

She identifies her betrayer and sheds a part of her in every 'metallic sigh' but still asserts that her body could only find peace in her 'betrayer's arm'. Das does not preach of an ideal relationship, she compares her man to every man who seeks woman's body; she usually refers him a betrayer but creates an epithet of 'alienation' when she calls him a stranger. In her poem *Stranger*, she urges the stranger to fill her vacant body with a child. She loves her betrayer and only wants to test what came out of her love, in *My Story*,

Yes, love me one day | Just for a lark, | Show me what our life would have
been | If only you had loved... (199)

A confession, a regret, a test or a plea, Das again ends the poem with three dots. The decision left on her readers, the hidden request of a sympathetic interpretation excusing the voyeuristic remarks. The voice of a woman who led a life seeking her husband's love even if that meant offering her premature body, a self educated writer who pretended to be interested in things like 'sex and the cooperative movement' only to keep up a conversation with her husband, a loyal wife who never hid anything from her husband but was 'betrayed with words'. Kamala Das qualifies every trait of a confessional poet; her use of toneless first person speaker, the use of dense and shocking imagery, an honest life confessed using the most honest language, a subjective take on issues and treating them alienating the poet persona. Ironically, Madhavikutty was home-schooled and her intellectual friends consisted of Nissim Ezekiel, who had no connection with this genre. Confessional poetry seldom knocked at Indian borders. From a generation of predominantly male writers, Das stole her place and established a touchstone. She blamed and pleaded, loved and hated, acted and regretted but never ceased to write about her experiences without hesitating and that is what made her an ICONOCLAST.

References :

- Das, Bijay Kumar. *Paradigm Shift in the reading of Kamala Das' poetry*. Indian Literature, Vol.54, No. 1 (255) (January/ February 2010): Sahitya Akademi. <<http://www.jstor.org>, accessed on 14/08/2014>Web.
- Das, Kamala. *My Story*. India: HarperCollins Publishers, 2009. Print.
- Das, Kamala. *An Introduction, Relationship, Punishment in Kindergarten, The Freaks*. <<http://www.poemhunter.com>, accessed on 14/08/2014>. Web.
- Molesworth, Charles. "With Your Own Face On": *The origins and consequences of confessional poetry*. Twentieth century literature, Vol.22, No.2 (May 1976), p 163-178. <<http://www.jstor.org>, accessed on 14/08/2014>. Web.
- Plath, Sylvia. *Tulips, Lady Lazarus*. <<http://www.poetryfoundation.org> accessed on 14/08/2014>. Web.
- Ram, Atma. An interview, New Quest, no.2, August 1977, p42. <<http://www.jstor.org>, accessed on 14/08/2014>. Web.
- Raphael, R. *Kamala Das: The Pity of It*. Indian Literature, Vol.22, No.3, *Aspects of Modern Poetry* (May – June 1979), p 127-137. <<http://www.jstor.org> accessed on 14/08/2014>. Web.
- Satchidanandan, K. *In Memoriam, Redefining The Genre, Kamala Das (1934-2009)*. Indian Literature, Vol.53, No.3 (251) (May/ June 2009). <<http://www.jstor.org> accessed on 14/08/2014>. Web.



Women and Their Livelihood: A Portrayal of Domestic Servants in the early 21st Century South Kolkata

- Swati Basak

Abstract: In this research paper there is an earnest attempt to explain the socio-economic condition of the women domestic workers of Kolkata in the present society. The primary concern was to assess the employer-servant relationship. To realise the real condition of the domestic servants I have conducted a field survey on live in domestic workers of South Kolkata. I made a comparative study on the condition of the domestic workers of India and other countries. Domestic servants from Asian countries are migrated to many European countries. There are some similarities and some contrasts which I have exposed in my paper. Some biographies, letters have been found in the Western countries which are totally absent in our country. It is easier to assess the condition of the servants from these documents but the countries like India domestic servants are not literate enough to write anything or express their grievances. So it is very difficult to understand their actual situation. Only Baby Halder's autobiography throws some light on this topic. So I decided to conduct a field work on the women domestic workers of Kolkata. In this research gender and class play very important role in shaping the mistress-maid relationship. From my survey work I came to know that as they did not get any scope to receive education, the workers are hopeful enough to make their children educated so that they need not have to do the same job. This is a mouthpiece of the struggles, miseries of their lives.

Keywords: domestic workers, bhadramahila, employment, middle-class, work, South Asia, South Kolkata, mistress-maid.

Introduction:

This paper focuses on women domestic workers of Kolkata in the 21st century. Though domestic work is very important but it is not recognized by the scholars for a long time. Before 1970 it was not noticed by the scholars. The feminist writers first took initiative in giving importance to domestic work. As domestic work is mainly dominated by female workers so the feminist writers and scholars gave more importance to the significance of this work. In the country like India though a vast majority of women were engaged in domestic work there is no proper distinction between productive and domestic work. In the nineteenth century there was a huge demand for domestic workers in colonial Bengal. It has been argued by historians that class formation in Bengal in the nineteenth century extended, controversially, to women. According to Sumanta Banerjee, the more amorphous culture of the city in which the elite and the masses shared, gave way to a sharp divergence between elites and

popular practices towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. Thus on one hand we have the emergence of the *bhadramahila* who received some form of education so as to be able to participate in the more refined *bhadralok* culture. At a greater social distance from the *bhadramahila*, stood the *magi* women who were the unrespectable poor, uneducated, coarse and vulgar. With the emergence of the *bhadramahila*, the division of labour within the home sharpened. There was a ready and established gender segregation --- of role, of labour and of spaces. Various modified forms of *Purdah* kept men and women engaged in socially separated occupations. Familial roles and relationships had a strong, sometimes determining, influence over distribution of tasks and rewards. There can be little doubts that elite households always included non-kin members (slaves and servants) to undertake a range of personal and domestic tasks in the home. Elite women thus were never required to undertake the manual and the menial jobs of maintaining the home. In the city, in the nineteenth century, this phenomenon became much more widespread. The *bhadramahila* like elite women of earlier times avoided the more physically tasking, the dirty and the messy part of the house work. While remaining in charge of managing and running the household, they were now able to employ servants, sometimes men, sometimes women, for a range of house work from marketing, cooking, cleaning to child care. Thus while on the one hand the social distance between the middle and the working classes increased, on the other a close and intimate space of interaction between the *bhadramahila* and the *magi* opened up-- in almost every middle-class home.

The intimate nature of class relationships between employers and domestics prompted Swapna Banerjee's research resulting in a book. Her book, *Men, Women and Domestics; Articulating Middle-Class Identity in Colonial Bengal*, has kindled an interest in the vast domestic service market of Kolkata in late nineteenth century. She demonstrates how caste and class identity among the predominantly urban Hindu Bengali elite was constructed in relationship with the subordinate social groups of which domestic workers formed an important and integral part. Domestic work in her framework provided the most intimate spheres of contact between the classes and became thus an important source for constructing class identity.

I wanted to situate domestic work in an historical context but also to draw the story up to the present time to explore the contrast between the condition and experiences of domestic work in that period and now. Poor women continue to see domestic work in the cities as an avenue of employment. These women who work as domestic labour are part of a vast sector of informal wage employment. Though globalization has opened avenues for women in the informal sector, low wages, insecurities and complete lack of an organizational strength have characterized the

quality of their employment. At the individual level it is the vicissitudes of an insecure family life, which drive women to take up domestic work as a form of employment. Since domestic work is not a 'skilled job', it is an avenue of employment for poor, largely illiterate and semi-literate women, and they continue to persist in domestic work even though there are no substantial rights and benefits. The contemporary component of my research is an endeavour towards understanding and documenting the present status of women domestic workers in the city of Kolkata. This research is based on field work and it aims at analyzing the interplay of class and gender in the situation of the women domestic workers whom I have interviewed. I have tried to find out the kind of constraints they suffer from and pressures experienced by them both within the family and outside. I also wanted to explore the ways they combat their deprivation and how they articulate what they consider to be their needs and rights.

Contextualizing the Study: A Brief Review of the Field

I have already indicated that the question of domestic work has been of enormous historical and theoretical interests of scholars. The first problem was to analyze the nature of work represented by domestic workers. At the level of common sense it thus poses no problem. To anybody who has attempted to sweep and swab a floor, cook for a family or clear up all day and every day after several family members- all these activities appears exactly like work. However, when a mother does it for her child, when a wife does it for her husband or in-laws, this work is transformed into a performance of virtuous femininity, creating at once an enormous distinction between a mother's love and care, a house wife's dutiful services and work. However, when the mother or the housewife hires a man or a woman to substitute this labour, we see at once the contours of work, a market-driven and exchange-oriented activity. There is now in the home, an employer and a wage labourer. It was not until the 1970s that the importance of this new kind of work was fully realized. Indeed it was around this time that one of the most fundamental challenges to Marxism was posed by feminist scholars who questioned the understanding of "work" at the heart of its theoretical formulation. In their attempt to explore the nature of domestic work and the relations forged around it, feminist scholars have had to unpack the market-oriented and transactional associations with the term 'work'. This came from the focus on the housewife and the difficulty of characterizing her unpaid domestic work within the rubric of a capitalist economy dominated by relations of reciprocal exchange (however unequal).

In the last three decades, there has also been considerable interest in the question of paid domestic work. There are perhaps two reasons for this. First, historians have noted the critical significance of women's domestic service in early industrial societies, both as the chief wage-earning

occupation open to women as well as its role in the construction of class difference- the creation of the image of the 'leisured lady' of bourgeois imagination versus the working class girl forced to work for wages. The intimate oppressions of class and gender within middle-class homes have also been an emotive and powerful symbol of the social transformation wrought by capitalism. Second, there has been, in the past few years, growing concern over the international migration of young women for domestic service. The bulk of this movement has been within Asia or from Asian countries to countries of the developed West. In south-east Asia, for instance, civil society groups have raised the question of protecting such women from extremes of physical and sexual torture to which they are often subjected. There have been thus a variety of initiatives examining domestic work across historical, spatial and cultural contexts and at the specific ways in which domestic work and domestic workers have been constituted through race, class, gender and ethnicity. Let us take a brief look at the literature on early industrialization. This kind of scholarship has focused on the experience of Britain which was the first industrial country of the world. The research on domestic workers came in the 1970s when Marxist-Feminist theorists were grappling with a debate over the nature of house work, which was to lead later to the wages for housework campaigns. The renewed interest in work other than conventional 'factory' work emerged out of the revisionist historiography of industrial revolution in the 1980s. Revisionist scholars focused on the kinds of work that followed from Industrialization and Urbanization but were not actually industrial work. This research brought to fore the huge expansion in and increasing significance of paid domestic work. In the cities, in middle class homes, the employment of especially women domestic workers increased rapidly in the nineteenth century. For young women, domestic work constituted nearly half the total employment opportunities in the urban sector. As scholars began to appreciate the importance of domestic service as employment, along with factory work, a number of studies were undertaken to understand its nature. Some of these insights are of great value in exploring questions of the nature of women's employment in domestic service in urban South Asia.

First, these women domestic workers were usually rural migrants who came to the city to work. Their situation was very different from the old feudal domestic workers. In the feudal social order, men and women undertook domestic work in elite households. Women were trapped in their employers' houses, often isolated because smaller families employed one or at best two live-in workers. In such situations, women domestic workers removed from their own community which was left behind in the countryside. As strangers in the city, they were at the mercy of the employers' family. They became vulnerable not only to heightened

economic exploitation, but also sexual harassment, rape and unwanted pregnancies. Usually unmarried girls took to this kind of work. These young and unmarried girls came to the city to work in a house for a few years. Afterwards, they either returned home to get married or married of their choice in the city. They then settled down to housewifery and motherhood. Usually they did not return to paid domestic work after marriage unless there was some extra-ordinary situation like widowhood. In South Asia, the pattern of women's workforce participation is very different across the life cycle. In India (and most South Asian countries) women marry at a much younger age. Even so, recent research shows that young girls do work before marriage and most often engage in domestic work. The second point of difference is that most women, who may leave work immediately upon marriage, return to paid domestic work after they have completed their expected or desired number of childbirths. Thus, not all women who marry and leave domestic work can leave domestic work for ever.

The third point relates to the attitudes of women workers. It has been argued that young girls, who worked in factories, had to resist the family's claim to their entire wages and assert their right to a proportion of their earnings either to spend on themselves and save for her future household. This assertion of the women's own interest vis-à-vis the family has been interpreted as one of the sites of the construction of women's individuality, self-interest and an instrumental approach to work. Joan Scott, who first made this point, argued that these same women, when they married and had children, surrendered this newly found individuality to their new family. The sacrificial wifeness and motherhood ideology came to dominate. In recent years, the relationship of class and gender has been further complicated by consideration of race and ethnicity. The migration of domestic workers across international borders has promoted both scholarly and political engagement with the highly complex relationships of class, gender, race and ethnicity posed by the globalizing in the market of domestic work. A great deal of such research overlaps with migration studies. In policy terms, these issues are intimately connected with concerns over labour mobility, illegal migration, trafficking and state regulation. The field is now thus wide open and has provoked some extremely valuable research. Below is a quick and brief sketch of the broad contours of this burgeoning field.

Domestic Work in Other Countries outside India:

There has also been research on domestic workers, where the employers and the employees are of the same nationality but different ethnicity, race or religion. These varieties of case studies have helped us understand how relations of inequality, like race, religion and ethnicity can compound the class inequality between the employer and employee. The best example is domestic work in the context of Atlantic Slavery. The slaves used to work

in the plantations but also they did domestic work in the homesteads of planters. They are also a part of a system of slavery.

Questions of gender, class and ethnicity plays very significant role in the South and south-east Asian context. There have been studies of migrants maids, in local, national and international contexts. Examples of the last type are studies of Sri Lankan maids in the Middle East, Philippine maids in Hong Kong, and Indonesian maids in Malaysia. Chin's study of Malaysian domestic workers focuses on mistresses and maids from different races within a single country and their very different perceptions.

This paper draws on the insights of this recent literature to focus on the situation of live-in domestic workers in the city of Kolkata. In order to understand their condition, I have traced the emergence of domestic work, historically, from colonial Bengal. In this research, the issues of race, religion and ethnicity does not play a significant role. I see in this story, the interplay of three categories- gender, class and caste. The issue of caste is exceedingly complex and it has a major role in determining boundaries of occupations and stigmatizing menial and manual occupations. In the very limited purview of this research, I was unable to unpack the significance of caste in the contemporary local context. My study deals mainly with the interlink ages of class and gender. Let me briefly discuss some of the themes in the existing literature, which I have found relevant in understanding the Kolkata case.

Relevant Discussions on the Domestic Workers of Kolkata:

Arnado in her paper in 2003 discusses the issue of class inequality in Philippines by analyzing the relationship between mistresses and their maids. It is to be noted that, while a great deal of the historical literature on domestic workers focused on master-maid relationship and the centrality of sexual exploitation, studies of more contemporary cases have tended to focus on mistress-maid relationship. It has been argued that even though a domestic worker tries to satisfy the needs of all members of the household, there is an especial complicated class/gender relationship between the maid and the mistress. Given the peculiarities of the relationship between the mistresses and the maid, Arnado hypothesizes domestic work as a grid for analyzing and understanding class inequality. Her work focuses on the practice of *maternalism* by mistresses towards servants as a system of power relations. According to Arnado though extensive studies have been undertaken to understand the situation of immigrant Philippine maids in other countries, very little is known about relationships between mistresses and maids of Philippines.

The case of South Asia is not very different. Many South Asian countries do export domestic workers which is a very important phenomenon of my research. There have been, however, very few studies on mistress-maid relationships within South Asia. Another parallel between the

Philippine and the South Asian case is the extreme class inequality and the extraordinary polarization of upper, middle and lower classes. The study of domestic workers in non-western societies involves taking into account these extremes of class divisions as well as non-economic status divisions. These considerations have led scholars of domestic work to examine how domestic relationships are constructed. The provider of domestic service-the servant- is not just unequal in the way all employees are in relation to their employers, but rather is in a position of especial subordination and subservience in the relationship. This may derive, as pointed out by Indrani Chatterjee, from the association with slavery, which was embedded within the feudal household up to the eighteenth century.

In the context of colonial Bengal, the most comprehensive study of these and other issues has been explored by Swapna Banerjee, who points out that the employer-servant relationship continued to be portrayed as one of patronage and a legacy associated with feudal aristocratic culture well into the twentieth century. The emphasis on dependence, sharing and love in the depiction of the employer-servant relationship and the suppression of labour, subordination and resistance was, Banerjee argues, motivated by a 'middle-class desire to establish hegemony over the subaltern population.' In most cases, the relationship between employer and employee is subject to some rules and regulations. In the case of the maid-mistress relationship, there is almost a near absolute dominance, which seems like a hangover from slavery or at least feudal modes of power. Such domination becomes more severe if the servant is a woman from the village who is not aware of her rights. Arnado argues that the relationship between the mistress and maid is more interesting because the sharp hidden inequality or extreme form of domination is also alleviated by a sense of intimacy generated by sharing the space of the home. Indeed, rhetoric of "care" may mask the dominance. So, while the mistress-servant relationship is an inherent exploitative one, it is also a relationship which includes intimacy, co-operation, support, loyalty and trust. So, the relationship cannot be explained entirely through inequality or class difference.

Another significant facet of the maid-mistress relationship is the substitutability of their labour. For a range of housework, the maid servant is the substitute for the mistress. The employment of a maid allows the middle class woman to gain 'leisure' for other activities, including jobs and careers of their own. Jacklyn Cock in her study on South African domestic workers said that there is a question of the cost of the real time and freedom obtained by those women who employed domestic workers. According to her, the madams or the mistresses of the servants gain free time to play golf, bridge, undertake paid employment, voluntary work, community activities or they devote the time to the

children. To devote their time to children is the most important reason cited for hiring servants. The maid of course has to leave her children at home, often unattended, in order to pursue her job as a domestic worker. So, the middle class women's motherhood is directly at the cost of the working class women's motherhood. The class division between the mistress and the maid is often posited as one of direct exploitation, exploding the myth (indeed the possibility) of sisterhood across classes. The relationship between the maid and mistress is one of direct exploitation and conflict and cannot therefore be resolved within the framework of a common or shared exploitation within patriarchy. The overwhelming significance of the class divide in the context of south Asia has been repeatedly stressed, recently by Raka Ray.

While in some western contexts, it has been possible to 'recover' the voices of domestic workers themselves (men and women) as mentioned above, in the south Asian case such a project has little chance of success. One aspect of the wide class chasm in South Asian society is the absence of education among the poor. There is therefore almost no scope for a historical exploration of the servants' perception of his/her situation. These problems prompted my decision to interview some domestic workers, so we would hear their 'voices' and be able to find some means of bringing to the scholarship in the South Asian context, the perceptions, expectations and attitudes of these maids. In this endeavour I was greatly inspired by the publication of a *Life Less Ordinary* by Baby Halder. Her autobiography was written in Bengali, translated and published first into Hindi and English and now in many other Indian languages. She is the only domestic worker who is a published author.

Baby Halder's book is a sharp reminder to take the question of agency seriously. Many of the maidservants I am writing about are highly intelligent, some are literate though not really educated. They are fully alive to the ambiguity, contradictions and conflicts inherent in their workplaces. They are aware of the demands of negotiation and accommodation, especially since they are isolated in their employers' homes, but they are also capable of resistance, and are aware of the daily bargaining at the core of the relationship with their employers. In case of live-in domestic workers, dominance is very expansive with employers interfering in all their life choices- religion, marriage, dress and appearance, financial planning, upbringing of children and so on. Many employers seek to deprive their maid of any control over their body, time, space, and relationships. Not all maid servants succumb to such a will to dominate. They negotiate within that situation. It is very relevant here to discuss briefly the findings of the survey work on South Kolkata.

A Brief Discussion on Field Work:

Baby Halder's book gave me a basis from which to begin talking to women domestic workers. The maidservants expect to access this in the form of

education, but only for their children. One of the reasons why married women domestic workers invest heavily in their children's education is so that the children are not trapped in the same subordinate relationships that they have been forced to endure. They have no expectation of achieving social mobility for themselves, which argues a sense of resignation, but they are socially ambitious for their children, hoping that they will climb out of subordination. Namita Bera, one of my respondents told me, "I have admitted my daughter in a computer school. I am working hard for her only. I don't want her to do the same job like me in future."

There is a complex argument in some of the literature about education. The employers pride themselves for the help they extend to their servants and sometimes they give extra for that purpose. Some mistresses attempt to purchase a greater sense of obligation from their servants by giving them material gifts. This one sided gift giving reinforces the power difference between the two parties. They give extra food or old clothes which does not cost them very much. But it generates (they hope) a sense of gratification. The maid often is grateful for the gift, but apprehensive about the cost. Gift giving, casting slander on other employers, even sometimes good treatment could be classified as the forms of emotional bribery. It is important to note however that this is not a one way process. Treating servants well is also a mechanism for creating affection among workers. Such affection, it is believed, binds the maid more closely to the employers, rendering them more reliable and trustworthy. Such affection is construed as reciprocal. The maid perceived greater security in a relationship of affection, with high expectations of generosity and flexibility. Lata Samanta told me that she enjoys all kinds of luxuries in her employer's house. The employer of Madhumita Das said that she gives her Rs.100 extra so that she can save the extra money. The young domestic workers are more happy here than in their village homes. They are being habituated with the facilities and luxuries in cities. They do not want to go back to their village homes during pujas. Sampa Das told me, "We enjoy more here during the *puja* than we do in our village. We get pocket money from our employers and have egg rolls, *phuchka* with our friends." The employer of Sumitra Halder told me that she helped her in opening up a bank account.

I conducted oral interviews of live-in domestic workers of South Kolkata. My research found that women domestic workers came into this profession at a young age as a result of many compulsions within their family, which act as 'push' factors. Being largely illiterate only adds to their marginalization, as it does not equip them with any other skills for occupational mobility. Therefore they have to continue with the drudgery of daily manual labour. Rupa Halder, 35 years old lady told me that when she married she did not know that her in-laws were engaged in flesh trade. One day she came to know about the fact and luckily she was able to

escape from the house. At the work place they face different problems like wages, leave etc. The overall findings will be discussed in the conclusion.

Conclusion:

The paper shows that while the occupation of domestic service has been transformed in many ways because of overall changes in the post-colonial Indian society and economy, the present situation is still fashioned by the past in many ways. It can be said that in the contemporary society, like in the past, both the servants and their employers play a major role in shaping and structuring their relationships. Faced with the challenges of new changes, the relationship between mistresses and maids is a matter of active interaction, combining elements of both co-operation and antagonism.

References :

- Arnado, Janet M. (2003), 'Maternalism in Mistress-Maid Relations: The Philippine Experience,' in *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Vol. 4, 3, pp. 154-177.
- Banerjee, Sumanta. (1989), *The Parlour and the Streets: Elite and Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Calcutta*, Calcutta, Seagull Books.
- Banerjee, Swapna M. (2004), *Men, Women and Domesticity: Articulating Middle-Class Identity in Colonial Bengal*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Basak, Swati. (2015), 'Women and Work: A Critical Analysis' in EPRA International Journal of Socio-Economic and Environmental Outlook, pp. 80-84.
- Chin, Christine B.N. (1997), *In Service and Servitude. Foreign Female Domestic Workers and the Malaysian "Modernity" project*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Chatterjee, Indrani. (1999), *Gender, Slavery and Law in Colonial India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Cock, Jacklyn. (1980), *Maids and Madams: Domestic Workers Under Apartheid*, London, Women's Free Press.
- Coser, Lewis A. (1973), 'Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role,' in *Social Forces* Vol. 52, 1, pp. 31-40.
- Davidoff, Leonore. (1973), "Domestic Service and the Working Class Life Cycle," *Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin*, Vol. 26, Spring, pp. 10-13.
- _____. (1995), *Worlds between Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*, New York, Routledge.
- _____. (1973), *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season*, London, Croom Helm.
- _____ and Ruth Hawthorn. (1976), *A Day in the Life of a Victorian Servant*, London, George Allen and Unwin.
- Dickey, Sara. (2000), 'Mutual Exclusions, Domestic Workers and Employers on Labour, Class and Character in South India.' In Kathleen Adams and Sara Dickey (eds) *Home and Hegemony: Domestic Service and Identity Politics in South and South-east Asia*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, pp. 31-62.
- Dickey, Sara. (2000), 'Permeable Homes: Domestic service, Household Space, and the Vulnerability of Class Boundaries in Urban India.' in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 27, 2, pp. 462-489.
- Ducrocq, Francoise Barret and John Howe. (1991), *Love in the Time of Victoria, Sexuality, Class and Gender in the Nineteenth Century*, London, Penguin Books.
- Fairchilds, Cissie. (1984), *Domestic Enemies Servants and their Masters in Old Regime France*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.
- Gamburd, Michele Ruth. (2000), *The Kitchen Spoon's Handle. Transnationalism and Sri*