

Deploying Cultural, Social and Emotional Capital

The Case of Anglo-Indian Women Employed in Private Schools in Bengaluru

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This paper examines the experiences of Anglo-Indian women teaching in Bengaluru's English medium private schools to understand how they negotiate professional constraints by drawing on Diane Reay's feminist extension of Pierre Bourdieu's "forms of capital." It argues that her concept of "emotional capital" can be used to explain how interviewees attempt to overcome their limited cultural and social capital. We also suggest that Arlie Hochschild's notion of "emotional labour," distinct from Reay's emotional capital, when deployed alongside the latter, highlights the complex negotiations that interviewees undertake. In doing so, this work attempts to contribute a minority perspective to research on schoolteachers' lives. In the process, it also seeks to extend emotional capital (a concept Reay deployed to explain mothers' investment in their children) to understand women's professional experiences.

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This paper is based on a study which examines the career narratives of serving and retired women teachers from the Anglo-Indian community who are employed in Bengaluru's English medium private schools. Drawing on feminist extensions of Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) work, it aims to understand how teachers deploy different forms of capital to negotiate employment challenges. Bourdieu argues against a purely economic explanation of social inequality, claiming that any examination of class inequality needs to consider the reproduction of cultural and social capital in addition to economic capital. He contends that individuals and families attempt to convert one form of capital into another, that is, economic capital is exchanged for cultural capital, or social capital is mobilised to create economic capital.

Diane Reay (2000, 2004) attempted to "gender" Bourdieu's theory by introducing the concept of emotional capital, which is primarily created and deployed by women within families. This paper argues that emotional capital can also be deployed in the workplace. In addition, it draws on an earlier concept developed by Arlie Hochschild (1983), "emotional labour," which is used to explain gendered experiences at the workplace. Although Reay and Hochschild developed their concepts independently, this paper suggests that the two can be employed together to understand teachers' work. Thus, it aims to extend the literature on non-economic forms of capital while also answering a call for teachers' experiences to be represented in education research and policy (Batra 2005).

Employment and Anglo-Indian Community

The teachers interviewed for the study belong to Bengaluru's Anglo-Indian community, a linguistic and religious (Christian) minority, who identify English as their mother tongue. The community emerged from domestic relationships between European colonisers and Indians in the 18th and early 19th centuries. In this period, the East India Company encouraged its employees to marry Indian women, but over the course of the 19th century, racial boundaries became stronger and such unions came to be stigmatised. Moreover, the offspring of these unions had to contend with several societal prejudices, including the stereotyping of Anglo-Indian women as sexually permissive and of men as unreliable and feckless (Caplan 2001). As a result, the mixed-race Anglo-Indian community that had emerged from these marriages became increasingly endogamous

and the employment opportunities earlier available to men from the community in the East India Company and its army became limited. By the 20th century, other Indian communities began pressing the colonial state for government jobs, resulting in the Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 which expanded their access to this form of employment (Muthiah and Maclure 2013; Anthony [1964] 2007). Consequently, Anglo-Indian men who had hitherto enjoyed some limited privilege in access to government jobs found that these job opportunities became more restricted.

In the early 20th century, Anglo-Indian men with only school education tended to join the railways, army, and postal services. A few who attained higher education taught in missionary schools, but opportunities were limited by the presence of European teachers (Anthony [1964] 2007). During the same period Anglo-Indian women began to train as nurses, teachers or stenographers (Belliappa and deSouza 2017; Charlton-Stevens 2016). By entering white-collar employment in significant numbers, Anglo-Indian women opened professional opportunities for other women of comparable class positions.¹ Through this employment, they transcended some barriers associated with their minority status, while also becoming re-embedded in its constraints. Unfortunately, their visibility in public further strengthened the negative stereotypes mentioned earlier (for instance, see Geetanjali Gangoli's [2005] discussion of their representation in Bollywood cinema), but those who became teachers were able to overcome some societal prejudices. For instance, Wendy M Dickson's (2010) compilation of eulogies by former (non-Anglo-Indian) students at her mother's funeral indicates that Anglo-Indian teachers who taught in the 1960s and 1970s enjoyed the respect and admiration of students from non-English-speaking families.

After independence, opportunities in Christian missionary schools rose as European teachers left India. In addition, secular English medium schools established by the community as linguistic minority institutions, served tuition fee-paying children from various religious and linguistic backgrounds whilst also providing subsidised education to Anglo-Indian children. All these schools are affiliated to the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (CISCE) set up by the All India Anglo-Indian Association in 1956, and conducts matriculation examinations. As argued by Sudarshana Sen (2017), women's representation in senior positions in these bodies has been limited.

Successive national and state governments have created training colleges exclusively for women (Belliappa 2014) based on the assumption that women have a better capacity to nurture young children. As a result, the number of female schoolteachers has risen significantly in recent years (Table 1) but few make it to head-teacher positions (except for girls' schools headed by women). Indumathi and Vijaysimha (2011) suggest that women have less time for professional development required

to enter leadership roles and that some even refuse such opportunities due to family responsibilities. Like other employed women, they face the dual burden of household labour and paid employment which affects their health, well-being, and professional growth.

While national level statistics do indicate Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST) and Other Backward Class (OBC) status of teachers, statistics on religious and linguistic background are not available. It is likely that linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds will influence teachers' professional experiences and opportunities. Nandini Manjrekar (2013) argues that studying the experiences of individual castes and communities within the profession would be valuable.

Conceptual Lens

Non-economic capital: Before examining Anglo-Indian teachers' accounts, it is important to discuss the conceptual lens through which we might frame their experiences. Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital is of three types: embodied, institutionalised and objectified. Embodied capital includes tastes, habits and dispositions transmitted within families, although it can also be accumulated through individual effort. In comparison, institutionalised capital includes technical and professional qualifications while objectified capital refers to artefacts that have cultural value (including books, musical instruments or art). Social capital refers to community networks and contacts which one might draw on, to find economic opportunities.

Bourdieu's theory of non-economic forms of capital has been extended by feminist scholars to include emotional capital which is usually created and deployed by women in the private sphere. Emotional capital, according to Reay (2000) who first used it in an educational context, includes the ability to manage one's own and others' emotions. The term was earlier used by Helga Nowotny (1981: 148) who defined it as "knowledge, contacts and relations as well as access to emotionally valued skills and assets, which hold within any social network characterised at least partly by affective ties." Reay (2000, 2004) used emotional capital in conjunction with Bourdieu's theory to explain mothers' involvement in children's schooling: scolding, cajoling and encouraging academic and non-academic activities, intervening with teachers on their behalf and supporting them through the ups and downs of school life, which has lasting impact on educational achievements and therefore on life-chances. This paper extends emotional capital into the professional sphere, discussing how teachers deploy it in professional relationships to mitigate unfair working conditions.

Emotional labour and emotional work: Arlie Hochschild (1983) uses the term "emotional labour" to describe the work female flight attendants do to manage the feelings and behaviour of airline passengers during long flights. Masking their own feelings (exhaustion, anxiety, irritation) female flight attendants attempt to appear "nicer than normal" to increase passengers' enjoyment of the journey. Their strategies include accepting irate behaviour, smiling frequently or engaging in

Table 1: Number of Female Teachers for Every Hundred Male Teachers across India

Year	Primary School	Upper Primary School	Secondary School	Senior Secondary School
2000	55	62	54	42
2012	79	76	66	66

Source: The Department of Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2016.

gestures of friendliness. Hochschild defines emotional labour as the “management of feeling to create publicly observable facial and bodily display”; it “is sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value*” as opposed to emotional work which refers to “the same acts done in private where they have *use value*” (1983: 7, emphasis in original). Emotional work done on the self includes positive self-talk and other actions undertaken to cope with work-related stress.² While the concepts of emotional capital and emotional labour have separate origins in feminist literature, they are used together in this paper to describe how women exchange emotional labour to acquire social and emotional capital, which gives them access to paid employment (and thereby to economic capital) and enables them to manage their professional lives and personal well-being.

Methods

The study was qualitative, consisting of in-depth interviews structured around a discussion guide which extended over two hours or longer; in many cases they occurred over multiple occasions. Norms of confidentiality were followed by using pseudonyms for interviewees and not disclosing names of schools where they were employed.³ All participants were offered copies of the transcript.

Interviewees were aged between 37 and 76 years and had spent the larger part of their careers in Bengaluru. They have taught either in linguistic minority schools or in missionary schools throughout their careers (three had lately transferred to international schools). For simplicity, both types of institutions are referred to as minority schools in this paper. All the interviewees identify as Christian (including both Catholics and Protestants).

Twenty-five interviews were conducted amongst women teachers and “expert informants” (both men and women) who had first-hand knowledge and experience of private school education. Expert informants included (non-Anglo-Indian) principals of schools which have employed Anglo-Indians, prominent Anglo-Indians who had family members in the teaching profession and prominent educational consultants in Bengaluru who had experience of working across many private schools. Many expert informants expressed disappointment that young Anglo-Indians prefer more lucrative careers to school teaching, claiming that this is a great loss to the profession.

Cultural Capital Deployed

Embodied cultural capital: “English is their mother tongue, so they [Anglo-Indians] have a lot to give back to the other communities in India—to benefit them” (Sandra, aged 58, educational consultant).

As Sandra suggests, a key form of embodied cultural capital deployed by interviewees who began their careers in the 1960s and 1970s was language, especially since parents of non-Anglo-Indian students aspired to send their children to English medium schools. The respect and gratitude of parents and students who received this coveted form of cultural capital enabled Anglo-Indian teachers to overcome, to some degree, their

marginalised status in Indian society, and to enjoy greater respectability than women from their community were usually accorded. However, as successive generations of students from other communities acquired fluency in English, their monopoly over this form of cultural capital diminished. Consequently, schools became more stringent in assessing teachers’ diction. Margery, a retired headmistress, stated that teachers are recruited based on “good pronunciation, good spelling, and the way they carry themselves” (which may indicate class status). Additionally, since many Anglo-Indian families place emphasis on art education, teachers could create pleasant, stimulating learning environments in primary schools by drawing charts and creating interesting visual displays which also increased their employability.

Objectified cultural capital: Given their modest incomes, interviewees did not possess significant objectified cultural capital. However, some suggested that their families made a concerted attempt to acquire books and musical instruments:

There was no way we could afford a piano on their [her parents’] salaries but my mother was determined ... Two or three times when we were almost able to buy and then something happened at the last minute and we could not. I remember sitting on my bed, practising old pieces, with my fingers in the air so that when the piano comes I’ll be ready. Then one of my mother’s friends emigrated to Canada and sold us her piano.

— Sylvia, 58 years

Sylvia’s family’s investment in the piano and in music lessons enabled Sylvia to become proficient and find work as a music teacher. She credits her career to the initiative her mother took to support her music education.

Institutionalised cultural capital: Unlike embodied capital, institutionalised capital requires investment of time and the extent to which it can be acquired depends on whether families can spare individuals from the responsibility of economic contribution. Given the precarious nature of Anglo-Indian men’s employment, parents were often unable to support college education and encouraged daughters to seek affordable vocational qualifications, such as teaching, nursing or stenography. Most interviewees did the teacher training certificate (TTC) after matriculation. Only a few completed their undergraduate degree before taking up employment. The TTC courses in Chennai and Bengaluru, which qualify teachers to teach up to the seventh standard, are offered by the church at subsidised fees. Along with instruction on teaching academic subjects, child psychology and principles of education, the TTC emphasises training in dramatics, art and physical education. A few teachers acquired a BA, MA or BED by correspondence after several years of working in a primary school and transitioned to high school teaching, which is better paid. Correspondence courses enabled them to remain in employment but were challenging to complete alongside a full-time job and family responsibilities.

Drawing on Social Capital

Social capital is based on group membership where relationships are created and strengthened by “instituting acts designed

simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them” (Bourdieu 2011: 21). Given their minority status, members of the community look to each other for support. Community bonds are reinforced by social events, joint celebrations of religious festivals, visits, gifts and other acts of care for which women take major responsibility (Caplan 2001). Closeness within the community creates both opportunities and constraints. Many teachers sought work through friends, relatives and members of the community who were on the governing boards of the schools. By deploying social capital in the church and the community, interviewees found jobs easily but given the norms governing gender and seniority (age) they were at a disadvantage when negotiating wages or conditions of employment and had to be careful not to displease them. Patricia, aged 62, shared an instance when a disagreement between her husband (who was on the school board) and her school principal threatened her (Patricia’s) professional relationships:

My husband was on the board, and he said something which [principal’s name] didn’t like and she took it out on me in school ... She was so nasty to me! It lasted for a week. [Then] I went to her and said, “I have to speak to you, because I’m upset about what is happening.” She also felt foolish, and she was happy that I cleared the air.

Patricia re-established cordial relations with the principal by engaging in the emotional labour of managing the latter’s feelings of annoyance with her husband which extended to (Patricia) herself. In contrast, Norma, aged 63, deployed a different strategy when reprimanded by the principal for wasting paper by printing too many “mock examination” papers for her students. Wishing to prepare her students for a prestigious exam via multiple practice (mock) sessions, she argued in favour of helping her students which the principal appreciated after some reflection.

I had a problem with Sister [the principal]. She wanted to be economical. [She said,] “Why roll off so many papers and papers getting wasted?” Then I said, “They are small kids. They have to work papers [mock exams] and practice. If they don’t work six, seven of Maths [exams], they can’t handle the [final] paper. They get nervous.”

However, Georgiana recounts that the management labelled her as a troublemaker when she protested against the punishment of the poorest students, for not being neatly turned out.

I watched [students] from my community—the underprivileged hurt me. I had the guts to struggle but what about others who could not? ... I felt that the school was not doing enough to help ... Can poor children wear good, clean white uniforms? They’ll get shouted at because their uniforms are dirty, shoes not polished, so they were dropouts.

Matters were exacerbated when she also refused to contribute a portion of her wages towards membership of the Anglo-Indian Association (an accepted norm amongst the Anglo-Indian teachers). A series of such acts of rebellion led to her being passed over for promotion to headmistress in favour of a colleague who was more compliant though less qualified. Although she continued to work with the school, she gradually transferred her three children to other less prestigious schools, out of concern that the management would be prejudiced against them.

The above instances indicate the fragility of teachers’ relationships with management. When social capital is limited, it

must be carefully husbanded by using diplomacy, or as Bourdieu (2011: 23) says, “unceasing effort of sociability and continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is reaffirmed.” Many teachers exchange this affability and compliance for support with personal issues. For instance, Margery and Laura, who by their own description seem to be highly conscientious workers, were given reduced teaching hours when dealing with family illness. In contrast, Georgiana who was diagnosed with cancer did not receive similar consideration. Teachers’ relationships with school principals and board members constitute a vital form of social capital that needs to be preserved so that it can be drawn upon in times of need.

Wages and Conditions of Work

If you came to my house when I was teaching in—school, [as] my husband would tell me, some bundles of paper would be under the bed, [I was] correcting 50, 60 papers at a time.

—Jane, aged 55

Since unionisation is discouraged, the teachers’ ability to negotiate either wages or better conditions of work is limited. For instance, a major source of stress and overwork is “corrections” (marking and grading student work). Subject teachers in high school taught eight or nine classes at once, each with more than 40 students that created a backlog of several hundred books to be marked in a month whereas class teachers in primary school taught multiple subjects and found themselves racing to correct students’ work in a timely fashion.

The The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act of 2010 requires teacher student ratios to be 1:30 but in the 1970s and 1980s student numbers were often well above 50 in a single classroom. Although private schools do not strictly adhere to RTE norms, they have begun to reduce student numbers per classroom. However, they tend to increase the number of sections in one grade level and private schools rarely have fixed limit regarding the number of hours that individual teachers are expected to teach, so workloads remain high.

Wages tend to be a contentious matter between management and teachers. All interviewees indicated that their families were dependent on their wages. As mentioned earlier, prejudices against Anglo-Indian men affect their employment options, requiring women to contribute significantly to household income. Yet teachers rarely negotiate wages with management. Jane Andrews’s remark that “Whatever salary they gave us, we took it. There was no use of grumbling,” indicates resignation to the situation (Jane later acquired postgraduate qualifications and transitioned to a better paid job with an international school).

According to one expert informant, although the CISCE requires affiliate (private) schools to match salaries to government norms, it does not have resources to closely monitor wages in individual schools. As a result there is no uniformity in wages paid across schools. Although a few schools have begun to publish pay scales in order to be transparent, many schools do not share this information publicly. The general practice is to reward formal qualifications and years of experience, and to pay high school teachers more than those in primary school.

As discussed, some teachers supplement their qualifications by completing their graduation by correspondence. Unfortunately, the premium placed on university degrees trivialises the quality of training in the TTC as well as teachers' individual attempts to experiment with new methods, undertake in-service training and update their subject knowledge through reading and research.

Interviewees who began their careers in the 1960s started with an average wage of about ₹60 to ₹75 per month; in the early 1970s, this figure increases to ₹100 or ₹200 depending on qualifications. By the 2000s, new teachers with a TTC earned between ₹5,000 and ₹12,000 a month. Pay scales have increased due to the improving norms of the CISCE and competition from international schools with higher pay grades. In 2010, starting salaries could be as high as ₹15,000 per month for teachers with a TTC, but this figure is lower than the salaries available to "accent trainers" who service the business process outsourcing industry (call centres)—a new career option available to young Anglo-Indians in post-liberalisation India (Sengupta 2016).

Several interviewees bemoaned the fact that teaching no longer attracts passionate and committed individuals due to relatively low wages. Both Sandra and Patricia expressed disappointment that their daughters had refused to take up teaching despite showing aptitude for it. Ruth rationalises the poor remuneration by claiming that missionaries underestimate the cost of living for lay people.

When you saw teachers in other schools getting more, you felt a bit cheated, but the more teachers told the sisters [nuns] about it, the less they seemed to understand. See, they stay inside [the convent], they get food and shelter without having to pay for anything.

However, she later recounts the story of her former student whose first salary surpassed her own salary before retirement.

He said, "Miss, you taught me and see where I am. You could have earned much more." I told him, "It's because I worked for so little, that you are earning such a high salary today."

Ruth's remarks suggest not only an uneasy acceptance of poor remuneration and its consequences but an attempt at rationalising the unfairness of her situation by endowing it with a higher purpose, that of bettering economic opportunities for her students.

Laura argues that Anglo-Indian teachers are disadvantaged by their poor command over Kannada and other vernacular languages which prevents them from seeking jobs in government schools which offer better pay and benefits. Moreover, given their minority status, they feel alienated amongst non-Anglo-Indians. Since minority schools tended to recruit largely from amongst Anglo-Indians or other South Indian Christian communities, they represented a more conducive environment. Francesca shared that on recruiting her, the principal stated that she would be comfortable opening her lunch box in the staffroom because many of the teachers were non-vegetarian like herself. The value placed on freedom to openly eat non-vegetarian food without being stigmatised indicates the marginalisation that Anglo-Indians (and other Christian communities) face and their need to find workspaces of relative collegiality and safety but as Sen (2017)

argues, marginalisation by mainstream society pushes women from minorities back within the patriarchal structures of their communities.

Another area where teachers negotiated with patriarchy is with regard to dress codes. In the 1970s and 1980s, Anglo-Indian schools required female teachers to wear only dresses or skirts as markers of community identity (only the non-Anglo-Indian teachers who taught Hindi and Kannada were exempt from this requirement). Saris were discouraged and shalwar kameez and trousers disallowed (the latter being considered unfeminine). Women teachers tried to resist this dress code as they found trousers and shalwars more convenient while travelling by public transport and riding two-wheelers. They also felt that dresses made them conspicuous and therefore vulnerable in public spaces while shalwar kameez enabled them to merge with other communities while commuting to school and consequently avoid harassment. It was only after teachers across schools repeatedly petitioned their managements, over many years, that dress codes became more flexible. The change represents a successful attempt to negotiate some freedom within otherwise hierarchical working conditions.

Creating Emotional Capital

Given their limited cultural and social capital and their constrained capacity to exchange it for economic capital, teachers draw on their emotional capital. Nowotny (1981) claims that emotional capital is developed in response to barriers and difficulties. Although Reay (2004) argues that it cannot be easily converted into other forms of capital, we suggest that the interviewees in the study use it to mitigate the absence of cultural and economic capital. Also, emotional labour can be (to an extent) converted into emotional capital which compensates to some extent for teachers' straitened economic situation and the disempowerment they experience.

Reframing Teaching as a Vocation

The attitudes of not only management but also parents and students can disempower teachers. Patricia, Ruth, Margery and Norma (all recently retired) shared instances where parents threatened teachers and school management with adverse reports in the media if they felt that their children were treated unfairly. This attitude percolates to students as well.

Today children even report things wrongly to parents and parents listen to them. And they condemn teachers in front of the children. So, the teacher doesn't get any respect. You can't correct students for anything. Everything is taken against the teacher.

— Ruth, aged 62

Today's kids are very—they're all smarties. They're at the network [Internet] and they'll know more than you. So, they say, "Oh, my driver is paid more than this teacher." Everything is all mercenary today. Money minded. Just sad.

— Norma, aged 63

As both Norma and Ruth suggest, the increasing marginalisation of the teaching profession in the 21st century (given the growth of more lucrative white-collar professions in post-liberalisation Bengaluru) is a source of sadness and

demotivation. But teachers attempt to overcome this by constructing it as a calling.

Teaching is a vocation. It's not a profession. If you take it like that, then materialism doesn't come in. But it has to be your vocation ... First you have to love children, you have to enjoy what you're doing. If you don't enjoy what you're doing, you won't be happy. So, then it's better not to be a teacher.

— Elizabeth, aged 76

It's a calling for me to be a teacher, it's a calling to be a nurse. Everyone cannot be a nurse, you are called to it. When you are called to it, you do your best. And when God calls us to whatever we are doing, so we do our best ... There's just no question of regrets.

— Georgiana, aged 70

Like Georgiana, Norma too imbues her profession with a higher purpose but uses a more secular image of nation building. Concerned with what she termed "value education," she describes how she used the opportunity of an interschool programme involving her own (middle-class) students and children from a nearby orphanage to inculcate empathy and an ethic of service.

We used to have this outreach programme for children from St Mary's [home for under privileged children]. Our students had to bring a gift and our school would give them [visiting children] a nice morning [with], sports, gifts and lunch. And we used to teach our boys, hold their hands, sit with them, but do you think all of them would do it? I'd get complaints, "This one [student of ours] pushed that boy's hand away. He did this, he did that." And then of course, they used to get the lecture of their life. I used to tell them, "See, we can all come down to the same level. Don't think that this money's going to last forever. You must learn to uplift your nation. Be proud of your nation. And build it up."

Thus, Norma mitigates her disappointment over the eroding prestige associated with teaching by stressing the importance of value education. Constructing teaching as a way of "uplifting the nation," she imbues the profession with greater respect than it is usually given. Discussing motivation amongst government schoolteachers, Vimala Ramachandran (2005) argues that they are often poorly trained for handling diverse classrooms, first generation schoolgoers and children burdened by poverty, and are bogged down by non-teaching tasks, politicking and corruption. Although she mentions that some teachers remain committed in spite of these challenges, most view motivation simply as regular attendance and compliance with administrators.

In contrast, the Anglo-Indian teachers interviewed construct teaching as a vocation. Invoking the idea of a calling, whether secular or divinely ordained, enables them to address the psychological effects of diminishing respect from students and disempowerment before parents and management. It may be argued that this form of emotional work imbues the more mundane aspects of teaching with deeper meaning and limits alienation in spite of poor remuneration and limited prestige.

Professional Relationships

Support from students and colleagues: While prestige of the profession is eroding, positive relationships with students constitute an important form of emotional capital.

I had these lovely, lovely girls [students] who still remember me. They send me email, phone me, wish me happy birthday, happy Christmas

and they tell me, "Why don't you come to America and spend one year there, because you have many students who will take you around a hundred times till you're tired. I'm going. We'll send you the ticket also, but you come and be with us."

— Francesca, aged 65

When I was sick [with cancer] many old students helped me financially. One student was here; the mother came home. Them coming, talking and helping really went a long way for me ... They would say, "Mrs Franz, how are you? We're praying for you. That kept me going."

— Annie, aged 58

While Annie found support from former students, Georgiana who was also diagnosed with cancer received help from colleagues when the school refused her extended sick leave and financial support, usually given to teachers suffering from life threatening illness. Other teachers also shared instances of sick leave being denied or curtailed. Since leave is often given at the principal's discretion, it is difficult for teachers to protest.

Because I was a rebel, I didn't get one paisa. But I had friends [colleagues], who are not moneyed people. They took teachers' loans of 3000 each, pooled in and gave [loaned] me money to pay for my radiation. I never shed a tear. Because the colleagues I worked with ... the principal and the vice principal and all, they were following orders [from the board]. I told the bank, "Every month take out 200 for each of them and put it into their account" so that I clear their loan.

Georgiana could afford only the most basic facilities given to charity patients in Bengaluru's Kidwai hospital in which nursing care is minimal. Under the circumstances, she found her colleagues' financial aid very welcome while their gestures of care (offers of food, substituting her classes) reduced her sense of isolation. These acts of care could be said to constitute emotional labour by colleagues, which was not required by the job but based on camaraderie. Furthermore, based on Georgiana's example it could be argued, against Nowotny's (1981) claim, that emotional capital can under some circumstances (and in limited but noticeable ways) be converted into economic capital.

Georgiana's and Annie's accounts suggest that the support of colleagues and students is not only valued in practical terms (for example, financial assistance) but also emotionally since it reduced their fears and isolation when facing illness. Under different circumstances, Patricia, who adopted a child appreciates how her colleagues celebrated her new position as a mother.

When my farewell was given [colleague's name] did the [Biblical] story of Moses because Moses was adopted into a new family. So she said, "I did that mainly because we knew you were adopting."

— Patricia, aged 62

Francesca, a retired national level athlete, recounts with gratitude how the school supported her when she was invited to light the torch at the New Delhi Asian Games in 1982. The principal not only granted her leave to attend the games but also paid for her travel saying, "It's an honour that you must accept."

Georgiana shares how her colleagues offered to tutor her (own) children for exams, while Elizabeth describes a party commemorating her 50 years in teaching. Such gestures of goodwill create emotional capital which reduces the

disempowerment of individual teachers. In some schools, teachers formed prayer groups to support each other through personal or professional problems. Collegial relationships often turn into friendships which continue in retirement with regular visits and by participating in each other's family lives. It could be argued colleagues often act as a quasi-kin-group fulfilling familial responsibilities.

Emotional labour: Earlier in the paper I recounted an instance where Patricia Hughes undertook emotional labour with the principal to manage a sensitive situation at work. Similarly, Margery and Rosemary both found themselves in a delicate position when they were promoted to headmistress in their respective schools and had to manage former colleagues. The situation called for tact and patience while managing assigned duties.

Another important form of emotional labour is providing care and spiritual guidance to students. Patricia who taught in missionary schools shares instances of children confiding personal or family troubles and seeking counsel. Recounting an instance of comforting a child whose parents were undergoing divorce she states:

He said, "Why should this happen?" I said, "Son, very often we don't have answers. See I didn't know why I couldn't have a baby. At the time I couldn't accept it but see what a lovely [adopted] child I have now." Because they all loved my daughter.

Francesca shares how she developed a strong bond with a student who had a disability when she invited her to join the school's basketball team and encouraged others to treat her respectfully.

Whenever she played she got a consolation prize. [One day] she said to me, At the end of this tournament, they're going to give me a consolation prize. I don't want anyone to feel sorry [for me]. So I had to say [to the organisers], "If you have any plans of giving her a consolation prize, please don't. She prefers to be considered normal." She always writes in *Femina* and other magazines that whatever I am today, is because of Mrs Sinha [Francesca].

These forms of emotional labour result in long-term bonds with students, which constitute a form of emotional capital that teachers draw on not only in service but later in retirement, as students express gratitude, extend invitations or keep in touch after graduating.

Religiosity as Emotional Work

Losing my job was his plan. He wanted me to reach out probably to more people instead of being stuck in one school.

— Sandra, aged 58

Sandra rationalises the loss of a lucrative job as part of a divine plan since it later led to her launching a career as an educational consultant. Other teachers, too, attributed professional progress or troubles to divine will with comments such as "God has placed me in this school." Even difficult personal circumstances are explained in religious terms. For instance, when recounting her humiliating experience of failing when she was in high school, Patricia stated that it was part of god's plan in preparing her to become a more sensitive teacher.

Such explanations are included in the emotional work that teachers undertake to deal with unfair working conditions or poor remuneration. In addition, prayer and church attendance are an ongoing form of emotional work that build the emotional capital that teachers draw on in times of crises. By seeking support from divine forces or by drawing on religious explanations for professional and personal challenges, teachers feel a sense of empowerment despite constrained circumstances.

Conclusions

This paper attempts to demonstrate how Anglo-Indian teachers' restricted cultural capital and positions as members of a minority community limit their employment opportunities to English medium private schools, requiring them to draw on social capital within the community. Deploying social capital enables them to find employment, while also constraining their ability to negotiate terms and conditions of employment. Their limited negotiating capacity is exacerbated by the absence of unions for private school teachers. Social capital cannot be frittered away by repeatedly requesting favours and needs to be husbanded with care. Given the limits of their social, economic and cultural capital, teachers attempt to create and deploy emotional capital to manage the challenges of professional life and their limited empowerment at work. It could be argued that emotional capital includes a sense of belonging, well-being, and psychological security.

As Reay (2000, 2004) suggests, unlike cultural and social capital, emotional capital cannot be easily exchanged for economic capital, but women attempt to deploy it to mitigate the absence of the latter. The analysis suggests that emotional capital can be created by engaging in regular emotional work on the self (prayer, positive self-talk, constructing teaching as nation building) or by engaging in emotional labour with students, colleagues and management. In addition, emotional labour (acts of consideration and recognition) undertaken by others (especially colleagues) can create emotional capital for individual teachers making them feel a sense of security and belonging in their workplace.

Emotional labour creates a form of emotional capital that circulates between individual teachers, between teachers and students and to a lesser extent between management and teachers. For instance, emotional labour invested on the principal and colleagues results in goodwill which could be reciprocated in times of need. Similarly emotional capital in some cases compensates the absence of economic and other forms of capital (sometimes in a more direct manner, for instance,

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when students offer financial support while at other times in a more nebulous fashion, for example, when they express gratitude years later). Thus, creating emotional capital requires a certain amount of emotional labour. However, whether an

individual's emotional labour can be realised as emotional capital depends to a great extent on the willingness of others to recognise and reward it, thus making this form of capital more tenuous than economic or cultural capital.

NOTES

- 1 Anglo-Indians have a sporting tradition with both men and women playing at the national and international levels.
- 2 Hochschild (1983) contrasts the work of (female) flight attendants with (predominantly male) bill collectors whose emotional labour requires the expression of hostility and aggression to intimidate targets.
- 3 See deSouza and Belliappa (2018) for a longer discussion of research relationships.

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