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Sorcery in the Suburbs: *Bewitched*, Gender and Spaces of Resistance

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Introduction

Bewitched (1964-1972) is a supernaturally-themed successful comedy sitcom produced during the 1960s that centered on a family of witches and caused controversy concerning its treatment of female characters who often appeared to be constrained by patriarchal values and were inevitably located in domestic settings. However, while superficially seeming to cohere to traditional gender stereotypes, this essay argues that the female protagonists of *Bewitched* transgress gender roles and undermine the sexist attitudes of male characters by reframing the domestic sphere as a space of resistance. Through analysis of key scenes involving the sitcom's main protagonists, namely, Samantha Stevens (Elizabeth Montgomery), Endora (Agnes Moorehead), Tabitha (Erin Murphy) and Clara (Marion Lorne), and engaging theoretically with scholarship on geographies of resistance (Pile, 1994; 1997), as well as critical reviews contemporary to the comedy, it contends that the series provides progressive depictions of women in the 1960s and upholds feminist values of the time.

Bewitched and Contemporary Culture

Bewitched is a supernatural sitcom that was originally broadcast for eight seasons and pivots around the magical exploits of Samantha, a witch who is married to a mortal, Darrin Stevens (Dick York, Dick Sargent). Other key female characters include their daughter, Tabitha, who inherits her mother's magical powers, Samantha's mother, Endora, and her Aunt, Clara. All four female protagonists utilize their supernatural skills to exercise agency, therefore arguably challenging both contemporaneous critical reviews and more recent scholarship that claim that the series was misogynistic and subscribed to patriarchal values. Indeed, although possessing a fantasy storyline, the series consistently reflects the political zeitgeist of the 1960s (Spigel, 1991). Even though *Bewitched* was broadcast in the late 1960s and reflected a range of contemporaneous social movements, including racial equality and feminism, scholarship since suggests that its patriarchal viewpoint equally signals the subsequent backlash against feminism that emerged subsequently. Primarily, these works focus on Samantha's apparent subservience to Darrin's sexist demands. As Jon Abbott notes 'Darrin is determined to keep his housekeeper/lover locked safely away at home [and] expects Samantha to entertain business contacts at home, yet forbids her from using her magical powers, even though she can prepare

an elegant banquet with one short spell' (2005: 26-27). Karen Stoddard also points out the gender politics at play, noting that 'Samantha's husband, a mere mortal, expects her to perform tasks in a human, rather than supernatural, manner. His constant reprimand of "no witchcraft" is an ideal she attempts valiantly to fulfil. Though she indeed possesses a viable power to manipulate and control her surroundings, the social power of the husband is greater and she conforms to his wishes' (1981: 50). In contrast, Cary O'Dell, while acknowledging that Darrin's demands correspond with the male backlash to the women's movement (2005: 66), sees the series as being 'dominated by female energy' and Samantha as 'a rebel in some regard' (2005: 66).

Much of this scholarship hinges on the centrality of the domestic sphere and Samantha's consistent association with this space. A repeated feature of the series, as Walter Metz (2007: 76) points out, is Darrin's departure for and arrival from work, and the ring of the doorbell. Likewise, David Marc comments that the series 'is pretty much limited to a circumspect domestic world shared by intimate personae – one natural, the other supernatural. A single theme dominates these episodes: Samantha [...] has been forbidden by her "normal" husband Darrin [...] from practicing witchcraft. Samantha tries to be dutiful, but life in a modern American housing tract is so utterly challenging and complex that sometimes she just can't help herself' (1997: 111). Lynn Spigel too comments that 'the setting – an ideal two-story home located in a middle-class town – also borrows its conventions from the middle-class suburban sitcom. Similarly, the program retains clear gender divisions between public and private space, with Samantha taking the role of housewife and Darrin an executive in a high-rise office' (1991: 216). Nonetheless, like O'Dell, Spigel highlights Samantha's subversion of patriarchal strictures, noting that 'the woman's alien powers serve to invert the gender relations of suburban domesticity, and with this, the consumer lifestyles that characterize the suburbs are also parodied' (1991: 227). For Spigel, 'Samantha destabilizes the patriarchal structures of consumer capitalism [...] by giving a woman the power of transformation' (1991: 227). Overall, as Metz summarizes, these works result 'in two diametrically opposed readings of *Bewitched*, and critics are almost evenly split as to whether the show represents a progressive or conservative representation of gender' (2007: 93).

What is most distinctive, however, is that the public/private divide that pervades the series is important to an articulation of resistance and gender transgression. This divide reverberates through academic studies of gender, space and social and cultural traditions. Sue Thornham summarizes these in her account of interior spaces (2019) whereby she traces scholarship of gendered space and woman *as* space through reference to discourses of cultural

geography (Rose, 1993), Freudian psychoanalysis - in particular, the uncanny (Freud, 2001b), and its applications (de Lauretis, 1984; Irigaray, 2004) - and architectural theory (Grosz, 2001) through to the gendered connotations of specific rooms, as in Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979). Likewise, Eleanor Andrews, Stella Hockenhull and Frances Pheasant-Kelly note how the shape and architectural form of the home and its rooms may have gendered significance (2015). Victorian culture was especially grounded in gendered distinctions of space and, as Griselda Pollock notes, 'The public sphere, defined as the world of productive labour, political decision, government, education, the law and public service, increasingly became exclusive to men. The private sphere was the world, home, wives, children and servants' (1988: 67). Relatedly, Janice Monk identifies specific divisions in the spatial organisation of the home, whereby 'examples across cultures reveal how patriarchal values, often ostensibly about protecting women, in fact, constrain them' (1999: 157). Of relevance here, Monk goes on to suggest that 'Nevertheless, these same examples show that women may attach different meanings to home spaces than men, that they may find ways to manoeuvre them to meet their own needs and that they make efforts to design spaces to reflect their own values' (1999: 158). Even though Monk refers to situations in real world cultures rather than screen fictions, her claim resonates with the way that Samantha manipulates situations such that she actually always dominates and controls the narrative. In other words, the home (as well as other places) inevitably becomes a site of resistance.

Cultural geographer, Steve Pile (1994) articulates such sites as 'third spaces' whereby the dualistic epistemologies that permit the gendering of certain binary opposites (such as private/public) are subverted. As Pile argues, 'because dualistic architectures are not as fixed, stable or natural as they are meant to be (i.e., precisely because they need to be policed), it is possible to refuse them' (1994: 255). One might equally argue that Endora, Tabitha and Clara are not restricted to domestic spaces and they often feature independently in scenes that are outside of the home. Crucially, Samantha inverts connotations of the strictures associated with domestic space in that it becomes a site of resistance and agency, enabled specifically by 'female powers'. Engaging theoretically with Pile's contesting of dualistic epistemologies, this essay therefore argues that the practice of witchcraft in the domestic sphere acts as form of resistance whereby the home becomes a third space. In sum, the female protagonists of *Bewitched* defy a patriarchal system through garnering agency via witchcraft in the home.

Pile, Geographies of Resistance and Third Spaces

Pile's theory of a third space as a site of resistance draws on other works concerned with alternate spaces, such as those of Homi Bhabha (1990), Edward Soja (1996) and bell hooks (1991). Pile's concept of an alternate epistemology conflates several aspects of resistance and 'draws on a spatial metaphor which suggests an alternative radical geography which mobilizes place, politics and hybrid identities' (Pile, 1994: 255). For Pile, the use of dualisms automatically confers a power relationship such that 'one side of the dualism [is] identified as knowledge, rationalized, valued and associated with masculinity; while the other side is excluded as the object of knowledge, eroticized, devalued and seen as feminine' (1994: 259). Clearly, Darrin's constant forbidding of Samantha's sorcery falls into this latter category. Moreover, witchcraft also conforms to other traits associated with gendered dichotomies, such as the binary described by Pile as 'Reason' and 'Emotion' [capitals in original] (1994: 260), such that its practice falls beyond reason and is more likely performed for reasons of emotion (such as a fear of failure). As Pile notes 'the Reason/Emotion dualism allows geographers not only to position themselves on the side of Reason and to value their experience, but also to strip others of the capacity of understanding and to marginalize or overlook their experiences' (1994: 260). He states, however, that the clearest example of a binary opposition is that of masculinity and femininity and, relevant here, notes that such a dialectic is 'defined by a singular dimension of domination; in this case, by men, who identify themselves with valued masculinities, which are defined in opposition to debased femininities. The power is not abstract, it has a geography. Feminist critiques of the public-private dichotomy – such as the workplace, politics, and so on – are predominated by masculine values and by men [...]. But the public-private dichotomy not only placed men in the public sphere and women in the home – the private sphere, it also allowed that placing to be policed, for example, by making some places unsafe for women to be' (1994: 261).

Pile subsequently develops his concept of third space to discuss what he terms 'geographies of resistance' (1997: 1) and, in the introduction to an edited collection, refers to a quote by Manuel Castells that states 'Costumes and witchcraft are precisely what people need to walk happily on the uncertain edge of blurred boundaries' (in Pile, 1997: 1). The dichotomy of spaces that he previously describes is here more grounded in specific geographies of place, with such examples as outside of the military base at Greenham Common. While this example may seem removed from the fantasy fiction of *Bewitched*, it nonetheless has parity in that the Greenham Common women acted in a feminist context to interrogate power relationships associated with specific places. As Pile argues, such examples of resistance show 'that people are positioned differently in unequal and multiple power relationships, that more or less

powerful people are active in the constitution of unfolding relationships of authority, meaning and identity, that these activities are contingent, ambiguous and awkwardly situated, but that resistance seeks to occupy, deploy and create alternative spatialities from those defined through oppression and exploitation. From this perspective, assumptions about the domination/resistance couplet become questionable' (1997: 3).

***Bewitched* and The Home as a Site of Resistance**

The contention here is that such resistance pervades *Bewitched* and manifests in various ways. It first becomes apparent in the pilot episode 1.01, 'I Darrin, Take This Witch, Samantha', which opens with medium close-ups of Samantha, filmed from a slightly low angle, dressed in a suit, walking alone in the city, and suggesting a degree of independence (reflecting that she is, at this stage, single and unfettered by domesticity). The scene initiates a montage of further extra-domestic images documenting the start of her relationship with Darrin before eventually moving to an interior hotel room setting on their wedding night. Here, Samantha's mother, Endora, magically materializes (from a trip to India) through a window that opens spontaneously, Samantha informing her that they are on honeymoon. At this point, Samantha also reveals to her mother that Darrin is not a witch but an 'ordinary mortal being' to which Endora replies 'he sounds simply horrible'. Endora thus takes an instant dislike to Darrin based on his human condition, therefore reversing the usual stereotypical situation whereby men resent their mother-in-law. As a result, despite it being their honeymoon and even though Darrin is dressed in nightwear and is about to enter Samantha's bedroom, Endora uses magic to transfer him repeatedly down to the hotel reception. His ensuing confusion and recurrent appearances there cause him to appear confused and possibly intoxicated to the receptionist, who merely gives him a wry, knowing smile. When Samantha informs Endora that she intends to tell Darrin that she is a witch, she replies 'You don't know what prejudice you'll run into', thus subtly implying that the independence and agency that witchcraft affords her will be challenged.

Thereafter, many of the settings are confined to the home, or shift between home and Darrin's office, and thus consolidate the spatial binary that the series both exploits but continually interrogates. The pilot is typical in that while, as several scholars such as Stoddard (1981) note, it presents Darrin as sexist and patriarchal, it also establishes Samantha as a resistant force, especially in the domestic sphere. A key sign of the performance of witchcraft is a twitching of her nose, an action accompanied by extra-diegetic sound effects. Her revelation to Darrin that she possesses such supernatural powers causes him to patronize her

initially, saying ‘that’s wonderful, we’ll talk about it tomorrow’ but when she physically demonstrates her powers, leads him to become anxious to the extent that he consults his family doctor.

Framed from a high angle using a wide lens, Darrin appears diminished and disempowered in the shot (and thus in a position of weakness) while his doctor merely advises him to take a vacation, the implication being that the ‘problem’ is Darrin’s mental state. As has been noted, ‘Therefore, although one might interpret the series as suggesting that powerful women are problematic, it represents men’s reaction to them as equally troublesome’ (Pheasant-Kelly, 2018: 88). Indeed, even though Darrin typically sees Samantha’s powers as troublesome and undesirable, and makes her promise not to utilize them (such repression reflecting responses to and backlash against feminism at that time), she inevitably resorts to witchcraft in every episode, usually in the realm of the kitchen. This scenario manifests almost immediately during their marriage in that, when faced with manually clearing up the dishes, she turns to magic to instantly make them disappear. Surveying the now immaculate kitchen and seeming reluctant to relinquish her witching skills, she tries to convince herself that ‘maybe I can taper off’.

Her displays of sorcery also occur outside their home, one such instance occurring when Darrin’s former girlfriend, Sheila Sommers (Nancy Kovack) calls in to Darrin’s high-rise office (thereby further denoting the binary spatial theme of the series). She flirtatiously invites him to a party at her home, indicating to Darrin that it will be a low-key event and ‘nothing fancy, very relaxed’. This connection of Darrin’s workplace with extra-marital relationships therefore directly contrasts with the domestic connotations associated with Samantha and further institutes a gendered private/public dichotomy. On arrival at the party, Samantha, wearing flat shoes, plain dress and woolen cardigan, looks distinctly out of place compared to Sheila who, like her other guests, is dressed in an elegant ballgown, the two women framed in long shot to emphasize their sartorial differences. In fact, Sheila does not address Samantha directly but instead turns to Darrin and asks him ‘is this your little bride?’. Thereafter, she constantly tries to humiliate Samantha in relation to her dress, hairstyle and facial features, implying that Samantha should have her hair restyled, employ a dressmaker and undergo cosmetic surgery. At the same time, she continues to flirt with Darrin. In revenge, Samantha conjures a series of equally humiliating and comedic events. For instance, food magically appears on Sheila’s teeth whilst talking to Darrin, and her hairpiece and dress are blown away by a sudden unexplained gale. Whilst Darrin is initially unaware that these happenings are a result of Samantha’s witchcraft, he grows suspicious as they become increasingly extreme (indicated by his

quizzical and bewildered looks directed at Samantha). However, the spectator is always made complicit in the sorcery via eyeline matches from Samantha's perspective through to medium close-ups that disclose her twitching nose. The pilot therefore ends with Samantha in a position of complete control in terms of both domestic and public spaces.

In addition, private space is constantly liable to infiltration (by Endora) as evidenced by the aforementioned honeymoon scene while Darrin's transfer to the hotel reception in his nightwear effectively inverts private and public space, the inappropriateness of his attire registering on the faces of fully clothed residents of the hotel. In a similar vein, his representation at the doctor's surgery renders him in a position of vulnerability. Thus, while Pile's discussion of geographies of resistance encompasses broader real world political scenarios, he also states that 'movement does not have to be so 'big': there are tiny micro-movements of resistance, barely perceptible, even invisible or covert – quiet stealthy masquerades resistant to categorization and definition' (1997: 29) into which category Samantha's sorcery readily falls.

Likewise, the subsequent episode, 1.02, 'Be It Ever So Mortgaged', sees Samantha literally take control of the home in that the opening scene discloses her trying to be an 'ideal housewife', as prescribed by Darrin, during a sequence in which a pan catches fire and she simultaneously burns the toast and spills a saucepan of milk, the rapid camera movements adding to an overall impression of chaos. As she hears Darrin descending the stairs, she quickly resolves her culinary mishaps by using witchcraft to conjure a perfect breakfast. In a later cooking venture, Endora (who regularly 'drops in' uninvited to the Stephens' household), ridicules Samantha as she bakes and ices a cake, rather unsuccessfully, to impress Darrin and satisfy his sexist demands to 'learn to cook'. Endora, however, positions these misogynistic tropes within a feminist discourse, telling her daughter that there is 'no reason to overdo this grubby little housewife role'. 'What a ridiculous waste of time and energy' Endora exclaims, and, although Samantha persists with the icing, a subsequent close-up from her perspective reveals the cake to be a gastronomic disaster. Once more, she deploys her witching skills to conjure a flawlessly decorated confection.

When Darrin returns from the office (the episodes are consistently marked by his departure for and arrival back from work) Endora remains, although is invisible to Darrin. Clearly apparent to Samantha and the spectator, however, she reappears at various unusual locations around their home. Reclining on the stair banister and then sitting atop a bookcase, she silently mocks their relationship, and deliberately calls him by the wrong name, signaling his lack of importance. The fact that Endora is able to move freely through the home, and

position herself in unconventional sites again destabilizes the binary that positions the domestic sphere as a place of oppression, as Darrin is evidently powerless to exercise authority here. Even though Endora is invisible, Darrin senses something is amiss because of Samantha's unsettled odd behavior and facial expressions, as well as the sound of laughter (from Endora) when Darrin orders Samantha to 'get my dinner'. Samantha pretends that it is she who is laughing at the 'very cute joke about getting your dinner', thus both highlighting and undermining his sexist attitudes, a response which causes Darrin to look perplexed (as if he doesn't understand why it might be considered funny).

The same episode sees him choose a new house, without consulting Samantha. Ostensibly, this sequence (along with many others) serves as a critique of consumerism (a key theme of the series), but concurrently defines Darrin as the 'breadwinner', with its gendered allusions and his assumption that Samantha will like it. Going along with Darrin's plans, Samantha invites Endora to join her, saying 'we're very lucky, all young people dream of owning their own home'. Endora's response is telling in terms of the home and gender: 'but not for us, we're quicksilver, a fleeting shadow, a distant sound...our home has no boundaries beyond which we cannot pass – we live in music, and a flash of color, we live on the wind and in the sparkle of a star', her words defying the binding of women to home and thus, as witches, consciously destabilizing the conventional dialectic of private/public that Darrin subscribes to. Together, Samantha and Endora inspect the newly built abode and between them conjure furnishings for the entire house, replete with exterior vegetation and decor. Therefore, the home once more becomes a contested site, liable to the whims of the two women through the practice of witchcraft. Overall, these two episodes (1.01 and 1.02) define domestic space as private and associated with the feminine, seemingly reproducing the ideological prejudices of the time but concurrently disrupt such conventions through the creation of a third space.

Certainly, if the home is a site of resistance throughout the series, its political resonances are particularly highlighted in episode 1.07, 'The Witches Are Out', which features several witches, including Aunt Clara and her friends, Bertha (Reta Shaw) and Mary (Madge Blake). The plot revolves around one of Darrin's advertising clients, Mr. Brinkman (Shelley Berman), who insists that Darrin designs a stereotypical image of an ugly witch, with warts and a long crooked nose, to promote his Halloween candy. On the premise of preventing the perpetuation of negative stereotypes, Samantha, as well as Bertha, Mary and Clara, are determined to prevent this and plan to form a protest group. While the underlying message of the series is highly relevant to current discourses concerning the connotation of villainy through facial disfigurement (Lowe, 2018), at the time of production, it undoubtedly refers to the

negative representation of ethnic groups (given that Samantha mentions offensive discrimination against minority groups, and the episode was broadcast in 1964 at the height of the Civil Rights Movement). As well as making the home a site of resistance through witchcraft, Samantha and the three witches remonstrate openly against the campaign and Darrin's initial design for marketing the candy; the design, as demanded by Brinkman, features the aforementioned stereotypical witch with warts and a long nose. In fact, Samantha attacks Darrin verbally, her angry and defiant characterization deviating markedly from the meek dutiful portrayals of the preceding episodes. Darrin accordingly creates a campaign that features a beautiful curvaceous witch leading Larry Tate (David White), Darrin's boss at the advertising company, and Brinkman to fire him. Although Darrin indicates to Samantha that he does not want her to intervene in his plight by using witchcraft, Samantha and the three witches are prompted to activism. They transport themselves to Brinkman's bedroom, waking him in the middle of the night, the sequence appearing blurred at the edges to create the impression that he thinks he is dreaming. The four witches are positioned sitting on top of Brinkman's four-poster bed looking down on him, with low angle shots from Brinkman's perspective lending them authority and power over his cowering form. Moreover, aside from the willful act of infiltration into Brinkman's home, its site as a geography of resistance is made clear by the fact that the witches stage their sorcery in the form of a political rally, conjuring up campaigning signs. While these include a sign that states 'Witches are People Too', a confused Aunt Clara (whose spells regularly fail) produces a 'Vote for Coolidge' sign, not only signaling the political bent of the episode but also important in that Calvin Coolidge was a supporter of racial equality. The sequence thus alludes to the radical social movements of the 1960s, and in this case, while clearly referring to black rights, is also concerned with distorted images of women. Moreover, the significance of this spatial inversion (whereby women disrupt spatial boundaries and invert hierarchies of power) not only extends to Darrin's place of work, but to wider society in that the revised marketing campaign featuring a beautiful witch proves highly successful, suggesting the influence of women beyond the home to the public sphere.

While the actions of older witches in the series are metaphors for 1960s radicalism in relation to equal rights, the magical happenings associated with Tabitha have resonances of children exercising control over their parents. Indeed, in episode 3.29, 'It's Wishcraft', Darrin becomes the victim of all female family witches. The plot involves a visit from Darrin's parents at a time when Tabitha is trialing her newfound witching skills and, as Samantha explains to Darrin, is going through a developmental phrase of 'wishcraft'. Darrin, concerned that his parents may find out that Tabitha is a witch, sanctions Samantha to use her sorcery if necessary.

Appearing delighted that she is being given free rein, Samantha calls on Endora to help. The first sign of Tabitha's newly discovered abilities occurs as she magically animates her toys, a theme that recurs in other episodes (Pheasant-Kelly, 2018: 91-94) causing Darrin to shout at Samantha that 'you've got to stop Tabitha flying her toys around the home!' However, as Darrin leaves for work, Tabitha perfects another talent as he suddenly finds himself transported back to her nursery. When he again tries to depart, Tabitha once more bewitches him back to her nursery, thus effectively exercising a form of control that recalls Sigmund Freud's (2001a) account of the cotton reel game whereby the child attempts to gain mastery of a cotton reel (by throwing it and then retrieving it) as compensation for the temporary loss of the parent. As Freud notes, 'this, then, was the complete game – disappearance and return. As a rule one only witnessed its first act, which was repeated untiringly as a game in itself, though there is no doubt that the greater pleasure was attached to the second act' (2001a: 15). In this case, Tabitha literally returns the parent thus rendering the nursery as a site of control and resistance. As Samantha explains to Darrin, 'whenever she wishes for someone she really loves to be with her they automatically are'. Darrin eventually manages to leave for work and later telephones Samantha to find that Endora is there. In response to his angry outburst at Samantha about Endora's presence, Endora hexes Darrin, causing torrents of rain to pour over him wherever he happens to be – in this instance, he is in his office but the isolated patch of pouring rain persists wherever he goes. As he suddenly appears at the kitchen window, the rain still pouring down over him, he shouts at Endora before suddenly disappearing again as Tabitha once more magically summons him, dripping wet, to the nursery. Samantha then transports him back outside in order to convince his parents that everything is 'normal'. Overall, the episode exemplifies how Darrin, whether at home or in his office, actually has no control over what happens to him physically, and that each of the female characters mobilizes agency via witchcraft. As Pile notes, 'potentially, the list of acts of resistance is endless [...] and the reason for this seems to be that definitions of resistance have become bound up with the ways that people are understood to have capacities to change things, through giving their own (resistant) meanings to things, through finding their own tactics for avoiding, taunting, attacking, undermining, enduring, hindering, mocking the everyday exercise of power' (1997: 14). While *Bewitched* is a fantasy sitcom based on a family of witches, and removed from major political standoffs, it nonetheless speaks ideologically about women's oppression and their resistance to it in the home and beyond.

Conclusion

Whereas academic commentaries and critical reviews have consistently positioned the female characters of *Bewitched* as victims of a patriarchal system in terms of traditional binary oppositions and in relation to the domestic realm, this essay proposes an alternative interpretation. Taking Pile's (1994) concept of spaces of resistance, it contends that the home functions as a third space wherein female agency is facilitated via witchcraft. Indeed, it proposes that the home as it is represented in *Bewitched* does not reflect usual domestic power hierarchies. Rather, authority is channeled through its female characters. Moreover, many of them are persistently seen outside the confines of the home or in distant countries, especially Endora. As Marc notes 'Though the episodic plot morals emphatically valorize Darrin and Samantha's "normal" marriage against Endora's attacks, the cumulative effect of the series can be quite the opposite. Endora (and the life she represents) is daring, witty, and powerful. She is a far more attractive personality than the wimpy, attaché-case-toting commuter/husband' (1997: 114). Certainly, Darrin constantly falls victim to witchcraft via the actions of Samantha, Clara, Endora and Tabitha and, while he appears to be the breadwinner, and sets rules about the practice of witchcraft, all four witches constantly overrule him and reclaim agency by utilizing certain spaces as sites of resistance to sexism, male authoritarianism and marginalization. In so doing, the private/public dichotomy associated with gender is consistently inverted and undermined.

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Television Broadcasts

- 'I, Darrin, Take This Witch, Samantha' (1964) *Bewitched*, season 1, episode 1. Directed by William Asher. Written by Sol Saks. ABC, 17 September.
- 'The Witches Are Out' (1964) *Bewitched*, season 1, episode 7. Directed by William Asher. Written by Bernard Slade. ABC, 29 October.
- 'It's Wishcraft' (1967) *Bewitched*, season 3, episode 29. Directed by Paul Davis. Written by James Henerson. ABC, 30 March.