Domestic Workers and the Politics of Space Within the Household in Ferdinand Oyono's *Houseboy*

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Abstract

Domestic workers have constantly been disregarded within the domestic space. However, owing to their immense contribution to the smooth running of the household, this disregard comes at a cost. The mistreatment of the house servants inevitably results to the detriment of the home owners or the employers. The frosty relationship that frequently exists between the domestic workers has been a subject of concern for some post-colonial Africa literary writers. Literary critics have however paid minimal attention to the tense relationship that exists between house servants and their employers. Critics have chosen to concentrate on the more 'serious issues' of colonialism pitting the colonizer versus the colonized. This research paper epitomizes the plight of domestic servants in the course of re-reading Ferdinand Oyono's Houseboy (1966). The tools of analysis employed are Karl Marx and Frederick Engel's strand of Marxism.

Key Words: Domestic, Workers, Households, Houseboy, Marxism

Introduction

The relationship between workers and their employers is seldom harmonious. On numerous occasions the employers accuse their workers of laxity and generally failure to perform their duties according to expected standards. The employees on the other hand accuse their employers of harbouring exploitative tendencies by overworking and underpaying them. The workers also accuse their employers of making them work in hazardous conditions that more often than not results to occupational hazards. The resultant relationship is frosty and tense to mention the least. The workers bid to achieve humane treatment from their employers have resulted to

numerous reactions including workers strikes and labour movements. However, the domestic workers are always disadvantaged in that they are seldom covered by labour unions neither do they have the necessary forums to foment and carry out strikes and other forms of labour agitations. The domestic space is considered as private space therefore not open to forms of workers' agitations. Such agitations would be considered as acts of unwarranted trespasses into an individuals' privacy.

Materials, Methods and Theoretical Postulations

The research paper is intended at providing a critical analysis of Ferdinand Oyono's Houseboy (1966). The research is restricted to one novel with focus being on the relationship between domestic servants and their employers. This novel was considered appropriate since the protagonists in the novel are domestic servants. The novel itself is structured in the form of a personal diary of a house servant, a character named Toundi. Toundi records his diary in an exercise book and the narrator prefers to present the narrative in the form of two exercise books. Toundi learns the art of making daily diary entries from his employer Fr. Gilbert. Toundi's job as a domestic servant does not come on a silver platter, rather, he has to escape from his parents, denounce them then take up his house-help job at Fr. Gilbert's home. At Fr. Gilbert's he has to perform all forms of menial jobs. To fit in his new environment, Toundi has to change his mannerism including his dressing. Toundi is required to fit into his master's old clothes and wear an apron as a way of observing personal hygiene while at his master's service. Though Toundi serves his master dutifully, the master is hard to please. The master constantly abuses him both physically and emotionally. The master takes Toundi as his domestic drudge thus overworks him with little pay if any. Toundi's status as a domestic drudge is even more evident when he is inherited by his employer's acquaintance, the Commandant, on Fr. Gilbert's death. Toundi's new employer, the Commandant, is even more brutal. The Commandant physically abuses Toundi through regular beatings and other forms of violence. The other domestic servants who work alongside Toundi are equally abused. These servants not only receive physical beatings but are also emotionally abused through long working hours and the requirement to satisfy every whim from their employers.

The study is guided by Marxism theory as propounded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: that social class struggle between the rich and the poor are inevitable in society. According to the two theorists, human consciousness is shaped by the economic factors in the community. Consequently, the modes of production of goods and services are the key determinants of the social philosophy of a given community. Accordingly, it is "... the mode of

production of material life that conditions the social, political and intellectual life processes" (Leitch, 2010, 648). Marx and Engels epitomise the role of economics in determining the ideology that directs any given society. They further argue that the modes of production and consumption determine the consciousness of the members of any given society. Since economics is the epitome of the consciousness of any given society the resultant situation is the division of society along economic lines.

Consequently, the economic model that results is referred to as capitalism pitting two antagonistic social classes; the bourgeoisie and the proletariats. Marx and Engels lament the despicable triumphs of capitalism as "... the misery that capitalism imposes on the masses (and) the class struggles between the exploiters and the exploited... (Leitch, 2010, 649). Accordingly, the rich exist in society in so far as they exploit the poor. The rich only thrive in their ability to exploit the poor who in turn resist these exploitative ventures from the rich. The result is a bitter class struggle between the rich and the poor. This research is grounded on the analysis of the class struggle that exists between rich home owners and the poor domestic workers. The study investigates the extent to which the employers exploit their domestic workers while the workers resist these elements of exploitation. It centres on the resultant class struggles that exists between the home owners and their domestic workers within the household social space. The researcher presumes that these domestic workers are not passive subjects of their employers' atrocities but are involved in retaliatory acts of aggression as they struggle for the control of their domestic space.

The Politics of Space Within the Household

Domestic workers are among the group of workers that are the most exploited by their employers. This could be due to the fact that they are considered as unskilled as the work they do does not require high levels of education. To begin with domestic workers are paid low wages. Toundi confesses that Fr. Gilbert does not pay him any salary save for some token pieces of clothing items. Toundi laments "I am his boy, a boy who can read and write, serve mass, lay table, sweep out his room and make his bed. I don't earn any money. Now and then he gives me an old shirt or an old pair of trousers" (*Houseboy*, 18). Evidently for all the labour that Toundi offers in his employer's home he does not earn any money. The payment that he receives in the form of old clothes is demeaning and relegates him further to deeper levels of poverty. It is ironical that even at this rate of exploitation; Toundi is still the envy of the other boys in the village. Toundi confesses thus "Father Gilbert gave me a pair of Khaki shorts and a red jersey. All the boys in in Fia were so impressed by these that they came to ask Fr. Gilbert to take them on

as well" (Houseboy, 10). The fact that there are many village boys who are ready to take up Toundi's position as a domestic servant is indicative of the levels of poverty that force many people to take up domestic work. In addition, the domestic workers' wages can be deducted at the employer's will. Madame Decazy penalizes both Toundi and the cook by deducting half their wage when she discovers a broken piece of utensil in her kitchen. Toundi explains their predicament thus; "She carried out an inspection and found a broken decanter. She fixed a price and deducted it from the cook's wages and mine," (Houseboy, 85). It is unfortunate that these domestic workers lose part of their meagre wage to their employer over an accidental breakage of utensil some of them are not even involved in.

Indeed, most domestic workers are a disadvantaged lot since they are rural urban migrants who move in search of employment. These migrants are largely uneducated and ready to take up any job that promises minimal returns. Toundi takes up his duty as Fr. Gilbert's domestic servant after fleeing from home. He confesses that he fled from home in a bid to lead a better life at his employer's home. Toundi says "In the afternoon my father came. All he said was that I was still his son, the drops of his liquid and that he bore no grudge. If I came home, everything would be forgotten. ... I put my tongue out at him. ...He lowered his head and went out crestfallen" (Houseboy, 16). Toundi's act of denouncing his father in the presence of his employer is indicative of his determination to take up his new position as a domestic drudge. The act of moving from his paternal home and village to Fia where he takes up his new job is further indicative of the drive that pushes him to free himself from the shackles of the poverty that he has thrived in. Toundi's father then becomes symbolic of the village life and all the poverty inherent in the rural environment which the domestic worker has to denounce and escape from.

Domestic workers are prone to many forms of exploitation owing to the fact that most are rural urban migrants. They are susceptible to various forms of violence meted by their employers. The violence can even be physical violence meted through beatings. Toundi laments that his employer constantly batters him every time he disapproves of his service. He recalls that Fr. Gilbert kicked him when he caught him imitating the father in the sacristy. Fr. Gilbert proceeded to record his act of violence in his diary. Toundi observes "In father Gilbert's diary I found the kick he gave me when he caught me mimicking him in the sacristy" (*Houseboy*, 11). It is ironical that this act of violence is meted to a domestic servant in the church, a place that ought to be a holy place of worship. This violence then is indicative of the ingrained level of hypocrisy of the employers who feel at liberty to abuse their

domestic servants. Some employers take it as a religious duty to discipline their domestic servants.

Physical violence that is meted to domestic servants is degrading and robs them of their self-dignity. In a bid to fix Toundi to his lowly position as a domestic servant the commandant gives him a heavy kick simply because Toundi dropped his cap while at his service. Toundi records this act of violence in his diary thus; "The commandant grabbed me by the hair, swung me round and peered into my eyes. ... With that he shot out a kick to my shins that sent me sprawling under the table. ... He seemed pleased with his effort" (Houseboy, 27). The Commandant's act of violence to his dutiful servant is only meant to intimidate the servant and prove to him that as a servant he only survives at the mercy of his employer. The forms of physical violence that domestic servants receive from their employers surpass mere beatings. Toundi confesses that the commandant trod on him while he was helping him to put on his shoes. Toundi notes; "I came back through, to help him put on his rubber boots because it was raining. I gave them a final polish. The commandant trod on my fingers as he went out. I did not cry out. He did not turn round" (Houseboy, 34). The fact that as a domestic servant Toundi is required to dress his employer is demeaning. However, it is even worse that the employer does not appreciate his servant's dutifulness in that he proceeds to hurt him by stepping on his fingers as he struggles to dress him up. The commandant's inhumane act is even more detestable in that he does not turn back to look at his servant yet he is aware that he has hurt him. Evidently then he takes it as his obligation to mistreat his servant as much as he wills. The act of the servant not crying out in pain is indicative of the domestic servants' acceptance of their subordinate status in their employers' homes.

Indeed, many domestic servants are treated as the personal property of their employers. These servants are mistreated by their employers without any form of intervention from any quarters. Toundi becomes an experienced houseboy once he discovers that withstanding physical abuse is part of the job description of a domestic servant. Toundi gets so much used to his employers battering that he accepts it as part of his domestic chores. He explains his predicament thus; "Nothing today, except the steadily mounting hostility from the commandant. He is becoming completely wild. Kicks and insults have started again. He thinks this humiliates me . . . He forgets that it is part of my duty as a houseboy, a job which holds no more secrets for me" (Houseboy, 117). Toundi declares himself as an experienced domestic servant on discovering that the ability to withstand all forms of beatings and physical abuse is the mark of a suitable domestic servant. He no longer perceives these acts of abuse as elements of infringement on his basic human rights. For him

and many other servants, the employers own their servants and are at liberty to utilize them in whichever way they deem necessary. On the contrary these forms of abuse are essentially acts of infringement on the worker's rights.

Domestic workers also suffer due to the long working hours that they are required to serve. Due to the fact that the employers' home is their place of work, domestic servants are required to work from the wee hours of the morning until late at night. Toundi confesses that his duties begin long before dawn. He laments: "I wake up every morning at five o'clock and even earlier sometimes when all the priests are at the mission. I ring the little bell hung at the entrance to the sacristy, then I wait for the first father to come for mass. I serve up to three or four Masses every day" (Houseboy, 17). Fr. Gilbert's servant not only works at his home but also serves at the priest's church. He is required to serve the other priests during mass. The fact that he serves up to four masses in addition to the household chores shows the extent of overworking that he has to endure. Indeed, Toundi confesses that his workload is overwhelming and he must work long hours. He confesses that as a domestic servant he retires at midnight or later. He explains his predicament thus "The commandant has definitely taken me into his service. It was midnight, I had finished my work and was about to go back to the location when the commandant told me to follow him into his office" (Houseboy, 24). Evidently then Toundi has to serve his employer until long after midnight. These prolonged working hours have a toll on his heath and effectiveness the following working day. Further evidence that Toundi works past midnight is given during the night that the Commandant quarrels with his wife over her adulterous relationship with Monsieur Moreau. Toundi has to remain in the house till the quarrel between husband and wife is over so that he can be released to go back home. Toundi laments; "He shook his head sadly and dropped back on to the couch. Madame was still crying. The clock in the Residence chimed midnight. I untied my apron. ... I went out to the veranda and hung it up... I bowed and wished them good night" (Houseboy, 115).

In addition, domestic workers are required to perform all manner of odd jobs since the duties of a domestic servant are not well defined. Toundi has to perform menial jobs both at his employer's home and at the mission station. He laments thus "I am his boy, a boy who can read and write, serve mass, lay table, sweep out his room and make his bed" (*Houseboy*, 18). As a domestic servant, Toundi is required to perform all these odd jobs for the priest. The tasks range from serving the priest in his house to serving the other priests in the mission station. Toundi has to cook, clean the house, serve meals, clean utensils, clean the church building as well as serve as an altar boy to the priest.

These chores are elements of exploitation of the domestic servant by the employer.

The extent of the domestic workers' exploitation by their employers is even more pronounced at the Commandant's home where the domestic servants are required to perform demeaning chores. Baklu, the laundryman is required to wash all the clothes from his employers including the undergarments. The narrator observes; "'you call that clean?' Shouted Madame, seizing pairs of the commandant's underpants and vests and flinging them at Baklu's head. 'You loafer.'" (Houseboy, 84). By requiring their domestic servants to wash their underpants the employers are dehumanizing them. Every human being should participate in cleaning at least as far as the undergarments are concerned. Though Baklu is a male servant, he is required to clean Madame Decazy's inner garments as well, as the narrator notes; "The commandant's khaki shorts, Madame's chemises, her slips, the sheets, all came flying at his head" (Houseboy, 84). The inhumane demand by Madame Decazy to have her domestic servant clean her inner garments including chemises and slips is an abuse of the highest order. As a woman, and in a bid to preserve her dignity, Madame Decazy ought to clean her own inner garments.

The condescending attitude of the employers to their domestic servants is even more pronounced in the requirement by these employers to have their servants clean or dispose of their sanitary items. At the Commandants home, Madame Decazy instructs her servants to clean her sanitary towels as well as dispose of other sanitary items. Decazy forces her laundry man to wash her sanitary towels by dumping the used towels in the laundry bucket. The narrator laments; "Baklu with his right hand up to his nose was holding one of Madame's sanitary towels between the thumb and finger of his left. He tried to come into the kitchen. The cook shut the door against him and began to swear" (Houseboy, 92). In demanding that the laundry man cleans her tampons, Madame Decazy is not only humiliating the domestic servants but also lowering her personal dignity as a woman. Sanitary items are considered as some of the most personal items to a woman which should be treated with the highest level of secrecy. In addition, Madame Decazy is so proud and conceited that she cannot dispose of her sanitary items while there are domestic servants in her home. After a night of ecstasy with the Prison Director, Madame forces Toundi to dispose of the rubber contraceptives that the adulterous couple utilized in their heinous act. The narrator observes; "She called me to clear up the mess. ... Pieces of broken glass had gone under the bed. I knelt down and probing under the bed with the broom brought out not only broken glass but also some rubber bags. There were two of them.

...Contraceptives: Contraceptives. Go on tell everybody" (Houseboy, 99). The discovery of the rubber sanitary items under Madame Decazy's bed as Toundi performs his cleaning duty is indicative of the level of exploitation that the domestic servants are subjected to. As a matter of decency, Madame Decazy and Monsieur Moreau should have disposed of their rubber contraceptives after their adulterous act. However, owing to the condescending attitude of most employers to their domestic servants, the couple dumps the contraceptives under the bed to await disposal by the house servant.

In addition, some of the chores that the domestic servants are required to perform are hazardous in nature and may result to severe injuries or even death. At the commandant's home, it is the duty of the servants to light the petrol lamp, a task that is extremely hazardous. Toundi explains the situation thus "Lighting the lamp every evening at the hour when the first months came brushing by was my job. Father Gilbert had taught me how to light the petrol lamp..." (Houseboy, 97). Though Toundi has learnt the lamp lighting skill from his employer, the employer cannot accept to perform this duty due to its hazardous nature. This is due to the awareness that these lamps can easily explode in the process of the lighting. These exploitative employers therefore put the lives of their domestic servants in danger as they light these lamps. Toundi expounds on the perilous nature of handling the petrol lamp thus; "At the residence all the other servants were scared stiff to go near one of these lamps. There were several women in the location that had been widowed when a petrol lamp exploded in a houseboy's hands" (Houseboy, 97). Evidently, petrol lamps were known to accidentally explode in the hands of the houseboys not their employers. The women who had been widowed were those of the houseboys who had perished while serving their masters. These hypocritical employers are keen to take precaution by maintaining a safe distance while the lamps are being lit only to appear and utilize the lamps when it is safe. This way they put the lives of their domestic workers at the frontline of danger.

Furthermore, domestic workers are deprived of humane working conditions. Though they serve within the household of their employers, domestic workers are denied accessing basic needs such as food and decent shelter. Many domestic workers are not allowed to share their employer's food although they are the ones who prepare the same food. Toundi laments that the servants at the mission were forced to feed on the leftovers of the priests. He explains the predicament of the houseboys thus; "An old woman from the Sixa gets our food. We prefer the leavings from the priests' meals. Sometimes we find scraps of meat there" (Houseboy, 17). The servants working at Dangan

Mission are not given enough food. Even when provided it is of poor quality to the extent that the servants prefer the leftovers from the priests. This act of deprivation further dehumanizes the domestic servants. Another domestic servant Kalisia confesses that she has worked for many employers at the coast who were extremely mean and deprived their servants of the most basic needs. Kalisia explains; "You know, when they are poor they are mean as a catechist ... I once lived with a white man who used to count the lumps of sugar and measure the loaf after every meal" (Houseboy, 109). The extreme miserliness of the employers especially in their dealings with their domestic servants is evident in their failure to provide them with basic needs. The particular employer that Kalisia worked for used to deny his employees food in his miserly act of establishing the amount of sugar and bread that remained after every meal. This was intended to ensure that the domestic workers did not prepare any meal in his absence despite the ravaging poverty that faced them.

Domestic servants also experience gender based exploitation. Sometimes, domestic workers experience sexual exploitation and other forms of gender based violence. Sophie is known to be the mistress of her employer the agricultural engineer but he does not acknowledge his love affair with her. Monsieur Magnol has been secretly meeting Sophie without acknowledging that he is in a romantic relationship with his employee. Toundi comments on this affair thus; "On my way to the location I met Sophie, the African mistress of the agricultural engineer. She seemed angry about something. ... Ah, don't you love your man?" (Houseboy, 31). It is evident that Sophie is having a romantic relationship with her employer but the employer is not ready to settle in marriage with her. The employer only intends to have a casual and discreet affair. Sophie laments thus; "Only I'm sick and tired of hearing 'Sophie, don't come today. I've got a European coming to see me at the house', 'Sophie, you can come, the European has gone.' 'Sophie, when you see me with a white lady don't look at me. Don't greet me' and all the rest" (Houseboy, 31). The European employer is out to sexually exploit his black domestic servant but is not ready to take responsibility of the consequences of this relationship. The employer is only taking advantage of the vulnerability of his domestic servant who is a young girl from a poverty stricken family. Evidently then since many domestic workers are from poor backgrounds they are vulnerable and end up becoming victims of all forms of gender based harassment from their employers.

Finally, domestic servants are always accused of stealing from their employers. The Commandant takes time to interrogate his new domestic servant to establish whether he is a thief. Though it is past midnight, the commandant asks Toundi whether he is a thief and proceeds to warn him of dire consequences if he ever steals from him. Toundi records; "After he had looked at me for a long while, he asked me point blank if I were a thief. 'No sir,' I answered" (*Houseboy*, 24). The Commandant has a pre-conceived notion that all domestic servants are thieves and that is why he interrogates Toundi to ensure that he is not 'yet' a thief. While she is looking for a chambermaid Madame Decazy instructs her cook to find a suitable girl who is not 'yet' a thief. This requirement is due to her belief that most domestic servants are thieves and should be selected with outmost care. The cook explains his mission thus; "Madame said I must find a clean girl who understood French and was not a thief" (Houseboy, 105). The requirement that the girl to serve Madame was to be one who was honest and would never be tempted to steal is indicative of the employers' overly suspicious nature. These employers always know that their domestic workers cannot survive through honest means. They take it that for the domestic servants to make it in life, they must steal from their employers. Though Toundi is an honest servant, he is falsely accused of colluding with Sophie to steal money from Monsieur Magnol. Magnol explains the theft incident thus; "This came to my notice at six o'clock ... The box had gone from my desk. I called my cook whom you all know... Her room was empty... she had gone off with the cashbox and my clothes... It seems she is the fiancée-mistress of your houseboy..." (Houseboy, 121). The accusation that Toundi was involved in the theft of Monsieur Magnol's money is false since Toundi had only met Sophie eight months earlier. Besides, Sophie was only Toundi's acquaintance having met her briefly when their employers travelled together in a land rover.

Domestic workers are a disadvantaged lot therefore they do have the necessary avenues to address the elements of exploitation that their employers met on them. However, the domestic workers retaliate in a number of ways. Firstly, domestic workers fail to perform their chores to the satisfaction of their employers deliberately, or because of lack of motivation. Madame Decazy interrogates her workers individually to establish why there are always dissatisfied with their jobs. She says; "Boy, why don't you like working at the Residence? ... You look as though you find it a drudgery ... you haven't that joy one finds in African workers ... You give the impression that you are doing a houseboy's job as you wait for something else to come along" (Houseboy, 65). Evidently domestic workers who are mistreated do not serve their employers with enthusiasm because there is no incentive, nothing to look forward to. This results to a compromise on the quality of service that the servant offers to their employers. The employers then have a reason to worry when their domestic servants fail to work with enthusiasm since they will end up getting low quality service. An incident occurs where the

commandant asks Toundi to fetch a clean glass of water. On giving him one the commandant declares that it is not clean enough and demands for another glass. Toundi fetches another glass but spits in it before filling it with water (*Houseboy*, 119). Evidently, Toundi is fighting back against his employers' harassment in his act of spitting in the glass. If the employer was treating him humanely the servant would have reciprocated by offering quality service. Now the glass is dirtier but the arrogant employer has no way of knowing.

Secondly, the domestic servants fight back against their employers' harassment through gossip. Domestic servants speak ill of their exploitative employers as a means of character assassination. Since these workers live within the household of their employers they are conversant with numerous secrets concerning them. The narrator explains: "In Dangan the European quarters and the African quarters are quite separate. But what goes on underneath those corrugated-iron roofs are known down to the smallest detail inside the mud-walled huts. The eyes that live in the location strip the whites naked. The whites on the other hand go about blind" (Houseboy, 81). The African quarters are where all the servants reside therefore the crucial information that is used by the villagers as they gossip about the whites is given by the domestic servants. The domestic servants either consciously or unconsciously give this information as a way of hitting back at their exploitative employers. Toundi confesses that in Dangan there is nobody who is unaware of the adulterous relationship between Madame and Monsieur Moreau. This information could only have been given by Madame's domestic servants as a means of resisting her cruelty. On discovering some contraceptives under Madame's bed she reacts aggressively since she knows that Toundi will share the embarrassing information with the other domestic servants. Madame says: "Contraceptives: contraceptives. Go on, everybody. What a subject for all the houseboys in Dangan to talk about. Go on. Get out" (Houseboy, 99). Madame is well aware that the domestic servants spend much of their time gossiping about their employers. These servants 'strip their employers naked' in their discussing all the embarrassing issues concerning their employers. Eventually it happens as Madame predicts when Toundi informs the other domestic servants about the contraceptives under Madame's bed.

Thirdly, domestic servants avenge the ills committed to them by stealing from their employers. Sophie avenged the sexual exploitation that she receives from her employer by stealing a hundred and fifty thousand francs from the agricultural Engineer. Sophie cannot be exonerated from the crime since she had confessed to have harboured the plan of stealing from her employer. Sophie says; "It makes me sick when I think of all the time I've

been going with the uncircumcised sod and what have I made out of it? Now today comes my chance and I miss it" (*Houseboy*, 31). Sophie confesses that she searches for the keys to the strongbox in her employers' trouser pocket but she has not got them yet. Eight months later, she gets the keys and steals from her employer then flees to Spanish Guinea. This act is done in a bid to get even with her employer who has subjected her to sexual exploitation. The Agricultural officer laments the crime thus; "She has gone off with my cashbox and my clothes... as well as her own things. ... A hundred and fifty thousand francs" (*Houseboy*, 121). The crime that happens to the Agricultural Engineer could have been avoided if he had treated his employee humanely. The amount of money that he ends up losing is substantially huge compared to what he would have spent in just treating her humanely. It can then be argued that in exploiting their domestic servants, the employers are preparing them for retaliatory acts which end up hurting them even more.

Conclusion

This research paper has endeavoured to expose the relationship between the domestic servants and their employers. It was guided by the Marxism theory that in a capitalist society, the rich owners are always bound to exploit the poor workers. The research has established that the domestic workers are always exploited by their employers through low wages, long working hours, scolding, battering, menial chores, hazardous tasks and gender based violence. On the other hand, domestic workers retaliate against their employers through laxity in their duties, exposing their employers' secrets and stealing from the employers. The research has then established that there is need for a cordial relationship to be achieved between the domestic servants and their employers. Such a relationship can only be achieved through mutual effort and trust between the two parties involved that is the domestic servants and their employers.

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