Socio-economic Conditions of Migrant Female Teachers in Pune City

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Abstract

Existing literature on migration studies indicates the existence of analyses of different facets of migration. But the common thread that strings these studies together is the analysis about dynamics of migrant labourers. The labour class is the focal point for internal migration studies leaving the middle and upper class to be a grossly under-researched section of society. This study has attempted to analyze the socio-economic conditions of a small section of the migrant middle class: female teachers. Based on questionnaire and survey through interviews data on different indicators of socio-economic conditions from teachers working in schools around Pune was collected. An analysis of this data led to the conclusion that migration has improved the socio-economic condition of the teachers and that they did not suffer from problems plaguing migrant labourers.

浦那市移民教师的社会经济状况

大量移民研究阐释了人口迁移不同方面的分析。但这些研究的共同思路是对移民劳动力的分析。劳动阶级是国内移民研究的焦点，使得中上层阶级成为社会研究中一个严重缺乏研究的部分。本研究试图分析中产阶级移民中的一个小部分，即女教师的社会经济状况。本研究使用调查问卷和访谈的方法收集代表浦那学校教师社会经济状况的不同指标的数据。对这些数据进行分析得出的结论是，移民没有破坏教师的社会经济地位，她们并没有遇到困扰移民劳工的贫困问题。

Keywords

Socio-economic conditions, migrants, middle class, women, teachers

Introduction

The historic reforms of 1991 paved the way for rapid economic growth in India. This growth led to the reduction of the number of people living on a dollar per day from 93 per cent in 1985 to 54 per cent in 2005 (Beinhocker, Farrell, & Zainulbhai, 2007). This mass exodus of people out of poverty has led to the

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expansion of the middle class of India. In 2004–2005, the proportion of middle class was 16.8 per cent of the population which grew to 20 per cent by 2009–2010 (Chakravathy, 2014). According to a World Bank report on inequality in South Asia, upward mobility was driven by two main factors, the first being the increase in the non-farm rural jobs in India. Not only were wages of non-farm rural labour higher by 30–50 per cent of the agricultural labourers but also underemployed labour found new sources of income in non-farm activities. Secondly, rapid urbanization led to large-scale rural–urban migration. Between the years 2001 and 2011, the urban population grew at a rate of 2.76 per cent per annum. The urban population grew to 377 million and the level of urbanization in India grew from 27.7 per cent in 2001 to 31.1 per cent in 2011 (Bhagat, 2011).

Due to the expansion of the middle class and the rapid urbanization taking place, increased amount of migration is taking place in order to take advantages of the opportunities thrown up by globalization and urbanization. Therefore, it is no longer only the poor and deprived who are migrating for higher incomes but also individuals belonging to the middle class. This is confirmed by the increase in migration along the urban–urban stream (12.9 to 13.1 per cent) which is usually linked to business travel, transfer, training and taking up of new jobs (Kundu & Saraswati, 2012). This shift in the characteristics of migrants can be seen by the changes in the reasons for migration. From Table 1 it can be seen that migrants now are moving for reasons other than 'to search for better employment' and this trend applies for both male and female migrants. There has been a decline for persons migrating in search of better employment from 16.87 to 15.11 per cent for rural males and a decline from 1.44 to 1.017 per cent for urban females. Correspondingly, the percentage of people moving out due to social and political problems has also declined over the years, which shows that distress migration is now on the decline. Increase in the number of migrants migrating for reasons such as taking up employment, business, study and to acquire own house/flat shows that the socio-economic profile of migrants is slowly changing.

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Internal Migrants by Reason for Migration

	Male				Female			
	1999–2000		2007–2008		1999–2000		2007–2008	
Reasons for Migration	Rural (per cent)	Urban (per cent)	Rural (per cent)	Urban (per cent)	Rural (per cent)	Urban (per cent)	Rural (per cent)	Urban (per cent)
In search of employment/ better employment	16.87	32.59	15.11	30.36	0.59	1.44	0.25	1.017
To take up employment/ better employment/ business	6.50	9.16	9.94	17.31	0.15	0.49	0.18	1.14
Transfer/proximity to place of work	7.01	10.05	6.10	9.02	0.25	0.99	0.17	0.64
Studies	5.26	6.22	7.73	6.33	0.38	1.74	0.48	2.34
Social/political problems	3.92	1.44	2.24	0.69	0.51	0.72	0.26	0.38
Marriage	9.64	1.60	8.03	1.00	88.77	58.50	89.90	58.40
Acquisition of house/flat	3.97	4.11	5.42	4.40	0.34	1.40	0.46	1.20
Others	46.3	34.37	45.47	30.89	8.67	34.72	8.25	34.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation, Government of India & NSS. (2001).

Not only are the middle class becoming increasingly mobile, but also women. The main reason for migration of women has always been marriage. From Table 1, it can be seen that between the years 1999 and 2008 the percentage of women migrating due to marriage has almost remained the same, in fact reducing for urban women, which indicates that other reasons for migration are gaining importance. There has been an increase in the percentage of women migrating for reasons such as business/taking up better employment, studies and acquisition of house/flat for rural women. This has been mainly due to the urbanization process which has resulted in an increase in the opportunities available to women and in order to avail of these opportunities women are now investing in education so as to get higher returns. Therefore, it is now increasingly important to attempt to study the socio-economic conditions of this new class of migrants, which includes both the middle class and women, which is what this paper attempts to do.

This article focuses on the city of Pune, a city which lies in the Mumbai–Pune–Thane belt which accounts for 60 per cent of the output of Maharashtra-net migration to which, as per the Census 2001, was 2.3 million migrants. Most migration was mostly towards the Mumbai–Pune region (Planning Commission, 2014). Migration in Maharashtra is characterized by two levels: the migration of relatively less skilled labour from interior regions to tier-II cities such as Nashik, Nagpur and Vidharbha, and the migration of skilled workforce from these regions into Mumbai and Pune (IMaCS, 2013). This is primarily due to the existence of automobile industries, steel industries and other heavy equipment industries. Along with these, the information technology and education sector also attract large number of young professionals to the city. About 67.5 per cent of the workers belong to the tertiary sector followed by the secondary (32.16 per cent) and primary sectors (0.34 per cent) (City Profile-Pune, n.d.). One of the reasons for Pune's growth was its supply of skilled labour to the industries. Since then, the education and industrial sector constantly reinforce each other through forces of demand and supply for jobs and skilled labour. Expansion of the education sector is attracting a considerable amount of migrants both in the form of students and teachers. Since teachers are representative of the middle class, this study attempts to study their socio-economic conditions by using the questionnaire and interview method, as this would enable an understanding of the socio-economic characteristics of middle class female migrants.

Literature Review

Many researchers have devoted their efforts in determining the socio-economic conditions of migrants in different regions. The studies differ in the kind of migrants studied and the region. Since this paper focuses on two different aspects of migration: internal and female migration, the section below highlights different studies that have dealt with these two topics.

At a global level, it was estimated that in 2005, 229 million people were living within the country of birth but in a region different from their region of stay 5 years earlier. The number increases to 763 million people when considering people living within their birth country but outside their region of birth (United Nations [UN], 2013). But research in developed countries like the United States focusses on international immigrants rather than on internal migrants. There exist very few studies on internal migration in developed countries. This is primarily because of the social, economic, cultural and political transformations begotten by international immigration (Ellis, 2011). Developing countries, on the other hand, are usually characterized by internal migration. Most developing countries were agrarian with a large number of people dependent on it. Therefore, at the time when other industries were just at their nascent stage, internal migration processes were considered to be desirable as this entailed shifting of

human resources from sectors where their marginal product was 0 to sectors where there marginal product was positive and growing due to the capital accumulation and technological progress (Todaro, 1980). But this attitude towards internal migration changed when the rates of rural–urban migration surpassed the rate of urban job creation and the capacity of industry to absorb this labour. However, this did not deter the internal migrants who migrate due to reasons such as higher income, problems related to agriculture and minimization of risks[1] (Groppo, 2014). This has resulted in the migrant living in slums in unhygienic conditions and with low health and incomes thus moving towards the web of poverty.

In India, these are the characteristics that are most commonly associated with migrants as a result of which a large amount of literature on socio-economic conditions of migrants is focused on these migrant labourers. A study on the socio-economic conditions of domestic migrant labourers in Kerala highlights the problems that migrants face such as exploitation, lack of bargaining power, bad working conditions and low wages (Manoj & Viswanath, 2015). This trend was similar across different industries and regions such as the jute industry (Rao & Rao, 1993), construction industry (Soundararajan, 2013), agricultural sector in Punjab (H. Singh, 1989; M. Singh, 1997) and Uttar Pradesh (Rajni, 2007), tobacco cultivation in Andhra Pradesh (Rao, 1978) and contract labourers in Delhi/NCR (Singh, Chauhan, & Sharma, 2012). Studies in India have not incorporated other sections of migrants something which studies in an international context have done. Although there exist studies on the adverse situation that migrant labourers face, such as Chan (2001) who highlights that migrant workers suffered abuse in the form of unpaid and low wages, bad working conditions and violation of rights, the definition of migrant is not limited to unskilled labour. Tang and Yang (2008) find that 9 per cent of migrant workers in the age group of 18–35 years are in professional or white-collar jobs. The unemployment rate among the migrants (11 per cent) was much lesser than urban residents (25 per cent) and individual income was higher than incomes of urban respondents by 10 per cent. Similarly, migrants in Russia, especially women were highly educated with advanced degrees (Hormel & Southworth, 2006). Researchers in America state that 25.3 per cent of all residents of immigrant households belonged to the middle class. Women headed 34.6 per cent of the migrant households while men headed 65.4 per cent. The income of the head of the household accounted for 50 per cent of the total income of the family followed by spouses who contributed to 29 per cent of the household income. Around 24.7 per cent of the middle-class immigrant households completed high school and 23.6 per cent had completed college or an associate's degree. They were also most likely to work in construction, extraction and transportation; manufacturing, installation and repair, and in service occupations (Terrazas, 2009). An analysis of middle class migrant families in California suggests that these families are highly mobile moving frequently to seek better economic opportunities. Forty per cent moved due to company/business transfer and 38 per cent moved to seek better opportunities or to increase the possibility of advancement. Since 78 per cent of the families had a job before the move, they were not affected by job insecurity—something which lower class migrants face. Although they had sufficient incomes, only 35 per cent of the families said they would settle down permanently while 40 per cent said they would move within the next 5 years (Landis & Stoetzer, 1966). Thus, the definition of migrants in the studies above is not restricted to labour migrants but also other sections of migrants.

As mentioned before, with an increase in the scale of urbanization processes in India, there is a new class of migrants that is becoming increasingly mobile. This is basically skilled migrants and therefore it is necessary to widen the definition of migrants and include all those people, no matter what social strata they belong to. This paper attempts to do that. By studying middle class migrants in Pune city, this article looks at this different set of migrants. There is gap in literature related to socio-economic conditions of middle class migrants which this paper attempts to fill. Another aspect of the migration processes in India that this paper looks into is female migration. As mentioned before, NSSO data show that majority of the women have migrated due to marriage. This has been supported by J. Singh (1980), who did a review of all the literature available for migration. Subsequent papers have also highlighted the associational

dimension in the migration of women. Migration of women was the maximum in the rural–rural stream of migration. This was primarily due to marriage, employment in lean agricultural periods, employment in case of widowhood, broken marriages etc. (Premi, 1980). In case of employment, most women are concentrated in the informal sector. In Tamil Nadu, it was found that most women migrated due to a lack of opportunities at their region of stay and also drought like conditions which forced them to move to urban areas. Migration has resulted in an increase in incomes, increase in asset holdings and economic status. But the savings levels had not improved, debt levels had increased and they were characterized by deplorable living conditions (Sundari, 2005). However, there has been a change in the role of women in the migration process with women becoming increasingly important. Increase in nuclear families along with the participation of women in activities outside their homes has increased the demand for workers such as domestic help, child care giver and full-time caretakers (Banerjee & Raju, 2009). These women usually have a central role to play in their families as they are the primary breadwinners. They take up all household expenditures, often also financing the education of their family members (Neetha, 2004). But again, due to the predominance of low-skilled female migrants, formal sector female migrants have been under-represented in the migration literature. This paper focuses on the women associated with the formal sector and aims to look at their reasons of migration, their lives and socio-economic conditions.

Research Objective

The main objective of this article is to study the socio-economic conditions of migrant teachers. The questions that this study attempts to answer are:

(1) What are the socio-economic conditions that are characteristic of middle class migrant teachers?
(2) Is there a difference in socio-economic conditions between intra-state and inter-state migrants?
(3) Whether difference in duration of stay as migrant affects socio-economic conditions?

Methodology

Of major interest in this study are the socio-economic conditions that characterize the middle class migrant teachers. Questions were constructed relating to these areas. Most questions were structured with specific alternatives. The questionnaire which was used was a structured non-disguised question-naire where the questions were listed in a pre-arranged order and the respondents were informed about the purpose of the study. Interview questions revolved around the questions in the questionnaires. Prior permission was taken from the authorities before the questionnaire was distributed/interview was conducted. The questionnaire was distributed among 100 teachers in six public schools, two private schools and two private colleges. Ninety were filled out and returned and 50 responses were used for this analysis. The rest were not taken due to non-response to a large number of questions. Also, data were analyzed only for those teachers who had been living in Pune for a period of 1–20 years. Questionnaires were distributed in those institutions where permission to conduct interviews was not granted. By study-ing persons from the same profession, possible differences in socio-economic conditions that may arise due to differences in occupation were controlled for. Data were collected on four aspects of socio-economic conditions that are focused on in this study: educational qualifications, income (average monthly income), activities undertaken during vacations and future plans and assets. Contract teachers have not been included in this study.

Selection for Indicators

Some of the indicators chosen have been taken from the guidelines prepared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe to measure changes in socio-economic conditions of migrants as relevant to the paper (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2015). These are:

Education dimension: The most important indicator in the education dimension was deemed to be educational attainment. This refers to the highest level of education that has been completed by an individual. The reason education plays an important role in the socio-economic conditions of a migrant is because it facilitates the adjustment to the destination state. Migrant's labour market experience is expected to be positive among skilled migrants.

Economic dimension: The guidelines emphasis economic dimension as it is important to understand the migrant's settlement experience. Economic information such as employment income and household income gives an idea of their general economic well-being and performance of migrants in the labour market of the host country. Indicators under the economic dimension include employment income, household income, poverty rates, property ownership, employment rates, unemployment rates etc. The guidelines choose employment rate as the appropriate indicator for measuring the economic dimension. But since this is not relevant to the paper, the indicators chosen are employment income, household income and property ownership. Property ownership has been used in addition to income because there is a possibility of over-reporting or under-reporting of income (Cordova, 2008; O'Donnell, Doorslaer, Wagstaff, & Lindelow, 2008). In order to avoid this, property ownership has been used in order to affirm the standards of living of the migrant. In this paper, property ownership refers to owner-ship of house, land and consumer durables such as cars. Additionally, activities during vacations and future plans have been used to further substantiate these indicators.

Limitations

(1) Questionnaires were distributed in those schools and colleges where permission to conduct direct interviews was denied. Since, as compared to interviews, the scope of a questionnaire is limited, it may have resulted in loss of data.
(2) The study does not include the socio-economic conditions of non-migrant teachers as a result of which a comparison is not possible.

Results

The women whose responses were analyzed comprised both inter-state migrants and intra-state migrants. Only 28 per cent of the migrants were from other states such as Kerala, Haryana, Chhattisgarh and Delhi. Most women were from different districts within Maharashtra such as Mumbai, Nagpur and Nashik. The average age was 35 years. Although all women were married, only 62 per cent of them had migrated due to marriage. This points towards two facts. First, women are moving for alternate reasons other than marriage. Second, majority of the women have migrated due to marriage which shows that Pune's rapid economic development did attract migrants but mostly in the form of male labour. Sixteen per cent of the women had migrated due to job opportunities and 12 per cent due to the education opportunities that Pune provides. Sixty-four per cent of the teachers had not worked in the period prior to migration.

Table 2. Reason for Migration versus Employment Status before Migration

	Reason for Migration			
Employment Status before Migration	Marriage (31)	Education (6)	Better Job Opportunities (8)	Others (5)
Employed	9	0	6	4
Unemployed	22	6	2	1

Source: Primary data.
Note: Numbers in parentheses represents the number of teachers according to the reason for migration.
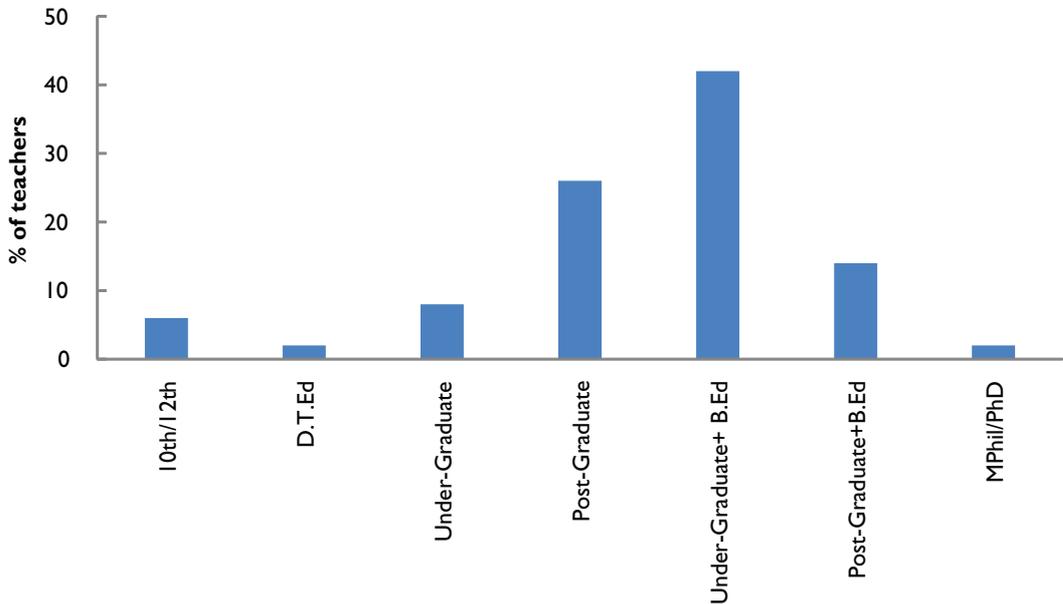
Figure 1. The Education Qualification of Migrant Teachers in Pune City
Source: Primary data.

Almost 19 per cent of these women were those who were studying in Pune. They did this in order to advance their capabilities which would enable them to access the opportunities that Pune had to offer. Around 6.25 per cent were the women who had migrated due to job opportunities and the rest were those who had migrated due to marriage (Table 2).

Educational Qualifications

The reason the teachers were able to take advantage of the expanding education sector in Pune was their education. Teachers at different levels of school and college had different levels of education. High school teachers had education levels varying from undergraduate plus BEd to post-graduate plus BEd. Teachers with lower levels of education belonged to the primary sections. Teachers with levels of education equal to post-graduate and above belonged to the colleges (Figure 1).

Income

Income, in this study, refers to the remuneration that the teachers receive for the time that they devote to teaching; it does not account for alternate sources of income. On an average, teachers had a family income of ₹63,700 and received a salary of ₹24,000 but this high amount camouflages the disparity between the incomes of the teachers belonging to public and private institutions. Eighty-eight per cent of the teachers belonged to private institutions while 10 per cent belonged to public institutions and 2 per cent belonged to NGOs like Teach for India. Government aided institutions provide remuneration on the basis of government rules by which private institutions are not bound as a result of which the disparity between the incomes is large. Aided institutions start with a basic salary of ₹8,000 for a period of 3 years. In the fourth year along with permanency of job, salaries are increased to ₹15,000. Subsequently, a yearly increment would follow and further improvements in income could be obtained through improved qualifications. Teachers in public institutions were paid on the basis of their experience, qualification and the number and type of subjects they taught. This was highlighted during my interview with some of the teachers. Subsequent responses of teachers from the other government schools reported similar incomes.

Private institutes usually followed their own payscale. Although teachers at private institutions receive an average salary of ₹50,000, they are constantly at risk of losing their jobs as a result of which they are forced to look for alternate avenues of income to safeguard against the risks of job loss. Also it was seen that teachers who were paid the same salary had to take up different number of subjects.

Activities during Vacation and Future Plans

The importance of the indicator 'activities during vacation' is enshrined in the theory of the backward bending supply curve[2] in economics. A person facing lower socio-economic conditions would reduce his leisure hours and try to maximize his income. An assessment of the activities of teachers during their vacation could help estimate their socio-economic profile. Eighty-six per cent of the teachers surveyed responded that they would like to go back to their native place, travel to a new place, pursue a hobby or just relax during their vacation which implies that the migrant teachers studied could afford higher number of leisure hours. Only 12 per cent said they would complete school work.

Future plan is another important indicator because a teacher who is dissatisfied with her job, job environment and living environment would always like to make changes so as to maximize her income and living standards. But 78 per cent of the teachers preferred to continue to teach in the same institution. Twelve per cent chose to go for further studies in order to improve their employment potential followed by 8 per cent of the teachers who said that they would like to move to another job. Only 2 per cent wished to return to their native place. This indicates that a majority of the teachers are living comfortably; satisfied with their job, work environment and salary and that they do not need to change their jobs or use their free time to improve their employability.

Assets Owned

Ownership of a house and vehicles gives a fair account of the assets and wealth that a migrant middle class family owns. Eighty per cent of the teachers have at least one vehicle. Most teachers whose family incomes were greater than ₹50,000 had two vehicles. Although the teachers own vehicles, some of them
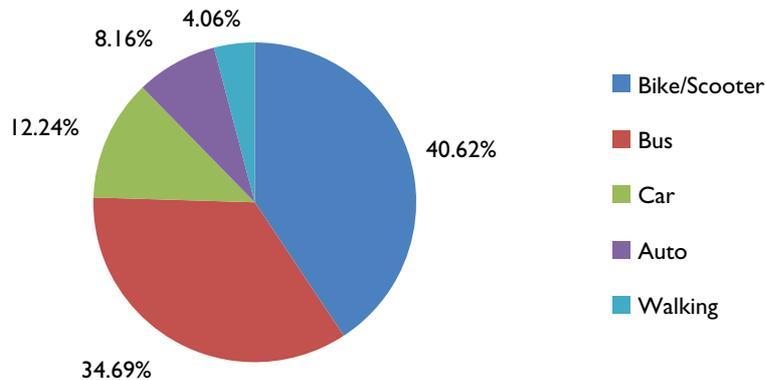
Figure 2. The Percentage of Women Using a Particular Kind of Mode of Transport
Source: Primary data.

may not use it for transport as they have only one vehicle and their husbands use it or they use other forms of transport when they do not have their own vehicle. More than 40 per cent of the teachers travel on their bikes/scooters followed by bus (34 per cent), car, auto and walking (Figure 2).

More than 50 per cent of the teachers travel by their own transport, thus indicating willingness to spend fuel for transport which is another indicator of good standard of living. The other teachers are subject to the vagaries of the public transport system of Pune such as lack of direct buses, delayed buses and refusal of auto-rickshaw drivers to go to a certain destination which adversely affects the teachers.

The family income of teachers was high enough to fund the purchase of a house. Sixty-six per cent live in houses owned by them or their husbands. Only 34 per cent live in rented houses. Since buying of houses or vehicles requires a comfortable financial position, it can be concluded that the migrant teachers enjoyed good finances. This is further confirmed by the fact that only 10 per cent of the teachers had to repay a debt and 28 per cent had to repay loans. The average savings rate of the migrant teachers was 11.3 per cent. Only two out of 50 teachers said they owned any land in Pune.

The comfortable financial position of teachers along with comfort in their occupation as a teacher shows that the migrant teachers have not been adversely affected by their migrant status. Any reduction of socio-economic position can be accounted for by other factors such as loss of job.

Discussion

From the data presented above, it is possible to answer the three questions that this article presents at the very outset.

What are the Socio-economic Characteristics of Middle Class Migrant Teachers in Pune?

From the data it is seen that most of the teachers who had migrated were educated at the college level. Many of the teachers had completed their degree in education which enabled them to take up employment at the schools and colleges around Pune. On an average, income levels were high, both individual

and family, which offset the many problems that low-skilled migrants faced. Since the teachers belonged to the formal sector they received steady incomes. The inference of good socio-economic conditions is related to the high incomes, ability to purchase own houses and vehicles, lack of a necessity to improve employment potential and the use of vacations for leisure. All of this shows that the teachers are living lives of good socio-economic conditions and that their migrant status does not interfere with their socio-economic conditions.

Is there a Difference in Socio-economic Conditions between Inter-state and Intra-state Migrants?

This question is increasingly important for a state like Maharashtra which has traditionally been opposed to migrants. Maharashtrians have a rising feeling that it is migrants who have come and taken away their jobs as a result of which Maharashtrians are worse off. Political parties have made very strong protests against migrants and in fact have assaulted migrant labourers (D. Singh, 2005). Most of the drives against migrants have been directed towards low- or unskilled labour. It is also possible that middle class face discrimination at different points of their career. But the data collected show that most of the migrants had faced no problems of discrimination. Of the teachers who felt they were discriminated against, five out of seven were Maharashtrians from different districts. This shows us that there was no discrimination based on 'region' or the migrant status. Although most teachers did face problems with the language, they did not face any discrimination in amount of work, incomes, opportunities and leave granted. All teachers received equal treatment in all of these aspects. As a result of this, socio-economic conditions were mostly uniform across all the teachers. Teacher's income, as highlighted before depended only on their experience, qualifications and the number and type of subjects they taught. Any reduction in socio-economic conditions would be possible due to other factors that are not related to the teacher's migrant status, such as job loss. Therefore, middle class migrant teachers do not face the discriminatory treatment that labourers in Maharashtra face. A possible reason for this could be the higher bargaining power that these teachers have in terms of education. Their higher levels of education ensure that they are able to report matters of discrimination and are aware of their rights unlike low-skilled migrants who are at the mercy of their employers.

Whether the Difference in Duration of Stay Affects Socio-economic Conditions?

Improvement in socio-economic conditions can be a gradual process or can be on account of the migration. Teachers who had been in Pune for a period greater than 10 years had good socio-economic conditions. In fact, those teachers who had been teaching in public institutions for a period of 10 years or more had incomes equal to the teachers in the private institutes. If socio-economic conditions are considered at a single point of time, that is, at the time the data were collected, then those women who had been living in Pune for longer had good socio-economic conditions. This cannot be said about the teachers who had migrated 1–3 years prior to the year the data were collected. If you look at those teachers especially those who were working in public institutions, a common feature can be seen. Looking at only those teachers who had migrated due to marriage and had a job prior to migration, it is understood that they had migrated due to a better job opportunity that was available to their husbands or they had migrated to join their husbands who already had a well-paying job in Pune. This resulted in them giving up their jobs. For those teachers who had higher levels of income prior to migration, it meant a significant reduction

in welfare. This is true mainly for teachers in public institutions. The starting salary of any teacher, no matter what her work experience was ₹8,000. Also, there was no job security. A paltry starting salary of ₹8,000 for a period of 3 years seriously undermines the capabilities of the teachers and also affects their ability to sustain theirs as well as their family's economic position. This forces them to look towards alternate sources of income such as tuitions, or borrow from others as their incomes are not sufficient to make ends meet. Savings in these homes were negligible. Even after 3 years, they need to make significant efforts such as gain additional qualifications to gain higher levels of income. But the same thing cannot be said about the teachers belonging to private institutions. Their income did not vary according to the number of years they had been teaching in that institute. Therefore, it can be said that for those teachers who migrated recently and are working in public schools, their welfare must have reduced. However, the proportion of teachers who received a higher income prior to migration was less; only 12 per cent of the total number of teachers and 37.5 per cent of the teachers who were working prior to migration. Therefore, migration did have a positive impact on incomes of most migrant teachers in two ways. First, many of the teachers entered the labour force and second, many experienced a rise in income post-migration.

Differences in ownership of houses and vehicles were also noticed with recent migrants opting for modes of transport such as buses, auto and walking. Most of these teachers also lived in rented houses. But time duration only creates a difference in monetary aspects such as income and ownership of assets. Data on activities during vacations and future plans suggest that teachers are content with the lives they were leading. Eighty-four per cent of the respondents wished to do activities not associated with their career during vacation and 76 per cent preferred to stay in the same institute which shows that the although their economic parameters were not very high, they were satisfied with their jobs and lives.

Conclusion

Thus, it can be concluded that on an average, migrant teachers are experiencing good standards of living. What makes them different from migrant labourers is their relatively high levels of education which enabled them to take advantages of the availability of jobs in the expanding education sector in Pune. Incomes varied according to the type of institutions they were associated with. But in the long run, their standard of living improved. Most migrants who had been in Pune for a period of more than 10 years experienced high standards of living with their own houses, vehicles and use of vacations for leisure. Recent migrants may not have enjoyed high economic conditions but were satisfied with their jobs and did not wish to advance their careers. Only 12 per cent reported that they would go for further studies and 8 per cent wished to move to another job.

Due to unstable job market, most labour migrants are willing to work at rates lower than the local labour. Also the level of motivation among these labourers is high. But among teachers this problem does not arise since they belong to the formal sector. Incomes in public institutions are dependent on education qualifications, number of years of experience, number of subjects etc. Most women claimed that they did not face discrimination. Those who did face discrimination were migrants from within Maharashtra and not from another state. This shows that discrimination was not based on the ethnicity of a person, thus indicating that the person was not discriminated against for being a migrant. There was no significant difference found in socio-economic conditions between inter-state migrants and intra-state migrants. Hence, middle class migrant teachers were considered to have good socio-economic conditions and they experience betterment in the standards of living in the destination area.

Notes

1. Migration to minimize risk is usually a household decision where families send out their family members in order to guard against the risks associated with agriculture such as crop loss. This is increasingly prevalent in developing countries where there is an absence of crop insurance and other formal credit facilities. See the neoclassical macro theory of migration in (Massey et al., 1993).
2. Backward Bending Supply curve is a graphical device which shows that as real wages increase, people substitute wages (paid-time) for leisure (non-paid time). In this context, it refers to the usage of vacations for leisure hours instead of improving employability.

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