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Domestic Service as a “Bridging Occupation” Past and Present*

SARTI, Raffaella

University of Urbino – Italy & Centre de Recherches Historiques, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales/CNRS, Paris – France

I need you

On November 22, 2001 a surprising sit-in took place in Rome in front of the Chamber of Deputies. Several thousand elderly people protested vigorously. Their slogan was: “Do not prevent migrant workers from helping us to live!” In the following months, analogous demonstrations took place in many other Italian cities. Many of these old ladies and gentlemen were accompanied even during the sit-ins by their carers, who were mainly migrants from East-European countries¹ or countries outside Europe. At that time Parliament was discussing a very restrictive proposed law on immigration (Italy had, and still has a right-wing government which strongly emphasised the fight against clandestine immigration in its electoral programme. This emphasis was an important reason for the victory of the right). Among other things, the proposed law *excluded* the possibility of regularising the position of irregular migrants who were working in Italy².

According to a survey carried out in 2000-2001 of 5,398 people aged 65 or over living in seven different large and medium-sized Italian cities, 13.3 percent were helped by a *migrant* carer. The percentage was much higher among the “oldest-of-all” (80+): almost a quarter of them were cared for by a *foreign* worker (24.1 percent). The survey also showed that 61.9 percent of the migrant carers had no regular residence permit³. Considering that employing irregular migrants was an offence punishable by 3-12 months’ imprisonment⁴, one can easily understand how serious the problem of caring for the elderly is (Italy is an intensely and rapidly ageing country. The ageing index, which was 38.9 in 1961,

¹ “Anziani in piazza per gli immigrati”, *Corriere della sera*, 23 November 2001; “Gli anziani a Montecitorio: ‘Gli stranieri ci aiutano’”, *La Repubblica*, 23 November 2001. The demonstrations were organised by the association “Viva gli anziani” (“Long Live the Elderly”), which is part of the Catholic Community of Sant’Egidio. But the reasons for criticising the proposed law went beyond the solidarity values shared by the members of the Community, see www.santegidio.org.

² See for example “Immigrazione, il testo del governo. Espulsioni facili, niente sanatoria” in *La Repubblica*, 14 September 2001 and the comments by the demographer Antonio Golini in the newspaper *Il Messaggero*, 7 September 2001.

³ www.santegidio.org. In large cities the recourse to paid services is probably higher than the national average.

⁴ EURISPES, *Il lavoro domestico in Italia. Regolare e sommerso*, Rome, Eurispes, without date, but 2002, p. 31.

reached 127.1 in 2001⁵. As a consequence of this change, Italy has the highest percentage of old people in the world among states with more than 10 million inhabitants (24.5 percent above age 60)⁶.

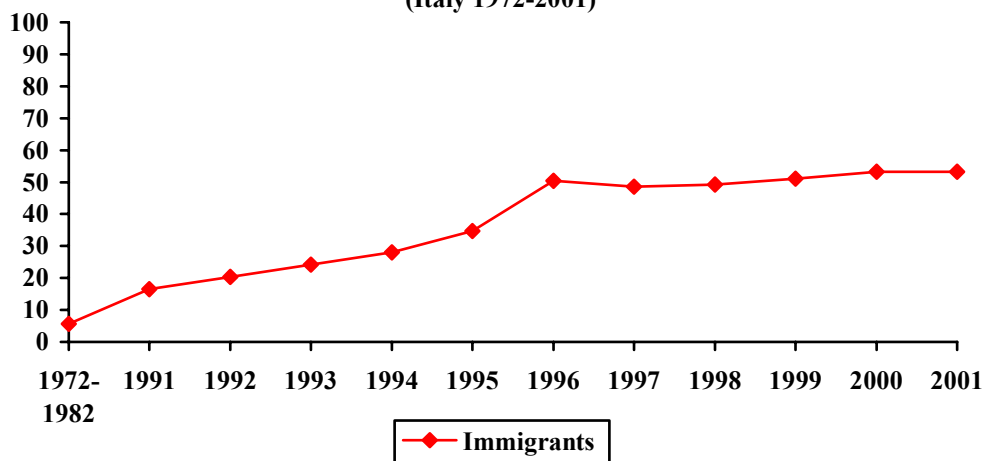
This is one of the reasons why Parliament in the end approved a law which allowed the regularisation of domestic workers already working in Italy. Around 350,000 were “regularised”⁷.

There is no doubt, however, that some of the carers did not qualify for regularisation, for example the *badanti*. These carers from Eastern Europe enter Italy on a tourist visa and only stay for three months before leaving and passing their employment onto a relative or a friend thanks to well organised chains. In this way they are likely to enter Italy several times to work in the “black” economy⁸). There must also have been, however, regularisations of “false” domestic workers⁹.

Foreign domestics today

As far as migration is concerned, it is only in the last 30 years, that Italy has turned from a country of emigration into one of immigration. Domestic service is one of the sectors where the presence of migrants is higher than average. Domestic service is the most common occupation for female migrants¹⁰.

Fig. 1
Percentage of immigrants among regular servants
(Italy 1972-2001)



Source: Inps databank (www.inps.it). The data for the period 1972-1982 refers to the total of enrolments into the INPS.

⁵ ISTAT, *L'Italia in cifre 2001*, Rome, Istat, 2001, p. 4; ISTAT, *Annuario statistico italiano 2002*, Rome, Istat, 2002, p. 32. The ageing index is the number of people 65 years old or over per hundred people under age 15.

⁶ WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION (WHO), *Active ageing. A Policy Framework*, Geneva, WHO, 2002, p. 8, table 1. People age 65 or more in 2000 were 18 percent, see ISTAT, *Annuario statistico italiano 2002*, p. 37, table 2.1.

⁷ www.interno.it/news/pages/2003/200302/news_000017382.htm.

⁸ GUBBINI C., “Nel triangolo delle badanti”, *Il Manifesto*, 9 November 2002.

⁹ BARBAGLI M., COLOMBO A., SCIORTINO G., *I sommersi e i sanati. Le regolarizzazioni degli immigrati in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004.

¹⁰ ALEMANI C., FASOLI M. G. (eds), *Donne in frontiera. Le colf nella transizione*, Milano, Cens, 1994, p. 64; REYNERI E., *Sociologia del mercato del lavoro*, Bologna, Il Mulino 1996, p. 315; ZANFRINI L., *La ricerca sull'immigrazione in Italia. Gli sviluppi più recenti*, in FONDAZIONE CARIPILO PER LE INIZIATIVE E LO STUDIO SULLA MULTIETNICITÀ, *Quaderni*, 1 1997; ISTAT, *La presenza straniera in Italia negli anni '90*, Informazioni n. 61, Roma, Istat, 1998, pp. 71-87 (74-86).

Fig. 1 only takes into account regular domestic workers, who represent a small percentage of those employed in domestic service. However, it clearly shows a shocking increase in the percentage of migrants among domestics. In fact, it jumped from 16.5 percent in 1991 to 53.25 percent in 2000. Today, after the amnesty for foreign domestic workers it is about 80 percent¹¹.

According to a recent survey, in Italy paid domestic workers probably totalled 953,900 in 1992 and presumably reached 1,049,500 in 2000, or even more. The figures for the increasing number of domestic workers in Italy were partially conjectural, since they included irregular workers, who were estimated to represent 74.5 percent of the total in 1992 and 77 percent in 2000. Today, irregular domestic workers possibly represent 40-50 percent.

Table 1 - Regular and irregular domestic workers

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Domestic servants	953,9	954,8	950,7	959,1	1,050,2	1,042,2	1,048,0	1,043,8	1,049,5
Irregular domestic servants	710,3	723,9	711,8	713,2	802,7	801,4	799,1	797,9	807,9
Percentage of irregular domestic workers	74,5	75,8	74,9	74,4	76,4	76,9	76,3	76,4	77,0

Source: Istat, *L'occupazione non regolare nelle stime di contabilità nazionale secondo il Sec95. Anni 1992-1999, dati analitici maggio 2001*, Table 1.3 and 1.4.

Table 2 - Place of origin of regular migrant domestic workers (Italy, 1991, 2000)

Area	1991	2000
Africa: Central and South Africa	16.0	8.8
Africa: North Africa	8.5	7.0
America: Central America	3.5	3.9
America: North America	1.2	1.3
America: South America	5.5	15.4
Asia: Middle East	0.3	0.2
Asia: Far East: Philippines	44.3	30.8
Asia: Other	10.9	11.0
Europe: Eastern Europe	4.5	19.3
Europe: Western Europe	5.3	2.2
Australasia	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	99.9

Source: Inps databank

If we consider current demographic and socio-economic trends, in particular ageing of population and increasing female employment, as well as policies aiming at expanding the proximity services sector, we can expect a further increase in the recourse to paid domestic work, particularly as Italy only has quite a limited welfare in this area. However, countries with more developed welfare are also currently experiencing a “resurgence in waged domestic labour”,¹² a “*Rückkehr der Dienstmädchen*”¹³, a “*retour de la domesticité*”¹⁴, even though, according to certain scholars, this phenomenon has been over emphasized¹⁵.

¹¹ *Il mondo della collaborazione domestica: i dati del cambiamento. INPS – Monitoraggio dei flussi migratori in collaborazione con il “Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas/Migrantes”, unpublished document, 2004.*

¹² GREGSON N. and LOWE M., *Servicing the Middle Classes. Class, gender and waged domestic labour in contemporary Britain*, London and New York, Routledge, 1994, p. 4.

¹³ ODIERNA S., *Die heimliche Rückkehr der Dienstmädchen. Bezahlte Arbeit im privaten Haushalt*, Opladen, Leske und Budrich, 2000. See also LUTZ H., *Ethnizität. Profession. Geschlecht. Die neue Dienstmädchenfrage als Herausforderung für die Migrations- und Frauenforschung. 2. vollständig überarbeitete Auflage*, available on http://www.uni-muenster.de/InterkulturPaedagogik/Publication/iks_querformat/IKS_Querpdf/IKSLutz.pdf.

¹⁴ SARTI R., “La domesticité durant la période du fascisme (1922-1943)”, *Sextant*, 15-16 (2001), pp. 165-202 (p. 199). See also SARTI R., ““Noi abbiamo visto tante città, abbiamo un'altra cultura”. Servizio domestico, migrazioni e identità di genere in Italia : uno sguardo di lungo periodo”, *Polis*, XVIII, 2004,

Foreign domestics in the past

The presence of many foreign people is not a peculiar feature of recent times. As I showed in the paper I presented in Barcelona, in Mediterranean Europe there were foreign slaves both in medieval times and early modern times. Slaves disappeared as late as the 19th century¹⁶.

In medieval times slaves arrived mainly from the area around the Black Sea, where Genoa had some important colonies. In early modern times they were blacks from Africa and Muslims captured during the wars and battles between Muslims and Christians.

Traditionally, slaves were often captured enemies. This is probably one of the reasons for the ancient Latin proverb *quot servi tot hostes* which was still quoted many centuries later (in the 14th century Petrarch, spoke, for example, of *domestici hostes*, i.e. domestic enemies)¹⁷. However, as explained by Maria Casalini, the definition of servants as domestic enemies was still in use as late as in the 19th century¹⁸.

However, as an 18th century Bolognese law states, masters should fear domestics not because of their foreign origin, but because of their bad luck: they were born poor and so they were forced to work for a wealthier master, whom therefore they might hate¹⁹. Indeed, in early modern times foreign slaves only represented a small share of domestics, as I showed in the seminar we held in Barcelona²⁰.

1, pp. 17-46 and SARTI R., "Domestic Service and European Identity", i.e. the Conclusion of these *Proceedings* (see vol. V).

¹⁵ COLOMBO A., "Struttura e Cambiamenti del lavoro domestico salariato in Italia (1970-2003)", forthcoming in *Polis*, XIX, 2005, no. 3 (I am grateful to the author for allowing me to read this still unpublished paper).

¹⁶ See for example BONO S., *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna. Galotti, vu' cumprà, domestici*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999. See also MARTÍN CASARES A., *La esclavitud en la Granada del Siglo XVI*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, Diputación Provincial de Granada, 2000; MARTÍN CASARES A., "Domestic Service in Spain. Legislation, Gender and Social Practice", in FAUVE-CHAMOIX A. (ed.), *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity. Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th-21st Centuries*, Bern - Berlin etc., Peter Lang, 2004 (but 2005), pp. 189-209; MARTÍN CASARES A., "Domestic Service in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Legislation and Social Practice" in this *Proceedings*, vol. 3; SARTI R., "Viaggiatrici per forza. Schiave 'turche' in Italia in età moderna", in SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DELLE STORICHE, *Altrove. Viaggi di donne dall'antichità al Novecento*, edited by CORSI D., Roma, Viella, 1999, pp. 241-296; SARTI R., "Esclavitud y religión en la Italia de la Edad Moderna", in *Arenal*, 7, 2000, special issue on slavery ed. by Aurelia Martín Casares, pp. 63-122 (unfortunately the proofs of this paper were not sent to me; so I couldn't correct them and there are some errors in them. I am very grateful to Aurelia Martín Casares for translating it); SARTI R., *Bolognesi schiavi dei 'Turchi' e schiavi 'turchi' a Bologna tra Cinque e Settecento: alterità etnico-religiosa e riduzione in schiavitù*, in "Quaderni storici", n. 107, agosto 2001, pp. 437-473; SARTI R., "Freedom and Citizenship? The Legal Status of Servants and Domestic Workers in a Comparative Perspective (16th-21st Centuries)", in these *Proceedings*, vol. III, all with further references.

¹⁷ ORIGO I., "The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *Speculum*, 30, 1955, pp. 321-366. This definition has been used also by FAIRCHILD C., *Domestic Enemies. Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

¹⁸ CASALINI M., "Un univers en mutation. La domesticité à Florence au XIX^e siècle", in this volume.

¹⁹ *Bando generale della Legazione di Bologna e suo contado fatto pubblicare li 12. Ottobre 1756 dall'Eminentiss., e Reverendiss. Sig. Cardinale Fabrizio Serbelloni Legato a Latere di detta Città*. Bologna, Saffi per la Stamperia Camerale, 1756, p. 89.

²⁰ SARTI R., "Freedom and Citizenship?"

Table 3 - Percentage of migrant servants in several European cities, 16th-20th centuries

City	Time period	Women	Men	Women and Men
England				
London	1660-1750	74	84	
	1851			76 ¹
France				
Lyon	1597			86
Toulouse	1727-1729	96	92	
	1787-1789	94	96	
Bordeaux	1727-1729	93	94	
	1787-1789	97	97	
Paris	1787-1789	91	98	
Versailles	1820			85
	1872	94	96	
Reims	1802	86	-	
Germany				
Schwäbisch Hall	1635-90	69		
Bremen	1862	73		
Hamburg	1871	79		
Berlin	1885	92	89	
	1890	93		
	1895	85		
Austria				
Wiener Neustadt	1869	76		
	1880	78		
Italy				
Udine	183-34			33
Bologna	1796	26	34	30
	1857	43	67	69
	1899	93	79	90
Firenze	1810			60
	1866	94	71	
Perugia	1853-54	53	65	56
Spain				
Monforte	1860-1898			79
	1915-1920			59
Lugo	1860-1898			53
	1915			78
Ourense	1899			87
	1915			86
Santiago	1860			59
	1924			76
A Coruña	1915-1920			82
Muros	1860-1898			21
	1915-1920			24

Sources: MELDRUM T., *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household*, Harlow, Pearson Education Limited, 2000, p. 18 (London 1660-1750); WALL R., "The Social and Economic Significance of Servant Migration", in these *Proceedings*, vol. III, and in FAUVE-CHAMOUX A. (ed.), *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity. Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th-21st Centuries*, Bern - Berlin etc., Peter Lang, 2004 (but 2005), pp. 19-42 (p. 30, London 1851); ZELLER O. *Les recensements Lyonnais de 1597 et 1636. Démographie historique et géographie sociale*, Lyon, Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1983, p. 199 (Lyon); FAIRCHILD C., *Domestic Enemies. Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984, p. 62 (Toulouse, Bordeaux, Paris); MCBRIDE Th., *The Domestic Revolution. The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France 1820-1920*, London, Croom Helm, 1976 (Versailles); FAUVE-CHAMOUX A., "Le surplus urbain des femmes en France préindustrielle et le rôle de la domesticité", *Population*, 1998, pp. 359-378 (p. 370, Reims); DÜRR R., *Mägde in der Stadt. Das Beispiel Schwäbisch Hall in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt a. M. - New York, Campus, 1995, p. 186 (Schwäbisch Hall); LEE R., "Domestic service and female domestic servants: A port-city comparison of Bremen and Liverpool, 1850-1914", *The History of the Family*, X, 2005, pp. 435-460 (p. 448, Bremen); MÜLLER H., *Dienstbare Geister. Leben und Arbeitswels städtischer Diensthöten*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Schriften des Museums für Deutsche Volkskunde Berlin, 1985, p. 33 (Hamburg, Berlin 1885, 1890, 1895); WALSER K., *Dienstmädchen. Frauenarbeit und Weiblichkeitsbildern um 1900*, Frankfurt a. M., Neue Kritik, 1986 (Frankfurt a. M., Extrabuch, 1985¹), p. 135 (Berlin 1890); ORTH K., "Nur weiblicher Besuch". *Dienstbotinnen in Berlin, 1890-1914*, Frankfurt a. M. - New York, Campus, 1993, p. 14 (Berlin 1895); HAHN S., "Nowhere at home? Female migrants in the nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire", in

SHARPE P., (ed.), *Women, Gender and Labour Migration, Historical and global perspective*, London and New York, Rutledge, 2001, pp. 108-126 (p. 117, Wiener Neustadt, my calculation on data provided by the author); MARINO D., “Servi e domestici in Udine austriaca”, *Working Papers 10 – 94*, Dipartimento di Scienze Economiche, Università degli Studi di Udine, 1994, pp. 8-10 (p. 13, Udine); GOZZINI G., *Firenze francese. Famiglie e mestieri ai primi dell'Ottocento*, Firenze, Ponte alle Grazie, 1989, p. 164 (Firenze 1810); CASALINI M., *Servitù, nobili e borghesi nella Firenze dell'Ottocento*, Firenze, Olschki, 1997, p. 187 (Firenze 1866); on Bologna see the sources of Table 5; DUBERT I., *Del Campo a la Ciudad. Migraciones, familia y espacio urbano en la historia de Galicia, 1708-1924*, Santiago, Consorcio de Santiago, Nigra imaxe s.l., 2002, p. 280 (Spanish cities).

Notes:

¹ The data refers to the percentage of servants resident in certain districts of West London (Kensington, Fulham, Chelsea, Mayfair, Belgrave, St Margaret and Berwick St.) who were born in Middlesex.

Yet free servants were also often migrants. In pre-industrial French cities, for example, the percentage of migrants among domestics oscillated between 86 and 98 percent (see table 4). Although even in early modern times there were also international migrant domestic workers, they generally had not come from very far. Nevertheless, mainly because of their mobility, they were often considered dangerous and had to be tightly controlled, particularly when they were unemployed and risked becoming vagrants without a master to control them or, often, a roof over their heads²¹.

In the 19th century domestic service represented the main route to the cities – i.e. to the “modern” urban environment and culture – for millions of rural women, as shown, among others, by McBride for Britain and France, Walsler for Germany and, in a different perspective, by Arru for Italy²².

Bridging occupation?

About forty years ago, in 1963, Broom and Smith included domestic service among the so-called “bridging occupations”²³. In their original version, they attempted to define an occupation that can be transformed into a channel for horizontal mobility. However, in later times some researchers – developing some points already present in Broom and Smith’s paper – also interpreted domestic service as a bridge to upper positions, i.e. as a channel for vertical mobility²⁴.

However, the idea that domestic service could be a way for bettering one’s social position is not only the result of modern sociological and historical research. The stereotype of the so-called *laquais financier*, for example, was quite common in Ancien Regime France²⁵. Moreover, at least from the end of the 19th century there are history books which devote some analysis to the career opportunities for domestics²⁶.

Yet the idea that domestic service was a path to upward mobility has often been questioned, as many researches have shown the risks of downward mobility often associated with domestic service.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² MCBRIDE Th., *The Domestic Revolution. The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France 1820-1920*, London, Croom Helm, 1976; WALSER K., *Dienstmädchen: Frauenarbeit und Weiblichkeitsbilder um 1900*, Frankfurt, Extrabuch-Verl., 1985; ARRU A., *Il servo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1995. See also SARTI R., “Noi abbiamo visto tante città, abbiamo un’altra cultura”, pp. 33-40.

²³ BROOM L., SMITH J.H., “Bridging Occupations”, *British Journal of Sociology*, XIV, 1963, pp. 321-334.

²⁴ SARTI R., “Il servizio domestico: un canale di mobilità sociale? Il caso di Bologna (fine ‘700-inizio ‘900)”, in SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DI DEMOGRAFIA STORICA, *Disuguaglianze: stratificazione e mobilità sociale nelle popolazioni italiane (dal secolo XIV agli inizi del secolo XX). Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate da autori italiani al II congré Hispano Luso Italià de Demografia Histórica, Savona, 18-21 novembre 1992*, Bologna, Clueb, 1997, tomo I, pp. 145-167, with further references.

²⁵ DESSERT D., “Le ‘Laquais-financier’ au Grand Siècle: mythe ou réalité?”, *XVIIe Siècle*, 31, 1979, pp. 21-36.

²⁶ BABEAU A., *Les artisans et les domestiques d'autrefois*, Paris, Librairie Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1886, pp. 249-255.

Several investigations, for example, showed the risks, of serving women giving birth to illegitimate children and/or becoming prostitutes²⁷.

There has therefore been wide discussion about domestic service as a channel for vertical mobility²⁸. On the other hand, as far as I can see, the idea that it was a channel for horizontal mobility, in particular between the countryside and the cities, has not been questioned to the same extent. Even though many historians underline an increasing ruralisation of domestic servants as far as their geographical origin is concerned, the idea that domestic servants working in the cities were mainly of rural origin has often been taken more or less for granted.

However, if we take a closer look at the available data about the origin of domestic servants working in the past times in European cities, we discover that there were cases where a large proportion of domestics, or even the majority of them, were born in cities, as shown by Isidro Dubert for several Galician cities (table 3)²⁹. But let's go back to the present.

The case of Bologna or the peculiarity of single case studies

Probably more than 10,000 migrant domestic workers are currently working in the province of Bologna³⁰. Looking back, however, at the end of the 18th century, we find a completely different situation. In fact, at that time, 70 percent of servants working in Bologna were neither foreign nor migrants: they were Bolognese. Only 1 percent came from outside Italy. Indeed this data is not really comparable with that from 2000-2002, as it refers only to the city, while the data on the present refers to the province. Yet the contrast is really amazing (table 5).

This result clearly contrasts with the idea that also in the past servants were mainly migrants, though from the countryside rather than from (poor) foreign countries. In reality in Bologna, only during the first half the 19th century did the proportion of migrants, among servants, increase significantly, probably because the population in the countryside was growing at a much higher rate than in towns.

Moreover, there were interesting differences both between female and male domestics and between lower and upper servants. As far as gender differences go, women came from outside less often than men, both in 1796 and 1857 (table 6). In Florence it was exactly the opposite (table 3).

As far as the differences between different kinds of servants go, it is interesting that upper servants were of urban origin – they came from Bologna or also, in 1857, from other Italian cities – more often than lower servants. Lower servants were more likely to come from the countryside. Among male servants, in 1796 those of rural origin were particularly numerous among the personnel assigned to horses and carriages, whose tasks were indeed probably closer to the tasks that men would perform in rural families (tables 7-8).

In conclusion, this data also shows that making a career in domestic service was easier for urban people. Even though during the 19th century this occupation became, in Bologna too, a “bridge” between the countryside and the city, it did not offer the same chances to urban and rural people. Integration in urban networks or at least knowledge of the urban environment seemed important to get the upper places in the professional hierarchy.

²⁷ SARTI, “Il servizio domestico: un canale di mobilità sociale?”, with further references.

²⁸ *Ibid.* As there were many different kinds of servants, it is quite difficult to generalise. In my own research, focusing on intergenerational mobility, male children of Bolognese domestics seemed to be upwardly mobile quite frequently (33 percent in 1870-1902). Available data is more limited for females, but they don't seem to be downwardly mobile.

²⁹ DUBERT I., “Domestic Service and Social Modernization in Urban Galicia, 1752-1920”, *Continuity and Change*, 14, 1999, pp. 207-226; DUBERT I., *Del Campo a la Ciudad. Migraciones, familia y espacio urbano en la historia de Galicia, 1708-1924*, Santiago, Nigra imaxe s.l., Consorcio de Santiago, Santiago, 2002, pp. 273-319.

³⁰ The number of migrant domestic workers is increasing very quickly: among regular domestic workers they were 60.8 percent in 2000, while five years earlier (1996) they were 50.9 percent.

Table 4 - Origin of domestic servants working in the province of Bologna in 2000-2002

Origin	Total number	percentage
Regular workers – Italian	2,090	39.2
Regular workers- Migrants	3,235	60.8
Total	5,325	100.0
Irregular migrants who asked for regularisation before the deadline (11 November 2002)	6,365	
total of migrant domestic workers	9,600	

Source: Inps data-bank.

Table 5 - Origin of domestic servants, Bologna, 1796-1857 (percentage)

year	Bologna	rural areas	other Italian cities	foreign places	tot. percent	N.
1796	70	21	8	1	100	699
1857	31	59	9	1	100	460
1899	10	77	13	-	100	153

Sources:

1796: Archivio di Stato di Bologna (State Archive of Bologna), *Legato, Censimento di famiglie distinto per parrocchie (ex notificazione 2 maggio 1796)*: parishes of S. Giovanni in Monte, S. Maria della Carità, S. Maria della Ceriola, S. Maria delle Muratelle, S. Maria Labarum Coeli, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Michele Arcangelo di Porta Nova, S. Salvatore, SS. Silvestro e Martino (the census includes about 10 percent of the Bolognese population);

1857: Archive of the Parish of S. Giovanni in Bologna, Monte, *Status animarum* 1857. In 1857 the parish was much bigger than in 1796. Its population represented almost 5 percent of the total population of Bologna.

1899: Archive of the Parish of S. Giovanni in Bologna, Monte, *Status animarum* 1899. Unfortunately in this register information on the birthplace in most cases is lacking.

Table 6 - Origin of female and male domestic servants, Bologna, 1796-1857 (percentage)

year	Bologna		rural areas		other Italian cities		foreign places		tot. percent		N.	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1796	73,5	66	20	24	6	9	0,5	1	100	100	380	319
1857	33	27	57	63	9	9	1	1	100	100	298	162
1899	7	10	82	77	11	13	-	-	100	100	120	33

Sources: see previous table.

Table 7 – Origin of lower and upper female servants, Bologna 1796-1857 (percentage)

year	Bologna		rural areas		other Italian cities		foreign places		tot. percent		N.	
	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857
simple servants	72	26	20,5	68	7	6	0,5	-	100	100	344	185
governesses, chamber maids etc.	89	45	11	40	-	13	-	2	100	100	36	113

Sources: see previous tables.

Table 8 – Origin of lower and upper male servants, Bologna 1796-1857 (percentage)

year	Bologna		rural areas		other Italian cities		foreign places		tot. percent		N.	
	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857	1796	1857
servants assigned to horses and carriages	46	24	39	66	13	10	2	-	100	100	56	29
simple servants, lackeys	67	29	22	67	10	4	1	-	100	100	156	51
cooks and other servants assigned to the kitchen	75	24	20	67	5	9	-	-	100	100	65	45
butlers, secretaries, accountants etc.	79	30	14	51	5	16	2	3	100	100	42	37

Sources: see previous tables.

The brotherhood of San Vitale, or the “Servants’ University”

The fact that in early modern times Bolognese domestics were well “rooted” in the city is shown also by the features and the policy of the Confraternity of San Vitale, that is the brotherhood that from 1697 to the end of the 19th century brought together the servants of the city³¹.

Both *servitori di cappa nera*, or *braccieri*, and *staffieri* (grooms), or *servitori di livrea* (lackeys) took part in the foundation of this brotherhood. The latter belonged to what in large houses was sometimes called *famiglia inferiore* (lower family), that is the “low” servants, who had to wear their master’s livery; the former to the *famiglia superiore* (higher family), that is the “high” servants, entrusted with managerial tasks and responsibilities³². They usually wore their own clothes, rather than livery: hence their name, *servitori di cappa nera* or *cappenere*, which literally means servants wearing a black cape.

In a first phase there were enormous conflicts between the two groups, to the point that the brotherhood split: for some years, there were two associations in conflict. Only in 1703 the association of the *cappenere* (which also included some *livree*) merged with the brotherhood founded by the *staffieri*.

The policy of the Confraternity was original in many regards. It developed a very “modern” mutual help system among its members. After the initial phase of conflict, it allowed into the association as equals *staffieri* and *cappenere* in the name of their common status as domestic staff. *Staffieri* and *cappenere* were probably becoming closer in social standing but were undoubtedly still far apart. Moreover, the confraternity presented itself as representative – and exclusive – of the servants, a previously not clearly definable group. Finally, it defined authoritatively who the “true servant” was, in a context where the term “servant” had many different meanings.

The problem of defining who was a servant and therefore could be part of the association was there from the beginning. But in the first years of life of the confraternity, the desire to overcome the divisions between *staffieri* and *braccieri* prevailed over the problem of defining who could be described as a servant. Yet later the concern to establish who really was a servant prevailed. In 1753, in particular, it was decided to admit only “actual servants of the following types and not others, that is: ministers, *cappenere*, *staffieri*, lackeys, first coachmen, second coachmen, lead-horse riders (*cavalcanti*), cooks, undercooks doing only this single service job, and butlers”. They all also had to satisfy

³¹ On the history of this brotherhood see SARTI R., “L’Università dei Servitori di Bologna, secc. XVII-XIX”, in GUENZI A., MASSA P. and MOIOLI A. (eds), *Corporazioni e Gruppi Professionali nell’Italia Moderna*, Milano, Angeli, 1999, pp. 717-754; SARTI R., “The True Servant. Self-definition of Male Domestics in an Italian City (Bologna, 17th-19th centuries)”, *The History of the Family*, X, 2005, pp. 407-433.

³² For the use of the term *famiglia* to designate the array of the servants, see SARTI R., *Europe at Home. Family and material culture, 1500-1800*, New Haven and London, Yale U.P. 2002, pp. 31-34 (ed. or. *Vita di casa. Abitare, mangiare, vestire nell’Europa moderna*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999).

the condition of not having to carry out “in public” “any base job” which would cause them to be considered as something other than “actual servants”. Therefore, “those commonly called kitchen boys, or scullery boys, stable boys, and porters” were absolutely excluded. The brothers were trying to identify themselves as representatives of a job which (at least in public) did not involve carrying out vile and degrading tasks³³. The exclusion of entire categories of workers was maybe the inevitable outcome of the policy pursued by the brothers, a policy designed not only to define the identity of domestics, but also to give this identity a prestigious appearance. The brothers portrayed themselves as people engaged in a dignified occupation that, in public, was not at all degrading.

The Confraternity pursued its prestige policy on the city scene. For example, it took upon itself the burden of performing the funerals of its deceased members, because they represented an important function that was “public, and well thought of and honourable for the Confraternity”³⁴. Another occasion of visible public activity was the celebration of the festival of San Vitale. Vitale was, at the same time, “specifically” the saint of servants, having himself been a servant during his lifetime, and an important member of the city’s *pantheon*, having been martyred in Bologna with his master Agricola, probably during Diocletian’s persecution³⁵. Therefore, worthily celebrating his festival day lent prestige not only to the confraternity that had chosen him as its protector, but also to the entire city that traditionally revered him. In short, the confraternity was the representative body of all the city’s servants³⁶, and this principally thanks to its great activity in the city’s public life³⁷.

In this role, the confraternity organised many activities. Among them, the collection of donations for the construction of the porch and the church of San Luca, that still today is one of the symbols of Bologna, also recognised as such by non religious people. The construction of the dome of the church, in particular, completed in 1742, was entirely financed by the donations collected by the *Università dei Servitori* from all the Bolognese servants³⁸. In short, the Confraternity policy expressed and emphasised the conviction that domestic workers were members of the urban community, and very important ones.

Significantly, this capacity on the part of the confraternity to stand as representative of all Bolognese servants, to play this role in the life of the town and to define authoritatively who servants were was lost during the 19th century. Probably its last public appearance was (ironically) the collection of contributions for the construction of the cemetery porch in 1822. In the same year, the brothers printed newly reformed statutes. Chapter 1 stated that the confraternity only accepted “in its class only true and proper servants”, that is, more or less, the kind of servants already listed in 1753³⁹. The same

³³ *Riforma de' Capitoli, e Statuti della Congregazione di S. Vitale detta l'Università de' Servitori in Bologna Fatta l'Anno 1753*, Bologna, Longhi Stampatore Arcivescovile, [1753].

³⁴ US, cart. 2, LC (1697-1767), vol. 2, 29/5/1700, c. 41r.

³⁵ GORDINI G. D., “Vitale e Agricola”, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 12, cols. 1225-1228, Roma, La Città Nuova, 1969; FASOLI G., (ed.), *Vitale e Agricola. Il culto dei protomartiri di Bologna attraverso i secoli nel XVI centenario della traslazione*, Bologna, Centro Editoriale Dehoniano, 1993.

³⁶ From the first meetings, the servants who gathered to found the confraternity presented themselves as the *università dei servitori*, and had presented the confraternity about to be founded as the gathering of the totality of servants. So they actually decided to display “printed edicts inviting *all servants* to pay five *soldi* per month” to the confraternity, almost as though it were a true guild, US, cart. 2, LC (1697-1766), vol. 2, 13/7/1697, c. 3v, italics added. However, the attempt to make all servants join the confraternity had failed: even during the 1780s when the confraternity was at the height of its expansion, only a fifth or a sixth of male Bolognese servants were a part of it. Nevertheless, the two definitions of the Confraternity of San Vitale and the *Università dei servitori* very soon became largely interchangeable, as though the confraternity really were the representative body of all the city’s servants. In fact, it cannot be denied that this was the case.

³⁷ It was, in fact, the members of the confraternity who encouraged all the Bolognese servants to contribute donations towards the city’s various devotional activities, who had notices and announcements concerning their collection printed, provided collectors and collection boxes, were in charge of the funds collected and at times managed their investment and took care of the maintenance of objects acquired. It was on these occasions that the officers from the Confraternity of San Vitale “so-called *Università dei Servitori*” addressed, in a game of reciprocal identification, all the city servants, that is, the “*università dei servitori*” (that is the totality of Bolognese servants), as was written on the notices.

³⁸ SARTI, “L’università dei Servitori”, p. 747.

³⁹ “By servants are meant: all those who by profession live in someone else’s service as domestics, or almost domestics in houses and civilian positions, with receipt of a salary; that is, stewards, book-

formulation, with a slight variation, would be repeated in the reformed statutes of 1855⁴⁰. But compared to the 18th century, many things had now changed and their definition of the “true servant” seemed increasingly obsolete.

Braccieri, sedan-chair carriers, *staffieri*, were in fact disappearing almost completely, while stewards and clerks, secretaries and book-keepers were increasingly being considered private clerks, rather than servants. The exit from the ranks of domestic staff of the wealthiest and most respected figures ultimately allowed the concept of servant to be reduced to those who had once been the lowest layers of the varied world of servants. The members of the *Università dei Servitori* had tried to make domestic service an honourable profession, but “History” was moving in a different direction.

The problem was not, in any case, only linked to the disappearance of “display servants” and to the exit from domestic staff of a considerable number of those who could once have been described as “*cappenere*”. It was undoubtedly linked to other ongoing transformations, especially to the feminization and ruralisation of domestic service.

The Confraternity of San Vitale was a male confraternity. When they had to represent all servants, the brothers also addressed female servants, in particular during the collection of donations (the notices for the collections were always addressed to “servants of both sexes”). However, women were (tacitly) excluded from the possibility of joining the Confraternity.

In the 19th century, the number of women among domestic servants (the majority even in the 17th-18th century) was increasing, although not linearly: towards the end of the 19th century women would make up about 80 percent of domestic staff⁴¹ (fig. 2). The increasing number of women among servants and the brothers’ stubborn indifference towards them contributed to make the Confraternity less and less representative of the totality of servants. The refusal to admit women can, then, be considered one of the causes of its decline (fig. 3). The confraternity was proposing an ever more outdated model of the servant: a male servant, clearly of city origin or at least very well integrated into urban life, mainly of civilian status, not involved in filthy or abject tasks. But domestic service was increasingly a humble job carried out by women of peasant origin who had migrated to the city.

Significantly enough, in the same period during which the Confraternity was dying, a new servant association open to women was founded (1880). It was dedicated both to Saint Vitale e Saint Agricola, and was open to masters too (one of its aims was to promote Christian brotherhood between masters and servants). It was possibly active until 1943 (but its activity never was as wide and visible as that of the old Confraternity)⁴².

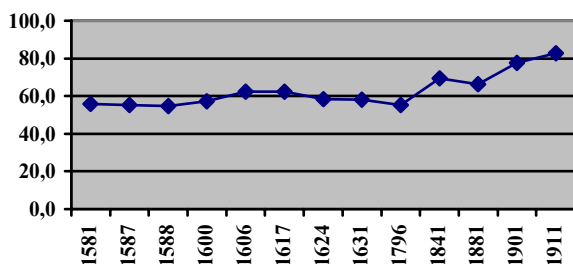
keepers, secretaries, *cappenere*, *staffieri*, coachmen, cooks, butlers, and sedan-chair carriers as long as the latter serve a single master. Then porters, scullery-boys, stable-hands, craftsmen, workers, those who practise mechanical crafts, shop assistants and the like who carry out vile and abject tasks are excluded, because they do not fall into the category of Servants *as it is understood by this Confraternity*”, *Statuti pel Buon Regolamento della Congregazione di San Vitale Martire Bolognese detta L’Università de’ Servitori (...) riformati per la quarta volta l’anno MDCCCXXI*, Bologna, Gamberini, e Parmeggiani Stampatori Arcivescovili, 1822, p. 4, italics added.

⁴⁰ *Statuti pel buon regolamento della Congregazione di S. Vitale Martire Bolognese detta l’Università dei Servitori (...) riformati per la quinta volta nell’anno 1855*, Bologna, Tipi Arcivescovili, 1856, p. 4.

⁴¹ SARTI R., “Notes on the feminization of domestic service. Bologna as a case study (18th-19th Centuries)”, in FAUVE-CHAMOIX A. and FIALOVÁ L. (eds.), *Le phénomène de la domesticité en Europe, XVIe-XXe siècles* (Acta Demographica, XIII), Praha, Česká Demografická Sociologický Ústav av CR, 1997, pp. 125-163.

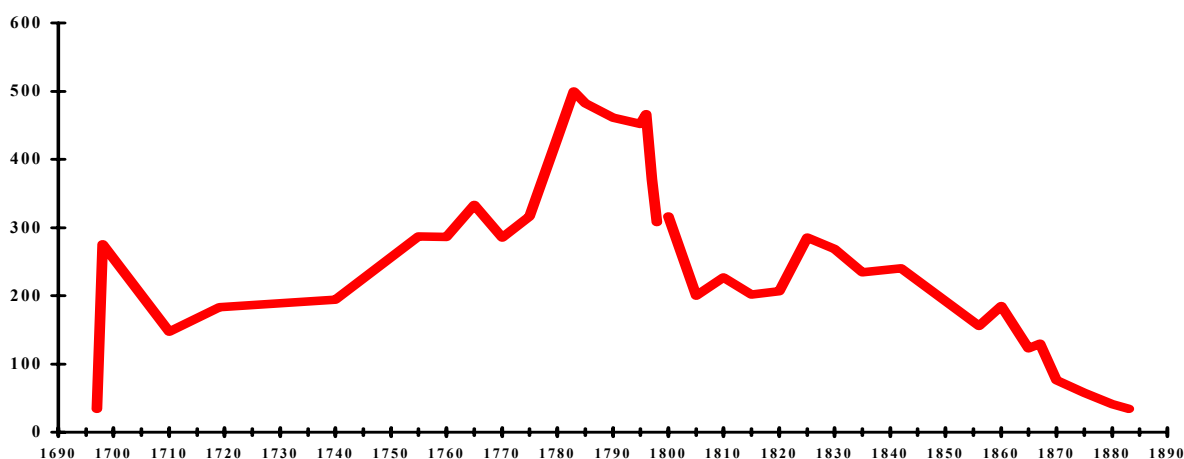
⁴² SARTI R., “*Noi abbiamo visto tante città*”, p. 32.

Fig. 2
Bologna, Italy
1581-1911



Sources: SARTI R., “Notes on the Feminization”, p. 145; ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI BOLOGNA (STATE ARCHIVE OF BOLOGNA), *Legato, Censimento di famiglie distinto per parrocchie (ex notificazione 2 maggio 1796)*.

Fig. 3
Number of servants members of the Confraternity of San Vitale
Bologna, 1697-1883



Sources: SARTI R., “L’Università dei Servitori”, p. 722; SARTI R., “The True Servant”.

Conclusion

Between the ends of the 14th and 16th centuries, Bologna experienced considerable economic and demographic growth deriving from the silk industry (between 1580 and 1590 the city had around 72,000 inhabitants, a level which was reached again only in the 19th century)⁴³. Thanks to the extremely high level of technology achieved, the Bolognese silk industry monopolised the market until the end of the 16th century and held off competition for another seventy years. From the end of the 17th century, the silk industry entered a long period of decline, despite moments of revival. By the end of the 18th century, unemployment and pauperism had reached alarming levels. While industrial development was taking hold in other countries, Bologna underwent a true process of de-industrialization. The crisis was further exacerbated by the outbreak of the French Revolution and the arrival in Italy of Napoleon’s armies. After a final period of recovery at the beginning of the 19th cen-

⁴³ BELLETTINI A., *La popolazione di Bologna dal secolo XV all’Unificazione italiana*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1961, pp. 21-43.

tury, Bologna's silk industry suffered its definitive collapse⁴⁴. These transformations led to a "ruralization" of the local economy, which was to experience a new wave of industrial development only in the last three decades of the 19th century and in the first of the 20th⁴⁵. This demographic and economic situation is very probably the reason for the limited immigration of servants until the end of the 18th century, while the increasing presence of migrating servants was probably due, in a first phase, i.e. in the first half of the 19th century, to the much higher demographic development of the countryside in comparison to the city.

I have described the case of Bologna to show that we don't have to take for granted the idea that domestic service is a "bridge" between the countryside and the city, even though this is often the case. For each context we have to analyse the recruitment area of domestic workers and how it changes over time. And the difference over time can be as sharp as in Bologna.

Some years ago Sheila Cooper gave a paper on the "shared culture" of masters and servants⁴⁶. In early modern Bologna, among servants there were some Muslim slaves (generally converted to Christianity). Apart from them, the majority of servants working in the city were Bolognese, as far as we can see⁴⁷. In this sense, even though they did not belong to the same social strata as their masters, as was often the case for English life-cycle servants, in a certain sense they shared the same "Bolognese" culture of their masters. They spoke the same language, had the same devotion to Saint Vitale and Saint Luca and so on. As the recruitment area of the servant became larger, domestic service increasingly put in touch people with different cultural backgrounds. As shown by table 3, in many European cities this was already the case in early modern times.

The presence of people with a different cultural background in the same household leads us to question the representation of the family and the household as a "private sphere" and as a closed universe. The household and the family employing domestic workers, particularly if they are migrants from far away places, seems rather a place which is open to the arrival of different people from the outside, i.e. a place where people with different backgrounds were/are negotiating their identities.

The awareness that these negotiations could easily turn into conflict seemed very ancient, as demonstrated, for instance, by the idea that a master had as many enemies as servants⁴⁸. This awareness emerges also in the varied literature addressed to masters and heads of the families in order to give them instructions about how to manage their households. Indeed, the masters are warned to choose their servants carefully, to give them safe instructions, to punish them or even to dismiss them if they are not good Christians, to keep them in their place, at the right distance, to discourage servants from aping the masters etc.⁴⁹ From our point of view, the acute awareness of the "bad" influence that

⁴⁴ DAL PANE L., *Economia e società a Bologna nell'età del Risorgimento. Introduzione alla ricerca*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1969; PONI C., "All'origine del sistema di fabbrica: tecnologia e organizzazione produttiva dei mulini da seta nell'Italia settentrionale (sec. XVII-XVIII)", *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXXVIII (1976), pp. 444-497; PONI C., "Per la storia del distretto industriale serico di Bologna (secoli XVI-XIX)", *Quaderni storici*, XXV, 1990, pp. 93-167; GUENZI A., *La 'fabbrica delle tele' tra città e campagna. Gruppi professionali e governo dell'economia a Bologna nel secolo XVIII*, Ancona, Il Lavoro Editoriale, 1987; GIUSBERTI F., *Impresa e avventura. L'industria del velo di seta a Bologna nel XVIII secolo*, Milano, Angeli, 1989; SARTI, "Notes on the feminisation", etc.

⁴⁵ ROMBALDI O., "Manifatture e commercio nell'età napoleonica e della Restaurazione", in BERSELLI A. (ed.), *Storia della Emilia Romagna*, Bologna, Santerno, University Press, 1976-1980, 3 vols., vol. 3, pp. 181-205; PACETTI P., "Gli anni 1850-1860: fra innovazione e conservazione. L'attività manifatturiera a Bologna e Ferrara", *ibid.*, pp. 206-230; PRETI A., "Caratteri e limiti dello sviluppo industriale", *ibid.*, pp. 329-360; ZAMAGNI V., "L'economia", in ZANGHERI R. (ed.), *Bologna*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1986, pp. 245-314, etc.

⁴⁶ COOPER S., "The Shared Culture of Masters and Servants", paper presented at the ESSHC, Amsterdam, April 2000.

⁴⁷ My data refers to the late 18th century.

⁴⁸ Some interesting cases are analysed by ROMANO D., "The Regulation of Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXII, 1991, pp. 661-677; ROMANO D., *Housecraft and Statecraft. Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400-1600*, The Johns Hopkins U. P., Baltimore and London, 1996 and by MÜLLER-STAATS D., *Klagen über Dienstboten. Eine Untersuchung über Dienstboten und ihre Herrschaften*, Insel, Frankfurt a. M., 1987.

⁴⁹ SARTI R., "Obbedienti e fedeli. Note sull'istruzione morale e religiosa di servi e serve tra Cinque e Settecento", *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, XVII, 1991, pp. 91-120, with further references.

servants, particularly wet-nurses and nannies, could have on the children, (for example by telling them frightening folktales⁵⁰) is particularly interesting.

On the other hand, in upper class family an important part of the education of the children was assigned to servants (nannies, governesses, tutors etc.). So a certain influence by the servants on the children was taken for granted and even encouraged as is the case today, when Filipina domestic workers are asked to speak English with the employer's children⁵¹. Consequently, in the past, domestic servants were often represented, at the same time, as people who should be "educated" by their masters and as those who were educating the masters' children.

Thus, domestics often found themselves on a borderline between cultures which in some cases could be really very distant (an extreme case is probably that of the European governesses working in Muslim families in the Ottoman Empire or in the colonies in the 19th and 20th centuries⁵²). It is no surprise, therefore, that they were seen as cultural mediators. The earlier sociological and historical research has mainly emphasized their role as a channel for the transmission of elements of the culture of the upper classes to the lower⁵³, but there is increasing interest in seeing the masters/servants relationship as a negotiation with exchanges in both directions, though within an asymmetric relationship and therefore a different power⁵⁴.

The current "resurgence" and globalisation of domestic service⁵⁵ are stimulating scholars to analyse the negotiations between employers and employees, trying to pinpoint the current features of the phenomenon⁵⁶. Today, for many people, domestic service is clearly a "bridge" between different places and cultures. But it is not yet clear whether it is also a bridge toward better social conditions.

⁵⁰ SARTI R., "Nuovi bisogni, vecchie soluzioni? Per una storia dell'attività di cura verso bambini e anziani in ambito familiare", paper presented at the Conference *Le relazioni tra le generazioni*, Pistoia, Università di Firenze, Comune di Pistoia e Regione Toscana, Convegno internazionale, 15-16 March 2001, with further references; DELPIANO P., SARTI R., *Servants, Domestic Workers and Children*, special issue of *Paedagogica Historica*, forthcoming; SARTI R., "Wet-nurses, nannies and governesses at the crossroad between cultures, classes and countries", paper presented at the International Conference *Migration and Domestic Work in Global Perspective*, The Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, Wassenaar, 26 - 29 May 2005. For the analysis of some cases of the bad influence of servants on master's children see FAIRCHILD C., *op. cit.*

⁵¹ We can find some evidence of the actual cultural influence of the servants on the children in autobiographies. Some case are quoted by ENGELSING R., "Dienstbotenlektüre im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert", in ENGELSING R., *Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Mittel- und Unterschichten*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1978, pp. 180-224. FAIRCHILD C., *op. cit.*, pp. 111-119 is quite skeptical as regards the possibility of servants transmitting their own culture to the masters. See also, on this point, GRENDI E., "Storia sociale e storia quantitativa", *Quaderni Storici*, no. 61, 1986, pp. 201-210.

⁵² PETZEN B., Matmazels nell'harem. Le governanti europee nell'Impero ottomano", *Genesis. Rivista della Società Italiana delle Storiche*, I, 2002, pp. 61-84.

⁵³ VEBLEN T., *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York - London, Macmillan, 1899¹ (It. transl. *La teoria della classe agiata*, in VEBLEN T., *Opere*, edited by De Domenico F., Utet, Torino, 1969, pp. 65-347, part. p. 238); HECHT J. J., *The Domestic Servant in Eighteenth Century England*, London - Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980 (1956¹), pp. 220-228 (who speaks of domestics as a "cultural nexus"); ROCHE D., "Les domestiques comme intermédiaires culturels", in *Les intermédiaires culturels. Actes du Colloque du Centre Meridional d'Histoire Sociale, des Mentalités et des Culture*, Publications Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence - H. Champion, Paris, 1978, pp. 189-202 and ROCHE D., *Le peuple de Paris*, Aubier Montaigne, Paris, 1981 (*Il popolo di Parigi. Cultura popolare e civiltà materiale alla vigilia della Rivoluzione*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1986).

⁵⁴ From a different point of view the importance of negotiations has been particularly emphasised by ARRU, *Il servo*.

⁵⁵ PARREÑAS R. S., *Servants of Globalisation: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2001.

⁵⁶ ANDERSON B. and PHIZACKLEA A., *Migrant Domestic Workers. A European Perspective. Report for the Equal Opportunities Unit, DGV*, Commission of the European Communities, May 1997; ANDERSON B., *Britain's Secret Slaves. An Investigation into the Plight of Overseas Domestic Workers*, Antislavery, 1993; MOMSEN J., H. *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service* London and New York, Routledge, 1999; ANDERSON B., *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*, London and New York, Zed Books, 2000; HOCHSCHILD A. R., "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value", in *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*, ed. Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens, London, Jonathan Cape, pp. 130-146; ANDALL J., *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service:*

The Politics of Black Women in Italy, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000; PARREÑAS, *Servants of Globalisation* etc. In recent years numerous studies have been devoted also to Asian, South-American and African countries. See for example HANSEN K. T., *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1989; GILL L., *Precarious Dependencies: Gender, Class, and Domestic Service in Bolivia*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994; CHIN Ch., *In Service and Servitude: Foreign Domestic Workers and the Malaysian 'Modernity Project'*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1998; ADAMS K. M. and DICKEY S. (eds), *Home and Hegemony: Domestic Service and Identity Politics in South and Southeast Asia*, An Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2000; ÖZYEGIN G., *Untidy Gender. Domestic Service in Turkey*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2001; DESTREMEAU B. and LAUTIER B. (eds), *Femmes en domesticité. Les domestiques du Sud, au Nord et au Sud*, special issue of *Revue Tiers-Monde*, 43, no. 170 (2002). See also the conference *Domestic Service and Mobility: Labour, Livelihood and Lifestyles* (Amsterdam, 5-7 February 2001), organised by Annelies Moors and Ratna Saptari within the CLARA (Changing Labour Relations in Asia) Research Programme and the conference *Migration and Domestic Work in Global Perspective*, The Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, Wassenaar, 26 - 29 May 2005 (organised by Helma Lutz), besides, obviously, the papers published in these *Proceedings*.