, races and cultures.

Conclusions

In seeking to fill the void about the role that space plays in processes of production, this study provides a socio-cultural perspective of the manners in which women, in the specific economic and historical setting of the city of Tijuana use the home space to accommodate wage-work over the life course.

This study highlights the vision of home and work from the perspective of social agents. In a critical perspective, it also envisions the theories under which sociologist and geographers have studied the processes of production and reproduction. Unlike other studies that emphasized either experiences of home-work integration, or home-work conflict, this study accounted for difference and diversity in the experiences of home working women in Tijuana.

This research contributes new knowledge of various sorts. First, this is a study about home working, a type of work that statistics does not account for in Mexico. In particular, in the context of a city in which much attention has been paid to export led industry as a source of employment, it renders home work invisible. Thus, one of the justifications of this research is to focus on a type of work that has long been part of Tijuana's economy across history, as it has been shown in this study. Second, the participants in this research are Mexican women. I also center the attention on their spatial experiences as women of different marital status, distinct social class, as a way to show other realities different from those of the Anglo women pictured by the geographical literature about home based work

In this study I go beyond existing social concepts and categories such as time-space

arrangements, home-work integration, juggling and transiting, but most important I relied in my field work research to create new social categories in order to account for the empirical findings. In particular, I use the concept of socio-spatial conflict as central in the connections between social practices of production and reproduction.

In the following sections I will focus on how the concepts provide insights on the intersections of women's work and family life within the micro geography of the home, the related geographical consequences for women, implications for public policies and an agenda for further investigation about the topic.

Time space arrangements and the new geography of the home

This study emphasized the micro social details of the relationship between production and reproduction at the scale of the household. The time-space strategies women employ to accommodate paid work at home displayed the articulations between these spheres both in everyday life and over the life course. Considering socio-cultural elements that organize everyday life within the home, I analyzed the use of this space as workplace in relationship to women's social class, occupation and life course as variables of differentiation.

In trying to deal with family and work within the domestic space, women use a variety of time-space strategies. As in other studies, my findings also show that because homes are not designed to perform wage work within them, women modify or rebuild their homes in order to make room for their paid work. The new geography of these homes was also expressed in the installment of equipment and furniture. In addition, home working women use domestic resources, sometimes including unpaid family labor. How

women accommodate wage work at home depends on the work space location within the home as well as on women's occupations.

Regarding the use of the home as workplace I found two categories of use of space: combined and separated work space. In the first category, women used different areas of the home like dining room, kitchen, living room, bedrooms and yards as places for production and reproduction. While nonprofessional women frequently used the same place to perform productive and reproductive activities, professional women tended to establish their workplaces in a separate location within the home. In the last case, the nature of some occupations sometimes permitted juggle between paid work and domestic tasks located in different home places.

While conventional studies focus on measuring times of domestic work, reviewing the experiences of women of this study revealed that they work at their own pace, in flexible schedules that include a variety of arrangements. However, in trying to cope with family and work demands, women many times had long work days. While women with home related occupations seem to be more responsive to family needs, working on weekends or during nights when children were asleep; women with professional or semi professional occupations tried to set fixed schedules or work by appointment. In general, women's commitment to work appears as a central dimension in defining the time-space structuring of productive and reproductive activities within the home.

Geographical implications of home working

Studies carried out about home-based work have led to different conclusions both about the

ways of articulating home and work, and the geographical consequences of this articulation for women. Home working is assumed as flexible work that permits family-work integration (Beach, 1989; Lindon, 1996) or as a type of work that creates conflicts with the family (Christensen, 1993).

Empirical findings of this study revealed that the outcomes of the production-reproduction interlink might be home-work integration or conflict expressed in a variety of situations with different tones and degrees. Social class, occupation and life course were the most salient factors in explaining women's experiences in dealing with the social practices of production and reproduction at the scale of the household. Therefore, the ways in which home environments constrains or facilitates women to work out family and wage-work within the domestic sphere and the ways in which they negotiate these spaces and places are different and complex for a married woman with small children, for a widow head of household, and for a married woman whose children left the home.

As spatial parameter, socio-spatial integration reflects permeability of space which enables blurring of productive and reproductive activities within the home. Besides, flexibility of schedules permits women to work at their own pace, have control over the work process and to be responsive to family demands.

In situations of home-work integration I distinguished two groups of women: First, those middle class women with professional or semi-professional occupations such as dentistry or product marketing. In respect to the life course, these women were in the middle or advanced stage of their lives when children need less attention, they have more available space for developing productive activities at their homes. Some of them reach

home-work integration after many years of working at home, but some other still face problems due to the intromission of work in family life. In general, these women might have more chances of developing activities outside the home, while some of them have to visit other places related to their businesses, some others enjoy working at home and their mobility is restricted to this space.

The second group is composed of women with nonprofessional or home related occupations such as childcare and foodstuff production. Because of restrictions on available space, these women make an intensive use of the domestic space. Frequently, the same home place is used for activities of production and reproduction. Strategies to avoid family-work conflict particularly involve rescheduling paid work. Because of the location of their neighborhoods and the lack of cars these women have less mobility but they have developed higher interaction within their communities. In general, home-integration was more frequent among women with home related occupations and a longer experience of working at home. Class differences were related to available space and domestic resources, but regardless the location of work space, the nature of women's occupations permitted the juggling between work and family in daily life.

In respect to the life course, some women in situations of home-work socio-spatial integration were in the middle or advanced stage of their lives. In particular, elder women and heads of household had more opportunities to better accommodate work at home because they have more space available and/or more freedom in using it.

The socio-spatial conflict expressed the struggle for physical space among family members, or between family and clients, women's conflict, sometimes favoring family

demands rather than work demands. Situations of home-work conflict were specific to women who were in the earlier stage of the life course, when children are small.

In this category I also found two groups of women. The first group is composed of professional women who work at home in order to take care of their small children. These women have more space at home and they tend to separate their productive activities from domestic life. However, despite the fact that they try to balance the equation, many times the intersection between both spheres creates a conflict. Although this is a life course stage that involves more conflicts for women due to the presence of small children, middle class women have more resources to deal with the tension between home and work. For example, they hire domestic service, reschedule their productive activities, among other strategies.

The second group is composed of working class women with nonprofessional occupations such as foodstuff production and childcare. These women face conflicts related to the lack of space and domestic resources. Some of them work in very precarious conditions. Having to share space with other family members or to carry out many activities in the same place might result in tension and conflict.

To balance home and work middle class women strategize hiring domestic service, rescheduling, making changes in division of labor. Working class women face additional conflicts related to the lack of space and domestic resources. Some of them work in very precarious conditions, living in reduced dwellings and lacking proper domestic furniture and equipment. In general, the lack of labor and environmental conditions and the absence of social benefits has been adequately discussed elsewhere. These features, commonly

related to the informal nature of home based activities, are reinforced by the devaluation of home working based on its location.

Juggling and Transiting

These struggles and negotiations which are particular for each woman home worker show the many ways in which production and reproduction are combined at the scale of the household, both in daily life and over the life course. For example, the concept of juggling interprets women's interplay between social practices of production and reproduction in daily life. In different circumstances, having more or less available space, having a separate work place or a shared one, shorter or longer working days, the women of this study produced foodstuffs for their clients while cooking for the family at their kitchens, dressmaking while washing family's clothes, doing office work while cooking or housecleaning, or handcrafting while tending children. The multiple ways in which production and reproduction are interlinked were also seen across the life course. The concept of transiting illuminated women's movements between work and family, between extra domestic work and home working over the course of women's lives.

In this manner, taking into account women's larger experience of work, home working was analyzed not only as current activity but also as a strategy that has been part of women's work accounts during different moments of their lives. And because home working is a dynamic process that undergoes transition, situations of integration and conflict could be present in the same family. The analysis of women's work trajectories showed that integration and conflict are part of the same process. For example,

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women who experienced the work-family conflict in earlier stages of their lives, achieved integration through time-space strategies to better accommodate home work within the domestic space, and also within their lives. These concepts along with social categories such as social class, occupation, prior work experience, and stage in their life course helped to make sense of the differences and commonalities among women of this study, to structure their collective experience.

As a whole, this study shows that women home workers faced conflict and various ways and distinct stages of their lives, some times in more complex and elaborated manners, sometimes achieving integration. A desirable choice for some women that want to eliminate the journey to an outside workplace due to transportation problems, or because they want to stay at home with small children, or to have independence, home-work requires some conditions such as family support. Although women working at home in conditions of integration are satisfied of this arrangement, this option is not adequate for all families. In some cases, women might work in undesirable conditions and with frequent conflicts between wage work and domestic work.

Among positive factors women can spend more time with children, and have some economic independence, and learn new roles, in particular for women that used to work outside the home. Women who did not work previously acquire some work skills. But there are also some drawbacks, lack of fringe benefits, feelings of isolation, feelings of ambiguity between family and work roles, long work journeys. The experience of women of this study shows the dynamism of working at home; the same family may go through conflict and integration across the life course. In these processes, space and time play

as enablers, sometimes facilitating the interlink between production and reproduction, sometimes rendering difficult the interaction between these social practices within the home.

The different case studies show the multiple ways in which individual, family and societal factors interact to produce particular situations of integration and conflict. At the societal level, those rural and urban contexts in which family values predominate act to produce home working as a mode of life. Additional factors such as social insecurity or the lack of welfare state also may encourage to people to pursue a way of life which supports the family and the community (Lindon, 1996).

Gender and spatial relations

The structuring of practices of social reproduction within the home has related consequences as to how women socially and symbolically envision home and work, as well as implications for gender roles and relations. Regarding the implications of home working for women, this type of work is portrayed as an exploitative strategy or as a liberating one (Beach, 1989). In terms of this study, it must be erroneous to equate conflict and integration with exploitation and liberation. I use these terms as social types to guide the research because reality is much more complex. Cases studies about socio-spatial conflict and home-work integration expressed a variety of modalities and tones with respect to gender roles and relations.

Home place is a context of the social construction of gender roles and relations.

A common idea about home working is that it reifies traditional patterns of gender

relations. Usually, the analysis of patterns of authority is based on division of labor and women's economic role. In the context of traditional definitions of the man as a breadwinner, most women thought about their economic contribution as complementary, even when some of them contributed to home acquisition, children's education and household's expenses. In addition, despite the fact that some women valued the wage-work they performed, devaluation of home work contributed to the idea that they were not the main providers.

Thus, although in their discourse women do not assume themselves to be providers, in general, it was observed that by assuming part of the responsibility of being a breadwinner, women, particularly those of middle class, had more possibilities of negotiating their conjugal relation and the terms of childcare with their partners. This was particular of women who had previous work experience outside the home.

However, there were some women that assumed that their role was primarily domestic. While among working class women this situation is more related to submission and they seemed to unconsciously accept the way things are, middle class women seemed to be conscious about their position as a housewife based on the idea of class status. So, these women fought to preserve this status, and decided to stay at home because their domestic roles were much more valuable for their children and husband, even for them, than their role as workers.

Unlike the argument that home working promotes gender role conjunction (Lindon, 1996), the findings of this study support Beach's proposal that role integration is a female endeavor. In other words, integration occurs only at the level of female work roles

(productive and reproductive). Although home working has forced to some men to participate in domestic work and childcare, women are still primarily responsible for domestic work. In some middle class families there was more participation of male and female children in domestic tasks. While the children's participation in productive work, might promote role modeling (Christensen, 1993), husbands participation is seen by some authors as promoting a way of life home-centered and an incipient challenge to a more equalitarian gender relationship.

Although unpaid family work was used in most families, this situation was particularly true of women heads of households, who delegated productive and reproductive work in other women of the family. In these cases, this strategy was fundamental in achieving home-work integration.

Despite the ambiguity between roles, which was higher among middle class women, in the process, some of these women realized that they were not a bad wife and mother, but rather responsible women who expected a more equalitarian relationship (Christensen, 1989:168, Benería and Roldán, 1987). In addition, by working at home some women learned new roles and gave a new content to traditional ones.

The findings of this study are similar to the results of sociological research on women's work outside the home (García y Oliveira, 1994) and defeat the argument that states that home working reifies women's position of subordination. Thus, the implications of paid work, irrespective of its location, depend of women's position in the structure of opportunities, and specific circumstances of their lives.

The consequences of home working for gender roles and relations must also be seen

in terms of women's relations with the home environment. Thus, patterns of authority are also related to women's freedom of movement. Women's autonomy is not only related to their economic role and to a more equalitarian division of labor, but also to their freedom of transit beyond the confines of the home.

Division of labor has a spatial expression that results in differentiation in terms of the places in which women and men develop their activities. Although some women stay at home by choice, others have a restricted mobility related to gender roles. This mobility is even different by social class. In daily life, middle class women had more mobility beyond the confines of the home and the community to fulfill their domestic duties than working class women. These women expressed a more equalitarian relationship in terms of mobility, perhaps as a result of their economic role.

Conversely, working class women had restricted mobility due to the lack of public services in their neighborhoods that made transportation difficult. Some women also developed a chance of negotiating her mobility beyond the frontiers of the home due to their paid work at home. Other elements such as time of residence in the city and the life course also affect women's freedom of movement. Elder women have some health restrictions to transit alone the city's streets. And women who recently migrated to Tijuana were disadvantaged because they did not know the city. This was particular for working class women.

Inter-spatial sociability

Because the literature had paid much attention to isolation and nongregariousness as

outcomes of home based work, in this study I emphasized the analysis of the home as a social space for relations other than familiar. Thus, this study unraveled dichotomous notions that propose home working as oppressive or liberating and showed the multiple ways in which women experience the home; both as a living and working space, and also as an extension of the community.

Moreover, these findings reveal the ways in which the home of these home workers is a space that is constantly transformed both physically and socially. So, as it encloses multiple relations, women develop a sociality that is related to different places within the same space. This sociality which I called inter-spatial sociability is connected by women's work at home. Situations in which the home and the community are connected through women's work at home seem to be particular of working class women due to their engagement in community affairs. However, some middle class women also have developed such a nexus within their neighborhoods.

A review of these stories of high social interaction within the home of women home workers, also uncovered domestic knowledge. Spain argues that segregation led to less knowledge, and certainly some case studies revealed how women were prevented from going to school and working outside the home by their fathers, forcing them to learning with the home, diminishing in this manner their opportunities in society.

However, even considered as "less knowledge," some women of this study took advantage of their domestic knowledge to work at home and improve their family's well being as well as their own. In any case, what matters is not the "amount" of knowledge but its social valuation that influences the perceptions people have of home working. In this

sense, Bondi (1990:162) stresses the strategic importance of making space explicit, in particular women's spatial experiences which are coded as "Non-knowledge."

In contrast to the argument that home working reifies the home as women's place, this study advocates in favor of women's re appropriation of the home in a diversity of ways that reflect their socio-demographic profile as well as their personal situation and interests in the larger context of their lives. What I see in the social practices that these different stories reveal is a questioning of the home as socially assigned space for women's domestic roles. This is a social construction that some of these women contradict in daily life, by re-appropriating domestic space not only as work space but also as a place of their own.

The home is the scenario of performance of women's roles, but is there a place for women? Women do the work for the family members can sleep, eat and rest within the home. The home is also the place for family interaction, for love and affection but also conflict and violence. In the midst of these many performances and interactions, home working gives to women the chance of re-appropriating the home both as a place for living and working, and particularly transforming a work place into a place of their own.

Symbolic appropriation of the home and women's identity

One of the most outstanding findings of this research has to do with the realm of the meanings. Previous studies on the topic stressed the importance of the perceived meaning of home work, showing the evaluation of work experience in terms of being available to children and the ability to respond to emergencies due to the control over work and time

(Beach, 165).

But the meanings of the home go far beyond the feeling of being responsive to family demands, because wage-work is an important part of women's lives. Working at home leads to a re-signification of this space and the work that takes place there. In particular, considering meanings as a resource for social action, the ways in which women elaborate the experience of home working can result in a better control over their own lives.

The decision to work at home for a pay has different motivations. The diversity of experiences is reflected in the perceptions women have about their work and workplaces within the home. Working at home may produce isolation or gregariousness, which are perceived by women in the context of their prior experience. These different outcomes are related to the ways in which women symbolically represent the home. Thus, sometimes working at home may result in situations of loss of the domestic space, but also the reversal situation exists giving women control and power over their work and living environs.

Besides the traditional meanings of the home, new meanings were created as a result of women's home workers use and production of the home as workplace. In general, all women of this study expressed the primacy of the home as the place of children, the place of the family and the place of women's roles as mothers and wives. To some women of both social classes, the home had a strong meaning as a product of their work and as family patrimony, in particular because they participated in housing acquisition.

The ways in which women appropriate and envision their homes as living space depend on their commitment to family and work. It was expected to find different tones in the vision of the home as living space for women of distinct social classes. However, I did not observe clear class differences, but there were some distinctions in the meanings of the home according to women's age. For example, while for young women the meaning of the home as children's place was linked to their present, for elderly women it was a nostalgic place, rooted in the past.

As in other studies, I found similar meanings of the home as workplace, namely situations of identity and mis identity and the workplace as an isolated place. But in contrast I also find that the workplace can be seen as a place of control and power that provides the connections between family and work, and between family and the community. These images of control and power are very important, in particular when they come from women of color, who not few times have been portrayed as victims in the literature.

In general, in the experiences of women of this study reflect their ability to control, sometimes unconsciously, over space and domestic life. Despite the space limitations of some working class women, work can act as means of control, but not in the economic sense as is frequently stated, but in terms of women's alteration of domestic space to accommodate wage work within the home.

These images are partially produced by prior ideas such as "the place that each individual occupies in the family and in the society," and they reflect age and gender hierarchies. But women rework these images in the context of their experiences of work

and appropriation of space. Thus, the ways in which they use space are related to their perceptions of it, working mutually to produce the home as a site of resistance, negotiation or liberation.

This plurality of symbolic representations of the home reflected the domestic space as an interactive one and led us to the question of the third space, as it has been conceptualized by geographers (Rose, 1993). Here I want to argue against the notion of paradoxical space because it reflects women's identity as unstable. The diversity of women home workers' meanings of the home is the outcome of the distinct roles women perform in daily life and across time within the household, and although these roles reflect ambiguity and many times anxiety. Case studies show that ambiguity (which expresses a paradox) is situational because women have to make decisions and establish priorities, sometimes achieving balance, sometimes practicing strategies to resist the conflict. In any case I think that politically the metaphor of betweenness (Katz, 1994) better explains how women manage their different roles and the related meanings in the realm of their identities.

Thus, women move between social practices, empirical social places, roles and relations, and identities. But most important, as a resource for social action, women's meanings and perceptions of the places in which live and work play an active role for changing social relations. However, the ways in which women elaborate these meanings depend of the various ways in which they elaborate and process the experience of working at home.

The link between households and the social context

This study has shown that women's engagement in home based work depends on various factors such as the opportunities in the local labor market, family determinants such as the structure and organization of the household, and individual determinants, social class, occupation and the life course, among the most salients.

At the micro social level, the individual situation of each women played an important element in explaining the experience of working at home. Individual characteristics such as marital status, age, number of children contributed to unravel women's time-space strategies to accommodate work within the home, as well as the impact of the work experience in their lives. These processes that require changes in the division of labor are resulting in new gender relations and new forms of using space on the part of women and men (Sabaté, 1995). Thus, as Sabaté states, the interaction between these different spheres: individual, familiar and global is a key concept in the understanding of women's participation in changing work processes.

As I noted in the text, in the sociology of family and work little attention has been paid to space as an analytical dimension. While geographers have approached other disciplines to enrich their perspective, scholars from other disciplines have shown little interest on geographical research and methods. In this study, feminism, as political concern and theoretical approach, has been the common ground to conciliate two disciplines: geography and sociology. In this way, I emphasized gender social relations from a spatial perspective. The findings of this research about the intersection between gender and space at the scale of the household, as well those related to the meanings of the

home in women's lives, can be considered the basis for further research that includes a larger sample of women.

The social processes identified in this research cannot be generalized to all women. However, through micro social perspective, crucial social dimensions of the processes of production and reproduction within the household were apprehended. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis revealed the point of view and significative responses of women as social actors dealing with changing socioeconomic and environmental circumstances.

Although I emphasized the micro social level, in analyzing women's home-based work in Tijuana, I took into account the economic and social context in which they were living. I studied some of the structural aspects of the labor market that define women's engagement in home based work. I stated that the existence of these type of activities in a dynamic economy is a product of a diversity of factors such as productive restructuring, liberal economic policies, economic recession and urban development. As a whole, these different factors have as a result an increasing participation of women in self-employment,

In this context, the study also showed that female home-based work is heterogeneous, it involves both professional and nonprofessional activities, with a regulated and non-regulated character, and is characterized by a diversity of labor conditions. However, there is a predominance of precariousness and lack of social benefits like medical service. Furthermore, I addressed the fact that activities like home based work are characterized by gender segregation not because women concentrate on them, but because of the types of occupations and the precarious nature of labor conditions in which they work as compared to men in the city of Tijuana.

In general, women's home-based work in Tijuana is an example of how the processes of globalization, represented by productive restructuring, liberalization policies and structural adjustment in countries like Mexico, have led to a diversity of family strategies in order to adapt to the new economic order. Women's home-based work might be the main family support in times of economic restructuring when men face unemployment or the lack of facilities prevent women from working in the market.

However, this capacity of the Mexican population, highly represented in the increasing participation of less educated married women with children in non-salaried occupations such as home based work, must not lead to the conclusion that if families like those included in this study can stand on their own through the creation of their own sources of income generation, then state intervention is not needed.

As an income generating strategy, home based work responds to the changes in the local labor market characterized by a reversal in women's participation in manufacturing, due to changes in the work processes and new hiring policies that privilege men's employment and force many women to create their own sources of work. This economic strategy also responds to the state policies of urban and economic developments which have forced to a significant percentage of the population to diversify their activities by using their homes and communities as productive spaces, many times in precarious labor conditions.

Furthermore, there are still problems such as the lack of nurseries and work-training programs that make women's engagement in formal jobs difficult, while other absences such as the lack of infrastructure and public facilities prevent to some women of working at home for a pay.

Family strategies to cover the absence of a welfare state, represent the critical role that households have played in surpassing the effects of global and state policies of restructuring. However, as Benería (1992) points out, these types of measures are intended to alleviate the symptoms rather than deal with the roots of liberal policies. Furthermore, the paradox of household and community strategies is that they have made possible the continuation of neoliberal policies imposed at enormous social cost.

At the level of the labor market, this study has shown that in dynamic contexts of restructuring there is a persistence, and perhaps a revival of traditional forms of work such as home based work as a social response to economic change. Because of that, further research is needed not only to statistically document and examine these contemporary forms of work on large scale but also to study the public policies which are connected to home working. An agenda for further research must consider labor policies about this specific type of work, policies of housing and community design that consider the development of productive activities within the home, and new regulations about the use of land in residential areas that include the use of dwellings as work spaces. The consideration of these various factors will show us the connections between the different economic, social and spatial scales which involve the study of home based work.

Appendix

1. Methodological approach

This study drew on feminist methodology that highlights the relationship between the observer and the subject of study, and emphasizes subjectivity, personal involvement, qualitative responses, and awareness of context and everyday experiences of the subjects of research (Smith, 1987; Benería and Roldan, 1987; Katz, 1994; Visweswaran, 1994).

I conducted empirical field work in Tijuana during an eight month period, from February to October 1996. Initially, I looked for working class and middle class neighborhoods in order to locate my fieldwork territorially. I contacted community organizations and leaders in order to introduce myself in the selected neighborhood. I thought that it was a good strategy to contact women workers in diverse home working occupations, however, I realized that the underground nature of some home based activities made it unwise to restrict the universe only to one community. Thus, through a snowballing technique, the initial contacts expanded my network and I met women workers in other communities.

The data to answer the research questions were collected through a variety of methods including open-ended interviews, fieldwork observation, and aggregated data from the National Survey of Micro Businesses. The sample of interviewees included 20 women home workers of different occupations, ages and marital status. However, because four interviews did not contain relevant information, the analysis is based only in 16 in depth interviews.

I interviewed women from the following occupations: foodstuff producer and

handicrafter; personal services such as hair cutter and child minder; owner of a grocery store; seller of manufactured merchandise; and professional services such as accounting and medical services.

This research also drew on the life course perspective that allows the examination of women's roles in different stages of their lives (Katz and Monk:1993), and how the diversity of women's home working experiences and household arrangements are connected to specific periods of their lives.

2. In depth-interviews

The interviews were carried out in different phases. A preliminary interview assessed information about women's socio-demographic profile. The interview guide includes women's life history: family of origin, family formation, household information and family life events schooling, work trajectories. This information was systematized in a chart constituting the life history of each woman worker. IV and V part of the guide addressed specific issues about home based work, and the gender division of labor within the household respectively. Part VI of the guide focused on questions related to how women deal with the existent household spatial resources and time schedules to carry out home based work and domestic tasks, and their resulting family interactions and related conflicts and accommodations. To facilitate the posterior analysis I addressed specific questions about three different spatial levels: material, social and symbolic. This section also includes women's use of time in everyday life.

Interviews were carried out at the home of the women workers and I visited each

of them two or three times. In order to capture the socio-spatial dynamic of women's productive and reproductive practices in everyday life, during my initial visits I observed what was going on within the home while women were working. For instance, I assessed the manner in which furniture was distributed (included machinery and equipment), and how women and other members of the family were using home space while carrying out productive and reproductive activities. In support of these observations I also photographed women's homes and workplaces. These observations allowed me to register contingent situations, unexpected events and how women coped and manipulated job conditions in responsiveness to family needs.

Initially I planned to ask to each women to draw a map of their homes. However, in practice this strategy was not productive. While middle class women suggested they provide me with the architectural map of their homes, working class women said that they did not know how to make a map. The only exception was a working class women who easily drew the map while she explained that she knew how to do so because she was attentive to this issues when her house was built.

3. Field work reflections

As with other scholars (Salmi, 1993, Hanson and Pratt, 1995) I found that the interview can be a powerful element to raise women's consciousness about work, i.e. how much they work both in production and reproduction. And also raise consciousness about space, for example, how they use their home space and specific home places.

Furthermore, to some women the interview plays a role of therapy, particularly for

those women that had a very stressful experience of working at home for pay. In this situation, women were very willing to talk as a way of release negative feelings about their home working experience.

Most surprising for me was the case of an aged woman, who had just passed through a process of a personal evaluation of her life. She had heard about the research I was conducting and she called me to ask me when I was going to interview her. During our meeting she clearly expressed that she wanted to talk, and by doing so, she was making a reflection about her whole life experience, home working including on it. As Christensen (1993:60) states, it is in their forties or after when women better reflect their psychological transformations. Moreover, they feel freer to share their life experience with other people.

Conversely, some women did not want to talk. Visweswaran (1994) states that women's refusal to talk has a hidden meaning for which interpretations can sometimes be made. For example, I got in the street some fliers that advertised businesses (i.e. Sellers of merchandise). I called a couple of these women and asked for interviews but they became nervous and refused to meet me. I guess that it was because their businesses were not registered and they were afraid of getting in trouble. I concluded that the best way of contacting women was through another person. If I was introduced by a friend of them, they better trusted me.

However, this strategy did not always work. I tried to interview some middle class women. I called them on the basis of a recommendation by a mutual friend. Although on the phone they kindly accepted the interview and we set up an appointment at their homes, when I attend to the meeting I was told by a member of the family or a

maid, that they were not at home. Although I was invited to wait and I did so for a while, they did never show up. I believe that these women were at home but they refused to meet me probably because they were afraid that by accepting that they were working at home to earn some money, their class status would be diminished, or it could just be because they did not want their privacy being invaded.

4. Analytical Strategy

How to analyze spatial issues from a social perspective? In order to study the use and production of home space for activities of production and reproduction, and the shifts of this relationship in and across time, I followed an analytical strategy that privileged space. To better apprehend how home space affects and can be affected by social action, I considered the different levels that constitute the spatiality of social action. These are: material, spatial, mental and symbolic space.

Spatial and temporal dimensions of the use and production of home space from part of home workers and their families are related to conflict/constraint and social arrangements, which depend on people, social practices and social relations. This interpretative frame considers space but also time. In considering the temporal dimension, it can be read in terms of daily life on one hand, and in terms of the life course on the other hand.

	Material space	Social space	Symbolic space
Conflict in Daily Life			
Strategies in Daily Life			
	Life	Course	

I considered the following types for each one of the levels of the spatiality of social life : **Material Space:** a) Separated space, b) Shared space (simultaneous activities), c) combined space (scheduled activities).

Social Space: a) Socio-spatial family-work integration, b) socio-spatial family-work conflict.

Symbolic Space: a) home as a family place, b) home as children's place, c) home as the place of women's domestic roles, d) home as the product of work, e) home as workplace, f) work space as a place of one's own, g) work space as isolation, i) home as extension of the community.

The time of social space

How spatial arrangements have changed in and across time?

I used the following scheduling types:

1) Schedules: a) fixed, b) flexible: school, weekend, fragmented, slept shift, c) unending schedules.

2) Temporality: a) simultaneity, b) multiplicity, c) unicity

I constructed these different taxonomies of the uses of time and space within the home, social interaction and symbolic expressions of the home based on the systematization of the information obtained in fieldwork. I made the socio-demographic profile of each women and summarized the details of their use of space and time as indicators of situations of integration and conflict, division of labor and social relations. In particular, I summarized key issues about different spatial levels: material, social and symbolic. In addition, I traced the work trajectory of each woman in a table. By means of the Atlas Ti (Text management software) I also organized women's narratives (obtained through in-depth interviews) according to the analytical concepts that guide this research. This software was helpful not only in the systematization of the information, but most important in the construction of the different taxonomies. As a whole, this information helped me to identify situations of conflict and integration as an outcome of the articulation of production and reproduction within the household.

Due to hermeneutic reasons I analyzed the use of time and space separately, but the information showed the complexity of social reality and I had to combine time and space types, having as a result four different situations that illustrated integration and conflict.

Life course played a fundamental role in showing women's movements between home and work through their work trajectories. I used the term of juggling to express women's daily playing between productive and reproductive activities within the home, and the concept of transiting to give account of women's movements between work outside home and home across the life course.

Because of heuristic proposes I analyzed separately the different levels of space:

material, social and symbolic. However, in my empirical data they frequently blurred and it was difficult to separate them. Sometimes, this led me to confusion and I did not know if I was talking about meanings or social interaction. Many times, women's narrations involved these three spatial levels, and I decided to repeat the quotation when I considered it was needed to illustrate two of these levels. It frequently happened with the social and symbolic level. This is why the reader will find some duplications in the text.

Work, Gender and Space: Women's Home-based Work**Interview Guide****General profile**

1. Date and place of birth: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Marital status: _____
4. Last grades of schooling: _____
6. Did you study any technical/short career? _____
7. Are you engaged in home based work? _____
8. What is your current occupation? _____
9. What is your job position? _____
10. How many hours do you work weekly? _____
11. Do you have any children? _____
12. If you are married or united, What does your partner do for living?

13. What is your partner last grades of schooling? _____

Life History

The interview will be recorded and the information will be later registered in the attached chart.

I would like to talk about the most important events in your personal, educational and professional life. Could you please tell me when they occurred, and how they change your life?

I. Family of Origin

1. What is your birthplace? Where and who did you live with during your childhood? How many sisters and brothers do you have? Who else lived with your family? Do you remember any important event that occurred during your childhood?

2. What did your parents do for living? How was the relationship between them? How was the relationship between you and your siblings? Did children in your family carry out any domestic tasks?

3. Where did you study? At what age did you start going to school? Who decided that you went to school? Was it different for your siblings? If so, in what manners was it different? What is your last grade of schooling? If there were any brakes in your education, could you tell me how and when they happened?

4. How long have you been living in this city? In which other cities or villages have you lived along your life? Why did you migrate? What do you think about the places in which you have lived?

II. Family Formation and Household Composition

1. Whom do you live with? How many members has your family? Who are they?

2. Are you married or do you have a partner? When did you get married or when did you start your conjugal relationship? Have you ever been separated or divorced? If so, when this event occurred? Have you had subsequent unions? How these events affected your life?

3. Do you have any children? When they were born? How old are they? Are all your children still living with you? How do you manage work and family responsibilities?

4. Do you remember any event that affected your family life in the last years?
5. Does your family have a house of its own? How did you get it? If you do not have a house of your own, where do you live? Do you pay rent? Would you like to acquire housing? Do you have any opportunity of doing so?

Note: Register in the chart all changes in household composition across the life course, e.g., when a new member enters the family (childbirth, relatives and friends), or when a member leaves the family (marriage, studies, death).

III. Work History

1. When and why did you start working?
2. How many jobs have you had? Could you tell me about each one of them?
Where and how did you get the job?
What type of occupation it was?
What was your job position?
How long did you stay in that job?
What types of skills were required?
Reasons to shift jobs.
3. If you had some interruptions in your occupational career, could you tell me when and why they occurred?
4. How did paid work change your life?

IV. Home-based work

1. How and when did you start working at home?
2. Why did you decide to engage in home based work?
 - a) Better income is needed
 - b) Because you were fired
 - c) Flexibility of schedules
 - d) Your husband disagreed you were working outside
 - e) Independence
 - f) Residential location
 - g) Other

3. What is your job position?
 - a) Employer
 - b) Employee
 - c) Self-employed
 - d) Paid family worker
 - e) Unpaid family worker

4. Where do you carry out your occupation?
 - a) Separate locale annex to home
 - b) Specific location within the household

5. Did you do any investment to start this activity?

6. How did you get the money?
 - a) Savings
 - b) Family loan
 - c) other

7. Does your business have:
 - a) Machinery or equipment
 - b) Transportation

8. Do you have any kind of accounting?
 - a) Formal accounting
 - b) Bursal and disbursal book
 - c) Notebook

9. What types of skills your home based occupation requires?

10. Did you have any skills? If so, how did you get them?

11. Did anyone give you information about how to develop this activity?

12. How many hours do you work by week?

13. Do you carry out any other activity while you are working at home?

14. What is your monthly income?

15. Do you have employees? If so, how many are they? Do you pay them minimum salaries? Do you give them social benefits?

16. Any members of your family participate in the productive activity you develop

at home? Do you pay him/her any salary?

17. Is your activity advertised?

18. Did you have or still have any problems related to your home-based work? What kind of problem? How did you resolve it?

19. Are you satisfied with your current occupation? How do you think that home-based work has changed your life? Do you have any plan to enlarge your productive activity?

V. Domestic work within the family

1. Who does the domestic work in your home: cleaning, cooking, shopping, looking after the children?

2. Do you participate in the domestic work? What tasks do you do? Where and when?

Activity	Family member	Frequency	Hours	Where

3. Does any member of the family cooperate with you in your paid work? Who? What he or she does? How frequently?

4. Do your domestic responsibilities interfere with your paid work? In what ways?

5. What members of your family contribute to the family income?

Who and how distribute the family income?

Who take the main decisions within your family?

6. What does your family think about the paid work you do at home? What do your relatives and friends think about it?

VI. Geography of the Production - Reproduction within the Home

This part of the interview will be based on the spatial details of each dwelling (distribution of furniture, machinery and equipment, use of space by different members of the family) charted in a map. This information will be the product of the researcher's observations during previous visits to each home.

I would like to talk to you about the use of space and time related to the domestic and productive activities that you develop within your home.

Space

1. Material space

- a) Where is your work space located within the home?
- b) Did you have to do any physical modifications to your home or any other type of changes in order to locate there your workplace?
- c) What is the environment for you?
- d) What is the environmental condition in which you carry out your paid work at home? For example, light, noise, dust, conditions of the equipment if you have any, etc.
- e) Is this room adequate to perform comfortably your paid work?
- f) Would you like to work in any other place? Where and what would be the difference for you? What would be the appropriate space to carry out your paid work? Would you be willing to modify your home in order to facilitate your paid work?
- g) Do you have any conflict or problem working at home?
(It is important to make reference to the observations about people's use of space, e.g., working in the kitchen's table, children playing around, material storage in the living room, etc.)
- h) Could you draw a map of your house?

2. Social space

- a) Do you carry out any domestic task while you are developing your productive work.
- b) If so, to combine both activities has caused any problem to you? What kind of problem? How did you resolve it?
- c) Does your family have access to your workplace when you are working?
- d) Do your clients have access to your family space? What parts of your home are accessible for your customers?
- e) Do you interact with other people in relation to your paid work?
- f) Do you ever have to leave your home to carry out your job?
- g) What are the places you visit in relation to your home based work? How many times, when, how long? What kind of transportation do you use?

Can you do your work in other homes, or other place different from your home?

3. Symbolic space

- a) Do you like to work at home? If so, why? Why not?
- b) Do you like your home workplace?
- c) What is the place of the home that you better like?
- d) Thinking on all your daily activities within your home what does privacy mean for you?
- e) What does the home mean for you?

Time

- a) Do you have a work schedule? Under what criteria did you set your schedule?
- b) How many hours do you work daily?

c) Could you tell me what is your daily routine including both types of work productive and reproductive?

Temporality

a) Do you combine both productive and reproductive activities simultaneously? If so, what conditions permit you to do it? If not, why not?

b) Do you take breaks while you are doing paid work at home? If so, When? How many?

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