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Uneven time-space of unpaid reproductive work: an intersectional analysis of the Balearic Islands

Paula Martín-Gago, Sònia Vives-Miró

University of the Balearic Islands, Department of Geography, Ctra. Valldemossa, km 7.5., 07122 Palma, Spain, paula.martin@uib.es, so.vives@gmail.com

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine the relationship between social reproduction and the production of space and, more specifically, the role of unpaid reproductive work in the unequal production of urban space. Although many studies have addressed the social dimension of space in cities, there nevertheless remains a lack of theory relating to the production of space through the oppression and privilege associated, with or caused by, the relations of social reproduction. With the aim of helping to fill this gap, the spatiality of unpaid reproductive work was studied through intersectional analysis. This was done by exploring the spatial practice of the temporary load of unpaid reproductive work as an element responsible for inequality and by relating this to the dimensions of: 1) space and time, and 2) class, sex and age. This intersectional approach allowed us to analyse inequalities in social reproduction and identify spaces of privilege and spaces of oppression in terms of unpaid reproductive work. The study focused on the Balearic Islands and used the latest Time Use Survey (TUS) available in Spain. It is a dialogue between critical urban geography, urban sociology and feminist theory, which makes it possible to visualise the power relations and urban inequality that have derived from the sexual division of labour within the logic of historical capitalism.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag zielt darauf ab, die Beziehung zwischen sozialer Reproduktion und der Produktion von Raum zu untersuchen und hierbei insbesondere die Rolle der unbezahlten Reproduktionsarbeit in der ungleichen Produktion von städtischem Raum in den Blick zu nehmen. Obwohl sich viele Studien mit der sozialen Dimension des Raumes in Städten befassen, bleibt dennoch ein Mangel an Theorien in Bezug auf die Produktion von Raum durch die Unterdrückung und Bevorzugung, die mit den Beziehungen der sozialen Reproduktion verbunden sind oder durch sie verursacht werden. Mit dem Ziel dazu beizutragen, diese Lücke zu füllen, wurde die Räumlichkeit unbezahlter Reproduktionsarbeit durch eine intersektionale Analyse untersucht. Dies geschah, indem die räumliche Praxis der zeitlichen Belastung durch unbezahlte Reproduktionsarbeit als ein für Ungleichheit verantwortliches Prinzip untersucht und mit den Dimensionen von Raum und Zeit sowie von Klasse, Geschlecht und Alter in Beziehung gesetzt wurde. Dieser intersektionale Ansatz ermöglichte es uns, Ungleichheiten in der sozialen Reproduktion zu analysieren und Räume der Bevorzugung und Räume der Unterdrückung in Bezug auf unbezahlte Reproduktionsarbeit zu identifizieren. Die Studie konzentrierte sich auf die Balearen und nutzte die neueste in Spanien verfügbare Zeitbudgeterhebung (*Time Use Survey, TUS*). Es handelt sich um eine

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Diskussion zwischen kritischer Stadtgeographie, Stadtsoziologie und feministischer Theorie, die es ermöglicht, die Machtverhältnisse und die städtische Ungleichheit sichtbar zu machen, die sich aus der geschlechtlichen Arbeitsteilung innerhalb der Logik des historischen Kapitalismus ergeben haben.

Keywords production of time-space, gender geography, unpaid reproductive work, intersectionality, home

1. Introduction

For almost forty years, feminist thought has shown that the tasks of attending to, and caring for, people have essentially involved work associated with social reproduction and ensuring the daily well-being of the population. Far from affecting only women, this is work which has been of vital importance for the whole of society [...] although in contemporary societies, the interests of the market and the profit motive have tended to mask this reality (Carrasco et al. 2011: 9).

Accordingly, and as Carrasco points out, “to make a break from the dominant social model, it is essential to [...] socially evaluate the care activities that give meaning to life and that women have carried out over the years” (Carrasco 2016: 381), the specific purpose of a feminist geography is to investigate and highlight the relationship between gender divisions and spatial divisions, to discover how they are mutually constituted, and to show the hidden problems behind their apparent naturalness (McDowell 2000: 27). The amount of scientific literature addressing the relationship between unpaid reproductive work and gender has recently undergone exponential growth. Even so, relatively few contributions have introduced time-space as an essential element in the production of inequalities. The current research studies the power relations that create inequalities through people carrying out work needed to sustain life at both the general and individual levels (Herrero 2014; Pérez Orozco 2017). More specifically, it examines the unequal distribution of the load of unpaid reproductive work, from both a spatial and an intersectional perspective, in order to help deepen our understanding of the relationship between social reproduction and urban time-space.

The empirical analysis was carried out in the Balearic Islands. This is a space that offers great learning potential in terms of studies of feminist geography, because it is a territory immersed in a deep housing crisis as a result of specialisation in the real estate market

associated with the tourism sector. It is also interesting because this is a space which is at the centre of, and which – indeed – has been the motor behind, current urban transformations. This research is a study of the power relations that create inequalities based on the work necessary to sustain life, both in general, and also in relation to individual livelihoods (Herrero 2014; Pérez Orozco 2017). The unequal distribution of the load of unpaid reproductive work was analysed from a spatial and intersectional perspective in order to improve our understanding of the relationship between social reproduction and urban time-space. Our research first focuses on conceptualising unpaid reproductive work and examines the amount of time dedicated to unpaid reproductive work. Secondly, it looks at the space produced by unpaid reproductive work and we discuss the intercategorical intersectional approach (McCall 2005) to the time-space of unpaid reproductive work as a methodology for empirical analysis. Thirdly, we analyse intersectional spatio-temporal inequalities in unpaid reproductive work. Then, finally, we conclude by presenting some interesting findings relating to spaces of privilege and oppression associated with unpaid reproductive work.

2. The production of the time-space of unpaid reproductive work

Critical urban geography and feminist theory have established a dialogue to conceptualise the production of the time-space of unpaid reproductive work.

2.1 The concept of unpaid reproductive work

In academic literature, there is still no general consensus regarding the concept of reproductive work. As a result, various different terms have been used: labour reproduction work, reproductive work, domestic or domestic-family work, caring, care work, affective or emotional work, residual work, etc. (Carrasquer et al. 1998; Larrañaga et al. 2004; Precarias a la deriva

2004; Torns 2008; Federici 2010a, 2010b, 2013; Pérez Orozco 2017; Durán 2018). However, several points have been agreed upon: this is heavily feminised work, largely invisible, and generally devoid of social value (whether paid or unpaid).

The object of this study was unpaid reproductive work. We mainly followed the postulates of *Silvia Federici* (2010a), focusing on activities involving: personal attention; care work; the management and maintenance of the home; family affairs; and looking after the past, present and future workforce and its physical-material and mental-emotional functions. This is lifelong work that is necessary for the daily regeneration of human physical and emotional well-being and it satisfies the real needs of “a life that is worth living” (Pérez Orozco 2017: 91). It is also vital for the reproduction of society and for the sustainability of life in general. It is called ‘reproductive work’, rather than ‘domestic work’ in order to emphasise that its activities and its physical and subjective space are not exclusively limited to the home or to the domestic environment.¹

The framework within which this scheme is understood is that of the sexual division of labour. This is structured by original capitalist accumulation and unequal power relations between men and women, within the context of a capitalist, patriarchal system that organises society on a binary, hierarchical basis (Federici 2010a: 152). Social functions based on gender are the result of a process of social construction that differentiates between the sexes while, at the same time, articulating them within the power relations that govern resources. In other words, differentiation based on sex allows the capitalist system to generate profitable spaces which, in turn, are enhanced by the presence of several other factors (such as social class, ethnicity, religion and age) (Cielo and Vega 2015: 135).

Reproductive work is conceptualised in contrast to productive work (the production of goods and services), which is the only type of work that has been formally recognised, both socially and economically, in the urban capitalist societies of the Western world (Carrasco et al. 2011; Carrasquer et al. 1998; Durán 2018; Federici 2010a; Herrero 2014; Larrañaga et al. 2004; McDowell 2000; Pérez Orozco 2017; Torns 2008). Productive work relies on reproductive tasks which are carried out in an invisible space and time and which are fundamental for the reproduction of capitalism. As such, it is inevitably influenced by relationships of power, subordination and exploitation.

Within financialised capitalism, women’s work has largely become a communal asset: a natural resource which exists outside normal mercantile relations. This imposes a biased, and indeed reduced, view of the economy in which, from the perspective of capital, work is only associated with employment. It is in this context that Pérez Orozco has highlighted the contradiction between the process of capitalist accumulation and sustaining life: the “capital-life conflict” (Pérez Orozco 2017: 123), since many types of work that contribute to the profitability of capital, do so invisibly, and are not included in the productive axis. This constitutes one of the main foundations of financialised capitalism: the relegation to a secondary, or invisible, level of everything that is not regarded as chrematistically productive by the system itself. This effectively penalises those whose work is not destined for the market.

Silvia Federici affirms that the devaluation of reproductive work, in general, and the work of women, in particular, “has been one of the pillars of capitalist accumulation and exploitation” (Federici 2013: 30). She distinguishes between the value of salaried work and the total lack of value attributed to domestic work: areas that are respectively characterised by what Marx termed exchange value and use-value. Capitalist relations of production construct a dichotomous scheme between production, associated with masculinity and valued work, and reproduction, associated with femininity and devalued work, with sex being the key criterion. Thus, depending how “you are interpreted (and how you read yourself): as a woman, or as a man, you will be assigned certain tasks, or others. Also, vice versa, depending on what tasks you do, you will be read in one way or another” (Pérez Orozco 2017: 185). Pérez Orozco insists that interpersonal care relationships are governed by power relations and that it is therefore almost compulsory for women to perform them. It is as if women had a special emotional endowment to assume them, within a “reactionary ethics of care” (Pérez Orozco 2017: 183).

In short, the inclusion of reproductive work within the discipline of economics has become the *leitmotiv* of feminist economics. This implies placing life at the centre, broadening the concept of economics beyond commodification and monetarisation, including the study of gender relations, and understanding the economy as an integrated circuit. “Making domestic and care work more visible, and incorporating them into macroeconomics, has not only made it possible to

make their close relationship with the social product explicit, but it has also made the ways in which income, wealth and working time are distributed more transparent. All of these mechanisms are structured according to sex/gender. This has a differential effect on the quality of life and well-being of women and men and has been responsible for a specific type of poverty that affects women" (Carrasco et al. 2011: 53).

2.2 Time in unpaid reproductive work

When considering the time involved in reproductive work, measuring the social use of time allows us to account for, and make visible, one of the quantifiable inequalities present in the logic of the sexual division of labour. In Western societies, the concept of time is far from neutral; instead, it is linked to interests, power relations and forms of production and consumption (Harvey 1994). These factors determine inequalities as they are determined by capitalist and patriarchal relations (Carrasco 2009; Federici 2010a). Time is a reference that captures the course of events, or the relationships, between certain repeated phenomena occurring in different periods (Elias 1989).

"Time, when measured in quantitative terms, is dissociated from the rhythm of the planet, the ecological rhythm and changes in life experience" (Carrasco et al. 2011: 60). Work in the labour market follows the logic of diachronic: it is linear, objective and governed by a timetable. In contrast, the time associated with domestic and care work, and the needs of life, does not follow a constant rhythm. This type of time follows a synchronic and discontinuous logic, which is defined by far more subjective considerations, and by the rhythm of people's daily experience (Torns et al. 2011). This is heterogeneous and unstructured work, which takes place in an invisible and unrecognised time. Furthermore, a large part of it: emotional and mental work, is unquantifiable in terms of clock time. The simultaneity and "double presence" (Balbo 1994: 505) to which the lives and time of women are generally subjected effectively allow social reproduction and frequently come at a high personal cost, and one that generates alienation (Larrañaga et al. 2004).

On the other hand, the measurement of the uses of time is "one of the main achievements of the study of domestic work and day-to-day well-being" (Torns 2008: 62). In Europe and Latin America, as in other parts of the world, the use of measurements to assess

this phenomenon had already become generalised by the end of the 20th century, and at the beginning of the 21st century, measurements were standardised throughout Europe, under the control of EUROSTAT². In Spain, the first studies on time measurement were made by *Maria Ángeles Durán* (1995, 2006). This renowned social scientist studied the work of women and domestic work, revising the definition of the concept of work and conducting an analysis of the measurement and evaluation of time load. To date, two time use surveys (TUS)³ have been carried out. Both have been conducted by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE)⁴ (2002/2003 and 2009/2010; cf. INE 2011a,b). These surveys exposed social activities and relationships that had hitherto remained hidden. They also recognised and highlighted the importance of tasks and situations in which women play an essential role. This helped us to recognise double presence and to consider time as a central aspect for the study of gender inequalities within the world of work as a whole. This is a particularly serious problem in the countries of southern Europe.

However, it is also important to note that these two TUS surveys made much of the invisibility of care time and downplayed the relevance of the qualitative dimensions of time. As a result, they did not capture the complexity of all the different aspects of unpaid reproductive work. *Pérez Orozco* affirms that changes in the use of time respond to structural transformations, rather than current variations, and that, in a society obsessed with data, (in)visibility is related to the availability of data and quantitative measurements, or the lack thereof (*Pérez Orozco* 2017: 191).

2.3 The production of space for unpaid reproductive work

We studied the relationship between the production of urban space and unpaid reproductive work based on Lefebvrian space theory. This holds that urban space, in its totality, is understood through the dialectics of spatiality and, in particular, spatial practice, or perceived space (*Lefebvre* 2010). It is produced by a specific social group and a determined mode of production: the spatiality of unpaid reproductive work.

Space is considered an eminently political element. It is conceived as a socially constructed product of the social relations and power relations that determine both social and spatial limits, and the experiences

that occur within them, whether these may relate to belonging or exclusion, or to privilege or oppression (Massey 2005; McDowell 2000). In the same way, space has a sex-related and gender-related character. Gender and sex are also spatialised as a result of social construction and the process of socialisation. They are based on gender differences that condition the material possibilities of life and people's attitudes and symbolic representations. Some of these symbolic representations relate *production* to public space and the market, and *reproduction* to private-domestic and natural space.

However, feminist studies and studies of reproductive work deny this separation (McDowell 2000: 220). They understand the integrated connection between these two spheres as being the space in which everyday life takes place (Bofill 2005; Carrasquer et al. 1998; Larrañaga et al. 2004). Their separation is understood to form part of the framework required for the maintenance and reproduction of capitalism and patriarchy (Federici 2010a), since "everyday life is not played out in a static way, between four walls" (Pérez Orozco 2017: 177). In fact, Federici points out that the circuit of capitalist production begins in, and is primarily based on, the kitchen, the bedroom, and the home, because these are the centres of production of the labour force. It is from there that the worker goes to the factory, after having first passed through a school, office or laboratory (Federici 2013: 25).

3. Methods to study the intersectional spatiality of unpaid reproductive work

This study uses two methods to analyse the urban space of unpaid reproductive work: intersectional analysis and measurement of the time load. We introduced an intersectional perspective based on a study of intersectionality by Leslie McCall (2005) and the geographical studies of Gill Valentine (2007) on intersectional geography. This is a relatively new way of approaching gender analysis. It is already well-consolidated in feminist studies and is now also emerging in feminist geography. *Intersectionality* is a concept that was introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 (Crenshaw 1989). It aims to capture the multiple dimensions of social relationships that exist between different subjects and power structures (such as gender, race, class, sexuality and age). Both before and after Crenshaw first used this term, other feminists and scholars had shown the impossibility of explaining in-

equality within a single category (Davis 1981; Hill Collins 1999; hooks⁵ 1981; McDowell 2000; Young 2000).

According to Leslie McCall (2005), *intersectionality* is a method of approaching the complexity of what is social that works with different social categories, socially differential axes, and/or social power structures (depending on the literature). McCall differentiates three ways of conducting intersectional analysis: anti-categorical, intracategorical and intercategorical. In this paper, we have taken an intercategorical approach to explain the unequal relationships that exist between different social groups. These relationships are at the centre of intercategorical analysis, which analyses the complexity both within and between different analytical categories. The main aim of the categorical approach is to explain these relationships. This requires the provisional use of categories that are used as anchor points but which are not static. We analysed the intersection of the complete set of dimensions of all the multiple categories. The approach used was systematically comparative and based on intersectional quantitative analysis.

First, we performed a correlation analysis in order to know which categories were significant for the analysis of the workload of unpaid reproductive work. "Comparing the correlations between different social categories in different realities, we perceive which social categories are more significant within a given space and time" (Sales 2018: 59). Once we had found that the most significant categories were gender, age and class, we secondly focused on carrying out analyses within each of these categories in order to discover its dimensions and the distribution of the workload of unpaid reproductive work within it. We then took the three categories and analysed the intersection of each of their dimensions in greater detail to identify more specific social groupings.

Gill Valentine noted that the theory relating to intersectionality used in the social sciences paid scant attention to the importance of space in processes involving the forming of subjects (Valentine 2007: 14). Valentine also pointed out the need to approach the theory of intersectionality from a spatial perspective and to delve into the relationship between the production of space and the systematic production of power (Valentine 2007: 19). Categorical analysis tends to be reductionist due to the use of a number of different categories, whereas it should be a synthetic and holistic process capable of taking into consideration all the

complexity of social diversity. The size and complexity of intersectional quantitative analysis make it difficult to perform (McCall 2005; Valentine 2007). This approach has been criticised because of the dangers inherent in the homogenisation or simplification of category-based research. However, feminist analysis requires having “extensive knowledge of aspects of a person’s home discipline that appear to have little to do with women” (Friedman 1998: 314). This is needed for deconstruction and in order to obtain the required statistics (Friedman 1998). Valentine (2007) noted that as a result of this limitation, intersectional work often degenerates into an exercise that focuses on the experiences of non-privileged groups rather than on how privileged or powerful identities are ‘made’ and ‘undone’. However, as McCall (2005) points out, within a categorical approach, both the dominated and privileged social groups are examined.

Working in this way, we carried out a spatio-temporal analysis of the time load of unpaid reproductive work (*reproductive load*) based on a quantitative analysis of secondary data obtained from the INE Time Use Survey 2009/2010 (Torns 2008: 54). The different social groups were defined by the intersection of the gender (the ‘sex’ variable used in the surveys), age and class (the ‘average household income’ variable used in the surveys) variables. Based on this definition, it was possible to show the specific relationship between time (expressed in hours) and space (places) with unpaid reproductive work in the Balearic Islands (Spain).⁶

Although we know that the quantitative and qualitative application of the intersectional perspective is still subject to debate, the objective of our work has been to provide an intersectional and spatial perspective for studies into the use of time that seeks to make inequalities and power relations visible in the times and spaces in which people’s everyday lives take place. It thereby seeks to provide a different approach and to offer different results from those presented in existing studies.

4. Intersectional and temporary inequalities in unpaid reproductive work in the Balearic Islands

We sought to reveal the inequalities of the reproductive load among different social groups in the Balearic Islands through a set of meaningful categories: gender, age and class. To achieve and analyse this, we set out to answer the following questions:

- (1) Which social groups bear the greatest reproductive load?
- (2) Do all women bear the same reproductive load? And do all men bear it in the same way?
- (3) Do people bear this load in the same spaces?

Time-related differences in the reproductive load were analysed according to sex, age and income level (see Table 1). In the case of the reproductive load related to sex, the data showed that women bore twice the load (4:39) of men (2:25). In the case of age, it was adults aged between 45 and 64 who bore the greatest load (4:08). Regarding income level, those who had the lowest incomes were also the ones who dedicated most of their time to reproductive work (4:02). This unequal load distribution showed that women, adults aged between 45 and 64, and people on lower incomes were the ones who were most prejudiced by inequality.

Table 1 Differences in time load of unpaid reproductive work in the Balearic Islands (average hh:mm). Source: own elaboration based on INE (2011b)

Sex	Men	2:25
	Women	4:39
Age	Under 16	1:11
	16 to 24	1:48
	35 to 44	3:50
	45 to 64	4:08
	Over 65	3:42
Net monthly regular income of the household	Less than €1,200	4:02
	€1,201 to €2,000	3:40
	€2,001 to €3,000	3:21
	More than €3,000	3:20

However, instead of just separately observing inequality based on these variables, intersectional analysis allowed us to analyse the inequalities that can occur within large social groups that are defined by the intersection of these variables. Figure 1 shows the reproductive loads of the different social groups inter-

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sectionally, expressing them in hours, in descending order, from the highest to the lowest load. The social group with the highest unpaid reproductive workload was that of adult women from lower social classes (45 to 64 years old). There were 13 social groups (of 40 in total) that bore an above-average load of 3:22 hours. Of the 13 groups that bore 50% of the total re-

productive load in the Balearic Islands, twelve were composed of women and one of men: women over 25, of any social class (except medium-high class women aged over 65), young women (16 to 24) from low social classes, and elderly men belonging to medium-high social classes.

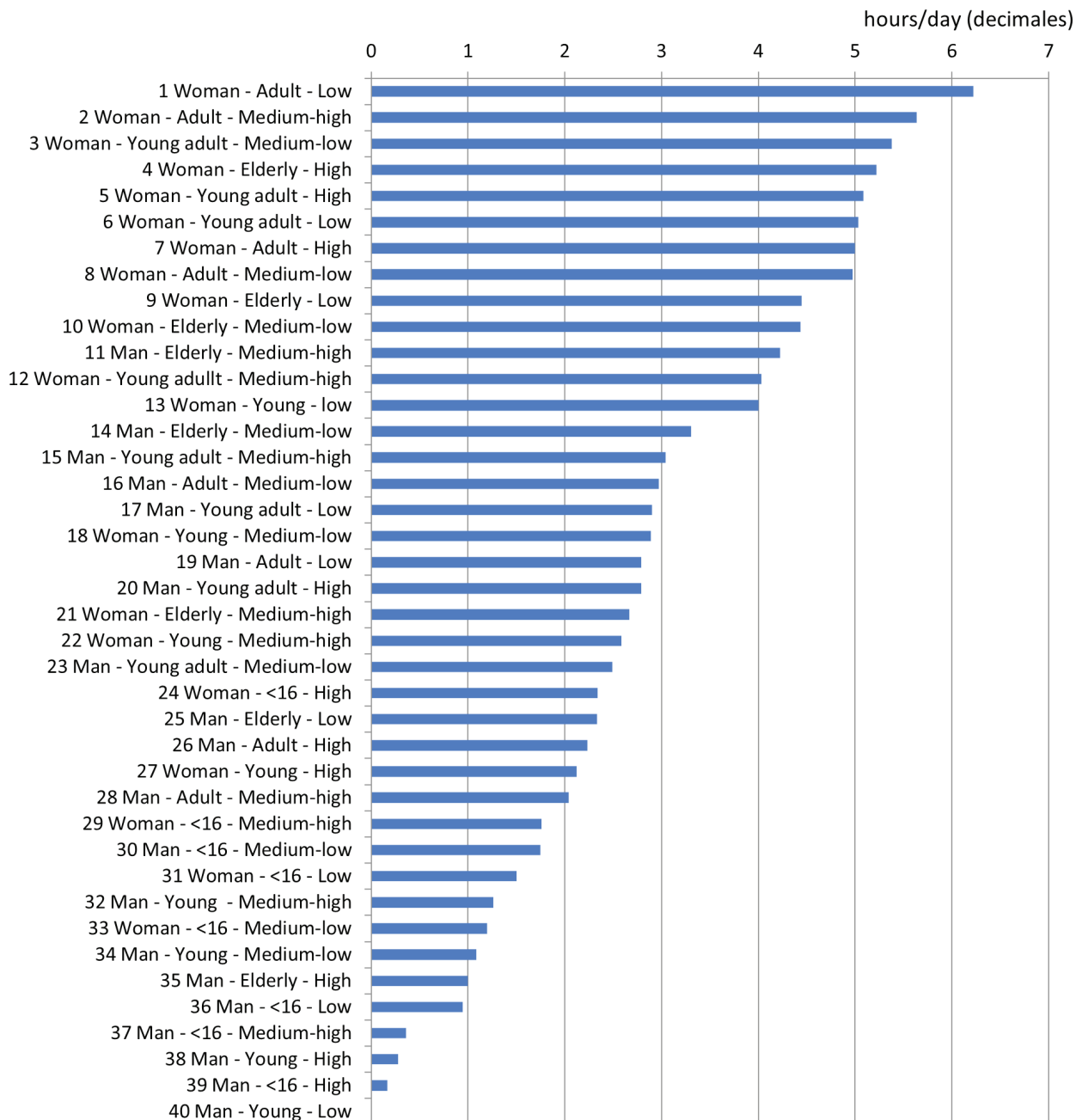


Fig. 1 Reproductive load of social groups (hours/day in decimals). Source: own elaboration based on INE (2011b)

On the other hand, the social groups that bore lower loads were composed of men, with reproductive loads of less than 1 hour per day, on average⁷ (less than a third of the average). This clearly separated them from the social group that bore the highest load, at approximately five hours per day, on average: lower class adult women, with 6:13 (the load of this group almost doubled the average).

These results show clear gender inequality between the different social groups whose load values are above and below the average. It is clearly visible that not all the social groups composed of women had the same load, nor did all the social groups composed of men. In the groups that had below-average loads, we only found social groups composed of women aged under 25 and medium-high class older women (65 and over). In the groups with above-average loads, we found women aged over 25 and young women from lower social classes.

There were also differences between social groups composed of men, although they all bore below-average loads, except for elderly men from medium-high social classes. The social groups that included men belonging to low and medium-low social classes had higher loads than those from the high and medium-high social classes. In addition, the social groups of both men and women belonging to low and medium-low social classes all bore above-average loads: above 2.5 hours a day. Another result that we observed was that the younger social groups tended to have lighter loads than the adult social groups, regardless of sex. However, the social construction of gender roles continued to have a marked effect, even within social groups comprised of young people: women bore loads of more than two hours and 18 minutes per day, on average, compared to 43 minutes borne by men within the same age range.

5. Intersectional spatio-temporal inequalities in unpaid reproductive work in the Balearic Islands

5.1 The space at the centre of the analysis of unpaid reproductive work

Once the unpaid reproductive workload of each social group and its configuration in the Balearic Islands are known, the space where this takes place needs to be identified. Spatio-temporal analysis revealed that, in

the Balearic Islands, the load was mainly borne in the main dwelling (home: 70% of the load) as shown in *Figure 2*. The most relevant part of the remaining 30% was borne at markets (10%), in the street (5%), at other people's homes (4%) and at second homes (3%). As previously noted, feminist studies and studies of reproductive work deny the existence of any geographical and social separation between public and private space (*McDowell 2000: 220*). This phenomenon is fundamentally built upon a sexual division of society, in which it is possible to consider the entire social space as constating the space of everyday life. This differentiated use of space led us to another question: in what space, or spaces, does each social group bear its load? And, what inequalities occur?

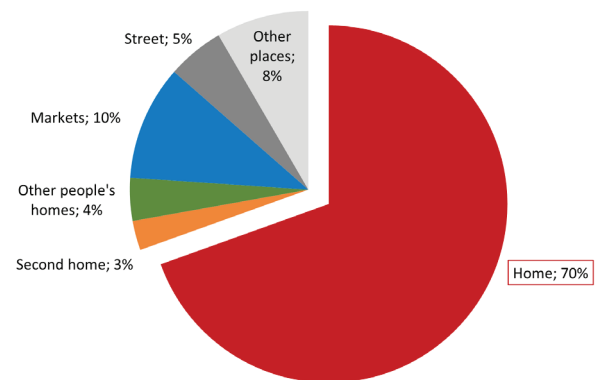


Fig. 2 Spaces where unpaid reproductive work takes place. Source: own elaboration based on INE (2011b)

Figures 3 and 4 represent the load borne in each space, divided by sex. They show that the social groups composed of women bore greater loads in the home (74%) than those composed of men (58%). Men, on the other hand, bore greater loads in public spaces, such as markets and streets.

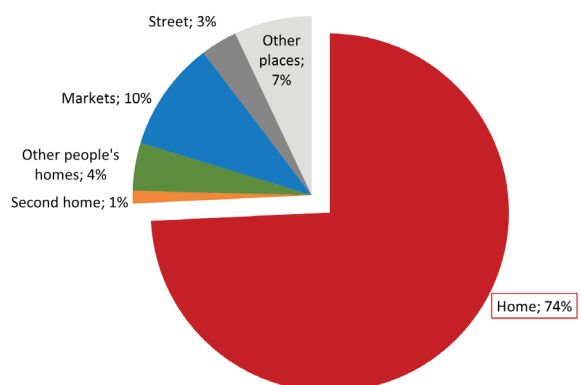


Fig. 3 Spaces where women carry out unpaid reproductive work. Source: own elaboration based on INE (2011b)

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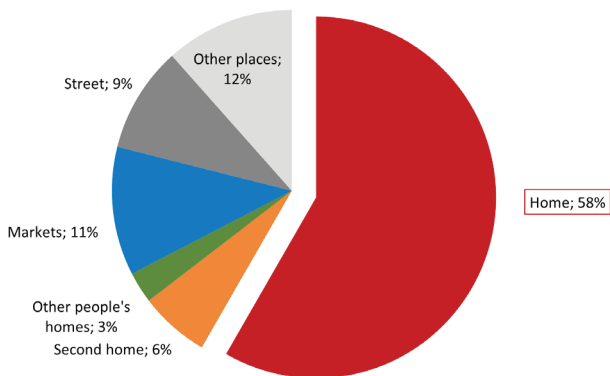


Fig. 4 Spaces where men carry out unpaid reproductive work. Source: own elaboration based on INE (2011b)

Figure 5 shows the spaces where each social group – defined intersectionally and ordered in a downward direction – bears its load and shows the percentage of the load that each social group bears in each space. It is therefore possible to know, on the one hand, the variety, or lack thereof, of the reproductive spaces of each social group. It also shows in which space each social group bears the greatest reproductive load.

In addition to the fact that the home has an important weight and that women exhibit more variety than men, in terms of diversity of spaces, this analysis shows the correlation between the size of the reproductive load and the variety of spaces in which it is

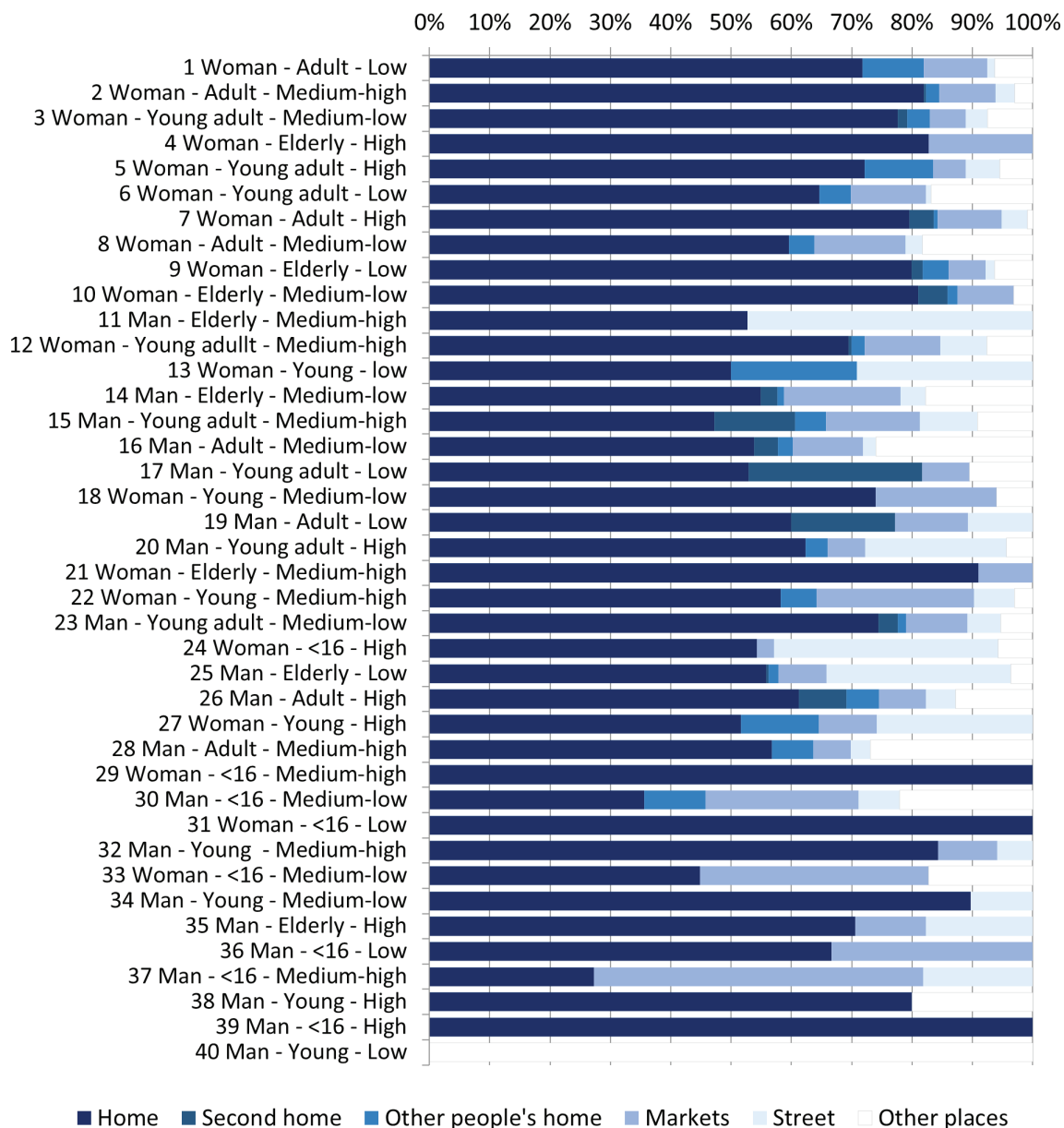


Fig. 5 Spaces where each social group carries out its load. Source: own elaboration, based on INE (2011b)

borne. The results show that the lighter the reproductive load of a given social group is (corresponding to the youngest social groups), the fewer places in which this load is borne (normally, in only a few places: the home, the home and markets, the home and the homes of others). Conversely, the greater the reproductive load is, the more places between which it tends to be distributed. The social groups with the most variety (between four and six different places in a day) were elderly women and low or medium-low class men, and adult and young-adult women and men of all social classes. There were also some other groups that presented a lot of variety: young high or medium-high class women, high class women aged under 16, and medium-low class men aged under 16.

Figure 2 shows that the majority of the reproductive load in the Balearic Islands was borne at home, followed by at markets. The social groups with the greatest reproductive loads bore their greatest loads at home, at markets and, in the third case, at other people's homes. In contrast, social groups whose reproductive loads were close to, or below, average tended to bear an important of their reproductive load in the public space-street.

5.2 The home as a space of social reproduction

Since the home is undoubtedly the place where the greatest load is generated – 70% of the total load of the Balearic Islands – a more specific analysis of the home was carried out to examine it as a private space of social reproduction. This analysis took the home as a central object of study and observed the intersectional spatio-temporal inequalities of unpaid reproductive work carried out in the Balearic Islands. Figure 6 shows how much time each social group bore its reproductive load in the home (hours/day, in decimals), and in relation to its total reproductive load (bars).

Furthermore, this analysis highlighted some significant trends. Firstly, there was a correlation between the social groups with the greatest total loads and those with more load at home, although some did not follow that pattern. Secondly, Figure 6 shows that the social groups composed of women were the ones that bore the greatest reproductive loads at home and that, more specifically, these groups were composed of elderly, adult and young-adult women of all social

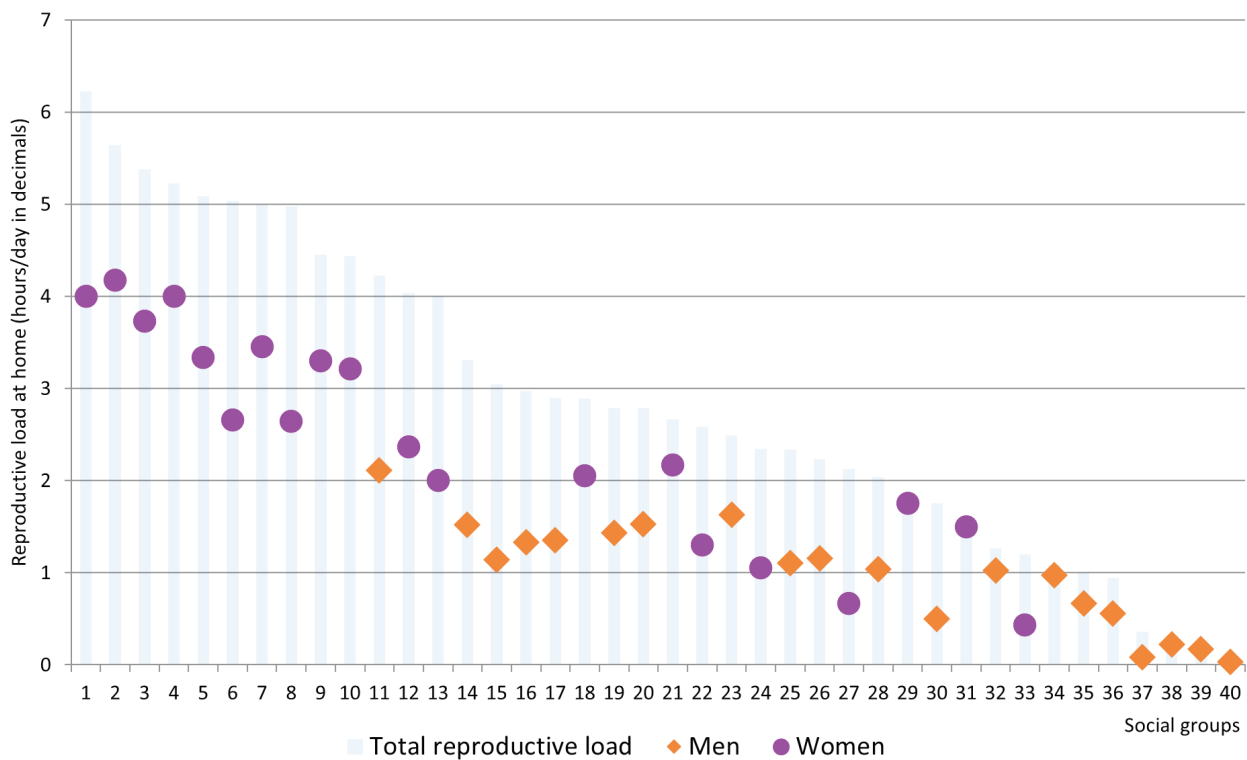


Fig. 6 Load that each social group carries out at home (hours/day in decimals). Source: own elaboration based on INE (2011b)

classes. Thirdly, the social groups that had the lightest reproductive loads at home included groups of young people and children aged under 16 from all the different social classes.

6. Spaces of privilege and oppression of unpaid reproductive work through an intersectional analysis

Univariate analysis verified that the majority of unpaid reproductive work was carried out by women, that the elderly had a greater load than the young, and that the lower social classes bore a greater load than the higher ones. However, intersectional analysis allowed us to go even further than this and to identify spatio-temporal inequalities between the different social groups. The analyses showed that the social group with the greatest reproductive load was that of lower-class adult women (aged 45 to 64). They showed that this group of women – often called a “sandwiched generation” (Torns 2008: 70) – was the one that bore the worst consequences of the lack of socially organised care.

The inclusion of spatiality in the intersectional analysis was useful for establishing that inequalities also differed between spaces, with each space showing different relationships of inequality between social groups. In this way, this paper helps to make the amount of time dedicated to the reproductive workload in different spaces more visible. Based on these analyses, and their results, it was also possible to draw interesting conclusions about the intersectional analysis of the spatiality of unpaid reproductive work carried out in the Balearic Islands. These analyses based on the variables of gender, age and class allowed us to understand: the main relationships between different social groups, the unpaid reproductive workload, and the production of space in the Balearic Islands.

Firstly, we identified the variety of space in which the reproductive load was borne as a factor responsible for inequality, due to the great daily mobility involved in performing these unpaid reproductive tasks. This implied a greater load in terms of both space and time, and also in the management and coordination of these tasks over the course of a day. These aspects were not covered by the TUS survey. In this case, the social groups that exhibited the greatest spatial variety of unpaid reproductive work were also those exhibiting the greatest levels of inequality and the ones which

bore the greatest total reproductive workload (with only a few exceptions). Within one of the groups that exhibited the greatest spatial variety, elderly women and men belonging to the low and medium-low classes, there were certain significant differences. Women bore most of the reproductive load in the home, while men bore it at markets and in public space. Another of the groups probably exhibited a high degree of variety because it contained people on which most of the family care tends to fall: adult and young-adult (25 to 64 years old) women and men of all social classes. Here, it was observed that the women did more than 60% of their load at home, whereas the men, with the exception of one group, did less than 60% of theirs at home.

Secondly, another factor that helped to identify spatial inequalities on the Balearic Islands was the difference between the size of the reproductive load borne in private and public spaces. As with every other space, the division between public and private spheres is also gender related. This effectively allows men the freedom to occupy public positions while limiting women to domestic ones. Although it has already been noted that the space occupied by unpaid reproductive work is not only confined to the private space of the home, it is home the place where the greatest load was registered according to the TUS survey. Feminist economics and ecofeminism are currently working to place this work at the centre of life and to give greater importance to domestic space. However, the fact that women are mainly responsible for the reproductive tasks that are carried out within the home while men devote a greater percentage of their time to those undertaken in public space points to inequality. This stems from the fact that social groups composed of men do not tend to participate very much in the reproductive work performed within the home and that women tend to remain responsible for work in the home.

Now, we took home space as the point of analysis and we had the aim of understanding its role in the relationship between the production of space and unpaid reproductive work. Thus, this study identified as the people who had the greatest reproductive load at home to elderly women, adult women and young-adult women, of all social classes, in the case of people living on the Balearic Islands. On the other hand, this study identified the people who were the ones who did least in the home: the young and those under 16, women or men, of all social classes. In terms of spatial variety, the variables therefore enabled us to see that

elderly people from low social classes suffered higher degrees of inequality than members of other social groups. They also had spatially specific experience of inequality relating to unpaid reproductive work. The home was also the space in which the majority of the people bore their reproductive load. This was especially true for social groups composed of elderly, adult and young-adult women of all social classes.

There has been a debate for several decades now about whether the home is a privileged or oppressive space for women. Theorists such as *Heidegger* (1927) and *Bachelard* (1958) defined the house as a place of refuge and security, pleasure and memories, and rest and recollection. However, as *McDowell* (2000: 113) pointed out, this view overlooks all the work involved in the construction, management and maintenance of a home, which mainly falls on the shoulders of women. This is largely because the home is a space for direct relationships and especially for those of kinship and sexuality. This link between material culture and socialization is also a sign of position and social status (*ibid.*).

The idea of the home as a space of oppression has received numerous criticisms from black feminists who believe that white hegemonic feminism has not considered their experience; for black people, the home has been a space safe from the oppression of slavery and social racism. In the words of the American feminist writer *bell hooks*⁸ (1981), the homes are a place that is safe from the supremacy of the capitalist patriarchy of the white race. Recent feminist studies have discussed both the contradictory nature of the home and the struggle that women have faced to transform the environment and meaning of the home (*Breitbart and Pader* 1995). In fact, the home has been interpreted as a scene of conflict, because it is “a socioeconomic institution that reflects the heteropatriarchal norms in a clear way, in both its functioning and structure” (*Pérez Orozco* 2017: 177).

Finally, it is also necessary to underline the fact that the data obtained by the TUS has only captured the most quantitative and tangible aspects of productivist organisation. It has not been possible to capture the qualitative complexity of the subjective, emotional, mental and organisational dimensions of the unpaid reproductive work, or the associated lived experience (*Carrasco et al.* 2004), which is also called ‘passive care’ (*Folbre* 2006).

This raises the problem that the TUS survey does not include all the spaces in which this type of work is carried out, such as transnational spaces, or all those spaces where emotional or mental work is done throughout the day. As a result, it would be preferable to also include other types of analysis to include these spaces. It is also necessary to expand the definition of reproductive work in order to include its most subjective aspects and the places where it is done. This will make it possible to put its emotional, mental, management, dual presence and simultaneity dimensions at the centre of our research.

This study is a first step towards improving our understanding of the role of housing in unpaid reproductive work. Its results can help us to understand the relationship between the production of space, social reproduction, and power relations. This leads us to the hypothesis that the financialisation of housing implies an increase in unpaid reproductive work and thereby to an intensification of the inequalities suffered by women. This is a question which should be verified in future research.

Notes

- ¹ This study does not consider paid reproductive work because that involves monetary transactions which are reflected in official financial statistics.
- ² European Statistical System
- ³ In Spanish: *EET: Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo*
- ⁴ *Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)*
- ⁵ *bell hooks* wrote her name in small letters because she said that what is most important in a book is the substance, not who the writer is.
- ⁶ Unpaid reproductive work was defined on the basis of the activities contemplated by the TUS for 2009/2010 and a bibliographic review. The TUS classified these activities as relating to ‘home and family’ and ‘providing informal assistance to other households’.
- ⁷ In the TUS studies, a day included both working days and weekends.
- ⁸ See footnote number five.

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