

## Changing Contours of The Middle Class Ethos in Indian English Women's Poetry

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**Abstract-** *The creative inspirations and aspirations of Indian women poets are impacted palpably by their locational ethos. The poetic articulations are determined not only by gender, but gender as it is classed and positioned within the history and culture of a nation. Contemporary women poets emanate from the (upper) middle classes and encode the ethos-the aspirations, attitudes, life-patterns-of this class. They critically examine the middle class milieu and document the changes that occur due to external factors such as evolving state policies, growing social unrest, the women's movements, communalization of politics and society, and the spread of a global consumerist culture; as also the changing internal dynamics of middle class values, attitudes and mindsets. They depict the changing roles, positions and attitudes of women within this-class. The poetry needs to be read as a collective document of the stimulus and motivations provided by the poet's locations and the manner in which the concomitant ideological configurations structure poetic directions and desires. Although their locational coordinates of Indian English women poets are not entirely homogeneous or unitary, the poets may be treated as a unified segment of the socio-cultural milieu that constitutes the air of their inspiration and aspiration.*

**Index Terms-** *Evolution, Globalisation, Indian English women's poetry, middle-class*

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### I. Introduction

Contemporary Indian English women's poetry maps the evolution of the Indian middle class since Independence. It documents the high idealism of the Gandhi-Nehru era, the gradual disillusionment with state policies, the changes brought about by liberalization and globalization and the consequent change in the composition and temperament of the middle classes. The middle class had earlier not been adequately represented within poetry. The earliest themes of Indian English women's poetry were mainly nationalist or mythological; later moving onto either elite, luxurious subjects or romanticized poverty followed by poetry of intensely personal experiences.<sup>i</sup> The humdrum existence of ordinary lives, the dreams, aspirations, struggles of the middle class were not deemed suitable for Indian English poetry with its elite readership comprised of a small percentage of English proficient Indians. Their voices remained neglected and unrepresented even though they formed a bulk of the nation's population. Critical commentaries generally state at the outset that Indian English poets are "likely to be well educated, middle class and part of or aware of the modern westernized culture of the cities, universities and professional classes" (King 1).<sup>ii</sup> Post-independence women poets have redefined the practice, subject matter and target audience of poetry. They have brought about a de-pegging of literature from its high hooks to a lower, more comfortable eye-level through an erosion of the elitist conception of poetry.

The poets assimilate the experiences of social and literary movements in the seventies that rapidly transformed a nation that had witnessed uneven growth, lopsided development. The creative imagination documents the urban middle-class Indian woman's embattled situation in a society in transition, from a tightly traditional to a more open modern culture, and articulates the tensions arising out of the socio-cultural reworking of women's identities. The tussle to balance traditional cultural mores with contemporary self-images and lifestyle choices has resulted in deeply divided cultural and personal identities. The poetry delineates the heavily gendered middle class consciousness, thought-processes and behavioural patterns. It presents a spectrum of the Indian middle class that is varied and heterogeneous in language, region, religion, professions, levels of education and urbanization and interrogates the urban Indian middle class mindset, its preoccupations and predilections. The diasporic poets transmute their multicultural experiences in diverse geographical locations and place themselves at the interstices of cultures and national boundaries. They delineate cross-cultural situations of women, their multicultural experiences of assimilation with their adopted cultures coupled with nostalgia for their originary

homes. Diasporic poets deploy memory to recall women's negotiations with particular forms of oppressions that circumscribe their lives in different cultures and weave the local experiences of diverse women into a larger discourse of women's familial and societal roles.

This paper analyzes contemporary women's poetry to view the representation of women's experiences of Indian middle class cultural norms vis-à-vis caste and class divisions, social and familial hierarchies, genderisation and acculturation of women and men, religious rituals and creation of community identities, attitudes towards education, ambition, success, wealth and poverty; attributes of materialism and hypocrisy, the nuclearisation of families and the experience of economic reforms and globalization. Contemporary Indian women's poetry maps the educated middle class woman's negotiation of private and public spaces of the home, the street, workplaces, the city and the larger world; their juggling of socially prescribed roles and moralities with their private convictions, their conflicts with cultural codes and their appreciation of the comforting aspects of their milieu. The poets are signposts in the trajectory of the aesthetic representation of the middle class and of educated middle class women within Indian English poetry.

### **Defining the Middle Class**

The broad definition of the middle class as those wedged socio-economically between the extremely rich and very poor encompasses a large heterogeneous group of people with wide disparities of income, living standards, education and social status. The various parameters devised to define the middle class—monthly household income, home and consumer durables ownership, consumer spending patterns, levels of education, percentage of discretionary income; do not adequately or precisely ascertain either the numbers or the various economic rungs occupied by the members of this class.<sup>iii</sup>

The current segment of the population in India termed the “middle class”, or more specifically the upper middle class, owes its origins India's colonial past. Leela Fernandes traces the rise of what she terms a “new middle class” to the policies and institutions set up by the British in India. She argues that “historical processes have played a central role in structuring the distribution of various forms of social, cultural and economic capital such as language (and the politics of English), education, employment, social status and access to state power, all of which have shaped the new middle class in enduring ways” (3). This class was “culturally invented” through colonial-based English education and grew in strength in accordance with the spatial patterns of colonial educational policies—the Presidency towns of Calcutta and Bombay were the first bastions of a large middle class population due to the greater colonial educational focus they received.<sup>iv</sup> The bulk of the post-independence middle class consisted of those who had availed the opportunity of a colonial education and comprised of the service, professional and literary classes (Fernandes: 2006, 4). The present generations of these early recipients of an English education are the privileged upper middle classes, having capitalized on the head-start their ancestors received and now comfortably entrenched in the bureaucratic, academic, literary and publishing circles of major urban Indian cities. Middle class-ness in urban India is more a mindset than an actual reality for most people who define themselves as middle class. They measure themselves against the top 5% of the rich and count themselves as “middle” although they are actually the economic elite when pitted against the bottom 40% of the lowest income groups. The various rungs of the middle class are constantly being replaced by upward mobility of various classes with each successive generation. The former ‘middle’ middle class now occupies the upper middle class space due to improved education resulting in better jobs combined with upward revisions of both government and private sector salaries, the stupendous pay-packets being offered by multinational and business out sourcing firms, skyrocketing prices of real estate in urban areas especially in the metropolitan cities.

The upper middle class may therefore be more accurately defined in social, cultural and political terms rather than the merely economic. The distinctiveness of this social group is marked by specific kinds of socio-economic resources, such as knowledge of English, access to tertiary education, modern forms of professional-managerial employment and a consumerist appetite for conspicuous consumption. Since the upper middle class consists of articulate, well-educated professionals with advanced educational degrees whose occupational tasks tend to center on conceptualizing, consulting, and instruction; it is often the group that shapes society and brings social movements to the forefront along with its attendant political claims of representing the general public in democratic civic life. Literature becomes a part of the public discourses co-opted by this class to propagate new socio-cultural norms for the Indian nation-symbolic, material and attitudinal. Women's writing resists the historically entrenched discourses of gender, nation, home. It emphasises a rational, modernist outlook in order to usher in new suburban aesthetic identities, lifestyles and consumption practices.

Indian English women's poetry can be concomitantly read as a document of the rapid changes in middle class Indian women's lives. The English language enabled the formulation of new self-images for women independent of indigenous patriarchal and nationalist constructions and colonially ascribed exotic passivity; although the emancipatory role of English was limited, since a very small percentage of Indians had gained literacy in British India until independence. Poetry of the early sixties marked a dramatic shift from the romantic and sentimental to the actuality of personal and family life. Kamala Das subverted the nationalist-Gandhian attempt

of demolishing women's image as sexual objects by re-inscribing female sexuality at the centre of marriage (and consequently the home) and heterosexual love. She irrevocably delinked associations of the 'spiritual' with 'home' and nation by squarely situating the middle class woman's sexual commodification at the centre of patriarchal institutions; "the prostitutionalisation of the 'wife' as she is reduced into a plaything to be sexually exploited by the 'husband' and his 'men'. The so-called nationalist 'home' stands subverted into a brothel with the husband as its legitimized pimp" (Kumar 325). Das' adopted an intimately personal tone that did not purport to speak on behalf of all women, nevertheless, the insistent address lent a political edge to all things hitherto designated personal and private. The alternately querulous and confiding, despairing and exulting poetic persona dramatized women's schizophrenic existence and established the sources of shared oppression.

### **Patriarchy and Protest**

Literature was a means to publicly represent the middle class and to elide socio-economic distinctions, inequalities and exclusions in order to present homogeneity of views and interests within a class that was actually highly differentiated by religion, caste, profession and region. It was a means to stake a group identity for educated, rational, law-abiding citizens consolidating a modern identity for the nation through the continuous improvements of the self, home and workplace. Middle class identity was consolidated in conservative, bourgeois-individualist terms with new definitions of gender that were imposed through normative models of female chastity and morality. It is within women's writing that these preoccupations get sharply punctured especially in their dystopic representations of home as a non-idyllic, exploitative space of asymmetrical gender relations and labour divisions that is deeply pernicious for women. Kalia unmasks the culturally prescribed domesticity and conjugality imposed upon the middle class woman as the most significant marker of her cultural identity, as extremely oppressive for women. Kalia's two volumes of poetry delineate women's changed perceptions of their familial and social roles, the vast gaps between persistent social expectations from women and their own frustration and weariness in trying to live upto them. Women are no longer content to perform traditional roles of cooks and care-givers of extended families assigned to them. They no longer find fulfillment in domestic/ filial duties and wait to assume their rightful place in "A Brand New World" ("I feel like crying all the time", *Poems '78*, 19). Mamta Kalia narrates the dilemmas of working women in the highly hierarchised Indian workplace. Women are at the receiving end of sexual advances:

My promotion waits on your naughty knees  
Readiness is all I now need ("How Like a Fool". *Poems '78*, 15).

She records the newly defiant woman who will not bow to the boss's bullying tactics or be intimidated by his suggestive gaze:

...his eyes made dents right down my shoulders  
But I wasn't in a mood to be his hamburger  
So I asked for a chargesheet

And came out ("Either You are Born With It". *Poems '78*, 24).

The poets engage with the multiple contemporary realities of middle class Indian women's lives shaped by geographical and historical location, class-caste positioning, educational and professional experiences and by political movements. A similarly positioned reader can locate many familiar, plausible and identificatory representations of educated, middle class Indian women negotiating mutating spaces of the family, marriage, motherhood and professional life. The poets narrate their personal experiences of censorship and familial rejection. Sujata Bhatt says:

...shortly before *Brunizem* came out, my parents came across a copy of the manuscript (in my room) which they read - and they were quite shocked and upset by it. They felt dishonoured and they strongly disapproved of many of the poems in it, such as all the erotic poems. They felt that I was breaking all their taboos by writing about things that should not even be mentioned. For a while we were not on speaking terms. There was a major rift between us which my brother helped to resolve. Nowadays they seem to be more relaxed about my work. Although the fact that my books were well received by the public did help. <sup>v</sup>

Sujata Bhatt presents the two faces of patriarchy that overwhelm Indian women-on the one hand is the benign father/ grandfather offering comfort, security and stability, while on the other is the same stern patriarch attempting to confine and constrict youthful exuberance and lifestyle choices. Gandhiji confesses to Nanabhai Bhatt how he had disciplined a six-year old Harijan girl whom he had adopted, and who cared too much for clothes and hairstyles:

It was too much.  
She had to be set straight,  
the sooner the better.  
So he had her head shaved  
to teach her  
not to look in mirrors so often ('For Nanabhai Bhatt'. *Brunizem*, 20).

Bhatt challenges mainstream nationalist history by addressing the underlying sexism and casteist violence. Women and lower castes are included in the nation but under the sign of patriarchy. The implicit indictment of the 'father of the nation' encodes a rebuke to all patriarchal values and codes that are intolerant of individual expression. The poets narrate the cultural imposition of silence upon women's feelings and experiences:

Keeping my tongue still,  
all of my life,  
has been a highly recommended skill ("Tongue". *I Speak for the Devil*, 14).

Imtiaz Dharker speaks of "the mountain of things unsaid" ("A Woman's Place". *POP*, 33). It seems that the woman poets find vicarious release within their poetic praxis for the violent feelings suppressed by women due to the repressive codes imposed upon them:

I write  
Because I cannot bite  
It is the way  
The weak ones fight. ("I Write". *Poems* '78, 15)

Literature, especially poetry, becomes a space for unleashing the pent up violent energies and frustrations that remain unspent in daily lives. When the woman poet speaks, "her poems bite, ferocious" ("Five Uneasy Pieces". *YH* 194). The poets "scratch, / scratch at paper, hoping to draw blood" ("A Woman's Place". *POP* 33). Dharker comments on the cultural silence imposed upon all women, and not just "women in villages" in an interview, "There's this great hypocrisy of saying all the right things but living quite differently...when it comes down to whose comfort is paramount, it's the man's, and whose opinion is the last word, it's the man's" (Joseph et al, *Just Between Us* 139). A similar sense of alienation experienced by the educated and articulate women in real life is expressed by Mamta Kalia, "Life for an educated, liberated, outspoken individual who happens to be a woman is not easy. You may equip yourself academically, professionally, but you cannot hope others will move at the same pace. This brings about a crisis in one's attitude" (DeSouza, *Talking Poems* 60-61). Social refusal to acknowledge and to recognize the intellectual articulate woman has created a schism wherein her real opinions and feelings are expressed through her aesthetic praxis. "I snapped myself into two bits. Like a pod. One bit was obeying, towing and rowing; the other raised its hell well past midnight and scribbled away in diaries, on the backs of envelopes, on office file covers" (ibid., 59). The desire to conform to socio-cultural norms entwined with the powerful need to rebel against them creates a Janus figure that is at odds with its social and private roles and attitudes. Women's poetry dramatizes the contradictions between the New Woman and the New Feminist woman. The New Woman movement stressed woman's duties while the new feminists vocalised demands for woman's rights. They demanded the removal of social, political and economic discrimination based on sex and sought rights and duties on the basis of individual capacity alone. The proponents of new feminism urged women to leave what they saw as their ancient and unspecialized occupation as homemakers and to follow the modern path stretched out by industry and the professions.

### **Psycho-cultural dimensions**

As a consequence of English education policies heralded in by Lord Macaulay in 1835, there emerged a social segment that comprised of English-educated Indians occupying administrative, police and judicial posts in the colonial British government, attracted by Western progress and distanced from the ground realities of their own milieu.<sup>vi</sup> From the very outset of their emergence, the middle classes in India were focused on furtherance of their own interests and in no way sought either to rebel against colonial rule or radically transform the imbalances of their socio-cultural milieu. It was this group of dominant Indian elites who converged under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi "self-consciously aware of the goals of the freedom struggle and their own ordained role in that process" and who later formed the government under Nehru after Independence (Varma *The Great Indian* 10). The Nehruvian vision for economic growth and social transformation held tremendous appeal for the Indian bourgeoisie.

Rukmini Bhaya Nair's semi-autobiographical poem "Telescope" plots the co-ordinates of middle class life in the sixties. She narrates a childhood spent in the steel city, Bhilai in a time when "giant forges built a nation" and "Russian design made revolution/ come alive" (*HB* 9-11). In this "fortunate time, star-blessed" her father orders a telescope from the US, the "far acronym of power" (ibid.). The poetry recreates the era of faith in socialist progress and scientific technology as the panacea for the country's development. It also foreshadows the loss of this idealised vision through the lopsided furthering of elite interests at the cost of the marginalized and the underprivileged. The phallic telescope zooms in to the town's outskirts to the "hunting ground of the Gonds, which someday/ Would be cleared especially for us" (ibid.). The asymmetries of unplanned development leave the nation in an ugly liminal state of being neither technologically advanced nor pristinely natural:

We invent the retreats we cannot reach,

Industrial dream, galaxy, Gond forest,  
Stations on a narrow gauge, abandoned (ibid.)

Words and experiences hitherto banished from the ambit of Indian poetry begin to make an appearance- abortions, miscarriages, masturbation, lovemaking, intercourse, frigidity, infidelity, dyspepsia, amenorrhea and sexual harassment at the workplace are included casually within Kalia's poetry. Charmayne D'Souza narrates the moral dilemmas of the middle classes as entirely different from those of the rich and the poor-the poor cannot afford to observe moral principles while the rich can afford to disregard them. She represents the typical middle class conflictual sensibility located at the cusp of aspiring for tremendous wealth and the fear of slipping into genteel poverty. She articulates the capitalist dream of individual enterprise:

...I will struggle  
so hard to be rich,  
in order not to become poor  
that I won't have the time  
to claim my morals at all ("The Wrong Tax Bracket". *SGW*, 79).

The collapse of the socialist vision by the mid-seventies meant that "[n]ew forms of Indianness had to be invented, new identities forged for both nation and state" (Tharu and Lalita II 49). The middle class began to rely increasingly on individualized strategies of education, material advancement, comfort-generation, housing and healthcare, rather than on state guarantees. Mamta Kalia documents the middle class materialistic focus and aspirational nirvana. The trappings of physical comfort and arriviste lifestyles are suitable compensations not only for any disappointments doled out by life but also for the inevitability of death:

Let us forget your death and mine.

We have so much to remember:

A comfortable home  
Your air-conditioned office  
Our quarter-dozen children  
Our bank balance ("Positive Thinking". *Tribute to Papa and Other Poems*, 26).

The insatiable urge for upward mobility led to greater individual enterprise and consequent success generation and a decreased sense of social commitment and community feeling. The middle class dependence on developmentalist state policies decreased, which coincided with the state withdrawal of welfare policies in the move towards liberalization. Middle class interests converged with the state in a shared vision of modernity in India.

### **Urbanisation and Globalization**

India has witnessed an explosive urban growth brought about by policies of economic liberalization in the 1990's. The markers of a cosmopolitan and global identity for the Indian middle class are consumerist-mobile phones, consumer durables, upmarket residences and automobiles, luxury brands international travel. The present prosperity of the middle class has its historical roots in the colonial educational policies of the British. An English education is now, as it was then, the predominant form of social capital. A spurt of jobs offering never-heard-of salaries in the business process outsourcing sector are premised upon the fluency in English of a large workforce of Indian youth. Work and employment with multinational corporations, enhanced public and private sector salaries, easy availability of financial schemes and greater proportion of disposable incomes for travel and leisure has promoted an unprecedented spurt in international travel. Tourism with its attendant connotations of economic prosperity, suave familiarity with cultures and cuisines, empowering consumption of global services and goods; is a means for middle class identity creation of a new transnational, multicultural self. Indian English women's poetry charts the new transnational, multicultural self and reminds us that diaspora and globalization are recent terms for a phenomenon that has been a part of the middle class quest for employment, trading opportunity and improved lifestyles.

Gender, generation and cultural values shape Indian lifestyles at home and abroad even as they carry traces of old homes into new ones. The angst, desire and need to re-create the cultural environment of home makes them continually glance backward since "it is virtually impossible to break entirely free from the cultural upbringing of one's childhood and adolescence and the influence of one's family culture. These often exert a stranglehold, valorised as a disciplining of the individual, and generally characterize the middle classes" (Dasgupta 85). Home then becomes the site for the preservation and performance of Indianness. The poetry underlines ironically the disjunctions of everyday reality for the woman, wherever they may be located on the globe,

Wherever I have lived,  
walking out of the front door  
every morning means crossing over to a foreign country.  
One language inside the house,

another out.

The food and clothes and customs change.

The fingers on my hand turn into forks ("Front Door". *I Speak for the Devil*, 18).

### The Possibility and Limits of Middle Class Activism

The poetic representation of lived realities of middle class Indian women takes into its ambit the possibilities of creative transformation of these realities. However, the poetic visions vary in their social critique, the envisioning of alternate realities and the extent of transformative possibilities. The poets scrutinize the actual experiences of women to reveal the continuing reproduction of gendered inequalities and asymmetrical gender relations. Social discourses optimistically propose changing gendered norms, social expectations, workspace equality and enlarged career options for contemporary women.

Women in contemporary Indian society, although aware of and largely compliant with cultural roles they are expected to perform, nevertheless, form the core of the changes within the Indian middle class. "Hers is the driving force in the changes taking place in the Indian family, an institution that is inherently conservative and changes at a much slower pace than the political, economic and other institutions of society" (Kakkar, *The Indians* 68). Intiaz Dharkar advocates a self re-fashioning to all women:

Smash the mirror

Smash the face that lives in there...

You once had an idea of yourself.

Kiss it goodbye ("A short detour from dying". *I Speak for the Devil*, 93).

The acute claustrophobia experienced by women hedged in patriarchal culture delineated by early poetry gives way to a repudiation of the multiple interlocking controls working on women's lives and a firm assertion of a fluid, protean self in the later volumes. Women's poetry encodes change in women's perception of themselves as well as their social roles at the level of themes, treatment and language.

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<sup>i</sup> Toru Dutt concentrated on mythological characters Sita, Savitri and Jogadhya Uma while Sarojini Naidu wrote romantically about bangle sellers, weavers, corn grinders, fishermen, palanquin bearers, Indian gypsies, wandering singers and snake charmers or about queens, princesses and Nizams. The post-independence male poets mainly focused on a sense of alienation and disillusionment with their environment or on personal dilemmas and disappointments.

<sup>ii</sup> Sunanda P. Chavan says of Indian women writing poetry in English: "All of them belong to the highly modernized, urban, often affluent families with exceptional social status and unusual achievements in the intellectual field" (10). Makarand Paranjpe contends that Indian poetry in English "is confined to a handful of cities and to a particular class" (*Indian Poetry* 6). Ramanujan and Dharwadker are of the view that "the majority of modern Indian writers consists of middle-class men and women" (198).

<sup>iii</sup> The definition and size of the middle class in India has been a source of debate in the media, academic and economic research circles since the term comprises a vast heterogeneous group of traders, professionals and white collar workers with wide disparities of income and education. The low-income workers with a minimum subsistence wage living in a one-room house believe themselves to be middle class as does the urban professional drawing a monthly salary equal to the annual wage of the low-income worker. The need to assess the numbers, demographic profile, attitudinal and behavioral patterns of this class becomes important in order to ascertain its consumption abilities and patterns for multinational companies, banks and brands seeking a market in the country in the context of economic liberalisation. See Diana Farrell and Eric Beinhocker, "Next Big Spenders: India's Middle Class", *Business Week*, May 19, 2007. <http://www.mckinsey.com/mgi/mginews/bigspenders.asp>; Sudeshna Maitra. "Who are the Indian Middle Class? An EM Approach Using Durables Ownership", Department of Economics, York University, Toronto, July, 2007; Beinhocker, Diana Farrell, and Adil S. Zainulbhai "Tracking the growth of India's middle class", Eric D., *McKinsey Quarterly*, Aug 2007, [https://www.mckinseyquarterly.com/Economic\\_Studies/Country\\_Reports/Tracking\\_the\\_growth\\_of\\_Indias\\_mid\\_dle\\_class\\_2032?gp=1](https://www.mckinseyquarterly.com/Economic_Studies/Country_Reports/Tracking_the_growth_of_Indias_mid_dle_class_2032?gp=1). Bibek Debroy "Who are the middle class in India?", *Indian Express*, Tuesday Mar 24, 2009; Rukmini Shrinivasan "India has no middle class?", *Times of India*, May 7, 2010; "The middle class in India: Issues and opportunities", Deutsche Bank Research Report, Feb 15, 2010, [http://www.dbresearch.de/PROD/DBR\\_MOBILE\\_DE-PROD/PROD0000000000253735.pdf](http://www.dbresearch.de/PROD/DBR_MOBILE_DE-PROD/PROD0000000000253735.pdf); [http://www.cid.harvard.edu/neudc07/docs/neudc07\\_poster\\_maitra.pdf](http://www.cid.harvard.edu/neudc07/docs/neudc07_poster_maitra.pdf).

<sup>iv</sup> Macaulay's Minute on Education 1935 was instrumental in creating the foundations of bilingual colonial India, by convincing the Governor-General to adopt English as the medium of instruction in higher education, from the sixth year of schooling onwards, rather than Sanskrit or Arabic then used in the institutions supported by the East India Company. A much quoted passage from the *Minute* declares "We must at present do our best to form a class

who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.”

<sup>v</sup> Sujata Bhatt in an interview with Vicki Bertram <http://www.carcenet.co.uk/cgi-bin/subscribe?showdoc=4;doctype=interview>. Viewed on 26/05/2004.

<sup>vi</sup> “This official and Service atmosphere invaded and set the tone for almost all Indian middle-class life, especially the English-knowing intelligentsia... Professional men, lawyers, doctors and other, succumbed to it, and even the academic halls of the semi-official universities were full of it. All these people lived in a world apart, cut off from the masses and even the lower middle class”. Pavan K. Varma quotes Jawaharlal Nehru from *An Autobiography (The Great Indian 8)*.

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