GENDERED TEACHING PROFESSION: A STUDY OF CAREER CHOICES AND WORK EXPERIENCES AMONG WOMEN TEACHERS

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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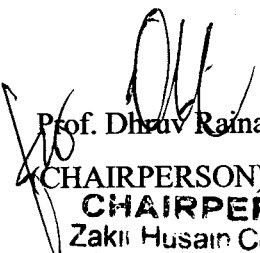## NEW DELHI – 110067
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I, **Jyoti Arora**, declare that the dissertation entitled **"Gendered Teaching Profession: A Study of Career Choices and Work Experiences among Women Teachers"**, submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **MASTER of PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my bonafide work. I further declare that the dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this university or any other university.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBSE Central Board of Secondary Education

DGET: Directorate General of Employment & Training

IELTS International English Language Testing System

IT: Information Technology

MHRD: Ministry of Human Resource Development

NCF: National Curriculum Framework

NCO: National Classification of Occupation

NCR National Capital Region

NDA: National Defence Academy

NPE: National Policy on Education

OBC: Other Backward Classes

PGT: Post Graduate Teacher

POA: Programme of Action

PRT: Primary Trained Teacher

SC: Schedule Caste

ST: Schedule Tribe

TGT: Trained Graduate Teacher

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There has been an enormous increase in the number of occupations due to industrialisation and urbanisation all over the world. This has subsequently led to the proliferation of jobs and professions. Importantly avenues for professionalisation of several occupations including teaching have been opened. As Havinghurst (1979) argues, "professionalisation is a twentieth century phenomenon". Though the main traits of profession were described in the Western context, they may be applicable to the Indian context as well with some modifications. Many factors have affected the process of professionalisation such as the society's political, cultural, economic structures. Durkheim (1869) was of the opinion that any change in the society is in accordance with the societal norms, which may lead to the integration of the society. Thus, studying the professionalisation of teaching profession in the Indian context is very important keeping in mind the current Scenario.

The involvement and participation of the multilateral grant agencies, the parallel development of the public and private sectors in education has raised the demand for teaching positions with more emphasis on qualifications, rigorous training periods, more dedication and entry restrictions. Now the issue that arises is, how long the changed scenario of teaching profession will stand the new glamorous jobs that are coming into the market. How attractive is the teaching profession? Does the teacher face any role conflict in carrying out the new roles of a reflective practitioner? The researcher aims to explore some of these questions in the proposed study.

Moreover, teaching has always been considered a job for women as it is in least conflict with their familial roles. The working hours, the job profile and the workplace culture are all supposed to be suiting the caring and nurturing nature and role of a woman. It is in this context that the researcher aims to gain an insight into the gendered nature of teaching profession. Is it the socialisation that "forces' women to take up teaching profession or that they opt for it willingly? Thus, the study focuses on the career options

and choices of the women teachers and the gender stereotyping of teaching profession. It attempts to merge both the theoretical arguments and the empirical insights gained by interviewing the teachers in a middle school.

STATUS OF TEACHING PROFESSION IN INDIA

Teaching has always been considered a respectable profession in India. According to Bhaveja (2007) two extreme views of teaching often prevailed in India. According to the first view, teaching is a charisma and so only charismatic people can teach. The followers of this view believe that teachers are born rather than they are prepared through training. The other extreme view is that any one who loves children or youth and has a command over subject matter can teach and can teach well too. Both of these views had been contested strongly in the past and the issue has been settled to a great extent. She further adds that now teaching is an activity that has enough ingredients to be considered as a profession, if not a profession like medicine or law, at least a semi-profession. Therefore, teachers are those professionals who have the legitimate right to practice their profession of teaching.

The occupational hierarchy as composed by the National Classification of Occupation (NCO), 2004 puts teaching under the category of professionals; technicians & associate professionals (code 2). The occupations in India has been put under eleven divisions. They are namely legislators, senior officials and managers, professionals, technicians & associate professionals, clerks, service workers and shop and market sales workers, skilled agricultural and fishery workers, craft and related trades workers, plant and machinery operators and assemblers, elementary occupations and Armed forces. The second division professionals is divided into four sub divisions that are physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals (code21), life science and health professionals (code 22), teaching professionals (code 23) and other professionals (code 24). The teaching professionals (code 23) is further divided into groups which is shown in Table 1.1

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TABLE 1.1: SUB-DIVISION OF TEACHING PROFESSION

Sub division	23	Teaching Associate Professionals
Group	231	Middle& Primary Education Teaching Associate Professionals
Family	2311	Middle School Teaching Associate Professionals
	2311.10	Middle School Teacher
	2311.20	Language Teacher, Middle School
	2311.90	Middle School Teachers, Other
Family	2312	Primary School Education Teaching Associate Professionals
	2312.10	Primary School Teacher
	2312.90	Primary School Teachers, Others
Group	232	Pre-Primary Education Teaching Associate Professionals
Family	2320	Other Pre-Primary Education Teaching Associate Professionals
	2320.10	Teacher, Infant School
	2320.90	Pre-Primary Education Teaching Associate Professionals

Source: Government of India (2005), Directorate General of Employment and Training, National Classification of Occupations 2004, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Delhi

According to the Directorate General of Employment & Training (DGET) in Ministry of Labour, professionals increase the existing stock of knowledge, apply scientific or artistic concepts and theories, teach about the foregoing in a systematic manner, or engage in any combination of these activities. Most occupations in this division require skill at the fourth skill level. It is in this light that they have put teaching under the division of professionals. Now the issue that arises is, whether teaching has been able to fulfil these criteria and if yes, then how far?

Chanana (2007) outlines the three paradigms of the academic professions in India. The first model is drawn from the Hindu tradition wherein the guru gives oral instructions to the shishya. The British in India established the second model in the 19th century. Competition, promotion and security of tenure were the hallmarks of the profession. The third phase begins when economy was liberalised. Academic profession is under complete stress, as it has to perform according to the corporate norms. According to Chanana (2007), the role of the teacher has changed completely and they became the paid servants of the government or the school authorities. Not much freedom and autonomy was given to them. Even the relationship between the student and the teacher degraded. Thus, the contours of the teaching profession seem to have been altered with time.

In recent years, there has been a cry about the declining efficiency of the teaching profession. Proficiency of teachers is determined by a multiplicity of factors of which their living conditions constitute the most crucial. They are forced to put up with a low socio-economic standing and any improvement in the field of education will be meaningless unless there is an intensive and continuous effort to raise their economic, social and professional status. Almost all inquiries into the field of education, in particular, the Education Commission under the Chairmanship of D S Kothari, expressed the concern about the teachers' unhappy situation. The Commission pleaded for adequate remuneration, opportunities for professional advancement and favourable conditions of work. The Commission has given a detailed account of the inhuman treatment meted out to teachers by both governmental and non-governmental agencies in the form of low wages, job insecurity and other socio-economic hardships. Kumar (2005) is of the opinion that the erosion of schoolteachers' status is not a post-independence phenomenon, but a recent phenomenon that started during the colonial period itself.

The Kothari Commission (1964-66) emphasised the need for teacher education to be brought into the mainstream academic life, but teacher education institutes continue to exit as insular organisations. The commission was of the opinion that a teacher's professional identity and calibre are closely related to the training that he/she receives. Poonam Batra (2005) also is of the opinion that the necessity of a good teacher is to achieve mastery of pedagogic skills and the subjects concerned. Thus, the training of a teacher is of utmost importance so that he/she is equipped with the skills to deal with students from different backgrounds and herein comes the role of teacher training institutes.

TEACHER EDUCATION THROUGH A GENDERED LENS: A POLICY PERSPECTIVE

The whole world is concerned with the pace of change in every sector of human endeavour, which definitely includes education. Kothari Commission (1964) observes that yesterday's educational system will not meet todays and ever so less, the needs of tomorrow. Teacher education too has travelled a long way. Although its development has been, slow but continuous and significant. Though the professional preparation of

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teachers has been recognised as crucially important since the 1960s, the ground reality remains a matter of great concern.

Kumar (2005) is of the view that the unique cultural background of India, along with its socio-political contradictions aroused by a long period of colonial subjugation has been responsible in shaping the present educational system and it is important in order to understand the social profile and professional status of teachers. Thus, the historical trends and current policies in education system explains the deep cultural roots of tradition and the strong reform elements that are critical to the current situation of teacher education. Thus, the necessary changes in teacher education must be perceived within the larger social and historical perspective.

Stacki (2002) also feels the same. According to her, the education system in India remains at a critical juncture. The history of India's educational system is complex, marked by deep debate and many contradictions between policy and practices. Elements of continuity and tradition have battled those of change and innovation. She believes that the power of cultural and historic barriers to change, including nearly two centuries of colonialism and many more centuries of a rigid caste system, have maintained a stubborn barrier to meaningful social transformation.

Stacki (2002) views India's history of educational reform through a gender lens and establish links between women's teacher education and education for girls. As early as 1882, the Indian Education Commission supported teacher-training institutes for women. In 1913, the Government of India passed a resolution that both established teaching universities and emphasized the education of girls. Dulay, (1986, pg. 175) further added that the policy makers promoted a limited view of female education that left the basic patriarchal social structure unchanged. Male leaders aimed to "use education to make women more capable of fulfilling their traditional roles as wives and mothers and not to make them more efficient and active units in the process of socio-economic or political development" (Chitnis, 1989, pg. 137). This raised increasing demand for women teachers. Gandhi himself advocated culturally suitable education for women: "There is

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need for similar distinction between the education of males and females as has been made between them by Mother Nature herself" (cited in Agrawal and Aggarwal, 1992, pg. 4).

After independence, to further the goal of universal elementary education, the Government of India established committees to reform the system including the Women's Education Committee, which addressed the training and employment of women teachers. In 1968, India's first National Policy on Education (NPE) recommended, "the education of girls should require emphasis, not only on grounds of social justice, but also because it accelerates social transformation." This document also proposed raising the status and increasing the benefits and training of woman teachers. (NPE 1968 cited in Pandey, 1992, pg. 56-57).

Looking to education as an agent of basic change, the policy strengthened India's focus on girls' education and its link with women's empowerment. The education system would play an interventionist role in promoting women's studies and empowering women teachers to become actively involved as decision makers and administrators. In 1992, further policy change continued to promote the end of gender discrimination and the empowerment of women to full participation. The National Policy on Education (1986) and Programme of Action (1992) viewed education as an instrument of social transformation that would eliminate curriculum biases and enable professionals such as teachers, decision makers, administrators and planners to "play a positive interventionist role for gender equality" (Department Of Education, 1992a and 1992b, pg. 2.) To achieve this would require a large-scale overhaul of policies and practices. Such measures included: training all teachers and instructors as agents of women's empowerment; developing gender and poverty sensitization programmes for teacher educators and administrators; developing gender-sensitive curriculum; removal of sex bias from textbooks. They also included giving preference to female teacher recruitment to motivate parents to send girls to school. The NPE, (1986) set explicit goals for women teachers' recruitment at a minimum of 50 per cent and urged that training facilities ensure an adequate, though unspecified, number of qualified women teachers in subjects that included mathematics and science (POA 1992). Although, National Curriculum Framework, 2005 does not really establish a link between girl education and women

teacher but it emphasizes on the 'dos' and 'don'ts' for teachers, stating that the men teachers should show caring and nurturing roles and the women must be shown in active and positive roles.

Thus, an overview of the policies develops historical links between girl education and women teachers whereby women teachers are preferred as compared to male teachers. The reason behind such type of ideology is to fulfil the goals of universal elementary education so that the parents of the girl child feel comfortable and send girls to school. This is further reinforced by the dominant ideology that, in a patriarchal society, the women are the best teachers and teaching is culturally suitable for them. Keeping this in mind, the investigator attempts to focus on the gendered nature of teaching.

PROFILE OF WOMEN TEACHERS IN INDIA

In India, choice of work is decided keeping in mind the gender stereotyping in the society. Women concentrate in professional works as compared to administrative or executive work. Despite their numerical domination in the teaching workforce, they remain significantly under-represented in senior positions. Perhaps the women who choose these professions are balancing their desire for a professional career against the perceived obstacles to a family life associated with the more prestigious, male dominated professions. Even researches show that young people begin to associate certain jobs with males or females at very early age, and this influences their choice of occupation (Miller 2004). The work segregation at the work place keeps most women in a few low paid occupations, while men have access to a wider variety of jobs. Occupations with a high percentage of women are likely to have a high percentage of low-wage workers.

Thus, referring to Table 1.2, it becomes clear that in the urban places, women concentrate more in the field of professions, teachers and related workers while in the rural places, the women are more into the manual work like in farming, fishing or as hunters and loggers. The next most preferred field is that of service workers that are mainly in banks as probationary officers or other office work. The data presented in the table is the latest available data. Although the numbers just give the numerical value in terms of concentration and not in terms of status. In addition to the vertical and horizontal

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occupational segregation which women experience at work place, in the Indian situation there is an additional urban-rural dimension, which is also quite visible in the table.

TABLE 1.2: RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE WORKER: DIFFERENT OCCUPATION DIVISIONS, 1987-88

OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION	Female worker per 100 male workers	
	Rural	Urban
Professional, teachers and related workers	13	50
Administrative, executive	15	10
Clerical and related workers	03	12
Sales workers	10	10
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers	25	15
Service workers	25	46
Production and related	18	17
Workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, others	27	22

Source: NSS survey 43^(rd) Round 1987-88, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, New Delhi.

As is desired by the society and recommended by the policies, significant changes have been witnessed in the composition of the teaching force in recent years. The statistical data and the surveys by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) show an increased female participation at all levels of education. The policies, as discussed in the earlier part of this chapter, recommended girls education and thus favoured the participation of more and more female teachers. The main reason behind such argument is the attitude of the people who feel more secure and confident if their children especially girls are handled by female teachers. Even NCF (2005) reinforces that the women teachers must provide positive role models to the girls. Thus, these ideologies

impact the policy makers and the data by the MHRD further substantiates such argument. Table 1.3 shows the increase in the number of female teachers from year 1989 to 2003.

TABLE 1.3: NUMBER OF FEMALE TEACHERS PER 100 MALE TEACHERS

Year	Primary school	Middle school	Intermediate and High/higher Secondary school
1989-90	33	42	38
1990-91	41	50	46
1991-92	43	51	48
1992-93	45	53	48
1993-94	46	56	52
1994-95	46	55	50
1995-96	47	56	50
1996-97	48	56	51
1997-98	49	56	51
1998-99	53	57	50
1999-2000	55	57	51
2000-2001	55	62	49
2001-2002	59	59	54
2002-2003	64	69	66

Source: Government of India (2004) Selected Educational Statistics 2002-2003, MHRD, New Delhi.

The number of female teachers has increased from 20 to 64 in primary classes, 18 to 69 in upper primary classes and 19 to 66 in secondary classes which shows that women participation in teaching at all levels has increased tremendously after independence. The

gender imbalance among teachers is evident. Thus, after a clear analysis of the historical background of school teaching and the ideologies surrounding domesticity, one should not be surprised by the fact that such changes occurred in the gendered composition of the teaching force.

The issue that is of major concern now is that whether this increase in the number of women teachers in the school effecting the status of teachers. Batra (2005) reflects on the inability of the women teachers to make a positive intervention in the process of teaching and learning. She feels that the educational debates on the strategies and the curriculum are incomplete without the agency of teachers. This makes a teacher vulnerable. Thus, a teacher should not be ignored from mainstream discourses on education. Thus, the present study is an attempt to reflect on the perceptions of the women teachers about teaching profession as their voice is of utmost importance. Such a study is of utmost importance in the present scenario when there is a debate about establishing teaching as a full-fledged profession.

REVIEW OF STUDIES

It is only recently that the sociologists have taken interest in the study of teaching profession. A review of the trend report in 'A Survey of Research in Education' (Buch, 1984) shows that the earlier research was mainly focused on the organisational aspect of the teaching profession. The review of the studies in the area of teaching by Singh & Malhotra (1987) suggests that the studies can be divided into the following areas: workloads, job satisfaction, difficulties faced by teachers, and personality variables of teachers. A few studies were carried on the job satisfaction of the teachers in relation to some demographic variables and values (Agarwal, 1991; Atreya, 1989; Basi, 1991; Nongrum, 1992; Rawat, 1992; Saxena, 1990). All these studies mainly used psychological tools like teachers' job satisfaction questionnaire, Teachers' Effectiveness Scales, Value Test and then drew correlations between variables like aptitude, social background, economic and political value and teaching effectiveness. Most of the studies used psychological tools to analyse the findings. It is only recently that there has been a

shift in from the quantitative to the qualitative researches. A few of them are worth mentioning.

Chopra (1988) attempted to study the status of teachers in India in terms of quantity as well as quality by employing a questionnaire covering major aspects of the status of teacher- professional education, economic status and professional status. Percentages, averages and medians were calculated to analyse various aspects of the status of teachers. The study concludes that the working facilities required improvement all over. Another study by Narang (1992) focuses on the diverse problems and the role conflict faced by women teachers at home and schools and their perceptions of the professional culture. It suggests that most of the women teachers were disappointed and role tension existed beyond respite and had a very low degree of professionalisation. Sengupta (1990) studied the professional commitment among women teachers in the training college of Calcutta and compared it with the male teachers. The study concludes that a larger proportion of the male teachers had higher professional involvement in comparison to women teachers.

Narang's study (1994) is a pioneering sociological study of the dilemma of married women teachers teaching in primary schools of Delhi. The researcher has studied their tensions caused by their conflicting roles as married partner-cum-mother on the one hand and as schoolteacher on the other. The study portrays the suffocating school environments and the dysfunctional professional culture of women teachers, which adds to their dilemma endlessly. The study raises several serious questions about the professional culture, accountability and socio-psychological tensions of married women in their teaching roles. But, the study focuses only on the perceptions of the women teachers, the perception and the attitude of men teachers is not taken into consideration.

Jain (2006) conducts another sociological enquiry to look into the issue of status of primary school teachers and discuss primary teaching as a profession. The study explores and examines the primary teachers' self-conception, definition and meaning as associated with activity and profession of primary teaching and its status. It concludes that the teachers' understanding seems to revolve around certain characteristics like autonomy, participation and training programme. They also stress the need to accommodate unique

characteristics of the work of a primary teacher, to be able to work towards better teacher performance.

Feminisation of teaching profession is a sociological phenomenon that is easily observed in India. The emergence of women in the work field is affecting their traditional role and the status that had been ascribed to them since ages. This trend has affected the stability and the integration of the traditional family life and now it lies on a women how to resolve this conflict. It is quite a serious issue that needs the attention of teacher educators, policy makers and the researchers. Sociologists in India have largely ignored such issues relating to the teaching profession. Little investigation has been done on the career choices, working conditions, conflicts faced by the women teachers. Thus, there are many gaps in research in the teaching area. Scholars like Batra (2005) have argued that the research so far has failed to address to the actual interest and concerns of the teachers. The reviews of the researches have also shown that the studies have largely focused on the issue of job satisfaction among teachers and only a very negligible number have focused on the experiences of women teachers. Thus, the present study aims to focus on exploring the missing links in the understanding of the career choices and work experiences of women teachers in the middle schools. The study proposes to examine the experiences of both men and women teachers in order to explore the gendered nature of teaching profession.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study are

- To explore the aspirational factors for taking up teaching as a profession

- To study the gendered nature of the professional experiences of men and women teachers

- To examine the conflict, if any, between the familial and professional roles of both men and women teachers

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SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- Is the teaching profession the primary choice for men and women teachers?

- What are the reasons for opting for teaching as a professional choice? Are there any differences in the way men and women perceive teaching profession and why did they opt for it?

- How did the family and the community influence in choosing teaching as a profession?

- How does family view the professional roles of a teacher?

- What are the experiences of men and women teachers in their everyday school life? (Particularly, in terms of interaction between and among male and female colleagues, with the school management as well as with the students) Are there any specific experiences within school context where gender formed an important element?

- How do the familial and organizational roles and expectations interact and conflict?

SAMPLE PROFILE

Keeping in mind the objectives of the study, two schools are selected in the NCR of Delhi. The first school is a Government Co-education Middle School, No. 1, Tagore Garden and the second school is a private school, Remal Public School, Rohini. It is expected that the contexts of both the government and private schools are a bit different from each other and inclusion of these two types of schools may give some interesting insights into the problem chosen. The selection of the school and the sample of teachers are done based on the convenience of the investigator, the school authorities and the teachers. A total of thirty eight teachers are interviewed that included seven male and twelve female teachers from each of the schools. It is a mixed sample varying from age of 20 till the age of 60. It can be noted that the sample in the private school is mainly

concentrated within the age group of 30-40 years. In the government schools, the respondents are distributed among all age groups. The average age of the respondents in the government school is 40 years that is more than the average age of the respondents in the private schools, which is 32 years. A majority of the respondents in the sample are married. Only a few male (5) and female (6) teachers are unmarried. In the present sample, there is only one male teacher from the private school who is from the OBC, while the remaining respondents are from the general category. Thus, there is no representation of teachers from SC and ST background and a relatively very low representation from the OBC background.

As far as the educational qualification of the respondents is concerned, while almost all the male teachers are post-graduate, a majority of the female teachers are post-graduate. A few of the female teachers are just graduates. The length of service of government school teachers vary from 2 years to 42 years and that of the private school teachers is from 2 months to 18 years. The difference in the government and the private school can be very well linked with the age group of the teachers in the two schools. The private school has mainly young teachers with little experience in terms of length of service while the government schoolteachers are more mature and aged teachers who have been serving the schools for longer periods.

Though most of the teachers in the sample are post-graduates, they are working as Trained Graduate Teachers (TGT) only. That means the teachers are employed well below their educational qualifications. What is important is that while all the teachers in the government school are TGTs as they teach in a middle school, there is no such distinction between TGT and PGT (Post Graduate Teacher) in the private school as it is a senior secondary school. In the private school although the teachers are given the designation of TGTs, most of them are working as PGTs teaching senior secondary classes.

TOOLS

The researcher used a semi-structured interview schedule for the teachers, which includes questions on the basic socio-economic and family profile, perceptions of career choices

and work experiences. An attempt is made to include both open as well as closed ended questions. Informal interviews are conducted among a few key informants identified from the sample in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues studied.

CHAPTER PLAN

The first chapter begins with an introduction to the study. The second chapter attempts to provide a theoretical framework to the study by looking at the sociology of professions and gender. The third chapter tries to bring out the gendered nature of teaching as a professional choice. In the background of the literature reviewed, the chapter presents the data pertaining to the family background of the teachers and their perceptions towards teaching as a professional choice. The fourth chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the everyday life of the women teachers focusing on the gender in the school and household domains. The final chapter presents a summary of the findings and the conclusions drawn from the study.

CHAPTER II

SOCIOLOGY OF PROFESSIONS AND GENDER: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The chapter provides a description of theoretical perspectives available in the literature on sociology of professions, sociology of gender and sociology of education. The main aim in this chapter is to establish teaching as a profession and to provide a background to the notion that teaching is gendered.

DEFINING 'PROFESSION' AND ITS FEATURES

There has been a long-standing debate to define a 'Profession' and what distinguishes it from an 'occupation' or a 'vocation'. Different Scholars have tried to give different definitions by developing criteria on whose basis it can be distinguished from occupation and can occupy a status of a 'profession'. In order to identify an occupation as a profession, it is important to examine the classifications of 'profession' and 'occupation'. Any kind of human activity that is goal directed and purposive can be understood as 'work'. 'Work' can be either paid or unpaid. Domestic work comes under the category of unpaid work while the work that is paid is referred as occupation. Thus occupation is an activity that serves as one's regular source of livelihood; a vocation. According to Bullock & Trombley (1999) a profession arises when any occupation transforms itself through *"the development of formal qualifications based upon education and examinations, the emergence of regulatory bodies with powers to admit and discipline members, and some degree of monopoly rights"(pg. 689)*

Quite literally, occupation is what "occupies" one or one's time. It can simply mean something to which one dedicates his or her life. However, because most of the activities occupy our time with a life's work that brings a paycheque or other form of remuneration, occupation has come to refer to what a person does to make a living. It has to be an activity. The sort of things one type into forms when asked what occupation is generally exemplifies what the term means: journalist, transcriptionist, teacher, business owner,

occupational therapist, plumber and so forth. The occupation may involve a trade, a profession, or any number of other classes of work.

The American College Dictionary defines the term 'occupation' as one's business or trade and mentions that the term profession implies an occupation requiring special knowledge and training. The Oxford Dictionary further states that the earliest meaning of the adjective "professed," was "That has taken the vows of a religious order." (Terence, 1972) By 1675, the word had been secularized thus: "That professes to be duly qualified; professional." "Profession" originally meant the act or fact of professing. It has come to mean "The occupation which one professes to be skilled in and to follow. A vocation in which professed knowledge of some branch of learning is used in its application to the affairs of others, or in the practice of an art based upon it. Applied specifically to the three learned professions of teaching, law and medicine; also the military profession." From this follows later the adjective "professional," with the meanings now familiar. They profess to know better than others do the nature of certain matters, and to know better than their clients do what ails them or their affairs. This is the essence of the professional idea and the professional claim.

Millerson's (1964) enumerative definition of a profession is a summary of the most frequently occurring characterizations: the use of skills based on theoretical knowledge; education and training in these skills; the competence of professionals which is ensured by examinations; a code of conduct to ensure professional integrity; performance of a service that is for the common good; and a professional activity which organizes its members. Additional points provided by Perrow's (1972) often-used definition are members have a feeling of identity, sharing common values; within the profession, a common language is used which can be only partially understood by outsiders; and with the selection of students, the profession is reproduced. Combining the norms stated above with the organizational system gives the image of a largely autonomous, self-regulating and self-perpetuating institution, the altruistic members who are filled with a desire to work for the common good in the most effective way. Internal control (socialization, and the organization as such) guarantees obedience to the norms.

Thus, profession has more to do with knowledge than simply a skill. It requires specialized academic training. For example, carpentry is a trade, and, while it requires training and development of a skill, the training is not academic and involves knowing how to do something rather than knowledge about it. A physician has skills, of course, but the long, specialized education she receives and the knowledge of medicine and human physiology required of her makes being a physician a profession. Thus, the definition of professional tasks must be directly linked to a formal system of knowledge that legitimizes and "expertise's" the profession's jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988). The linkage with education is crucial as "a basic credential for professionals; it delineates the foundation of their expertise." (Freidson, 1986, pg. 26) Hughes (1963) specifies that the nature of the knowledge, on which advice and action are based, is not always clear; it is often a mixture of several kinds of practical and theoretical knowledge. But it is part of the professional complex, and of the professional claim, that the practice should rest upon some branch of knowledge to which the professionals are aware by virtue of long study and by initiation and apprenticeship under masters already members of the profession.

Scholars studying the nature of professions contend that the designation of profession indicates a protected or exclusive jurisdiction over an occupation that prevents those without credentials from practicing or at least controls their practice economically through public opinion by describing them as amateurs (Freidson, 1970a). Hughes (1963) defines profession as one that delivers esoteric services advice or action or both to individuals, organizations or government; to whole classes or groups of people or to the public at large; to whole classes or groups of people or to the public at large. The action may be manual like the surgeon and the bishop lay on their hands. Even when manual, the action is determined by esoteric knowledge systematically formulated and applied to problems of a client. The services may include advice. The person for or upon whom the esoteric service is performed, or the one who is thought to have the right or duty to act for him, is advised that the professional's action is necessary. Indeed, the professional in some cases refuses to act unless the client individual or corporate agrees to follow the advice given.

Freidson (1970b) reflects that profession is essential for social advancement (mobility). The advancement is of two kinds. The first is the rise of the individual by getting into an occupation of high prestige, or by achieving special success in his occupation. The second is the collective effort of an organized occupation to improve its place and increase its power, in relation to others. That effort, in middle-class occupations, characteristically is directed to achieving professional status. Thus, according to him, "profession" is a symbol of high ranking among occupations.

Gustafson (1982) also describes the characteristics of a learned profession. First, the professions are characterized by mastery of an extensive body of technical knowledge and concepts or theories that explains the application of that knowledge to different circumstances. Certainly, these features distinguish the professions from other occupations and from trades. Not only is the mastery of information, concepts, and theories required; intelligence and reflectiveness are also essential. Exercising discretion, making judgments, and moving from the established and familiar to what is different in particular features, distinguishes professions from most other occupations.

The theoretical and methodological consensus is not yet so great among sociologists on the definition of "professions." Among the public at large, the debate over the boundary between "professional" and "non-professional" continues, a debate which is kept going by the fact that these terms carry an important assignment of differential occupational prestige. There is no absolute difference between professional and other kinds of occupational behaviour, but only relative differences with respect to certain attributes common to all occupational behaviour. According to Barber (1985) "professionalism is a matter of degree" The development of a profession includes defining a body of knowledge including theory and skills; developing "good" or "best" practice guidance standards and ethics by those working in the occupation; disseminating these through education, training, and associated certification or qualification programs; and sanctions imposed on the unqualified or substandard performers. Legal claims often begin with the private occupational licensing or credentialing systems devised by practitioner associations (communities of practice) to self-regulate their members and influence their client publics, then sometimes culminating in the legal arena where governmental

licensing is mandated. These characteristics and collective claims of a profession like esoteric knowledge, credential requirements, curriculum criteria and high skills are dependent upon a close solidarity of its members. This in turn implies deep and lifelong commitment.

However, not all occupations called professions show these characteristics in full measure. Professions come near the top of the prestige ratings of occupations. Many occupations, are trying to change their manner of work, their relations to clients and public, and the image that they have of themselves and others have of them that they will merit and be granted professional standing. The new ones may arise from the development of some scientific or technological discovery. The people who "process" data for analysis by computers are a recent example. They are given the status of IT professionals. Herbert Spencer (1896) also considers the elaboration of professions as an essential feature of a civilized society. It results in the augmentation of life; and it is this function which the professions in general sub serve."(Spencer, 1896, pg. 55)

Perhaps the way to understand what professions mean in the society is to note the ways in which occupations try to change themselves or their image, or both, in the course of a movement to become "professionalized". Infact professionalisation is a term used to mean what happens to an occupation and refers to what happens to an individual in the course of training for his occupation. It refers to occupation that has become or is on the verge of becoming a true profession. Hughes (1963) identifies the main themes of professionalisation. Detachment is one of them; which means personal interest in a particular case would not influence one's action or advice, while being deeply interested in all cases of the kind. The deep interest in all cases is of the sort that leads one to pursue and systematize the pertinent knowledge. It leads to finding an intellectual base for the problems one handles, which in turn, takes those problems out of their particular setting and makes them part of some more universal order. Thus, one important aspect of a profession is to attain certain equilibrium between the universal and the particular. Most professions develop a tacit division of labour between the more theoretical and the more practical.

Another set of theme identified by Hughes (1963) in professionalizing movements is the change of status of the occupation in relation to its own past, and to the other people, clients, public and other occupations. Changes sought are more independence, more recognition, a higher place, a cleaner distinction between those in the profession and those outside, and a larger measure of autonomy in choosing colleagues and successors. A combination of scholastic aptitude, ambition and financial means is required to accomplish this educational aim. However, not all occupations, which aspire to professional standing, can promise enough of either of these ingredients to get the most talented and then to keep them. Characteristically they seek to improve their position in both recruitment and the education system; in the earlier phases of their move toward professionalism, the people in an occupation may have to earn their way slowly and painfully to higher education, and the professional school may have difficulty in getting itself accepted in universities. This competition for status is accompanied by a trend toward prolonging the professional training at both ends: at the beginning by multiplying prerequisites for entry to professional school and at the finish by prolonging the course and the various apprentice or internship programs. This pressure may also work against the movement to lift professional requirements. Therefore, Hughes (1963) observes that the significant question to ask about occupations is not whether they are professions but to what extent they exhibit the characteristics of profession like status in relation to its own past and in the society, recognition, authority and so on.

Thus, for an occupation to attain the status as a true profession many criteria must be fulfilled. A body of knowledge must be established; an agreed-upon scope of skill competencies necessary for one to be considered qualified to practice must be identified; a reliable system of formal knowledge and its transmission must be created; a consistent method for measuring competency must be devised; and an equitable system of accountability must be developed. Only then will an occupation warrant an exclusive jurisdiction based on expert knowledge and experience — a legitimate profession.

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THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES TO UNDERSTAND THE SOCIOLOGY OF PROFESSIONS

To understand the trends in the sociology of professions in the recent years, literature on work, occupations and professions is examined. Literature review shows that there have been a number of papers dealing with status and income attainment. Very surprisingly, there has been a near demise of papers on the professions. Another dominant thrust has been on the large number of articles on women and sex roles. Satisfaction and alienation at work and attempts at job redesign have also received attention. Further, major theoretical debates, such as the functionalist or Marxist or symbolic interactionist etc, have frequently occurred on occupations. This section of the chapter discusses all these perspectives with an aim to further delineate the terrain of sociology of professions.

Functionalist Perspective

The sociological investigation of the professions began in the 1930s with attempts to identify the defining characteristics or *traits* that distinguished the professions from other occupations. Carr-Saunders (1928) characterized "profession" as a distinctive type of occupational group, by delineating special "traits" that set professions apart from and above, other occupations. The most commonly cited traits were skill based on abstract knowledge, provision for training and education, usually associated with a university, certification based on competency testing, formal organization, adherence to a code of conduct and altruistic service.

The functionalists believed that the traits namely a code of ethics, a commitment to altruistic service, and a self-regulating professional association are designed to restrain professionals from taking unfair advantage of their specialized knowledge. Thus, it is the monopoly over a body of theoretical knowledge, which is the most fundamental characteristic of professionalism because it creates the need for the other elements.

For several decades thereafter, the sociologists (e.g., Millerson, 1964; Parsons, 1951) reinforced professions' implicit and explicit claims to superiority, in terms of prestige and income, by emphasizing the ethical and altruistic orientation of professionals' work.

Thus, as the occupational groups develop their own specialized knowledge, they will take on some of the characteristics of a profession. According to this view, the professions are merely the purest expression of a general trend: all occupations will undergo eventual "professionalisation" as their knowledge base increases.

Emile Durkheim (1868), having devoted his chief treatise on human society to the division of social labour, could not well avoid discussing the place of professions. He referred to all occupations. He was concerned about the propensity of professional groups to generate social rules and sanctions. The assumption that professions may be a positive force in social development, standing against the excesses of self-interest and competition, can be traced to Durkheim (1957). He saw the professions as 'moral milieux' (pg. 29) whose function is to bring cohesion and stability to a society whose traditional moral order had been fragmented by new divisions of labour and by the rise of trade and industry. Durkheim considered professional groups as organs of society, partly autonomous systems of relations, which cannot, exist except in contact with the other organs of society. As social advocate, he favoured the kind of society in which occupational groups would be the chief organs of control represented as such in government.

Talcott Parsons, a prominent modern functionalist, is the 'father' of studies of the professions. (Barber, 1985) Though sociology of professions had been explored before Parsons, e.g. by classical theorists such as Comte, Carr-Saunder and Herbert Spencer, it is Parsons and his followers who have emphasized the importance of the professions in industrial society, partly by formulating the conceptual framework within which the professions are analysed, theoretically and empirically. Parsons regards the professions as the major bearers and transmitters of rational values, and of new technological knowledge, which impels the economy forward. Hence, they assume key positions in the modernization of society, i.e. both in its integration and differentiation. They constitute the spearhead of the future. (Parson, 1964, pg. 35)

The functional account of professionals connects its members to the reward system of society. It is asserted that professional activities are crucial for the welfare of society

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(indeed, Parsons claims that modern societies work properly only under the condition that the professions function 'smoothly'), and that difficult, burdensome tasks are endowed with individual responsibility. Thus, it is of vital importance that professions must be highly rewarded, materially as well as with status and prestige.

The structural-functionist's ideas about professionalism has been criticised by many scholars. The structural-functionalists believed that the professions emerged to protect society from monopolies of knowledge, but this explanation was not sufficient. Even the popular trait models had no theoretical basis. Furthermore, Legatt (1970) reinforces that the traits themselves were never clearly defined; because it was never mentioned, precisely *how much* training was required, *how esoteric* the theoretical knowledge needed *how restrictive* the certification obtained, and so on, before an occupation could be considered a true profession. Given the model's inability to precisely define relevant traits, their interaction, or their origins, trait models have been completely discredited. Several scholars like Wollmer and Mills (1966) however, have found that the boundaries are fluid, which has resulted in concepts such as 'semi-profession', and resulted in assertions to the effect that today all reasonably qualified occupations are professionalised. As a result, the concept and traits becomes rather meaningless and useless. Therefore, it has been suggested that the concept should be conceived not as an empirical generalization but as an ideal type; various professions are more or less removed from the ideal type, assuming different positions about the variables (the attributes). This framework based on traits is severely criticized as having an objective and highly functional approach. Even Apple (1986) argues that it does not focus on the status of certain forms of labour. It ignores the fundamental questions of power and prestige.

Conflict Perspective

From the point of view of the consensus perspective of functionalism, the most radical alternative is the development of Weber's monopolization theory and the theory of social closure. According to Weber, power is the central driving force of society. Power is not a functionally distributed resource for the maintenance of a harmonious and smoothly

functioning social order, but a means by which groups and individuals can further their own interests at the expense of others. Weber employed the concept of 'closure' to refer to the monopolization of opportunities by various social groups. Social groups use power in order to maximize their own rewards and privileges by limiting the access to them, i.e. by excluding other groups. Long education and ensuing examinations and credentials monopolize sectors of the labour market. This strategy, which Weber called, taking out a 'patent' for an occupation, today prevails within most branches, although it is most obvious within the so-called academic professions, i.e. occupations with long training.

This perspective implies new definitions of professions, focusing attention on organization as a mechanism of strategy and control. Accordingly, Noel and Parry (1971) define professionalism as 'a strategy for controlling an occupation in which colleagues set up a system of self-government' (pg. 112). Further, Johnson (1972) argues that professionalism should be redefined as 'a peculiar type of occupational control rather than an expression of the inherent nature of particular occupations' (pg. 45). A profession is not an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation'. Parkin (1979) similarly defines professionalism as 'a strategy designed, amongst other things, to limit and control the supply of entrants to an occupation in order to safeguard or enhance its market value' (pg. 54). A profession has or aspires to obtain a knowledge and occupational monopoly.

Freidson (1986) introduced another stream of sociological thought on professions to challenge the trait and the structural-functional model, suggesting in its place a theory of "professional dominance" that shifted the focus from attributes to the process of professionalisation. Such protections enabled professions to restrict entry through self-generated credentialism and bolstered professions' claim to self-regulation.

Professional ideologies include a set of distinctive types of self-legitimizing components like the myth of technocracy, the myth of increasing qualification, myth of rationality and the myth of certain knowledge. Professionals tend to comprehend their social role through the philosophy of technological reductionism. The application of new technical knowledge is the main factor of modernization. The technocratic myth is essential to the professions since, it justifies deviations from democratic principles, i.e. 'closures' of

public debates. Advanced technology cannot be exploited if the labour force is unable to adapt to it and use it. Hence it is of utmost importance that the knowledge and skills of the population, and thereby its productivity, are developed in accordance with the introduction of technological innovations.

Collins (1979) in his work "The Credential Society" observes the role of academic credentials as screening devises for the entry in the professions. He gives quite an ironic description of a technocratic society in his book wherein he describes how an individual, who is the stepchild of modern society and technology, has to fit in his family as best as he can. This requires him to be diligent and skilful. Since the family is changing, getting more scientific, technological, and complex all the time, this can be a hard job. Thus reflecting on the limited role of education, which is a means in the hands of various groups to attain their ends. It makes the entry of the others more difficult. Thus observing this relationship between professions and the credential system, Collins feels that the credentials are limiting the number of entrants. Thus, professions have become systems of struggle for power and prestige.

The Conflict perspective conveys insights regarding the situation of the professions, as well as insights as to how professionals regarded themselves, during a limited period of time. The Closure theory applied to professionals raises provocative questions concerning the ideology of professions. It does not deal into deeper cleavages of power and status. It is here that an alternative perspective emerges as a significant framework of analysis.

Radical Perspective

Radical theorists focus on the social, economic and cultural backgrounds of the members and thus reflect on the significance of class, sex and race divisions that are deeply embedded in the history of occupations. As, Gesser (1986) remarks, 'in order to avoid the idealistic overtone of the functionalist and the conflict perspective inherent in the description of professionals as executors of power, entailed by their monopoly of knowledge, it is necessary to study professions in the context of their organization and class position' (pg. 11).

Hellberg (1978) underscores a similar point in arguing that 'the concept of professionalisation is a concept of relations; it is impossible to attribute professional status to occupational groups without talking about those who are granting this status to those occupational groups'. In both cases, it is argued that economic position and status are related to their foundational conditions. It is necessary to commence from a wider perspective and to revitalise the concept of profession to a broader view of society. 'Profession' is a historical phenomenon that changes over time. The strength of this approach lies primarily in its focus upon the conditions of origin and existence of historical phenomena. This approach is an analysis of the socio-economic conditions for historical phenomena; this approach is particularly suitable as a point of departure and supplement to the study of professional.

Sociologists like Apple (1986) believe that, due to external circumstances, professions are in decline – they are becoming deprofessionalised and proletarianized. They believe that social relations between professionals and consumers have depreciated to such an extent that the former are experiencing the beginnings of deprofessionalisation. Marie Haug (1988) defines this trend as professions forfeiting their monopoly over esoteric knowledge, autonomy and authority over clients and neighbouring occupations. A second strand of the professional decline position, more directly draws upon Karl Marx's insights on the nature of industrial capitalism, highlights parallel challenges to the economic sphere. The argument is that professionals are losing face in the public domain at the same time that they are being forced to the margins of the process by powerful corporate elite (McKinlay and Arches, 1985; McKinlay and Stoeckle, 1988).

The recent analyses and theoretical statements concerning organizations by Hage (1980), Scott (1981), and Hall (1982) all make heavy use of the professions as a topic and as a basis for consideration in the form and operation of organizations. More radical treatments of organizations, such as Clegg and Dunkerly (1980) and Salaman and Thompson (1980), treat the nature of the professions almost as an established occupational category that is not critically evaluated. The debate still continues with regard to whether professions serve the interests of the public, the employing organization, the profession itself, or that of ruling elites.

The continued interest in the professions by radical theorists retains the imagery of the professional model, unrefined by more recent theoretical developments. It is very clear that the occupations that are self-consciously aspiring to be viewed as professions, such as nursing, teaching, and police work, still attempt to match them with the professional model, which was dominant in the literature for so long. By incorporating a broadened view of the nature of professionalisation, it is possible to have a more complete understanding of why certain occupations have been able to professionalise and others have not.

Thus, it is quite clear that although a number of sociologists have defined the term professions and the process of professionalisation, yet there is no single definition. Nevertheless, trait models continue to be an important aspect of professional *ideology*. This model is in mind of the education ministers, teacher educations, teachers and common person at large. Policies are made keeping the trait model as the base and thus, the aim of the policy makers is to achieve these traits.

TEACHING AS A PROFESSION

The major issue that arises now is whether to regard the occupation of teaching as a 'profession' - as distinct from a 'trade' or 'vocation'. This section of the chapter shows how different sociologists have dealt with this issue of treating teaching as a profession.

Functionalist scholars have long regarded teaching profession as enjoying special privileges because of their pivotal societal function: quality care of citizens. Fusion of service, ethic and technical expertise grant teaching profession monopoly over possession and transmission of knowledge, autonomy to organize working conditions to their own choosing, and authority over clients and allied occupational groups. Many sociologists remain critical of this functionalist position, however, maintaining that it presents an idealized picture of practicing professionals who, for reasons internal or external to themselves, fail to realize their avowed service goal.

Legatt (1970) comments that teachers as an occupational group were particularly vulnerable as far as the authority is concerned, given their occupational characteristics:

'the large size of the group, its high proportion of female members, its lowly class composition, its small measure of autonomy as a group and its segmentation' (pg. 161). These factors all went against the assumption of teacher professionalism; an assumption without which the claim to professionalism had no authority. Many of the ambiguities of teacher professionalism can be explained in terms of this irony: in seeking professional autonomy, teachers necessarily called into question their own public service ethic, which was seen as the hallmark of professional status. The relation between autonomy and status was thus complex and one-sided and it was loaded in favour of those who had already achieved professionalism.

Conflict perspective viewed professionalism as mediating the interests of particular occupational groups. This perspective seeks to investigate occupational control from the standpoint of power and conflict. It emphasises the self-interested nature of professionalism and its concern with maintaining occupational monopolies. This perspective tends to be critical of professionalism and incorporates class analyses of state power. Within the field of teaching, it highlights major trends toward deterioration and deprofessionalisation in teachers' work and portrays that work as becoming increasingly routinised and deskilled. From this perspective, (Lawn, 1987; Ozga, 1988; and Ozga & Lawn, 1981) professionalism is 'a rhetorical ruse, a strategy for getting teachers to collaborate willingly in their own exploitation as more and more effort is extracted from them' (Hargreaves, 1994, pg. 118).

It is pointless, therefore, as Hoyle &John (1995) suggest seeking to establish whether teachers are professionals according to certain absolute criteria. The point that arises is of control and power that is whose interests does the professionals control and who has power over their exercise of that control. The assumption in that question is that professions have interests of power and wealth that bring them closer to other occupations; an assumption that seriously challenges the earlier assumption that professionals were to be distinguished from other occupational groups by virtue of their altruism.

Indeed some other sociologists believed that teaching has long had precarious professional standing. Sykes (1983) observed that, although teaching "has enjoyed a measure of public esteem and gratitude through the years, there is a long-standing taint associated with teaching and corresponding doubts" (pg. 98) about people who choose that profession. Compared with law and medicine, the teaching profession has been labelled a "semi-profession" (Lortie, 1969). Until the 1950s, teaching was short-term, itinerant work taken up by men on their way to a "real" profession and by women before marrying or having children (Rury, 1989; Tyack, 1974). Teaching also holds low status in the occupational hierarchy because it is likened to child-care and, thus, is regarded as women's work (Hoffman, 1981). Moreover, the public is not convinced that teachers need specialized knowledge to do their work. Ozga, (1988) is worried as the occupation of school teaching is undergoing a crisis and it threatens the integrity of one of the most all-encompassing public service institutions in the nation. He feels that if this crisis is to be effectively resolved, greater awareness of the realities, as distinct from the ideologies and mythologies, of the occupation of school teaching is required.

For the last few years, educators have devoted a great deal of energy to the debate over whether teaching can be considered a profession. For example, there was a very heated debate in the 1960s and 1970s over whether teachers could organize strikes and still claim that they were members of a professional association, rather than a union. This controversy only makes sense, however, if one accepts that professions are fundamentally different from other types of occupations, and by the mid-1970s, social scientists were beginning to realize that this was not the case. They argued that the professions had changed so much over the past 100 years that there is now little left to distinguish professionals from other workers.

Thus, the movement to professionalise teaching has, however been marked by both confusion and contention, much of which centres around what it means to be a profession and to professionalise a particular kind of work. For some, the essence of a profession is advanced training and hence the way to professionalise teaching is to upgrade teacher's knowledge and skills, for others the essence lies in the attitudes individual practitioners hold towards their work. In this view, the best way to professionalise teaching is to instil

an ethos of public service and high standards – a sense of professionalism – among teachers. As a result of this wide range of emphasis it is often unclear whether education critics are referring to the same things when they discuss professionalisation in teaching. One need to revisit the model of profession within the new theoretical framework and then redefining the issues like teaching as a profession, teacher's autonomy, professional organizational relationships and many more.

The study aims to refocus the attention on the real issues facing teaching as a profession today. It considers teaching as a semi profession particularly as it has in recent times increasingly emphasised on the specialised training, credentials, the competition for fewer places, governed by certain modern principles of rational-legal bureaucratic organisations and the career progression based on certain attainments.

GENDER STEREOTYPING AND SOCIALISATION

Within the past 20 years, the study of gender has emerged as a major research area in sociology. Scholars now use the term 'sex' to refer to biologically based distinctions between the sexes and the term 'gender' to refer to the social construction of differences between women and men. The term 'sex' is also sometimes used when an individual's "sex category" constitutes a basis for classification and differential treatment, even when the differential treatment is social in origin (Reskin, 1988). The social roles and behaviour of males and females have differed in all known human societies. As a result of this gender differentiation, men have been in a better position to acquire and control the valuable resources of their societies (Friedl, 1975; Sanday, 1981). Women and men on an equal basis have rarely, if ever, shared power, privilege, and status.

Stereotyping refers to the attribution of positive or negative traits that characterize a member or a sub-set of the social group to all the members of that particular group. It refers to a process of reducing complex social actors to one-dimensional persons and members of a non-mainstream group.(Goffman, 1963; Frable,1990) Stereotyping and the process of attributing marginalized status are linked to the social and institutional factors that influence the beliefs and values that are widely shared about the genders. It includes a process of attributing less to women and more to men. (Ridgeway, 1997) Thus, women

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are perceived to be less strong and less logical and occupy positions with less prestige as compared to men. These gender stereotypes affect social perceptions of gender regarding their education and other experiences that prepare young men and women for the work force.

Gender role differentiation is associated with gender differences in behaviour, attitudes, and dispositional traits. This differentiation also leads to gender stereotyping, or the formation of consensual beliefs about differences between the sexes. In keeping with similarities in the pattern of gender role differentiation across societies, there is similarity in gender stereotypes (Williams and Best, 1982). Instrumental traits tend to be associated with males and expressive traits with females.

The major biological factor constraining the division of labour is women's role in reproduction-specifically, childbearing and nursing (Brown, 1970; Ember, 1983). Brown, (1970) and Friedl, (1975) believed that there are benefits in having the same individuals perform adjacent tasks in production sequences and in assigning tasks in clusters based on physical location and temporal sequence. They further added since there is a loss in the exposure of females, the source of reproduction, to danger, women have tended to perform tasks involving less travel and danger that are consistent with childbearing and nursing.

Due to the biological differences between the sexes, there has been a tendency to assume that most differences between women and men are biologically determined. It has now fallen to social scientists to determine the degree to which such differences are cultural rather than biological in origin. This is a difficult task, not only because there is widespread agreement that both biology and culture play a role in the development of sex differences, but also because that role is increasingly believed to be interactive.

Social and developmental psychologists have developed a number of theories of gender role socialization like social learning theories, cognitive developmental theories, information-processing theories, and identification theories (Huston, 1983). Although the process by which individuals learn behaviour appropriate for their sex may occur in a

variety of ways, the content of what is learned depends on the association of sex with particular types of behaviour in the society in which an individual lives.

Marini and Brinton, (1984) suggests that parents treat boys and girls differently and serve as models for gender-specific roles and behaviour. Gender role socialization also occurs within schools via curricular materials, role models, differential treatment by teachers and councillors, and interaction with peers. The mass media, including films, television, books, newspapers, and magazines, constitute other important sources of gender role learning. Gender role socialization continues in adulthood via experiences in the workplace, interaction with family and friends, and the ongoing influence of the media. Evidence suggests that both sexes view the characteristics ascribed to males as more desirable than the characteristics ascribed to females and, therefore, that the overall evaluation of males is higher than that of females (McKee and Sherriffs, 1957; Broverman, 1972).

Blumberg (1984) points out that the characteristics of the family structure, such as lineality and locality affect women's relative economic power and, therefore, the degree of gender inequality. Chafetz (1984) views gender stereotypes and the degree to which dominant religions or secular ideologies explicitly support gender stereotyping and inequality as factors that brings about the system of gender stratification. Because women and men perform different social roles, they exhibit different behaviour. Gender differentiation in social roles therefore produces gender differences in behaviours, abilities, and dispositional traits. These learned differences have little or no biological basis rather they emerge from the process of socialisation. Although it is logically possible for the two sexes to be "separate [different] but equal," the degree of gender role differentiation in a society is strongly related to the degree of gender inequality (Sanday, 1974, pg. 250). "Different" usually means unequal, since the roles filled by the two sexes do not bring the same power and privilege.

Thus, both biological and social influences play a role in producing gender differentiation and stereotyping. It is believed that the gender stereotyping is a result of the biological factors particularly women's role in reproduction and, to a lesser degree, men's greater

physical strength but the social factors also influence the stereotyping and thus, constrain the division of labour. Even the analysis by the sociologists, at the macro and micro level suggests how gender differentiation and stratification condition the life experiences of women and men within a society. Thus, development of a general understanding of why societies differ in degree of gender inequality has become an important area of both theoretical and empirical analysis, based heavily on analysis of societies (Sanday, 1981; Rosaldo, 1974; Friedl, 1975; Chafetz, 1984).

GENDER STEREOTYPING OF 'WORK' OR 'PROFESSION'

In modern societies, work has largely become an activity performed away from home for monetary return. Initially, men specialized in work in the market, earning wages to support the family, while women specialized in work in the home, becoming economically dependent with primary responsibility for child rearing. However, with the change in the division of labour as women now enter the labour market in increasing numbers, the focus is now on the gender role differentiation.

Acker (1992) feels that gender is a foundational element of organizational structure and work life, "present in [its] processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power" (Acker 1992, pg. 567). She herself speaks only of gendered work organizations (1990) and social institutions. Other studies like Pierce (1995); Williams (1995) have employed the gendered-organizations paradigm in explorations of sex-segregated occupations and professions.

Cockbur (1988, pg. 38) had argued for the existence of occupational gender: "People have a gender, which rubs off on the jobs they do. The jobs in turn have a gender character that rubs off on the people that do them." Acker (1990, pg. 146) argues that to say that an organization is gendered is to say "that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine." To say that organizations are inherently gendered implies that they have been defined, conceptualized, and structured in terms of a distinction between masculinity and femininity, and presume and will thus inevitably reproduce gendered differences.

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Ultimately, to the extent that gendered characteristics are differentially valued and evaluated, inequalities in status and material circumstances will be the result.

According to Lips (1998) employment forms such a critical part of an individual's identity that it is common practice to ask people to disclose their occupation. This question often take the form *"What do you do?"* indicating that it is a basic question, the answer to which will classify the speaker. This very question provides a clue to the import of gender stereotypes on social attitudes about work, for it is more likely to be addressed to a man than to a woman. Women are sometimes asked *"Do you work?"* or *"What does your husband do?"* These questions reveal an expectation that women are unlikely to be in the workforce. Such an expectation is based on ignorance of the facts. The frequency with which women are asked "Do you work?" also reveals a pervasive bias in the way work is defined. No activity can be counted as work unless one gets paid for it. Unpaid work in the home, an activity to which many women devotes a significant portion of their time and energy is not granted the status of "real" work.

Further Lips (1998) reinforces that since the characteristics ascribed to males are also those that are important for gaining access to positions of power and privilege, gender stereotypes create expectations for performance that negatively affect evaluations of women's past and expected future performance in high-level jobs. This division of labour by sex is affected not only by biological constraints but also by societal characteristics. Regarding certain types of categories of work as "masculine" and others as "feminine" constitutes gender stereotyping of work. Gender segregation persists in the work force. Various studies confirm that women and men are still segregated into distinct careers, despite the reduction in the overall amount of such segregation in the past few decades. The ten most common occupations for women in the USA, according to 1990 Census data, were (in order): secretary: elementary school teacher; cashier; registered nurse; bookkeeper; nurse's aide; salaried manager, administrator; sale representative; waitress; and salaried sales supervisor. For men, the list is as follows: salaried manager, administrator; truck drivers, salaried sales supervisor; janitor; carpenter, sales representative; construction labourer; cook; supervisor, production occupation; and automobile mechanic. (US Bureau of the Census, 1994) Furthermore, it is also clear that

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the occupations dominated by women are less valued than those dominated by men. (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 1992). Thus, a division of labour by sex has characterized societies, and there are a few universal principles of task differentiation, which form constraints on the division of labour that is related to the degree of gender inequality in a society.

Another process apart from biological and social constraints by which individuals come to adopt gender-specific behaviour at work place is through the allocation of individuals to institutional positions based on sex, often to sex-typed positions. Whereas socialization shapes the choices of individuals by conditioning their desires and expectations, allocation involves action by others mainly the authorities that channels individuals into positions based on sex, irrespective of their desires and expectations. Allocation is pervasive in the workplace. Recent analysis of sex segregation in the U.S. labour force indicates that more than half of the workers of one sex would have to change detailed census occupational categories to make the occupational distributions of the two sexes equal (Beller, 1984; Blau, 1988; Jacobs, 1989). Within occupations, workers are also segregated within and between firms. It has been estimated that 96% of the workers of one sex would have to change job titles to equalize the distributions of the two sexes across jobs (Bielby and Baron, 1984). This high level of sex segregation arises in part from the allocation of workers to jobs by employers.

Economists suggest that the allocation is affected by a process of "statistical discrimination," whereby employers attempt to maximize efficiency based on perceptions that the marginal productivity of women and men differs on average for different lines of work (Phelps, 1972; Arrow, 1973). However, perceptions about the suitability of women and men for different types of work are based largely on gender stereotypes that are inaccurate (Kiesler, 1975). Moreover, given that women and men sometimes perform the same work under different job titles in different parts of the same organization (Bielby and Baron, 1984), even perceived aggregate differences between women and men in marginal productivity in a given type of work cannot explain all instances of job segregation within firms. It could be that both perceptions of gender differences and perceptions of employee preferences for working with same-sex peers -in particular, male

preferences for working with males (Haefner, 1977; Hagen and Kahn, 1975) cause employers to discriminate or the basis of sex. Males are more likely to be selected or ranked highly for managerial, scientific, and semiskilled positions than equally qualified females. Studies have also shown that males prefer to work and interact with competent males rather than competent females (Nieva and Gutek, 1981)

In situations involving male-female interaction at work place, sex differences in behaviour emerge. Males have been observed to talk more than females in task-oriented situations (Strodtbeck and Mann, 1956; Lockheed and Hall, 1976), and females tend to express less confidence than males in their future performance, even on tasks where they are known to do as well or better than males (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Interestingly, there is evidence that females talk more and solve problems better as the subject they are dealing with becomes more appropriate to their sex (Milton, 1959; Lockheed and Hall, 1976). These sex-related differences emerging in interaction resemble differences in behaviour associated with other status characteristics.

Women's work was said to be an extension of mother/wife roles (Spradley and Mann, 1975). Women worked with people and what they did were described as expressive, interactive, responsive, supportive, and most of all, nurturing and labour intensive; it was frequently characterized by "burnout," as a result of time-demanding children or wall-to-wall students (Noddings, 1984 pg. 123). Men's work was said to be very different. It was intellectual; men worked with things and ideas. What men did was described as solitary, dominating, controlling, and unilateral (Fowlkes, 1987, pg. 349). Their work was instrumental and goal oriented, objective and dispassionate.

Women entering male-dominated professions regularly encounter a *glass ceiling*: a barrier that keeps people from rising past a certain point. However, the barrier is transparent and therefore visually invisible until the person crashes into it. Lips define glass ceiling as *"an apt label for the phenomenon faced by women who aspire to positions of leadership."* (1998, pg. 23)

Moreover, nurses, home economists, nursery-school teachers, secretaries, typists and switchboard operators – most of these people share a common characteristic: their

femaleness. These are the women who work in female-dominated occupations, the women who are doing "women's work". The female dominated professions are sometimes called *semi-professions* because, although to some extent they require advanced education and credentials, they tend to lack the authority, independence, and monopoly over a knowledge base that characterises other male dominated professions as law or medicine (Fox & Hesse Biber, 1984).

Etzioni's (1969) classification of full-fledged professions and semi professions is useful to elaborate the gendering of professions. Semi professions have a large proportion of females and that are employed largely in bureaucratic organization. Their associated characteristics are shorter period of training than full-fledged professions, a less legitimated status, a less specialized body of knowledge and less established rights to privileged communication. In addition, they have less autonomy due to strict supervision and society control. The examples of semi professions are teaching, nursing and social work. Ferguson (1984, pg. 63) defines "Feminization as the extension of the depoliticizing, privatizing aspects of women's traditional role to the sectors of the population who are the victims of bureaucratic organizations, both the administrators and the clientele". Ferguson argues that the traits and skills inculcated in women are required of any subordinate and are all dominated by bureaucracy in one way or another. In general then, (traditional) femininity equals powerlessness, and it is this characteristic that is required for survival in an increasingly bureaucratized environment.

Furthermore, Roos and McDaniel (1996) argue that a more fruitful way to conceptualize this issue is to make a distinction between the sex composition and gender type of particular occupations. Sex composition simply means the representation of men and women in particular occupations and should properly be expressed as the extent to which they are male or female dominated. Gender typing is the process through which occupations come to be seen as appropriate for workers with masculine or feminine characteristics, that is, occupations could be said to be feminized, masculinized, or, more generically, gendered (Roos and McDaniel 1996; Wright 1997). Nursing (Williams 1989, 1992, 1995), clerical work (Pringle 1989), and typesetting (Roos 1990) are all examples of occupations that, over time, have come to be associated with feminine characteristics.

While, as in the cases above, an occupation's sex composition and gender type often correspond, they should be treated as capable of varying independently.

As far as the sociology of professions is concerned in the Indian context is concerned, the evidence of work differentiation even within the varnas has been found from the very beginning. (Kumar, 1999) The differentiation in those times was sectarian, professionals and based on the area of residence. The Guru and the Acharyas were teachers that were mainly Brahmins and there was a lot of professional mobility in the society in the past. There were numerous examples of change of profession in the past. However, Kumar (1999) says that now the attitudes of the people towards the choice of occupations have changed. The reasons are weakening of the hold of traditions, the opening up of new avenues of economic prosperity and change of values. Now people are engaged in different types of jobs and many more factors like caste, class, gender and so on effect the decision.

Thus, it can be said that teaching may not fulfil the criteria of a full-fledged profession rather it is called a semi profession. The working conditions have changed a lot. Teachers are paid less; they are not given permanent appointments. It leads to the contradictions in the academic profession. Thus, teaching has not achieved the status of the profession and is yet struggling to carve a new identity for itself.

INDIAN CONTEXT

The study aims to look into the experiences of the women teachers in the Indian scenario. So a need was felt to examine the construction of gender and the sociology of teaching profession, as influenced by the complex socio-historical factors that have shaped the Indian society. The Indian society is a patriarchal society. The word itself means rule of the father but it is not so simple. It refers to the social system where men control family, property and other economic resources and make major decisions. Linked to this social system is the belief that man is superior to woman and that woman is a part of men's property. This thinking forms the basis of many people in India and this explains all the social practises that confines women to home. The double standards of laws based on

patriarchy give more right to men than to women and subordinates women in both private and public spheres.

The process of gender stratification in India, one of the elements in the establishment of the social order shaping the formation of brahmanical patriarchy,' took a considerable period of time to evolve into its complex structure that exists today. Chakravarti (1993) mentions that although the subordination of women is a common feature of almost all stages of history, and is prevalent in India, the extent and form of that subordination has been conditioned by the social and cultural environment in which women have been placed. The general subordination of women assumed a particularly severe form in India through the powerful instrument of religious traditions, which have shaped social practices. A marked feature of Indian society is its legal sanction for an extreme expression of social stratification in which women and the lower castes have been subjected to humiliating conditions of existence. The purity of women has always been centrality in brahmanical patriarchy. An essay by Yalman (1962) on gender in India shows that the sexuality of women is a subject of social concern. She further argues that a fundamental principle of Hindu social organisation is to construct a closed structure to preserve land, women, and 'ritual quality within it. The three are structurally linked and it is impossible to maintain all three without stringently organising female sexuality. Indeed neither land, nor ritual quality, i e, the purity of caste can be' ensured without closely guarding women who form the pivot for the entire structure. Chakravarti (1993) summarises that the analysis of the early Indian society reveals that the structure of social relations, which shaped gender, was reproduced by achieving the compliance of women. The compliance was produced through a combination of consent and coercion of the women.

Dube (1988) also mentions the processes by which women are produced as gendered subjects in the patrilineal, patrivirilocal milieu of Indian society. She examines the process of socialisation of Hindu girls through rituals and ceremonies, the use of language, and practices within and in relation to the family and mentions that gender differences that are culturally produced are, almost invariably, interpreted as being rooted in biology, as part of 'the natural order of things'. She cites an example of a patrilineal

India wherein the commonly-held idea regarding the roles of father and mother in procreation is that man provides the seed- the essence-while the woman provides the field which receives the seed and nourishes it. Thus, while the natal group emphasises woman's transferability or her non-functional nature from the point of view of perpetuation of the group and continuity of the family, the husband's group emphasises her instrumentality, her place as a receptacle, a vehicle for the perpetuation of the group. The social arrangement in which men and women have unequal rights, positions, and roles, both as brother and sister and as husband and wife, is perceived as corresponding to the arrangement of nature, which assigns unequal roles to the two sexes in procreation. Thus, this is how women are produced as gendered subject in the Indian society. The roles of men and women are very different in the Indian society and they are very distinctly keeping women at a sub ordinate position.

The process of socialisation plays a very important role in deciding the career of a woman. The push and pull factors that arise from cultural practices, behaviour patterns and social role expectations and the association of women with the private domain of household continue her career choices. Some of the notable and well- known barriers are: lack of economic resources in the family; the choice between dowry and educational expenses, education being perceived as consumption and being irrelevant for production and the absence of role models at home, etc. As per the socialisation norms, parents may not use the earnings of their daughters. Therefore, either they do not want them to take up jobs or when they do, it is viewed as a short-term goal. This is because the traditional role expectations are such that the future parents-in-law and the husband would decide future career options of the young women. Thus, even if daughters start working, the reluctance to use daughter's income is quite common except among the very poor. These social role expectations and self-expectations affect the aspirations of a large number of women. This may be the reason why a large majority are sent to arts and humanities courses which are cheaper and softer and do not require very long-term educational career.

Bhasin (2000) also focuses on the process of socialisation as the training for feminine tasks. She feels that it is difficult to speak of a single pattern of gender-based division of work since it is characterised by considerable diversity across regions and social groups.

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Dube (1988) reinforces that the work around the kitchen, menial and dirty household work and childcare generally fall in the feminine sphere. The notions of appropriateness or inappropriateness of particular kinds of work for adult females and males get reflected in the work assigned to girls and boys. The distinction between feminine work and masculine work comes early in childhood and becomes sharper as the child grows up. The notions of tolerance and self-restraint are also rooted in a consciously cultivated feminine role, which is embedded in and legitimised, by culture and cultural ideology. The cooking, serving and distribution of food are important constituents of a prestigious and valued role for Hindu women. This role contributes to women's self-esteem, offers them a genuine sense of fulfilment and is central to the definition of many female kinship roles. This is how men and women are trained for their future roles.

Even Kumar (1986) feels that the prescriptions regarding the ways in which a girl should act and behave are set out in the context of specific notions of space and time. The injunctions about physical segregation and control of contact with males make certain demands on a girl outside her home: a girl is expected to create a separate space for herself in places full of strangers. More often, however, a girl prefers to move with other girls in a group. He describes it as the 'tragic pattern of socialisation' wherein he brings out his experiences of boyhood in a small town in Madhya Pradesh, central India and points out that to understand the socialisation of girls it is imperative to look into socialisation of male children.

Thus, the socio-cultural factors may be divided into two sets, those at the macro level and at the micro level. The macro level dimensions relate to caste, tribe, class and regional variations while the micro level factors relates to the institutional and societal factors. At both the levels women is the victim of the system who has been socialised. It is mainly the process of Socialisation that is the construction of a woman's reality in the home' which is pivotal in determining self- perception and value internalisation to determine attitudes to both education and work. Biological differences are viewed as 'natural' and the social and cultural values that emerge from such physical distinctions are 'naturally given'. Socialisation is reflected in separate girl's and boy's schools, syllabi and extra curricular activities, views and comments of teachers and parents on gender roles and

identity. Thus, gender codes develop to determine seating arrangements, games, choice of subject, even competition. Such codes reinforce gender stereotyping, the consequence of which is to combine the educational and social function for girls (what girls ought to do) whereas in the case of boys the role of education is quite separate from their social role. Thus, education merely reinforces the role of a woman as housewife or mother and it is this thinking that influences the career choices and task segregation at work place.

Bhasin (2000) talks about the experiences of working women teachers. She says that they experience *double day, double burden, double shift* and bear the burden of "paid work" (as a part of the work force) and "unpaid work" (in the home) This double burden also makes it difficult for the women to get better jobs or to move up the professional ladder. Because of fewer opportunities for education, they tend to move into less skilled and lower paid jobs like teaching, nursing.

Chanana (2000) also feels that gender is an important element that influences the decision-making in the society. The disciplinary choices of women have been the focus of debate in the feminist discourse on education and gender. There is a clear tendency for women, whether as students or as teachers, to be concentrated in a few faculties and specialisations like arts courses. The process of clustering and dispersal indicates restriction of choices for women. This restriction may be voluntarily (because of socialisation) or may be self imposed or imposed by societal expectations and norms. Thus, the patriarchal imprint is quite visible on the feminine and masculine dichotomy of discipline. Recently the disciplinary orientation has enlarged. The shift of women in engineering, commerce, management and computer courses implies that role stereotyping does not necessarily determine the choices of all women. However, these women generally belong to the upper strata of the professional and salaried class in the metropolitan cities. They are also the ones who belong to small families where the norm of two children has meant that they may be the only daughters. These daughters are given the best of education by their parents (Parikh and Sukhatme, 1992). Parental aspirations have been very crucial in the new orientations of women students. Therefore, in the Indian context both gender and class are crucial in the disciplinary choices of women students.

Even Ray (1988) feels that the school system in India is a perfect site for the playing out of the tension between the contradictions that arise between the different roles allotted to women teachers. In terms of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, actual content of material and thorough knowledge of textbook is emphasised. The teacher's role is that of an interpreter of the textbook (Kumar, 1986), and original thought is not demanded. There is a sharp boundary between the commonsense knowledge of the pupil and the uncommon sense knowledge of the school and the boundaries between teacher and student are rigidly and clearly demarcated. Thus, a teacher is portrayed as a 'meek dictator' and it is a woman who easily qualifies for this post, as she can easily become a mute observer and a passive participant in the functioning of the school.

Thus, it is quite clear that the socio-cultural context of a place influences the perceptions of the individuals and socialises them into gendered beings. Therefore, the investigator also felt to put light on the Indian context so that the experiences of the teachers could be understood properly.

SUMMARY

Thus, teaching has never been accepted as a full-fledged profession. It is still referred as a semi profession because of lack of a specialised body of knowledge, absence of a professional organisation and lack of autonomy, which makes it feminised. It is mainly the socially created notions about gender that results in the different experiences of men and women teachers in schools. Keeping this in mind, the next chapter brings out how the family views this gendered teaching as a professional choice.

CHAPTER III

TEACHING AS A PROFESSIONAL CHOICE

Studies in different socio-cultural context indicate largely the gendering of teaching profession. For instance, Carol and Baston (1997) claimed that teaching profession in Germany is presented as a feminised profession. Their research shows how educational profession in Germany has been feminised and how the feminization of a profession affects its pay and social prestige. Another work by Kyle (1990) points out that feminization of teaching services did not bring with it the same conditions of work as those enjoyed by their male peers, nor did it result in equal pay. In all cases, women teachers were subject to differential and sometimes lower standards of training compared to men, and their salaries were significantly lower. Williams & Bennet, (1975) are of the view that stereotyped notions as to the teaching prowess of women abounded; for example, it was widely believed that women were not as good at discipline as were men nor could they control a male classroom.

The role of women teachers is modelled partly on the ideal of mothering and partly on the middle-class ideal of a respectable, private/domestic, and moral femininity (Collins, 1973). The young women who flocked eagerly into the public elementary classroom were seen as "naturally" designed for teaching the very young (and girls) but not for teaching higher grades, secondary or tertiary levels, or subjects such as mathematics, science, and the manual trades. Women, according to prevailing notions, certainly were not fit to teach older boys and men. A study by Williamson, (1983) points out that there remained a pervasive ideal in education systems that women teachers lacked the male attributes (usually economic and political) necessary to provide the physical education, sports training, specialist subjects, and the "macho" role model deemed necessary for the proper schooling of young men and boys. Collin (1973) further adds to it by stating that women had been allocated areas to which they were oriented-kindergarten work, the education of girls, domestic training of women and girls, the teaching of art and music at an elementary level, and all aspects of health, hygiene, and health care. Teaching did fit nicely with women's traditional domestic role, but it represented much more than this-a

very respectable, financially secure and professional way in which to earn a living. Roulston & Mills, (2000) further reinforces it by saying that teaching, like mother work, is general, diffuse, inclusive, and applied. Research, like father work, is specialized, specific, segmental, and basic. Teachers and moms must be joans-of-all-specialties. The business of research, however, is specialization. Men specialize; women go into general practice.

Some scholars do argue that the women's entry into teaching profession is by design, but not by accident. According to Michael Apple (1986), elementary school teaching became a women's occupation because men left it. Once standards rose for teacher certification and school terms were lengthened and combined into a continuous year, men began to drop out of teaching. Although the annual salaries were higher, yet the average teaching salary remained inadequate to support a family. At the same time, attractive job opportunities were developing for men in business and in other professions which attracted men more than teaching profession.

In today's world of work, the term 'career'[1] is seen as a continuous process of learning and development. As one gain more experience in the world of work and undertake a variety of life experiences, he/she is building his/her own unique career path. When deciding a career, one is conscious of the social context in which the career decision-making occurs. It is not simply matching a person to an occupation. Infact, there are many influences that influence a person's career decisions. Contributions to a career can include society, family, work experience, community involvement, gender roles, cultural activities, education and interest and so on. Patton and Mcmahon (2001) put the factors under four broad variables that influences one's career decisions

- Individual variables include Self-concept, Health, Values, Gender, Interests, Skills, Age

- Social context include Family, Peers, Community groups, Media, Socio-economic status

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[1] Herein the terms 'professional choice' and 'career choice' are used interchangeably.

- Environmental context include Political decisions, Education institutions, Geographical location, Employment market, Workplace, Globalisation, Historical trends

- Other factors include Time perspective (past, present and future), Chance, Change over time, Interdependence of influences

There is a small, but growing, literature about the factors that influence teachers' career decisions. Despite the movement of men and women into non-traditional jobs and careers, large numbers aspire to gender-appropriate jobs, which effectively mean that they are restricted in their choices to a few specific jobs. This does not seem to be strictly a matter of discrimination based on gender. It has been found that workers of both sexes who are in predominantly feminine occupations earn substantially less than similarly educated persons in predominantly masculine occupations (Jusenius, 1977; Treiman & Terrell, 1975). Now the issue that arises is that whether young men and women show such strong preferences for gender-appropriate jobs or not.

In every society, evidence shows that there is a pronounced gender stereotyping of occupations with the result that most people "know" which jobs are feminine, which are masculine, and which may appropriately be filled by either men or women. This gender stereotyping is reflected in occupational choices and preferences beginning early in life. Papalia and Tennent (1975) found that the occupational preferences of preschoolers were highly gender-specific. Hewitt (1975) found that gender stereotyping of occupations was prevalent among even six-year-olds, while Siegel (1973) discovered pronounced gender stereotyping in the occupational choices of second-grade boys and girls. Gender Stereotyping of occupations has been found among older children and adults as well. Frye and Dietz (1973) found that ninth graders responded in a gender-specific manner to the occupational roles of women. Even Dunne (1980) found gender stereotyping of occupations in a study of the aspirations of rural high school students and Albrecht (1976) found the same phenomenon among college students.

Further, Brito and Jusenius (1978) studied women aged 14 to 24 years of age and asked what they planned to be doing at age 35. The vast majority of women saw themselves in feminine jobs. In a random sample of adults (Albrecht, Bahr, & Chadwick, 1977) from 60 to 75% of the respondents agreed that certain jobs were suitable for men only and others were suitable for women only. Gender stereotyping of occupations thus begins early in life and persists through adulthood. The pervasive nature of this phenomenon perhaps accounts for Marr's (1975) finding that such stereotyping resists change despite direct efforts to correct them. Thus, it is the process of socialisation that impacts the mind of young children who under the influence of the stereotyping by the society go for the already decided career options.

Despite the pervasive nature of gender stereotyping of occupations, differences have been found with regard to the degree of gender stereotyping. This means that we cannot be sure that a specific category of the population gender stereotypes to the same degree as does some other category. In addition, research findings on differences in gender stereotyping of occupations are not always consistent. Shinar (1975), for example, concluded that males and females agree on which occupations are masculine and which are feminine, while Albrecht (1977) and Dunne (1980) found less-gender typing among women than men.

Social class differences have been reported by Albrecht (1977) and Brito and Jusenius (1978), with the higher the social class or educational level, the less the gender stereotyping of occupations. This is consistent with the findings of several studies that the higher the status of aspirational levels of young people, the lower is their tendency to gender-type occupations (Albrecht, 1977; Dunne, 1980; Sibbison, 1974). Several studies have found that the tendency to gender stereotype occupations decreases with age, at least when dealing with children and adolescents. (Albrecht, 1977; Garrett, Ein, & Treiman, 1977; Shepard & Hess, 1975) A number of studies have found that girls typically aspire to a small number of occupations while boys choose from a wider variety of jobs (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Marini & Greenberger, 1978; Sewell & Orenstein, 1964). Indeed, four specific occupations, nurse, teacher, secretary, and social worker, have been found to dominate the occupational choices of girls. In a study of second graders, Siegel

(1973) found that 70% of the girls said they wanted to become a nurse or a teacher while the boys in the same class chose from among 20 different occupations.

The same scenario is observed in the Indian Society where there are clear connections between patriarchal ideologies and the shift of teaching into being seen as 'women's work'. But the issue that arises now is whether the increase in the number of women teachers substantial enough and alone responsible for the feminisation of teaching profession and is the only reason that makes it a semiskilled / deskilled profession. Women's supposed nurturing capabilities and 'natural' empathic qualities and their relatively low salaries made them ideally suited for teaching in such schools. Walkerdine (1990) argues that the capacity for nurturing which historically has come to be seen as grounded in naturalised femininity has been taken as the basis for women's fitness for the facilitation of knowing and the reproduction of the knower. However, this passive role, while supportive of the production of knowledge is positioned as the opposite of it. The dominant construction of female teachers, particularly in the primary sector remains one of the surrogate mother.

Thus, the review of literature indicates that women who enter the female-dominated professions have planned their choice; they tend to follow gender-typed patterns of preparation and entry. The educational choices that many women make at the college level (for example; looking at their disproportionate representation among those seeking degrees in education, (non-medical) health-care, and library science) suggest that they anticipate entry into one of the female dominated professions. (Fox, 1957)

In this background, the chapter presents the data pertaining to the family background of the teachers and their perceptions towards teaching as a professional choice. It examines the gendered nature of the professional choice among both men and women and the gender dynamics that are at play at different stages of realizing teaching as a professional choice. The first part of the chapter presents the familial determinants of teaching as a professional choice and the second part focuses on the perceptions of the respondents on various aspects of gendered nature of teaching as a professional choice.

PART 1: FAMILIAL DETERMINANTS OF PROFESSIONAL CHOICES

It is quite evident, although it has not always made explicit; that a general assumption underlying the career aspirations of individuals is the attitude of individual towards work and work roles that is learned through socialization that happens majorly inside the family. The most appropriate approach to understand the occupational aspirations of the respondents, therefore, would be to investigate the social background of the teachers' family to understand how the social background might affect their career decisions. The influence that parents exercise on their children determines both their actions and attitudes. A child's earliest role model is the parent. Therefore, the investigator felt the need to review the educational and the occupational background of the respondent's parents. This may give an insight into the families' socio-economic background context.

The educational qualifications of the father as is evident from Table 3.1 ranged from illiterate to post-graduate. Fathers of the women teachers are more qualified than the fathers of the men teachers. None of the fathers of the women teachers is illiterate whereas four of the fathers of the men teachers are illiterate. Further, father of not even a single male teacher is a post-graduate. Thus, it is important to note that a few of the men teachers are first generation literates. On the other hand, the women teachers generally come from families where the fathers are at the minimum matriculates.

TABLE 3.1: EDUCATION OF THE FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Illiterate	2	0	2	2	0	2	4
Metric	2	4	6	3	4	7	13
Graduate	3	4	7	2	6	8	15
Post Graduate	0	4	4	0	2	2	6
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

Moreover, the fathers of the government schoolteachers are in government services (Table 3.2). They served/ are serving at various levels in occupations such as caretakers, guards, librarians, teachers, clerk or a probationary officer in a government bank. As far

as the private school teachers are concerned, their fathers are more into business like owning a business or managing director of a company, etc.

TABLE 3.2: OCCUPATION OF THE FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Government Service	2	8	10	1	3	4	14
Engineer	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Army	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Teaching	1	1	2	0	1	1	3
Librarian	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Business	1	2	3	5	7	12	15
Farmer	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Guard	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

Table 3.3 reveals that a majority of the mothers of the respondents are either illiterate or have just attended the school. Very few of the mothers are either graduates or post-graduates. Interestingly, among those whose mothers are illiterate almost all of them are those of male respondents. No mothers of the private school female teachers are illiterate, whereas two of the mothers of the women teachers in the government school are illiterate.

TABLE 3.3: EDUCATION OF THE MOTHER

MOTHER'S EDUCATION	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Illiterate	4	2	6	3	0	3	9
Vth Pass	2	0	2	0	1	1	3
VIII Pass	0	2	2	1	0	1	3
Xth Pass	1	4	5	1	0	1	6
XIIth Pass	0	2	2	0	3	3	5
Graduate	0	1	1	2	6	8	9
Post Graduate	0	1	1	0	2	2	3
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

What is important to note is that the mother of almost all the women teachers working in the private schools are either graduates or post-graduates. Thus, women teachers largely

come from the second-generation literate home backgrounds. Almost all of the respondent's mothers are housewives except for a few women teachers' mothers who are working as teachers. No matter what the qualification of the respondent's mothers, they all are housewives.

TABLE 3.4: OCCUPATION OF THE MOTHER

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
House Wife	7	11	18	7	10	17	35
Teaching	0	1	1	0	2	2	3
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

Thus, the educational and occupational backgrounds of the parents reveal that the teachers included in the sample are largely from the middle class home backgrounds. While the female respondents are from the upper middle/professional service class backgrounds, the male respondents are largely from the lower middle/ non-service class background.

The education and the career of an individual are greatly affected by the persons who live with him/her. Thus, there is a need to go into the background of the spouses of the teachers.

TABLE 3.5: SPOUSE'S EDUCATION

SPOUSE'S EDUCATION	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Illiterate	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Graduate	3	4	7	3	5	8	15
Post Graduate	0	4	4	1	5	6	10
TOTAL	5	8	13	4	10	14	27

If we look at the spouse's education, the spouses of the men teachers are not so qualified in comparison to the women teachers. In fact, some of them are illiterate while as far as the women teachers are concerned their husbands are well qualified.

TABLE 3.6: SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION

SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Government Service	0	4	4	0	3	3	7
Engineer	0	0	0	0	2	2	2
Doctor	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Editor	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Teacher	1	1	2	0	2	2	4
Business	0	2	2	0	1	1	3
Homemaker	4	0	4	4	0	4	8
TOTAL	5	8	13	4	10	14	27

Wives of all the men teachers, with the exception of one, are homemakers. The husbands of the married female respondents are into different occupations. As far as the government schoolteachers are concerned, some of their spouses are either working as account manager or working in a bank or as personal secretary in ministry of Home Affairs. Thus, the husbands are all working while the wives of the male respondents are all homemakers.

Thus, the family members of the women teachers are highly qualified than that of the men teachers. Infact, the fathers of the women teachers are mostly class 1 officer with the government (directors) or they are managing their own business. None of them is blue-collared workers. Most of the women therefore hail from upper middle strata of the society.

Moreover, teachers working in private schools come from better off homes than teachers working in government schools. Fathers of the respondents of the private schools either are professionals or are into business. None of them falls into lower-middle strata of the society. While fathers of the government school teachers come from lower middle strata and are generally into lower level government services.

PART 2: PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHING AS A PROFESSIONAL CHOICE

The gendered nature of the professional choices is clearly observed in the study. As is evident from the Table 3.7, most of the male respondents did not opt for teaching as their

first choice while for most of the female respondents teaching was their first choice. The researcher further asked why teaching was their first choice and if no then what was their first choice.

TABLE 3.7: TEACHING AS A FIRST CHOICE

Teaching As A First Choice	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Male	Women	Total	
Yes	2	11	13	2	9	11	24
No	5	1	6	5	3	8	14
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

The responses of both men and women teachers show clear gender differences. So far as men teachers are concerned, the reasons are more of compulsion or of financial benefits of staying in teaching profession and for women teachers the reasons are more of cultural (see Table 3.8)

The male respondents for whom teaching was their first choice generally gave the reason of financial crisis at home because of which they had to go in for teaching profession. One of the male respondents commented,

> *I could complete my studies only through the scholarship. There were not many opportunities left for me after my father expired as the economic condition went down, so it was the only option left for me.*

Another male respondent also talked about his poor financial condition and the responsibilities on him being the eldest in the family. His entry into teaching profession was just by chance, as he wanted to be independent. Yet other male respondent talks about his initial disinterest in teaching profession but later attachment for the kids developed and now he feels very satisfied with profession as he is giving something to the society. He felt that teaching keeps him youthful, as he has to deal with young students. According to him, *"Teaching is the only profession that does not get old."*

One of the male respondents said,

Being a Maths teacher, gives me many opportunities for taking tuitions. Now I have my own coaching institute, which gives me a very good part-time income. I can earn almost double from my own coaching institute, which is what makes me stay in this profession.

Another men teacher was of the same opinion, *"teaching is a like a part time job for me as along with it, I can handle my brother's business easily."*

Thus, as far as the men teachers are concerned, they feel that it is mainly because of the financial constraints or benefits that they are in teaching profession.

On the other hand, most of the women teachers felt that society considers teaching suitable for females. It is a respectable as well as suitable profession for girls as far as timings, work place culture and social status are concerned. Thus, one can see how school teaching for women teachers is considered compatible with the gendered roles defined by the society. Largely, the professional choices of women teachers are exercised by the men in the family either the father or the husband, or even the elderly women members of the house, either the mother or the mother-in-law. Seldom does she exercise her own will in making the choice.

TABLE 3.8 REASONS FOR TAKING UP TEACHING PROFESSION

One Most Important Reason For Taking Up Teaching Profession	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Noble Profession	1	3	4	2	2	4	8
Family's Support	0	3	3	0	3	3	6
Financial Reasons	3	0	3	2	0	2	5
Part Time Jobs	2	0	2	2	0	2	4
Respectable For Girls	0	3	3	0	3	3	6
Job Satisfaction	0	1	1	1	1	2	3
Love For Children	1	2	3	0	3	3	6
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

It is interesting to describe a few responses of the women teachers in the sample. Quite interestingly, many of the female respondents went into teaching profession as their family thought it was fit for them. One of the female respondents commented,

I was not that much aware of the other opportunities available. My father decided it for me and I was happy with it as I had seen my elder sister also doing it ......

Thus, it was the interest and choice of the family, especially the father that led most of the women teachers go in for teaching profession. As Noddings (1984, pg. 67) states, *"Women are thought to be better suited by temperament and by innate personality traits to teach at primary levels"*. This is believed to be one of the main reasons for women's entry in teaching profession.

One of the female respondents said, *"Definitely it's the time schedule which gives us plenty of time to look after the family and our other responsibilities."* To put it in the words of Simpson and Simpson (1969, pg. 57) who argues,

Women's stronger competing attachments to their family roles make them less likely than man to develop colleagues' reference group orientations. For these reasons and because they often share the general cultural norm that women should defer to men, women are more willing them men to accept to bureaucratic controls imposed on them to semi-professional organizations and less likely to seek a genuinely professional status.

To corroborate the argument of Simpson and Simpson (1969) further, the investigator states the case of a woman who argued, *"Being a female, I can easily manage my school and home tasks as the job timings are quite comfortable and also along with it the society sees it with respect."*

Almost half of the respondents felt that teaching is a noble and above all a respectable profession for girls. Here in comes the process of socialisation when the teachers feel that the society considers teaching as a respectable profession for girls. Most of the women

teachers showed a great interest in teaching- a wish from childhood. Another female respondent was too enthusiastic that she commented,

No doubt, it is an honest profession and in all my seven births, I want to be a teacher.

Yet another women teacher said,

It is the motherly feeling that makes me a good teacher. I am so attached to my students and it gives me immense satisfaction and pleasure to be with them.

Women's love for children, soft loving and caring attitude forms the core of this argument. Most of the female respondents mentioned that staying with kids is one of the prime reasons of being in the teaching profession. They said that it was their passion and aim in life to be a teacher. One of the respondents was so influenced by her Maths teacher that she wanted to follow her footsteps and she became a teacher.

The female respondents are in this profession either because of the love for kids or because they feel it is a profession that is suitable and respectable for girls. They feel that with this profession they could manage their household work without much conflict. As Walkerdine (1990) also argues, "*Women's supposed nurturing capabilities and 'natural' empathic qualities and their relatively low salaries made them ideally suited for teaching in such schools*" This proves that the female teachers gave relatively high weightage to their familial roles and since teaching is a continuation of the family roles, they went for it. However, one needs to understand that it is not because of women's innate or biological disposition, but rather it is an outcome of the intentional socialisation of the girls/women more than boys/men into the nurturing and maintaining interpersonal relationships.

Thus, the caring and nurturing ethics of women are an outcome of their phenomenological experience into the gendered world. It is the social and cultural conditions, which have made teaching a suitable job for women. Thus, it is the multiplicity of various causes and the range of motivation and support, in a social context that influences one's career decision. It is not a single decision but a series of decisions

made over a period, keeping in mind the wishes of the 'significant others'. It is here that one needs to analyse the process of socialisation. Even, the data suggests that the women teachers either under the influence of their family or by their own interest, think teaching profession as the most respectable choice for them.

Interestingly, the male respondents who did not opt for teaching as the first choice, wanted to go into business or go in for civil services but couldn't as the family's condition was not that supportive. One of the male respondents said,

> *I had always wanted to become an air pilot but my dreams were shattered when my father expired. I started teaching (tuitions) in class XII. No time for my dreams to come true.........Gave the National Defence Academy (NDA) written exam at the later stage but was disqualified due to over age therefore at that stage no other option so did M.Sc Physics and that's how I came into school teaching.*

Among the six women teachers who didn't have teaching as their first choice, one of them wanted to be in the field of forensic science, another one who is a computer teacher wanted to be a software engineer. She said,

> *Pehle to mein Software Engineer hi thi par time clash bahut hote the. Mein to ghar ko time de hi nahi pati thi. Life bahut stressful ho gayi thi (Earlier I was a Software Engineer only. But there were too many time clashes. I could not devote time for my family. Life was very stressful)*

Another woman was an Announcer in All India Radio until she got married. Then it was because of her husband she had to change the job. "*Night shifts bahut hoti thi aur yeh mere husband ko pasand nahi tha*" (*There were too many night shifts and my husband did not like this*). Two of the female respondents were earlier in government sector, one as a clerk and another as a probationary officer in bank. One of them was a translator.

On being asked about the profession from which the respondents have moved into teaching profession, three of the male respondents said that they were doing business earlier. Another male respondent used to sell peanuts in train and then he owned a small

cloth shop before entering into teaching profession. It was mainly because of the financial constraints that these four men teachers had to enter into teaching profession.

Thus, the male respondents could not go in for their first career choice, mainly because of the financial conditions or familial responsibilities whereas the female respondents couldn't move into the job of their choice or had to leave their earlier jobs in order to please their husbands or because of their household work. According to Moor & Rickel, (1980) gender stereotyping of occupations begins early in life and persists through adulthood. It is the pervasive nature of this phenomenon that resists any changes. Thus, it is the process of socialisation that impacts the mind of young children who under the influence of the stereotyping by the society go for the already decided career options.

Family Support to the Career/Professional Choice

All the women teachers had the support of the family members. One of the female respondents said, *"My family is too happy with this profession as it was a half day job so I could easily devote the remaining time to my husband and kids."* Another female teacher responded, *"Since my mother is a teacher so everyone from the very beginning wanted me to become a teacher."* Thus, such types of responses came out when the women teachers were asked about the families support to them for teaching profession. Generally, the women teachers had the support of their parents or husbands which kept them going in this profession. One private school women teacher said that the family was not supportive when she opted for teaching profession. She commented,

> *I was in IT profession before marriage. My in laws were ok with it but because of the excessive burden and long shifts I was not able to devote much time to my husband........therefore I decided myself to leave the IT Profession and go in for teaching.*

The responses of the men teachers bring out how the society, through the process of socialisation, has assigned different tasks to the males and female. There was a mixed response from the men teachers. For a few of the men teachers the family was supportive.

One of the men teacher said, *"ghar ki haalaat hi aise the ki unhe mujhe support hi karma pada" (the conditions of my home were such that they had to support me).*

Another responded, *"It's not a question of supporting or not supporting, there was a need for an earning member in the family after my father's death, they were happy that I was atleast earning."*

Yet another men teacher said,

> *Meri mummy hamesha mujhe ek pilot bante huye dekhna chahati thi, kyunki yeh mera sapna tha par responsibilities itni jyada thi thi mein yeh sapna pura nahi kar paya. Par who ab khush hai ki unka beta ek government school mein teacher hai. (My mother always wanted me to become a pilot as that was my dream, but because of the too many responsibilities, I could not fulfil my dreams. Yet she is happy, as his son is a teacher in the government school.)*

Thus, the impact of gender stereotyping of work by the society is implicit directly or indirectly, in the responses of the teachers. The families of the women teachers are supportive while the same enthusiasm or support is not evident in the responses of the men teachers. Thus, we may see how patriarchal ideology is operating beneath the discourses of especially the women teachers who define their place in the social field as inner, private, restricted, submissive and feminine creating the rigid dichotomies of private/public, outer/inner, masculine/feminine and thereby putting males in the outer realm and females in the inner realm. This very well explains the family support for the women teachers and lack of it for the men teachers as far as teaching as a professional choice is concerned.

Since the investigator has taken the sample from two schools with the expectation that, the experiences of the teachers in the government and the private schools would be somewhat different as they are influenced by the work culture of the place. So the investigator has looked into the working of the two schools and how far these differences, if any, may lead to a different experiences of the respondents. Thus, the investigator has

looked at various issues like the selection process, working hours, stay backs in school, flexibility of the system etc.

Selection Process, Induction and In-Service Training

It is important to note that there is a difference in the selection process for teachers of the government and the private schools. In the government schools, the selection of teachers is based on a competitive exam followed by an interview and there are also chances of internal promotion from a Primary Trained Teacher (PRT) to a Trained Graduate Teacher (TGT) or to a Post Graduate Teacher (PGT) depending on the qualifications or the work of an individual teacher. However, the scenario in the private school is quite different. The teachers have to first face the school selection Panel who interviews them. Then the short listed teachers are asked to give a demo class. In some cases it is more rigorous as sometimes before the interview the teachers are asked to give a written exam too.

On being asked about the number of posts at the time of selection, the teachers of the private school were sure about the exact number of the vacant posts for the subjects for which they had applied as. They could give the exact number of the vacant posts as it appeared in the newspaper like one, two or three. Only two of the female respondents of the private school said that the number of posts was not disclosed to them. While, most of the government school teachers did not remember the exact number of posts. Many of them just responded *"many"* or *"it may be around hundreds"* they were not so sure about it. Although the number of vacant posts in the government school is more than those in the private school, the process of selection is competitive as a huge number of applicants apply for the government jobs. Thus, the entry into government school is not an easy task. Most of the respondents in the government school are not aware of the number of applicants while in the public schools the teachers know almost exact number of applicants who had applied for the same post. Thus, a teacher has to undergo different stages before being selected in either the government or the private school.

Generally, neither the private nor the government schools provide any regular induction programmes to the teachers at the time of joining. Very few of the government schoolteachers talk about the two-day long induction programme which was mainly for

the purpose of familiarizing with the department. A women teacher of the government school felt it quite useful as it made her aware of the working conditions of the school. Another female respondent of the private school remembers the computer training given to her before entering into the teaching profession. She said,

I was computer illiterate and so this training was very important for me. It helped me in making report cards as one has to feed marks in the computer, making classroom presentations on Power Point. I learnt it all here.

Many other respondents were not provided any of the induction programmes. On being asked whether they feel the need of any induction programmes, one of the female respondents said,

Humein to B Ed mein hi itna sikha dete hai, iseliye kissi bhi programme ki jaroorat nahi..........vaise bhi teaching is just about taking care of kids, unki psychology hum nahi samajhge to kaun samajhga......... mujhe to nahi lagta in induction programmes ka hamare liye koi matlab hai.........hum ghar pe apne bachhon ko bhi to ache se sambhal lete hai............haan ye male teachers ke liye jaroor hona chahiye..........woh kabhi kabhi bachhon ke saath bahut rude ho jaate hai. (We are taught that much in B Ed, that's why there is no need of any programme.............anyhow teaching is just about taking care of kids, if we wont understand their psychology then who will?.............I don't feel the need of any induction programme for us.......we take good care of our kids at home also..........yes, these programmes should be for the male teachers........they sometimes get very rude with the kids.)

Thus, the continuity of the mothering is implicit in the minds of the female teachers. They feel teaching as an extension of their familial roles and that they could manage easily without much orientation. However, according to the women teachers, the male teachers need to be oriented as their basic nature is very different. Thus, this shows how the very basic nature of an individual is viewed and how these gender relations play a role in shaping individuals' perception of their colleagues.

Both the government and the private school provide in service programmes to the teachers. Most of the teachers felt that the in service programmes are very useful as it keeps them updated with the changes in the syllabus, new books and methods of teaching and above all understanding the psychology of the students who come from different backgrounds especially in the government schools. But few of the women teachers felt that such in service programmes are not of much use. One of female teacher commented,

Effective teaching comes from experience.... no seminar can teach us how to deal with kids.........what techniques to use in class.......being a mother, I now very well know what student wants, it is inbuilt in me............most of the things discussed in such seminars are not useful as they cannot be implemented in classrooms. So for a teacher the best learning place is her classroom alone and not such seminars.

Although there is a mixed response from the respondents, largely the teachers felt that the in service seminars are useful. A few women teachers felt that handling kids is the innate quality of the females, which no seminars can teach. According to them, such seminars should be more for the male teachers or the new, young unmarried teachers.

Gendered Nature of Subjects Taught

Not only the teaching as a career choice is gendered, but the choice of subject the teacher teaches is also gendered. Many of the studies have established the gendered nature of the subjects. Collin (1973) also reinforces that the young women who flocked eagerly into the public elementary classroom were seen as "naturally" designed for teaching the very young (and girls) but not for teaching higher grades, secondary or tertiary levels, or subjects such as mathematics, science, and the manual trades. Some disciplines are considered soft while others are considered hard disciplines. The soft disciplines like English, Hindi and Home Science are considered female courses while hard disciplines like Maths, Sciences are considered apt for males. The same is reflected in the choice of subjects made by the male and female respondents of the sample. As is quite evident from the table, the men teachers generally go in for subjects like Maths, Science, English

and Physical Education. While the women teachers mostly go in for language subjects like English, Hindi, Punjabi or Urdu as is in this case and even Home Science.

TABLE 3.9: GENDERED NATURE OF SUBJECTS TAUGHT

Teaching Subject	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Maths	3	1	4	4	1	5	9
Science	1	1	2	1	2	3	5
English	2	4	6	0	3	3	9
Hindi	0	3	3	0	2	2	5
S. ST	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Home Science	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Computer	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Physical Education	1	0	1	2	0	2	3
Sanskrit	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Punjabi	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

On being asked the reason for choosing a particular subject, most of the respondents said that since it was their subject in the graduation or post graduation therefore they went for it. One of the men teachers said,

I choose Science because I had always wanted to become an Air force pilot but because of the circumstances I had to go in for teaching but now I am too happy as it fetches me a lot of money through tuitions.

Another male Maths teacher gave the same reason "mera Maths teacher coaching se bahut kamata tha" (My Maths teacher used to earn a lot from the coaching institute). Therefore, for him the reason of choosing Maths as a subject was the tuitions or the coaching which could add as a supplement in his income. Many of the female respondents said that it was either their personal interest or sometimes the desire of their family that they chose this subject.

One of the women teachers said,

Maine to apni badi behan ke footsteps follow kiye. Maine dekha ki who bahut khush hai and meri family bhi usse leke bahut khush thi.........tabhi maine soch liya tha ki mein bhi uski tarah hi Hindi teacher hi banungi. (I followed the footsteps of my big sister. I saw her very happy and also my family was too happy for her....since then I decided to become a Hindi teacher like her.)

There are numerous such cases for women teachers wherein even the subject selection was under the influence of the family merely to keep them happy. Thus according to Acker (1994) such subject choices lead to the reproduction of existing social relations. It is very well substantiated by a female respondent's remark,

Mera interest to computers mein tha..........par mere papa ne mujhe Bachelor of Computer Applications ka enterance hi nahi dene diya. Wo chahate the ki mein mummy ki tarah hi ek English teacher banu......iseliye mujhe English honours course karma pada and now I am an English teacher. (I was interested in computers........but my father didn't allow me to give the Bachelor of Computer Applications Entrance Exam. He wanted me to become an English teacher like my mother....thats why I had to do English honours and now I am an English teacher.)

Although Miller (2004) found that people have now became increasingly open-minded about career possibilities during their school lives. Yet the subject choices they make in schools reinforce the traditional gendered paths. In addition, the career aspirations of the respondents are gendered.

Most of the men teachers of both the government and the private school, wanted to go in for higher courses like one of them wanted to do Ph.D in his subject but was waiting for the permission from the school. It is in accordance with the policy that the teachers need to take prior permission from the school before being enrolled for any course. Another male respondent was doing M.A. and wanted to do M Phil privately once his post-graduation is complete. Three of the male respondents were doing Masters in their subject privately through evening classes. Thus, out of the eleven men teachers who wanted to do higher courses, only two of them were not able to pursue higher courses as

one of them was waiting for school's permission and another was handling his brother's business so it was difficult for him to spare time for further studies.

As far as the female respondents are concerned, almost seventeen out of total twenty-four women teachers wanted to go in for higher-level courses but only three of them could go for it. One of the women teachers said,

> *English is such a subject that one needs to be really updated. It is a course that requires life long learning but I regret that I don't have enough time to continue with my PhD. My kids are grown up now and now making plan for my study looks awkward.*

Another female respondent wanted to do M.Sc. but she could not do. She said, "*It is a full fledged course which cannot be done with my regular job*" One of the women teachers said,

> *Mein to joint family mein rehti hun aur mere bachhe bhi chote hai............man to bahut karta hai par mujhe pata hai ki manage nahi ho pajeya. (I live in a joint family and my kids are also small..........really want to do it but I know it can't be managed.)*

Thus, while talking to the women teachers the desire was quite visible but the will to fulfil was lacking. Reasons may be different for each, sometimes it is the age factor, sometimes kids and sometimes family. On the other hand, the men teachers could easily go in for their desired courses and study. Only two of the female respondents could go in for the higher studies they wished for, as both were unmarried. One of them had joined a course in foreign language from IELTS, whose classes were conducted on weekends. She said she could easily manage, as there was not much burden of the familial responsibilities. Another unmarried female teacher from Private school was doing a computer course again on weekends.

SUMMARY

The chapter throws light on the gendered nature of teaching as a professional choice. It focuses on the factors that lead to concentration of women in teaching profession. It is found that not only the career aspirations are gendered but also the processes in the school like subject choice, selection process, pre-service and in-service training subtly reinforce the existing gendered relations of the society. The issue that arises is whether there is any gender differentiation and stratification of tasks at the work place and if yes, does it condition the experiences of women and men? This is what the next chapter will discuss.

CHAPTER IV

EVERYDAY LIFE OF WOMEN TEACHERS: GENDER IN SCHOOL-HOUSEHOLD DOMAINS

Many studies have dealt with the effect of the gender mix of professions on diverse outcomes, including the gender earnings gap (Baron and Newman, 1989; Reid, 1998; Tam, 1997), job satisfaction and psychological orientations towards work (Wharton and Baron, 1987, 1991), gender stereotyping and evaluation bias (Konrad et al., 1992; Tsui and O'Reilly, 1989) and the authority gap (Jaffee, 1989). All these studies point to a clear gender segregation in various professions.

Gender segregation is a main avenue for discrimination in access to authority (Jaffee, 1989; Kraus and Yonay, 2000). One reason why women lack authority is that most women are concentrated in female-dominated professions like in teaching, which comprise fewer positions of authority than male-dominated professions. Indeed, Huffman (1995) finds the concentration of women in predominantly female professions to be a strong predictor of women's authority deficit, even after making adjustments for worker characteristics. Thus, in teaching, although women concentrate in number, they lack the authority, which generally goes to the male staff. Kraus and Yonay (2000) imply that the largest authority gap exist where women are the majority as it occurs in teaching profession. In the test of this prediction, Kraus and Yonay (2000) find a markedly smaller gender authority gap in male-dominated occupations than in female-dominated occupations, supporting the hypothesis.

Kanter (1977) was among the first to investigate how men and women representation influences their work experiences. Her work supports the contention that increased representation of women should reduce discrimination. Similarly, Blau (1988) posited that as heterogeneity increases, group membership becomes less significant to the "in-group," and, as a result, their propensity to discriminate declines. Although teaching occupations comprise fewer positions of authority, women's presence may counter

balance their disadvantage by increasing their power and advantage. (Kraus and Yonay, 2000) Thus, these studies focus on the gender discrimination at the work place.

For a women teacher, the home and school are inseparable parts. They both play an important role in their lives. The domain of "work and family" has emerged as a distinct area of research. Researchers continue to be intrigued by the interplay between work and family, with particular emphasis on short and long-term consequences of work for the quality of family life and the development of family members. With industrialization, the relationship between the work and family has changed dramatically due to the establishment of institutions separate from the family to perform economic activities (Boserup, 1970; Tilly and Scott 1978; Hareven, 1982; Ryan, 1983). Work increasingly became an activity performed away from the home for monetary return.

Further, the narrow research focusing on dual-career families and "working mothers," has evolved into an increasing domain of study involving researchers from several disciplines and theoretical perspectives. The technological and economic changes, has made their mark on the work-family interface. The effects of work on families depend in part, on how men and women divide unpaid family work, such as household chores and childcare.

Parcel and Menaghan's (1997) study laid important groundwork for understanding how experiences on the job shape the lives of workers and their children. Hochschild (1997) argued that, for many workers, work had become home and home had become work with the result that workers were putting in increasingly long hours in the workplace as a way to avoid family time. Using time-use data, Robinson and Godbey (1997) argued that teachers had not increased the amount of time they devoted to work, but rather the workload has increased. Parcel and Menaghan (1994a) found, when fathers worked less than full-time during their children's early years; children had elevated behaviour problems, whereas overtime paternal hours were linked to decreased verbal facility. Thus, the workload directly influences the family life of an individual.

Research by Parcel and Menaghan (1994b) also reveals that the occupational complexity of mothers' work is related to the extent to which they create a positive home environment for their children, meaning a family context that provides cognitive

stimulation, emotional support, and safety. In addition to attending to the variability in the work context, the researchers explored family conditions and maternal resources as they influence child outcomes, attempting to tease apart the direct and combinative effects of work conditions and family conditions on child functioning. Parcel and Menaghan (1993) hypothesized that workers subjected to greater autonomy and self-supervision on the job will place less emphasis on direct parental control over their children and in- stead promote children's ability to internalize parental norms, which in turn lowers the probability of behaviour problems. Thus, the combinations of changing work and family circumstances may influence changes in the quality of children's home environments.

The work overload leads to chronic job stressors as it may cause feelings of conflict between the roles of worker and family member. Hughes, Galinsky, & Moms (1992) found that the association between chronic stressors at work and marital tension was mediated by the worker's perception that work and family life interfered with each other. Crouter, Bumpus, Maguire, & McHale (1999) found that mothers and fathers who described more pressure at work also reported greater role overload and a feeling of being overwhelmed by multiple commitments. Study by MacDermid & Williams, (1997) found that mothers' reports of more demands at work were directly associated with their reports of more behaviour problems in their children. Thus, the work-family research has focused on the individual's management of the multiple roles of worker, and parent for individuals' mental health and the quality of their family relationships.

Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, (1991) has developed self-report family-to-work conflict scales that require respondents to assess the ways that their family demands have affected their work-related activities. A number of researchers used such reports and a number of results were drawn. Employed wives spent only about half as much time on housework as unemployed wives (Thoits, 1992), but even employed wives spent, on the average, almost three times as much time on household work as their husbands. Husbands of employed wives did not increase their family work in the narrow sense (e.g., childcare) but showed some increase in broader forms of family participation (e.g., child contact) (Pleck, 1992). When a broad range of childcare and housework responsibilities was

considered, the employed wife spent a greater total number of hours working either in or outside the home than her husband or her unemployed counterpart (Pleck, 1992). Thus, the studies point out how the work at the work place influences the work at the home and vice-versa and clearly state that the impact of the work is more in case of women.

The issue that arises now is whether these significant changes in women's roles in the public world of work have been matched by equivalent changes in the private world of the family. To explain it, the investigator felt the need to look into the two worlds of a teacher i.e. the family and the school and see how both the domains interact or influence each other. The chapter describes this. The present chapter is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the tasks/activities in the school and the experiences of the teachers in the school domain and the second part focuses on the home domain and describes the reproduction of gendered roles.

PART I: SCHOOL DOMAIN

The concept of teaching has changed a lot. The National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2005) focuses on new dimensions of teaching emphasizing on child centred teaching, multicultural approach and so on. All these changes have obviously affected the roles and duties of a teacher. Teachers now act as facilitators or reflective practitioners, using interactive discussions and "hands-on" learning to help students learn and apply concepts in subjects such as science, mathematics, or English. As teachers move away from the traditional repetitive drill approaches and rote memorization, they are using more "props" to help children understand abstract concepts, solve problems, and develop critical thought processes. The classes are becoming less structured, with students working in groups to discuss and solve problems together. Preparing students for the future workforce is the major stimulus generating the changes in education. To be prepared, students must be able to interact with others, adapt to new technology, and logically think through problems. Teachers provide the tools and environment for their students to develop these skills. Thus, the role of a teacher in the school is changing.

Elementary school teachers play a vital role in the development of children. What children learn and experience during their early years can shape their views of themselves

and the world, and affect later success or failure in school, work, and their personal lives. Most elementary school teachers instruct one class of children in several subjects. In some schools, two or more teachers work as a team and are jointly responsible for a group of students in at least one subject. In other schools, a teacher may teach one special subject—usually music, art, reading, science, arithmetic, or physical education—to a number of classes. A small but growing number of teachers instruct multilevel/multigrade classrooms, with students at several different learning levels.

In the government school, the total number of periods in a day is eight. Out of which, for almost every teacher, at least five or six are regular periods. This makes two or three free periods in a day. Generally, one goes for an arrangement; therefore, every teacher has at least two free periods. In the private schools, there are nine periods in a day and with one or two free for each teacher. Generally, if two periods are free, one always goes for substitution. The computer teacher in the private school complained of having no free period in a day. She said,

> *I am the only computer teacher in the school and so I am overburdened with work............Can't even dream of having even a single free period. Even during the exam time, result making comes as an additional burden on me"*

Therefore, as far as the number of free periods is concerned, teachers in the government school feel luckier in that respect.

In both the government and the private schools, generally the Principal assigns the tasks to the teachers. The Principal in the government school is a male teacher and in the private school is a female teacher. The tasks assignment by the Principal is informed to the Head of the Department through the Vice-Principal, if there is one, as is in the case of the private school, which is then passed on to the concerned teachers. All the respondents feel that the Principal gives them enough freedom to perform the tasks assigned to them. One of the women teachers of the private school said,

She makes us very comfortable by providing facilities and encourages us and this really rejuvenates us with the will to do different things like attending seminars, going for trips.

The women teacher from the government school also showed somewhat similar response, *"It is the freedom that the Principal gives us, makes our job more comfortable. He is really understanding and Co operative."*

On being asked to give details of the academic tasks that the respondents had to perform as a teacher, the list of duties performed is endless. The tasks include curriculum transaction, maintaining attendance register, making lesson plan diaries, maintaining weekly or sometimes monthly student's progress report, preparing students for competitions or morning assemblies. Thus, the teacher is not just limited to the classroom but she is involved in a number of activities outside the classroom. One of the female respondents of the private school said,

Teaching is not just a half-day job. It is in fact a full day job. Even if we go home, our mind is pre occupied with the schoolwork. We usually have to carry our schoolwork like checking at home.

Teachers have to design classroom presentations to meet student needs and abilities. They also work with students individually. Teachers plan, evaluate, and assign lessons; prepare, administer, and grade tests; listen to oral presentations; and maintain classroom discipline. They observe and evaluate a student's performance and potential, and increasingly are asked to use new assessment methods. They then can provide additional assistance in areas where a student needs help. Teachers also grade papers, prepare report cards, and meet with parents and school staff to discuss a student's academic progress or personal problems. In addition to classroom activities, teachers supervise extra-curricular activities. They identify physical or mental problems and refer students to the proper resource or agency for diagnosis and treatment. The duties performed by a teacher are many.

In addition to this, in the private schools there is a system of weekly unit tests, which according to the teachers keeps them occupied in tasks such as making test papers, checking them and simultaneously feeding marks into the computer. One of the private school teachers observed,

> *Pata hi nahi chalta kaise din nikal jaata hai...........kabhi kabhi to lunch mein bhi checking hi chalti rehti hai. Khana khana to door, apas mein haal chaal puchne ka bhi time nahi hota. (Doesn't even realize how the day ends in school, sometimes even in the lunch breaks checking continues, forget about eating lunch, no time to even talk to our colleagues.)*

Another Government school women teacher said,

> *We have to be like their mothers, since it is not just a teacher-student relationship; in fact, it is more than that it is like a mother-child relationship. Once this relationship develops, the students will be comfortable with the teacher and only then, the teacher will be able to bring about changes in the students.*

Thus, in this way, teaching is not just limited to subjects but also moral and character development of the students. In this context, the response of a men teacher is interesting. He said,

> *Our duties as a teacher do not end with the period. Now a day's kids are very observant. They see in us their future and thus, our job becomes very challenging. We have to be their role models. This is not an easy task as it requires a change in our personality.*

Thus, no doubt teaching as a learning profession involves teachers in a continuous process of learning, but more specifically, it involves them in a process of making relationships that is accommodated within integrative modes of agreement-making.. (Nixon, 1992) Nixon & Ranson (1996) state that teacher's relationships occur at a number of levels:

- Intra-professional: Collegiality. Teachers working together, sharing ideas and evaluating their collective practice in such a way as to achieve a coherent public presence;

- Professional/student: Negotiation. Teachers negotiating learning tasks with students and seeking to involve them in school organisation issues and community education projects;

- Inter-professional: Co-ordination. Teachers working intensively 'at the boundaries', liaising with other professions and agencies and involving themselves in the local community;

- Professional/parent: Partnership. Teachers working with parents as partners and recognising them as complementary educators.

At each of these levels, the teacher focuses upon the complex practices of agreement making, such that collegiality, negotiation, co-ordination and partnership may be seen as emergent values of teacher professionalism. Thus, the teachers are expected to place a premium on the agreement-making practices: collaborative teaching and team planning negotiated learning and assessment, the involvement of other agencies and institutions in the processes of course development, and the development of strong parent forums. As is evident from the responses of the teachers, the teacher is not just limited to the classroom but he/she is involved in a number of activities outside the classroom.

Gender Segregation of Tasks in Schools

Teachers had different views on gender segregation of tasks in the school. Only a few of the teachers felt that that the tasks in the school are not allocated keeping in mind the gender of the teacher. One of the men teacher commented, *"Any task can be done by any teacher. Where in comes the question of gender?"* However, most of the teachers felt otherwise. They were of the opinion that the tasks in the school were based on gender. According to both men and women teachers, discipline maintenance, rigorous activities like sports and outside school work, all such tasks are done effectively by the men

teachers while women teachers being patient can handle the students very well, understand their psychology. Thus, the teachers feel that somehow the tasks in the school are gender based.

One of the teachers, in fact, justifies this work segregation,

> *Yeh to biological differences ki wajah se hai. Male teachers to physically strong hote hai aur female teachers soft hoti hai. Bahar ka kaam male teachers hi kar payenge aur koi bhi art related kaam ko female hi sunderta se kar pageyi. (This is because of the inherent biological differences. Male teachers are physically strong while female teachers are soft. Male teachers can do outside work only and the female teacher can do any art related work beautifully.)*

Table 4.1 shows how work has been allocated to the teachers. Generally, it is the duty of the men teachers to maintain discipline. In his free periods, he had to take rounds of the school to ensure that discipline is maintained. It is the same scenario in both the government and the private schools.

TABLE 4.1: DUTIES OTHER THAN CLASSROOM TEACHING

Other Duties Besides Classroom Teaching	GOVERNMENT SCHOOL			PRIVATE SCHOOL			TOTAL
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Staff secretary	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Discipline duty	3	0	3	3	0	3	6
Preparing for competitions	0	4	4	0	4	4	8
Cultural Activities	0	3	3	0	3	3	6
House Activities	1	1	2	1	1	2	4
Sports Activities	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Editor of Magazine	0	1	1	2	0	2	3
Examination In charge	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Moral Education	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Councillor	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Official work	1	0	1	1	0	1	2
TOTAL	7	12	19	7	12	19	38

Being an observer in the schools, the investigator could notice that the men teachers roam around in schools in their free periods so that discipline is maintained while the women teachers would sit in the staff room and do work like checking scripts/ exam papers.

Interestingly, on certain occasions such as a retirement party, the women teachers do the decoration of the staff room but the men teachers bring the things for decoration and the eatables. Such type of gender based work segregation is somewhat visible in the Table 4.1 as well.

It is quite interesting to mention the responses of the men and women teachers. According to one of the male teachers,

> *Apart from classroom teaching, maintaining discipline is given to me. Not many students in the government school come from good social background. They are sometimes very violent and use very abusive language as they hear in their homes. Female teachers cannot handle such students but they are slightly scared of us so we have to tackle such students.*

Another men teacher in the government school is of the same view.

> *Bachhe to shaitan hote hain........unhe sambhale ke liye hamari jaroorat hoti hai.........female teachers polite hoti hain unse yeh nahi sambhatle"* (students are naughty.....male teachers can handle them.....female teachers being polite can't handle them.)

A male teacher of the private school said,

> *I am in charge of picnic and excursion club. Whenever any picnic or tour is planned, I generally accompany the students. A lot of preparation has to be done like transportation, prior visit, taking permission and collecting work. All falls on my shoulders. However, it is only with the help of the class teachers that I am able to accomplish it successfully.*

Another male teacher said that since he is a computer literate sometimes he is given the duty to fill the CBSE forms in the computer, check the official records, etc. Thus, the data

shows that the men teachers apart from classroom teaching are given the so-called tasks such as discipline responsibilities, sports and picnic planning activities. They are also given the charge of the houses and the assembly.

On the other hand, women teachers are mainly responsible for the so-called 'soft' tasks such as cultural activities in the schools. They have to prepare students for competitions like debates, dance, and dramas. Apart from that, some of them edit the school magazine; some are given the responsibility of the examinations. A female teacher of the public school said,

> *The Principal prepares the list of duties on any function. If we see it generally all the work like collecting material for stage decoration, buying stationary , getting invitation cards, stage set up goes to the men teachers and uh..........maintaining discipline too. Moreover, the remaining work like preparing students for the activities like debates, dances comes to us. However, if it's a sports day function, men teachers are more involved in preparing the students.*

One of the women teachers observes that she has to be ready for any task given to her. This job demands versatile teachers. As Lortie (1975) also discusses about "endemic uncertainties" of teaching and argues, "Uncertainty is the lot of those who teach" (pg. 133).

Another female teacher in the public school notes,

> *Apart from classroom teaching, I am the councillor here. Being a female, I can understand the psychology of the students very well and they feel very comfortable in discussing their problems with me. I feel that because I am a female, I can be the best councillor; no male teacher can do this duty. One has to be empathetic, it requires a lot of patience and I doubt whether any male can have that patience.*

The government female teachers are of the opinion that some of the students in the government school, come from conservative backgrounds, so they are a bit shy. In such

cases, they can easily relate to a women teacher and even the families especially of the girl child want a women teacher for their kids. The reason may be either the motherly feeling in a female teacher because of which the student feels attached to the teacher or the safety of the girl child especially.

Women teachers are given various other responsibilities as well. For instance, one of the women science teachers is the in-charge of the Environmental Club. Another government school women teacher talked about her responsibility of block teaching for which she had to devote a lot of time, as they had to prepare a lot of material from home.

Thus, a close analysis of the responses of men and women teachers suggests that the allocation of the duties is a mere reproduction of the existing social structure in the society. There is clear gender segregation in the task assignment in both the schools understudy.

As far as the execution of the assigned tasks is concerned, none of the men teachers, either of the private or of the government school, faced any problem in performing the tasks, but a few female teachers mentioned that they faced problems in performing these tasks. One of the women teachers of the private school complained that the Block teaching had increased her workload. She had become too occupied with the preparation of material that she sometimes had to make compromises with her regular class room teaching. Two of the women teachers in the private schools felt inconvenient with the daily stay backs in the school. One of them said,

> Stay backs ki wajah se mein apne bachhon ko bahut ignore kar rahi hun. (Because of these stay back, I am ignoring my kids.)

Another women teacher was facing the same problem,

> Vaise to maine maid laga rakhi hain par who sab kaam nahi kar pati.....kabhi kabhi is vajah se ghar mein saas ke saath bahut tension ho jaati hai. (Although, I have a maid at home but she can't do all the work ....sometimes because of this, there are tensions with with my mother in law at home.)

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Another private school women teacher commented,

Pata nahi yeh male teachers kya bahana maar kar, 2:30 par hi ghar chale jaate hain………..principal hamari to koi excuse sunti hi nahi. (I don't know what excuse does the male teachers give and go back home at 2:30 ………Principal doesn't ever listen to our excuses.)

One of the women teacher of the government school said that she really faces problem in feeding result into the computer. She wanted that there would be a separate staff member who should be doing such work as it takes a lot of their time. Thus, for the women teachers stay backs are a real problem as they have to devote time for the household work too, but while the men teachers did not face much difficulty in performing the tasks assigned to them.

Keeping in mind the responses of the teachers, it is mainly the biological and social constraints by which individuals come to adopt gender-specific behaviour at work place and the allocation of work among the teachers is done based on sex, often to sex-typed positions.

It is important to note the interactions between the male and female teachers in the school. This may reveal further segregation of teachers in terms of gender, which may substantiate the segregation in terms of task assignment. For this, the researcher attempted to find out how men and women teachers interact in the common staffrooms in both the schools. It is observed that the men teachers in both the government and the private schools did not prefer sitting in the common room that is meant for teachers. In the government school, they sit in the Computer lab. On being asked the reason, one of the male respondent said, *"common room mein to jagah hi nahi hai………..hum kahan baithe." (There is no place in the common room………where do we sit.)* Another male respondent said, *"Hamare paas to baithne ka time hi nahi hota………free period mein hamein rounds lene hote hain." (We don't have time to sit …………even in the free periods we have to take rounds of the school.)*

Similar scenario is observed in the private school. The men teachers used to either sit in the Physics lab or the Sports room but none of them would use the common staff room. One of the male teachers said,

> *Haimen Physics lab mein hi comfortable lagta hai......common room mein to female teachers apni ghar ki baatein karti rehti hai........unhe bhi ajeeb lagega agar hum vahan baith jaaye. (We feel comfortable in Physics lab only......in the common room female teachers do their personal talks.......they'll feel uncomfortable if we sit there.)*

The women teachers also said that it is just because of the scarcity of space that male teachers sit in the Physics lab.

The teachers in the government schools said that in the staff room, they generally do their checking work or completing their register or lesson plan dairies. While in the private school, the teachers had to sit in their classes in the break so they generally do their lunch in the classrooms and when they are free, they sit in the staff room and complete their work. One of the women teachers of the private school said,

> *I go to the staff room only in the morning and whole of the day; I am running from one class to another......no time to even sit in the staffroom.*

As far as the interactions are concerned, the women teachers of the government school said that they interact with everyone in the staff room but since the men teachers don't sit in the staffroom, there is no question of interaction with them. The private school teachers on the other hand, said that they had no time to interact with any one in the staff room. They are so preoccupied with their work that they have time just to say 'hi' to each other. One of the male teachers said,

> *Since we rarely go to the staff room ....we interact with the female teachers in the corridors if it has required ....otherwise everyone is so busy in his or her own work.*

Thus, there is some limit of physical/spatial segregation of the male and female teachers in both the schools. Sometimes the segregation is driven by the paucity of time as well.

Perceptions of Working Conditions and Role Effectiveness

The researcher also tried to find out whether the teachers are satisfied with the schoolwork culture. It is found that the women teachers both of the private and the government school are satisfied with the working conditions of the school. Therefore, they were less complaining in comparision to men teachers. Most of the female respondents of the study considered teaching as a profession that does not come in conflict with traditional view of feminine responsibilities. Feminine here means all those aspects of life, which are considered essential for women mainly the familial responsibilities. It is quite clear in the responses of the women teachers

> *"Teaching is a two in one job; I can easily mange my home with it so I am quite satisfied with the working conditions of the school"*

> *"I am much attached with kids so all the problem vanishes as I see them"*

The data confirms that the women teachers feel continuity between the familial and the professional roles. The role extension makes it possible for the women teachers to carry out their school tasks comfortably. Above all if they are able to manage their housework properly, they can easily manage their schoolwork as well. Thus, a woman in profession, still by and large, tries to meet the cultural expectations of feminity by making efforts to be efficient housewives and mothers along with their being efficient working women. They do not want to be called very dedicated workers at the cost of being called not so efficient as housewives or mothers.

However, teaching may be frustrating for the women teachers when dealing with unmotivated and disrespectful students. They have to cope with unruly behaviour and violence in the schools and so experience stress when dealing with large classes, students from disadvantaged or multicultural backgrounds, and heavy workloads. Teachers of the private schools are isolated from their colleagues because they work alone in a classroom

of students but the government schoolteachers are allowed to work in teams and with mentors to enhance their professional development.

A few of the women teachers faced problem in maintaining discipline among the students otherwise most of them are satisfied with the working conditions of the school. A government school women teacher felt that only maintaining the discipline among the students is a real problem for her otherwise rest all is 'ok'. Another private school women teacher talks about the problems she faces in maintaining discipline among the aggressive students. As Kyriacou (2001) reports, that the main sources of teacher stress stem from teaching students who lack motivation; maintaining discipline in the classroom; confronting general time pressures and workload demands; being exposed to a large amount of change; being evaluated by others; having difficult or challenging relationships with colleagues, administration, or management; and being exposed to generally poor working conditions.

The researcher intended to seek answers for a question: whether teaching profession is appropriate for women. The responses are interesting as they further reinforce the gendering of women's work. For instance, one of the men teachers felt that teaching is a profession for females. According to him, it is just the time factor, which makes it better for girls, but he clearly mentions that this does not mean that men can be excluded from this profession. To clarify his point he said that earlier there were more men teachers in schools. However, as they got better opportunities outside they left it.

One of the men teachers got aggravated and responded,

> *No profession can either be a male or female profession. If one has the zeal, enthusiasm, devotion and capability, he or she can be a good teacher. Gender really doesn't matter"* Infact he counter questioned the investigator *"If it is female profession why in the coaching institutes there is 70% of the male staff?.*

Another men teacher responded,

> *Teaching abilities depends on individual's skills. Infact sometimes I feel that male teachers are more influential than female teachers are as they have a*

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better control on kids. They do the schoolwork without much tension of the home
as compared to the female teachers.

The responses of the women teachers were quite mixed. Almost half of the women teachers felt that teaching profession is a females' profession. According to them, they could see continuity in their household and school work, which makes it easy for them to carry out their work effectively. It is just an extension of their household work. One of the women teacher said, *"Being a mother, I can understand the psychology of the students and deal with their personal problems."*

As discussed already, many of the female teachers reiterated that the motherly feeling in the teaching profession makes them suitable for this profession. Collins (1973) in his study reinforces the opinion that teaching fits nicely with women's traditional domestic role, but it represents much more than this - a very respectable, financially secure and professional way in which to earn a living. Teaching, like mother's work, is general, diffuse, inclusive, and applied. Teachers and moms must be joans-of-all-specialties.

However, some of the women teachers also felt that it is not apt to call teaching as a profession for females as even males are quite effective teachers. It is just the way the society thinks teaching as suitable for girls.

Interestingly, almost all the men teachers felt that they being a male have had an advantage in teaching profession. They could easily maintain discipline among the students which generally all the female have faced problems. One of the men teachers also said, *"Being a male teacher, I could easily get tuitions for Maths."* Just one of the men teachers among the sample thought otherwise. He said, *"All the tasks are done effectively by all teachers. It doesn't matter whether the teacher is a male or a female."*

The women teachers are of the opinion that their being a female definitely brings them closer to the kids and such relationships facilitate teaching and make it a healthy process. One of the women teachers said,

They are just like our kids. Sometimes they call us mummy. It shows how comfortable they are with us and it is just like creating a homely environment in the classroom.

Another women respondent felt that teaching for females is just like a continuity of their household work. As they take care of the kids at home, similarly they do it in the school. Spradley and Mann, (1975) argue that teaching as an extension of mother/wife roles. In the words of Noddings (1984, pg. 123) *"Women worked with people and what they did was described as expressive, interactive, responsive, supportive, and most of all, nurturing and labour intensive; it was frequently characterized by "burnout," as a result of time-demanding children or wall-to-wall students."*

PART II: REPRODUCTION OF GENDERED ROLES: HOME-SCHOOL INTERACTION

This part of the chapter describes the data pertaining to the household domain. The study attempts to examine how home factors interact and influence the everyday activities of the women teachers. The aim here is to highlight the reproduction of the gender roles, which may influence the professional roles of the women teachers. This is reflected in the responses of the women teachers, when they are asked about the activities they perform at homes. It is found that the responsibilities of the men are mostly focused on outside home tasks while the management of the entire household tasks is mainly restricted for the women.[2] The tasks for the women ranged from cooking to cleaning to caring and education of kids. The unmarried women did not have many responsibilities at home except a few of them said that it was just serving food or cleaning of own room.

The male respondents' main responsibility is to provide financial support and the rest of the household work falls on the shoulders of their wives. One of the men teacher commented,

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[2] Hunt (1968) defines housewife as *"the person wholly or mainly responsible for running the household"* (Pg. 25)

Koi bhi responsibility nahi hai. Mein to sirf paise de deta hun. Meri patni hi ghar ke kaam manage karti hai. (No responsibility........I only give money at home. My wife manages the home tasks.)

Another men teacher responded similarly,

Mostly the bill payments and sometimes marketing is done by me. Sometimes when my wife is busy, I help my kids in their studies.

For the female respondents, the list of tasks at home went endless. It includes household work like cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, to childcare, their education and even shopping. One of the female respondents said,

I stay in a joint family. I have to do everything at home like a good bahu. (daughter-in-law) Although, there is a maid but cooking is done by me. She just does the cleaning.

Thus, owing to the ability to define the limits of the involvement in caring and domestic work, most men are able to retain responsibility of just one predominant social role, that of a bread winner, while many women juggle a number of social roles, coping with child care and domestic work in addition to their paid-work commitments. As Russell (1983) notes men tend to choose those parenting tasks, which are highly visible, involve less engagement of time and attention, and fall towards the play end of the work/place childcare continuum.

As far as the family support to the individuals in performing the household tasks is concerned, it is found that most of the male respondents do not get family's support in performing the home tasks. However many of the male respondents did admit that they do not require any help from their family in performing the home tasks. They said that they could manage them easily without any help. Infact the reason may be something different. The tasks are so minimal and very clearly specified that they do not require any help.

For the female respondents, it is very different, they have to perform multiple tasks at home as a mother, a wife, a bahu and as a care taker too. It is generally these multiple roles and their complexities that lead to work overload for women. To add to it, these roles are very ambiguous and not clearly specified especially in the case of women. Most of the female respondents felt the work overload and to manage it. Almost 80% of them had full time or part time maid who mainly does the cleaning part, while cooking still falls on their shoulders. A few of them are even helped by the members of the household like, the mother-in-law or the sister-in-law or co-sister. Sometimes their husbands also help them. One of the female respondents said,

> *Agar mere husband mood mein hote hain to wo meri cooking mein madad kar dete hain……… Kabhi salad kaat dete hai to kabhi kuch ready to eat snacks bana dete hai. Par aisa bahut hi kam hota hai…….mahine mein ek do baar. (If my husband is in mood, then he helps me in cooking……..like cutting salad or making some ready to eat snacks. But this happens very occasionally……..once or twice in a month.)*

The attitude and the perception of the family members of the teachers towards teaching profession may also reflect gender stereotyping of the roles by the society. The responses of the men teachers showed that their families were just all right with their profession. In the words of a male respondent, *"It's ok with my family as long as I am earning."* Another male respondent observed,

> *Entering into teaching profession was because of the financial constraints. I had no other choice. My family wanted me to become an air force pilot. But they are ok with it. In fact they are not so much involved in it.*

Thus, most of the male respondents' family did not show much involvement in the professional roles. As far as the families of the female respondents are concerned, almost 80% of them were supportive. A female respondent noted,

My family is very happy with it. They had always wanted their two daughters to be teachers...........it was my father's wish to be a teacher and now even my husband supports it.

Another women teacher said,

My family is ok with it as long as I manage my household work well. They are unhappy with it when we have to stay back for long hours in the school.

This shows that even the families think that the job of the women is supplementary and the household work is the main priority. Till the time the housework is managed, everything goes on fine.

For most of the men teachers, professional responsibilities do not affect their familial roles. In general, they did not feel that their two roles are affecting each other. For the women, it is just the opposite. According to them, they are managing their work whole day and in fact making 'adjustments'. One of them pointed out, *"As soon as I reach home I first complete my school work and then do the kitchen work"* Another women teacher said, *"I first complete the household work and then sit at late nights with my school work."* Therefore, it is either this way or that way; the women have to manage their two tasks.

According to another women teacher,

Meri to social life hi khatam ho gayi hai. Kissi ke ghar jaana to door ki baat hai......Main to ghar aaye guests ko bhi theek se attend nahi kar paati hun. (My social life has ended. Leave apart from going at someone's home...........I can't even attend the guests at my home properly.)

Similarly, another female commented, *"I have to think twice for going to any function or party. It really horrifies me sometimes."* Such comments from the women teachers show how packed they are within their own professional and familial tasks that they do not even have time to maintain social relations. Most of them talked about the adjustments they had to make but still after the adjustments, sometimes they had to ignore their

cooking or sometimes the kids or at other times the school work. One of the female respondents said,

> *Now I consider myself very foolish........ I carry my school work to home but every time I had to carry it back to the school unfinished yet I do it a number of times"*

Most of the women teachers observed that the functions or celebrations in the school keep them so occupied that they had to ignore their household work. One of them narrated the Republic Day (26th January) incident. She said, *"The preparation was time consuming. We had to stay in the school for long hour and our houses are totally neglected during those days"* This was one of the main objections by the families of the women teachers. Excursions, tours, trips and even long stay backs in the school during the functions annoy the families of women teachers. The main reason behind such a reaction from the family is stated to be the safety of the women. One of the women teachers said,

> *Getting late without any information is really objected by my family. They want me to follow a proper schedule in which I am able to devote time to my family. Such type of responsibilities and schedules are a big hurdle due to irregular timings of the school.*

As far the men teachers are concerned, their families do not object to any of the extra-activities of the school. Just one male physical education teacher of the private school said that his tours with the students for two or three days, sometimes upset his family.

Stay backs is a regular feature for the private school teachers. All the teachers had to stay back in the school till 4 pm. In the government school, only the Maths and the Science teachers had to stay back. Again, gender discrimination is very much visible in the responses of the teachers. Most of the male teachers, either of the private or the government schools, are not asked to stay back in the school. One of the male Maths teacher said, *"Initially I was told to stay back in the school, but I had to take tuitions so I requested the principal to go home early"* The men teachers who had to stay back in the

school are mostly physical education teachers. Contrarily, most of the women teachers had to stay back in the school. In the private school, it was compulsory for all women teachers to stay back in the school and in the government school, Maths and Science female teachers had to stay back and the language teachers were not asked to stay back in the school. The reason behind this was to provide weak students some extra classes in Maths and Science subjects. Therefore, the teachers of these subjects were asked to stay back. During the fieldwork, the investigator too observed that it was mostly the women teachers who stayed back and the men teachers would generally excuse themselves from such duties.

On being asked whether the stay back was acceptable to them, all the male teachers denied out-rightly, and out of the seven female teachers of the government school, six of them agreed to it. Only one of them did not agree with the stay back as she was having some health problem. In the private school too, eleven female teachers found the stay back all right and only one of the female teachers was cribbing about it. She said,

> *I feel it bad as the male teachers are always excused while we female teachers have to stay back in the school. I have a small kid at home. I also make adjustments at home ....these males should also try to adjust their tuition timings accordingly.*

Overall, neither in the government nor in the private schools, the male teachers are asked to stay back, whereas almost all the female teachers had to stay back in the school. This shows gender differentiation in the school tasks.

As far the family's reaction to the stay back is concerned, a female teacher mentioned, *"Meri family ko to koi bhi pareshani nahi hai."(My family has no problem at all.)* But almost 65% of the remaining women teachers said that their family sometimes gets irritated with the stay backs. One of them commented,

> *Agar mein teen baje se late ho jaati hun to meri saas ko gussa aa jaata hai. (If I get late beyond 3o clock themn my mother in law gets angry.)*

Another agrues,

Meri to joint family hai..........isliye stay backs ko leke kaafi tension rehti hai. (I have a joint family that is why there is lot of tension regarding stay backs.)

One of the female respondents said,

It's ok with my family as long as I manage my household work well but if any day because of the stay back the house work gets ignored then they get a little disturbed.

Regarding managing the familial work during the stay backs, three men teachers didn't face any difficulty. They said that they could manage it easily. While the women teachers had to make adjustments like keeping, a part time or full time maid was the most common among them. A few of them are helped by their mother-in-laws who used to mainly look after the kids in their absence. One of them said,

Maine to ek full time maid rakhi hui hai. Mein hi usse apni salary mein se paise deti hun ....isileye mere saas saaur ko koi pareshaani nahi hai.......wohi saare kaam sambhaal leti hai. (I have kept a full time maid. I only pay her from my salary..........that's why my in laws have no problem......she only manages all the work.)

Another female respondent noted, *"I sometimes feel like a robot running here n there. It really tires and confuses me."* This teacher is pointing towards the multiple roles that overburdens her and may create some ambiguity that may confuse her.

Thus, most of the women teachers felt that the stay backs certainly overburden them with work but they anyhow had to manage them so that they could easily accomplish the two tasks, while the men teachers did not ever felt the need the need to manage familial roles as the school tasks rarely affected them.

SUMMARY

Thus, the chapter focuses on how and to what extent the roles of men and women teachers in school and home domains influence each other and reproduce gender stereotypes. It is found that the multiple roles of women teachers, that of a homemaker

and a teacher, burdens her and leads to chronic stress that is rarely felt by any male teacher in the sample. The findings do point out that there is gender segregation of the tasks within both the school and the home domain. The next chapter summarises the study and draws conclusions.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study aimed to explore the gendered nature of teaching profession. It primarily used a qualitative method in order to gain access into the teacher's world so that a better understanding could be developed. For this purpose, the study examined the aspirational factors for taking up teaching as a profession, the gendered nature of the professional experiences of men and women teachers and the demands of the familial and professional roles of both men and women teachers. A total of thirty eight teachers were interviewed out of whom 24 were women and the remaining were men teachers. The sample was drawn from two schools; one was a government school and other a private school. The teachers were mostly middle school teachers teaching classes VI to VIII. Most of the women teachers hailed from the upper middle/professional service class backgrounds and the men teachers were largely from the lower middle/ non-service class background as is evident from the educational and occupational backgrounds of their parents and the spouses in case of married teachers. The main findings of the study are as follows:

One of the aims of the study was to focus on the gendered nature of teaching as a professional choice. The study clearly reflects the gendered nature in the early decision-making by the men and women teachers while entering the teaching profession. The men teachers in the sample are in the teaching profession either because of the compulsion or of financial benefits and for women teachers the reasons are more of cultural; the society considers teaching suitable for females. It is a respectable as well as suitable profession for girls as far as timings, work place culture and social status are concerned. The findings of the study go with the dominant ideology that considers school teaching a suitable profession for women as it is compatible with the gendered roles defined by the society. Nayyar (1988) made a similar observation when she stated that Indian society places a high degree of emphasis on sex segregation when it comes to deciding a career especially in case of women.

As far as decision-making is concerned, largely the family members especially the male members exercise the professional choices of women teachers. Seldom does she exercise her own will in making the choice. The same is reflected in the reasons for her being in this profession. For the women, it is mostly the familial support and their wishes that she enters into teaching profession. The main reason being their families' belief, that teaching is a good option for females. Thus, it is the 'generalist' and the 'motherly' nature of the work of a teacher that convinces the family who in turn convinces the women teachers.

Another common reason why women teachers are encouraged to be in teaching profession is the social and physical security that is attached to the teaching profession. Teachers said that the family members feel that women are much safer in a school as compared to any other workplace. Chakravarti (1993) also mentions that the purity of the women has always been a crucial issue in the patriarchal society like India. Thus, it is these notions that make teaching a respectable and suitable job for women and respectable has been always a synonym for security.

The women teachers especially the married ones also mentioned that the role of a teacher has always been traditionally compared with the role of a mother and hence, they feel themselves as better suited for the teaching profession as compared to the men teachers. Even if it is the interest of the women, it is mainly the outcome of their phenomenological experiences into the gendered world. Many of the women teachers mentioned that is the sheer love of kids that they are in teaching profession. They feel that even the students especially the girls of the government schools who come from low socio-economic background feel at ease with the women teachers. This is what has always been in the mind of the policy makers who have encouraged lady teachers especially for the girls' school.

The educational policies also reinforce similar ideologies. For instance, NPE (1986) has proposed raising the status and increasing the benefits and training of lady teachers and even NCF, (2005) has focused on the empowerment of women teachers giving them training so that they can meet the increasing demands of the school and the kids keeping

in mind the nurturing and caring roles. Pillai (2000) also has established historical links between girl education and women teachers.

It is these social and cultural conditions that have made teaching a suitable job for women and such occupational attitudes are acquired by both men and women at a very early stage of their life through the process of socialisation, which starts right from the home. Marini and Brinton, (1984) suggests that parents treat boys and girls differently and serve as models for gender-specific roles and behaviour. Thus, it is not a single cause rather multiple causes that the mind of men and women before he/she makes any decision. Such impact of gender stereotyping of work by the society is directly or indirectly, implicit in the responses of the men and women teachers.

Most of the women teachers of the sample opted for teaching as their first choice while the men had other plans. This goes well with the explanation given by Siann, Tait and Walsh (1997) who mentions that the reason women favour courses in teaching rather than more technological courses is that the former courses are seen as leading to work that contributes to playing a useful social role and that allows a higher level of social contact. Thus, although women tend to avoid technological courses this is not a negative choice, rather they positively choose courses, which lead to careers with higher levels of social involvement.

As far as the men teachers of the sample are concerned, it is mainly because of the financial constraints that they are in teaching profession otherwise most of them had different plans. However, as far as the women teachers are concerned, teaching had always been the first choice of most of them. Infact they were never given many options for their career they had to make their occupational choices from a narrow range of occupations and that they tend to name gender-appropriate jobs. The data reinforces the argument of Marr (1975) that it is mainly the process of socialisation that impacts the mind of individuals and it is under the influence of the stereotyping by the society that they go for the already decided career options.

The women teachers are supported by their families while the same enthusiasm or support is not given to the men teachers. Interestingly many men teachers mentioned that

they, in fact, did not want such support and they can support themselves. This again reflects the impact of the dominant patriarchal ideology that is operating beneath the discourses and influencing the mind of people. It is restricting women to a place in the social field, which is inner, private, restricted, submissive and feminine, and quietly creating the rigid dichotomies of private/public, outer/inner, masculine/feminine and thereby putting males in the outer realm and females in the inner realm. This very well explains the family support for the women teachers and lack of it for the male teachers so far as teaching as a professional choice is concerned. Chanana (2000) also feels that the parental aspirations have been very crucial in the new orientations of women students.

Even the selection process, the pre-service and the in-service training tries to establish teaching as a continuity of the mothering and the same is implicit in the minds of the school authorities and teachers as well. They feel teaching as an extension of women's familial roles and thus, the women could manage easily teaching profession without much orientation. However, it was suggested that the men teachers need to be oriented as their basic nature is very different. Thus, this shows how the very basic nature of an individual is viewed and how these gender relations play a role in shaping individuals' perception of their colleagues. It is worth mentioning here that Hamilton, (1981) believes that individuals not only learn socially prescribed behaviours but also internalize gender stereotypes, which influence other processes as well and facilitate existing gender differentiation and stratification.

Not only the teaching as a career choice is gendered, but the choice of subjects the teacher teaches is also gendered. The present study found that the subjects taught by the men and women teachers are slightly different. The women teachers mostly taking up soft subjects like English, Hindi, Punjabi, Home Science or Dance and Music, while the men teachers being mostly concentrated in the 'hard subjects' like Maths, Sciences and Physical Education. Thus, the subject choices by the men and women teachers are reproduction of existing social relations. This can be corroborated by the observations made by Collins (1973) who points out that women had always been allocated areas to which they were oriented towards like kindergarten work, the education of girls, domestic training of women and girls, the teaching of art and music at an elementary level, and all

aspects of health, hygiene, and health care. Thus, the present study substantiates that both the career aspirations and the subject choices that men and women teachers make in the schools reinforce the traditional gendered paths.

The present study, based on the data obtained and the observation done also infers that the allocation of duties in the school is a mere reproduction of the existing social structure in the society. The gender segregation in the task assignment in both the schools is apparent. The Principal assigns the tasks in both the schools and the list of duties to be performed by the teachers is endless. Infact the teachers call teaching as a full day job, which is not just limited to the classroom, rather it goes beyond the classroom. According to many teachers, teaching is a continuous process of learning. It is a style of life; a teacher has to be a role model for the students, a guide, a moral instructor, a facilitator and a reflective practitioner. These duties are allocated to both the men and women teachers. In addition to these, some other additional responsibilities are given to the teachers wherein generally the duty of the men teacher is to maintain discipline and the women teachers are mainly responsible for the so called 'soft' tasks such as cultural activities in the schools. Thus, it is mainly the social constraints of individuals that influence the allocation of work among the men and women teachers due to which they have to or they are forced to adopt gender-specific behaviour in the schools and this often leads to sex-typed positions and tasks in the school domain.

As far as the execution of the allocated tasks is concerned, the women teachers are quite comfortable with any duty assigned to them. They are in fact prepared for any duty and they do it with full devotion. Such willingness and readiness for any unexpected work could be felt in the responses of the women teachers. The only problem they faced was maintaining discipline among the students, which sometimes made them frustrated. The women teachers felt continuity between the familial and the professional roles. Thus, the role extension makes it possible for the women teachers to carry out their school tasks comfortably. Such observation reinforces the different roles/attributes traditionally associated with either sex.

Further, the interactions between the men and women teachers in the school reveal the segregation of teachers in terms of gender, which further adds on to the gender segregation. The male teachers in both the schools generally stay out of the common room and thus, there is very little interaction among the men and female teachers. This physical/spatial segregation is further increased by the burden of work and paucity of time. Thus, the gender segregation in the school not only exists in the task assignment and execution but also there is a physical/spatial segregation that drives this process further.

As far as the working conditions are concerned, it is found that the women teachers are satisfied and they are less complaining in comparision to male teachers. They proved to be more versatile than the men teachers. Kumar (1986) portrays a teacher as a 'meek dictator' and thus mentions that it is a woman who easily qualifies for this post, as she can easily become a mute observer and a passive participant in the functioning of the school. Another reason behind such type of an attitude is the thinking that the women teachers who consider teaching as an extension of their familial roles thus in general teaching profession do not come in conflict with traditional view of feminine responsibilities.

The views of the respondents on teaching as a profession for women give us more insights into the gendered nature of the teaching. Most of the teachers consider teaching as an apt profession for teachers. Less working works, dealing with kids, more holidays are a few of the features that make teaching suitable for women. Most of the teachers are of the view that teaching fits nicely with women's traditional domestic role. They feel that it is the women's love for kids that makes them good teachers but to be noted none of them denied or questioned the efficiency of the men teachers whom they consider equally efficient. They said that no doubt, that teaching is an appropriate profession for women but it is not to be misinterpreted by saying that teaching is the profession only for females. Thus, the malleability and the diffusion of the gender roles as created by the society, is somewhat evident in the responses of the teachers.

Interestingly, the notion that is prevalent in the society that teaching is a female profession is not fully accepted by the men and women teachers. According to them creating such rigid boundaries and stereotyping of the professions leads to narrowing down of the choices of profession and thus directly or indirectly affect the status of a profession. They feel that no profession can be gender stereotyped. It is the efficiency of an individual which should measure whether he is suitable for a profession or not, rather than gender of an individual. Thus, such responses show that the new generation of teachers are in less agreement with the gender-specific statements concerning teaching and women's occupational roles.

Yet the teachers feel that their being a male or a female has definitely has an advantage in the teaching profession. The women teachers are of the opinion that they can understand the psychology of the kids better than the men teachers and this brings them closer to the kids, and such relationships facilitate teaching and make it a healthy process. Thus somewhere deep in their mind they feel that there is continuity between their professional and household roles. The men teachers are of the opinion that being a male, they can discipline the students easily in which the female teachers face difficult, as they are soft by nature so the students are less scared of them. Even the female teachers feel so. Thus, intentionally or unintentionally gender roles continue to be transmitted inside the schools either directly through the allocation of the tasks or indirectly through the perceptions of the individuals.

The study also highlighted the reproduction of the gender roles at the homes of the teachers, which impact their professional roles as well. The study found that the responsibilities of the males are mostly focused on outside home tasks while the management of the entire household tasks falls mainly on the shoulders of the women teachers. Thus, a woman has to juggle between many tasks at home. For her, the list of tasks at home goes endless, while for the men their main responsibility is that of a breadwinner. The entry of women in another sphere that is of work increases her work and as suggested by Pleck (1997), it may or may not be accompanied by the changes in the division of the household work with more involvement of the husband or the other family members in home tasks. However, the women teachers did not notice any such

changes in their homes. Berk and Berk, (1979) & Sanik(1981) also pointed out that the detailed surveys of work performed on the husbands and wives in the home indicates that wives still continue to do most household work and child care. The same scenario is observed. Women teachers take the primary responsibility for domestic work and childcare (activities that obviously increase on the birth of child) while men take major responsibility for household repairs, which do not tend to change. As Russell (1983) notes men tend to choose those parenting tasks, which are highly visible, involve less engagement of time and attention, and fall towards the play end of the work/place childcare continuum. Such activities point to the gender segregation of tasks at the home.

The tasks performed by a woman are so many that she needs the support of her family members and it is mostly with the help of a maid that she is able to accomplish these tasks. Yet often, she feels overburdened and stressed due to the work overload because of the multiple tasks she is expected to perform both at school and at home that it causes her illness and many other health problems. It is well supported by Hughes, Galinsky, & Moms (1992) who suggests that the work overload leads to chronic job stressors as it causes feelings of conflict between the roles of worker and family member especially among the women. As far as the men are concerned, the tasks at home are so minimal that they do not feel the need for any family support in performing them and they feel less fatigue after a daylong work as compared to women.

The attitude and the perception of the family members of the teachers towards teaching profession also reflect gender stereotyping of the roles by the society. Although the family of the women teachers are very supportive but still most of them consider the job of the women as a supplementary and the household work is the main priority. As long as a woman makes adjustments and is able to perform her household tasks well, the family supports her. But once she lags behind in the home tasks, the family gets annoyed. The family of the men teachers is not much concerned about the men's professional roles. Even the men teachers feel that their professional responsibilities do not affect their familial roles. Thus, the two roles of the men do not affect each other while for the women, it's just the opposite. They have to manage both the work and it gets really a tough for the women in case of any functions in the school when she is expected to stay

back in the school for the preparations as little changes occur in the division of work at home and this is what overburdens her. This is well supported by Maclure, Elliot, Marr & Stronach (1990) who say that the women teachers have to struggle to reconcile the demands of teaching, preparation, marking, continuing professional development, personal and family life.

Infact instead of support by the family, objections are raised on her late coming, her participation in functions at school, going to excursions, picnics and night camps while the family of the men teachers are 'ok' with the school tasks of the men teachers and they rarely raise any objection for any of the school activities. Thus, most of the family still lives with the dominant gendered ideology that ascribes breadwinning to men and household work to women.

Even the stay-backs in the school reinforce the gender discrimination in the school tasks. None of the men teachers are asked to stay back, and if ever asked they tend to refuse whereas almost all the female teachers have to stay back in the school. Acceptable or not acceptable, irrespective of this, the women teachers stay back in the school for long hours while the men teachers in both the schools easily excuse themselves from the stay-backs. As far as the family's reaction to the stay backs is concerned, the families of most of the female respondents do not have a positive attitude towards stay back as they feel that this decreases the efficiency of the women and they then tend to ignore the household work. Thus, this points to the multiple roles that a women has to perform that as a teacher, as a home maker, as a mother, as a wife and last but not least as a daughter-in-law and it is these multiple roles that overburdens her and creates some ambiguity which may confuse her. While in the case of the men teachers, as mentioned earlier, the tasks that they have to perform are mainly of the breadwinner. Their duties as a teacher, as a father and as a son rarely change and if at all, they easily escape from it as happened in the case of stay backs in the school. Thus, no additional duty either at the school or at the home overburdens them. Thus, the extent to which the roles women teachers in school and home domain influence each other is far more than that of men teachers.

Therefore, to conclude, sociological ambivalence of a profession is rooted in the social structure and is not a product of any individual personality. Teaching is approved by society suitable and appropriate for women as it is assumed that they can easily combine profession with their traditional mother-wife. It is considered as a voluntary choice for women, which further highlights the normative conceptions of society, based on patriarchal ideology. Voluntary in a way, thrust upon the women to opt for such professions through socialisation from their early childhood. Therefore, it is not natural or biological disposition but rather social and cultural conditioning because of which many women teachers have found themselves in teaching profession, which makes it attractive and more do-able work. All these notions prevalent in the society make teaching a feminine profession which adds to calling it a semi-skilled profession. The present study also shows how different are the experiences of the men and women teachers as far as the tasks are concerned. The reason being not biological rather more social and it can only be explored after a deep and close analysis into the lives of the teachers, taking their two worlds into account. Only then, the actual meanings of their social world could be understood. The study has attempted to enter into such a social world of teachers through a limited exploratory empirical approach. However, the investigator took a private and a government school as sample, there was hardly or no difference in the way the teachers perceived their professional preferences/choices, the activities, roles, etc.

The conclusions made in the study are not final. The field is wide open for further research as it raises a number of other queries, which can be worked and researched upon. Some issues that can expand the horizon of the issues discussed in the study are, for example, the changing nature of teaching profession itself, the impact of globalisation on teaching profession and how it in turn impacts the gendering of teaching profession, etc. Not withstanding these limitations, the study does add to the empirical evidence on the gendered nature of teaching profession in the field of sociology of education in India.

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APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal Data / Socio Economic Background

1. Name _____
2. Age _____
3. Gender (Male / Female) _____
4. Marital Status (Married / Unmarried / Divorced) _____
5. Caste / Category (Gen / SC / ST / OBC) _____
6. Educational Qualifications _____
7. Length of Service (in years and months) _____
8. Present Designation _____
9. Classes you teach _____
10. Details of the other members of the family
    a. Father's Education _____
    b. Father's Occupation _____
    c. Mother's Education _____
    d. Mother's Occupation _____
    e. Spouse's Education _____
    f. Spouse's Occupation _____

Teaching As a Career Choice

1. Was teaching your first choice? (Yes/ No) _____
    a) If yes, why?

    _____

    _____

    b) If no, then what was your first choice?

    _____

    _____

2. Did you move into teaching from some other profession? (Yes/No) _____
    a) If Yes, then from which profession?

3. How were you selected for this job?(Interview/Competitive Exam/Both/Recommendation) _____

a) How many posts were there? _____

b) How many applicants were there? _____

4. What training did you undergo before entering this profession?

_____

_____

5. Were there any induction programmes at the time of joining? (Yes/No) _____

   a) If Yes, then what? _____

6. Do you think that these induction programmes have helped you in teaching profession? (Yes/ No) _____

   a) If Yes, how?

_____

_____

_____

   b) If No, why not?

_____

_____

_____

7. Are there any in service programmes in the school?(Yes/No) _____

   a) If Yes, how have they helped you?

_____

_____

8. Did your family support you in opting for teaching as a profession?(Yes/ No) _____

   a) If No, why not?

_____

_____

_____

9. If you are asked to pick up one most important reason for taking up teaching profession, what would you pick?

_____

_____

10. What subjects do you teach?

a) Why did you choose this particular subject?

_____

_____

b) Who influenced you to take up this subject?

_____

11.Did you intend to take up any higher level courses or profession in that subject before taking up teaching job?(Yes/No) _____
   a) If yes, which courses or profession did you intend to take up?

   _____

   b) Why couldn't you take up the course or profession?

   _____

   _____

Tasks / Activities in School

1. What academic tasks are you supposed to perform as a teacher?

_____

_____

2. As a teacher, what duties do you perform in school besides classroom teaching?

_____

_____

3. Who decides these tasks for you?(Principal / Vice Principal / Chairperson / Head of Department)_____

4. Did you ever face any problem in performing these tasks? (Yes / No) _____
   a. If yes, what kind of tasks did you not like performing?

   _____

   _____

   b. Why did you not like performing?

5. Does the principal give you enough freedom to perform the tasks? (Yes / No)_____
    a. If No, how do they interfere?

_____

_____

6. Do you ever feel that the tasks given in school are based on gender? (Yes / No) _____
    a. If yes, can you give an instance

_____

_____

7. How many periods do you teach?

_____

8. Do you have any free periods in a day? (Yes/No) _____
    a. If Yes, how many? _____
9. Do you have a common room for teachers?(Yes/No) _____
    a. What do you do in the common room?

_____

    b. Whom do you interact with in the staff room?

_____

    c. Do men and women teachers with interact in the staff room? (Yes/ No) _____

Experiences and Perceptions about Teaching Profession

1. Are you satisfied with the working conditions in the school? (Yes/No) _____
    a. If No, why not?

_____

_____

2. Do you feel fatigue after a day's work? (Yes/No) _____

a. If Yes, why?

_____

_____

3. Do you agree with the view that teaching is a profession for females? (Yes/No) _____
    a. Please elaborate your answer.

_____

_____

_____

4. Do you think that your being a male or a female has any advantage in teaching profession? (Yes/No) _____
    a. If Yes, how?

_____

_____

    b. If No, why not?

_____

_____

5. Are you happy with your experiences as a teacher so far? (Yes/No) _____
    a. If No, why not?

_____

_____

_____

Home – School Interaction

1. What tasks do you have to perform at home?

_____

_____

2. Does your family help you in performing these tasks?(Yes/No)_____
    a. If Yes, how?

_____

_____

_____

b. If No, why not?

_____

_____

_____

3. How does family view your professional roles?

_____

_____

_____

4. Do your professional responsibilities affect your familial roles?
   (Yes/No) _____
   a. If Yes, how? (Can you specify the instances)

   _____

   _____

   _____

5. Were you asked by the school to stay back after the school hours?
   (Yes/No) _____
   a. If Yes, was it acceptable to you? (Yes/No) _____
   b. If No, why wasn't it acceptable?

   _____

   _____

6. What was your family's reaction to stay backs?

_____

_____

7. In case of stay backs in schools, how do you manage your familial
   roles?

_____

_____

_____

8. Do you carry your school work like checking, making question papers
   etc at home? (Yes/No) _____
   a. If yes, then how often? _____
   b. Does it disturb your household chores?

   _____

   _____

9. What are the working hours of the school? _____
   a. Do they suit you? (Yes / No) _____
   b. If No, why not?

10. Are there any activities in the school which your family objects you to be involved?(Yes/ No) _____
    a. If yes, what are the activities?

_____

_____

    b. Why do they object to the specific tasks?

_____

_____

_____