In this chapter, Professionalism and the dual role performance of women teachers are explained using two theoretical perspectives. Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of Symbolic capital is utilized to explain professionalism of married women teachers, and Gender schema theories is used to explain the dual role performance of married women teachers.

Pierre Bourdieu believed in the centrality of educational structures as offering a window to the ways in which societies functioned. Hence, he is hailed as both a sociologist and an educational sociologist – seeing the latter not as a subset or secondary position to the former but rather as a prime means of entry into understanding the social world. Educational institutions are, in Bourdieusian notion, somewhat akin to the laboratory for a physical scientist in that they offer a site for investigation. His theoretical vision embraces understanding at the level of person and of wider society – his key contribution has perhaps been to refuse the conventional distinction between the two and to insist that interactions between people are both revealing and constitutive of broader social dimensions. Hence, this theory
is considered apt to explain professionalism of married women teachers which is not a niche in itself, but has wider scales in the social sphere.

Gender schema theory is also thought as a compelling theory to explain the dual role performance of teachers for a number of reasons, one being that it explains why gender stereotypes are so resistant to change -- our gender schema simply filters out stereotype-inconsistent information. In bridging the gap between sociological and psychological approaches to gender role socialization, gender schema theory offers a viable alternative. It assumes that individuals interact with their environments, actively constructing mental structures to actively represent the events around them. Since this is also a core component of symbolic interaction theory, it can be seen as an interdisciplinary work on the socialization process. It also gives a connection to macro level sociology by extending the implications to society as a whole.

It is thought that these two theories also complement the fact that teaching is more of a feminine profession and women outnumber men in this profession. This is because, teaching as a profession has the symbolic significance of ‘high status’, which provides women a unique sense of self perception and self esteem, apart from the stereotypic homemaker role. In Bourdieusian language, it is the ‘capital’ which women utilizes to enhance their social position in the gendered society. Meanwhile, in ‘Schematic’ view of Bem, even though they experience status enhancement, they are still entrapped in their traditional stereotypic images because of the gendered lenses provided to them by the socio-cultural environment.

Hence, these two theories are considered apt in explaining professionalism of married women teachers in the context of their dual role performance.
3.1 Pierre Bourdieu (1 August 1930 – 23 January 2002)

At the time of his death in January 2002, Pierre Bourdieu was perhaps the most prominent sociologist in the world (Calhoun & Wacquant, 2002). As the author of numerous classic works, he had become a necessary reference point in various “specialty” areas throughout the discipline (including education, culture, “theory,” and the sociology of knowledge); he had also achieved canonical status in cultural anthropology as a result of his studies of the Kabyle in northern Algeria during the war for independence and its aftermath. Nevertheless, Bourdieu’s prominence increased exponentially during the 1990s, when he became a highly visible participant in political struggles against the neoliberal orthodoxy that was coming to dominate political discourse in Continental Europe (Bourdieu, 1998).

3.2 Pierre Bourdieu's Theory on Social and Symbolic Capital

Although Bourdieu hardly paid attention to professions and, in fact discredited the notion of professionalism, his social theory is well-equipped to understand professionalism and professional practices. Bourdieu used the idea of cultural capital to explore the differences in outcomes for students from different classes in the French educational system. He explored the tension between the conservative reproduction and the innovative production of knowledge and experience (Harker, 1990). He found that this tension is intensified by considerations of which particular cultural past and present is to be conserved and reproduced in schools. Bourdieu argues that it is the culture of the dominant groups, which is embodied in schools, and this leads to social reproduction. In order to understand his theory, it is necessary to have a comprehension of his concepts—habitus and field, and forms of capital.
3.3 Concept of Habitus

Bourdieu's concept of habitus was inspired by Marcel Mauss' notion of body technique and hexes. The word itself can be found in the works of Norbert Elias, Max Weber, Edmund Husserl and Erwin Panofsky. For Bourdieu, 'habitus' was essential in resolving a prominent antinomy of the human sciences: objectivism and subjectivism. Habitus can be defined as a system of dispositions (lasting, acquired schemes of perception, thought and action). The individual agent develops these dispositions in response to the objective conditions it encounters. In this way, Bourdieu theorizes the inculcation of objective social structures into the subjective, mental experience of agents.

Habitus is somewhat reminiscent of pre-existing sociological concepts such as socialization, but habitus also differs from the more classic concepts in several important ways. Firstly, a central aspect of the habitus is its embodiment: Habitus does not only, or even primarily, function at the level of explicit, discursive consciousness. The internal structures become embodied and work in a deeper, practical and often pre-reflexive way.

3.4 Fields and Forms of Capital

One of the theoretical cornerstones of Bourdieu's sociology is the idea of society as a plurality of social fields. Forms of capital (economic, cultural and social) are the core factors defining positions and possibilities of the various actors in any field. Each social field has a profile of its own, depending on the proportionate importance of each of the forms of capital. The forms of capital controlled by the various agents are trumps that define the chances of winning the stakes in the game.
Economic capital consists of capital in Marx's sense of the word, but also of other economic possessions that increase an actor's capacities in society. Cultural capital has three forms of existence. It exists, first, as incorporated in the habitus; and is to a large extent created through primary pedagogy, that is, in (early) childhood. Second, cultural capital is objectivized in cultural articles. Third, it also exists as institutionalized in cultural institutions and is expressed in terms of certificates, diplomas and examinations.

Social capital thus has two components: it is, first, a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks. It is a quality produced by the totality of the relationships between actors, rather than merely a common "quality of the group". Membership in groups and involvement in the social networks developing within these and in the social relations arising from the membership can be utilized in efforts to improve the social position of the actors in a variety of different fields. Voluntary associations, trade unions, political parties, secret societies are modern examples of embodiments of social capital. Differences in the control of social capital may explain why the same amount of economic and cultural capital can yield different degrees of profit and different powers of influence to different actors. Group memberships creating social capital have a "multiplication effect" on the influence of other forms of capital. Voluntary associations as social capital can be understood as resources produced by the association as collective and shared by its members. In this way, social capital, for Bourdieu, is a collective phenomenon, even though it is viewed from the perspective of actors who are exploiting its potentialities.
The second characteristic of social capital is that it is based on mutual cognition and recognition (Bourdieu, 1980, 1986, 1998a). This is how it acquires a *symbolic character*, and is transformed into symbolic capital. In order to become effective, social capital, "objective" differences between groups or classes have to be transformed into symbolic differences and classifications that make possible symbolic recognition and distinction. Social classes implicated by the distribution of economic, cultural and social capital are only "classes on paper", that is, only potentialities, unless they are transformed into meaningful differences, mediated by symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1985). "Symbolic capital ... is nothing other than capital, in whatever form, when perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the internalization (embodiment) of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident" (Bourdieu, 1985: 204).

As symbolic capital, distinctions are "the product of the internalization of the structures to which they are applied" (op.cit. 204). Bourdieu draws a parallel between the concept of symbolic capital and legitimate capital; because it is symbolic capital that defines what forms and uses of capital are recognized as legitimate bases of social positions in a given society. The effectiveness of symbolic capital depends on real practices of communication. In that respect symbolic capital cannot be institutionalized, objectified or incorporated into the habitus. It exists and grows only in inter-subjective reflection and can be recognized only there. Economic and cultural capital have their own modes of existence (money, shares; examinations and diplomas); whereas symbolic capital exist only in the "eyes of the others". It inevitably assumes an ideological function: it gives the legitimized forms of distinction and classification a taken-for-granted
character, and thus conceals the arbitrary way in which the forms of capital are distributed among individuals in society (Bourdieu 1986; 1987, 1998a; Joppke, 1987).

3.5 Significance of Theory of Symbolic Capital on Professionalism

By using Bourdieu's work, the notion of professionalism is shifted from an evolution towards a trajectory that has its own logic in each case where an occupation develops a learned discourse. Following Bourdieu, in this study, we can see *professionalism of teachers in our society as a social strategy of intellectuals who believe that being a profession involves cultural capital convertible into economic or symbolic capital, capable of increasing the status of the profession in society*. Bourdieu's remarks on theories of professionalism go along those lines. According to Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992), professionalism is "a folk concept that has been smuggled into scientific language ..." (p. 242). The concept has become "real" as it "grasps at once a mental category and a social category, socially produced only by superseding all kinds of economic, social, and ethnic differences and contradictions which make the 'profession' of 'lawyer,' for instance, a space of competition and struggle" (p. 243).

In the present study, professionalism of teachers is regarded as a form of symbolic capital, the substance of which is constantly at stake in power-driven contexts, both internally and externally. Along with increasing the status of profession in the society, it gives women a chance for mutual cognition and recognition, and an opportunity to also enhance their status in the society. Their unique position in the field, that of knowledge generators and facilitators, ascertains their status in the perceptive mind set of other people. Thus, being a teacher requires the internal embodiment of the
professional attributes, as well as the external distinction of belonging to a category which is self-evident, like teaching in a college. Hence, most often women try to imbibe the professional attributes of teaching not only to savour its enhanced status in society, but also to underline their role as a unique and distinguished one. This helps them not only to acquire a self identity, but provides an escape route, at least, temporarily, from the never ending path of home maker’s role. As an example, we can say that, a teacher in a college need to be always updated with the advancement of the knowledge society to satisfy the internal embodiments of the professional attributes, at the same time, establish themselves in esteemed positions in college (like being a Dean of the college) which makes their role performance more explicit and exhaustive, and underline their status-set in a more compelling manner than the simple home maker role. Moreover, unless they perform these endeavours, they are likely to lose their self esteem and have negative self perceptions, because they are always working in the power-driven contexts, which are inundated with competitive parameters.

However, within this field, the legitimate substance of what it means to act in a “professional way”, or professionalism, is constantly at stake. Professionalism of teachers in our society becomes a scarce symbolic resource, an object of a process of consecration and a source of legitimate forms of acting and interpreting. It can never be ingrained into the habitus because it can flourish only inter-subjectively. Thus, attaining a high degree of professionalism also proves to be a challenge for women to remain in their respective fields.

Also, these aspects of professionalism are closely related to the socialization experiences of women in their respective socio-cultural context.
These social learning experiences along with their cognitive interpretative schemes contribute to their stereotypic comprehension of the world around them, including their homemaker’s images and professional images. This perspective is best addressed by the gender schema theory spearheaded by Sandra Ruth Lipsitz Bem.

### 3.6 Gender – Schema Theories

Sandra Ruth Lipsitz Bem (1981) is an American psychologist known for her works in androgyny and gender studies. Bem contributed to gender schema theory which is a theory of gender development that combines social learning and cognitive learning theory. Thus, gender roles are formed in part by observing others and learning from how others act, and from accomplishing different cognitive tasks specific to cultures that are done by men and by women. Gender schema theory focuses on the role of cognitive organization in addition to socialization.

Gender Schema Theory is based on the premise that Gender is used broadly as a classification scheme in our culture: teachers’ line up children by sex, clothing cues mark the sexes of infants and people respond to males and females differently. Because of its functional significance, children develop schemas about gender. Furthermore, these schemas incorporate extensive networks of associations that go beyond the obvious associations with gender. Bem described, for instance, the metaphoric associations that individuals develop as part of gender schemas, such as soft things being feminine and rough things being masculine. Recent studies support this notion that even children develop beliefs about softness and roundness being associated with females and hardness and angularity with males (Leinbach, Hort, & Fagot, 1997). Because of their importance in helping
people interpret everyday life through the lens of societal expectations, people develop elaborate and extensive gender schemas quickly and easily.

Another social psychological view of gender schemas was proposed by Markus, Crane, Bernstein & Siladi (1982). Again, their emphasis of the approach was on individual differences in gender schemas. In this gender-schema approach, both masculinity and femininity were viewed as separate forms of gender schemas, each of which influenced thinking.

A developmental view of gender schemas was proposed by Martin & Halverson (1981). They considered the origins of individual differences in gender schemas and the developmental significance of children learning to recognize their own gender group. They also distinguished two types of gender schemas. The super ordinate schema is a list-like structure that contains information about the sexes, and the own-sex schema is a more in depth structure that contains detailed plans of action for carrying out gender typed actions.

Schema theories have been useful for providing new perspectives and insights for understanding gender development. Rather than focusing on the nature of the environment as learning theorists did, schema theorists consider the strategies that individuals use to interpret and reconstruct information from their environment.

3.7 Significance of Gender Schema Theories for Women in Teaching Profession

Gender schema theories are very significant in explaining career decisions of women. Perceptions of available fields of study and employment are determined by individual gender schemas. Many careers
do not fit into the gender schema, and therefore, is not pursued. Conversely, gender roles affect career choices by influencing perceptions of careers. Thus, most women persist in seeking those careers which ‘fit’ into their gender schema.

In the Indian context, especially in Kerala, “Our Cultural Maps” with regard to women emphasizes more on the traditional gender roles and the career sphere is relatively given less importance. Thus, a young woman, for example, who is powerfully gender-schematic is likely to identify herself as a stereotypical young woman according to society’s general stereotype of the ideal female (i.e., nurturing, acquiescent, non-confrontational, untalented in working with computers and technology, etc.) and consequently to have an attitudinal barrier against pursuing a computer-related career. There is nothing biological that prevents the gender-schematic young woman from entering a high-tech career; the societally nurtured attitude that she has adopted prevents her from doing so. Thus, they usually concentrate in occupations that match their traditional gender stereotype, and teaching is considered as one such profession.

Teaching is considered as a profession which helps women to successfully combine work and family. However, the gender schemas generated in our society affects the aspirations, motivations and attitudes of women towards their profession. Overall, we see that, even if women are highly educated and professionally oriented, they provide more direct care for and spend more time with children. This care includes taking responsibility for the mental work of gathering and processing information about infant care, delegating the tasks related to infant care, and worrying about infant health and well-being.
In sum, there is unequal division of both household labour and childcare, with women doing the bulk of the work and also trying to manage their professional competence. Hence, even in the profession of teaching, which requires a high level of commitment and dedication, women often tend to lag behind because of their familial loyalty, ingrained into their mental make-up through schematic maps. In spite, of their noble profession, which make them economically empowered and intellectually enlightened, there is no change in the patriarchal authority and the division of labour and stereotype roles assigned to them, as well as instilled on them. Thus, even though, teachers remain the intellectually creative, morally uplifted and socially committed category of our society, their mind-sets are engraved with stereotyped images, which give them a view of the world with a gendered lens.

Thus, we can see that Professionalism of women teachers is a multifaceted phenomenon, with the central issue of gender-related agendas assigned by the society in which we live. On the one hand, Professionalism becomes a symbolic capital for the women to enhance their status and prestige in the society. They elevate themselves to an enviable position in the knowledge society, and try to impart updated pedagogical insights to the younger generation. On the other hand, they are chained to their domestic roles by schematic interpretations, which make their lives rife with conflicts and dilemmas.

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