

The Guest In The Social Contract: A Rawlsian Evaluation Of Labour Migration And Social Justice In The Kerala Model

Dr. Amina Poovancheri

Associate Professor

Research Department Of Economics

Sree Neelakanta Govt Sanskrit College, Pattambi

Dr. Sandhya KP

Associate Professor

Research Department Of Economics

Sree Neelakanta Govt Sanskrit College, Pattambi

Dr. Ashraf Panancheri

Associate Professor

Department Of Economics

Government College Malappuram

Dr. Rafeek VH

Associate Professor

Department Of Economics

Government College Kodanchery

Dr. Hyderali. K

Associate Professor

Research Department Of Economics

Sree Neelakanta Govt Sanskrit College, Pattambi

Abstract

This paper evaluates the socio-economic status of internal migrant workers in Kerala through the lens of John Rawls's theory of Justice as Fairness. Utilizing empirical data from a study of the migrant labour force in Malappuram District of Kerala State, India, the research examines whether the celebrated Kerala model of development satisfies the difference principle and examine the accessibility of primary social goods and realisation of self-respect among the migrant workers. While the findings acknowledge that high wage structures provide a material economic benefit to the migrant population, persistent social goods poverty suggests a structural deficit. The study concludes that despite formal workplace cordiality, the social contract remains incomplete for the least advantaged non-resident population, who remain excluded from the state's broader primary social goods.

Keywords: *John Rawls, Difference Principle, Kerala Model, Internal Migration, Social Goods Poverty, Social Contract.*

Date of Submission: 12-05-2026

Date of Acceptance: 22-05-2026

I. Introduction

John Rawls (1921–2002) is widely regarded as the most influential political philosopher of the 20th century. His seminal work, *A Theory of Justice* (1971), is credited with revitalizing the study of ethics and political theory by providing a rigorous alternative to utilitarianism—the dominant view that a society should simply aim for the greatest good for the greatest number. Rawls proposed Justice as Fairness, a framework rooted in the social contract tradition, which insists that the principles of justice must be those that free and rational persons would agree to from a position of equality. At the heart of Rawls's work is one of the most renowned thought experiments

in modern philosophy: the Original Position and Veil of Ignorance. Rawls argues that if we were ignorant of our own place in the natural lottery, we would not choose a system that exploits the poor or favors the elite. Instead, we would choose a society that ensures everyone has basic liberties and that any existing inequalities are managed to guard the most vulnerable. From the Original Position, Rawls derives two fundamental principles that define a just state: The Liberty Principle and The Difference Principle. Social and economic inequalities are only justified if they satisfy two conditions of fair equality of opportunity and to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society. This paper utilizes the Original Position to audit the socio-economic conditions of internal migrant workers in Kerala. The concept of the natural lottery, as articulated by John Rawls, points that the circumstances of one's birth—geography, innate talent, and initial social strata—are morally arbitrary (Rawls, 1971, 1993, 2001)

In the Indian federal context, this lottery manifests as a stark divergence in Human Development Indices (HDI) between the high-performing state of Kerala and labour-exporting states such as Bihar, Odisha, and West Bengal. This paper utilizes Rawls's Veil of Ignorance as a normative heuristic to evaluate the socio-economic structures governing guest workers in Kerala. It asks a fundamental question of distributive justice: If an individual were exposed of the knowledge of their place of birth, would they consent to a social contract that bifurcates the rights of local citizens from those of migrant labourers?

The most famous international application of Rawls to migration was conducted by Joseph Carens in his seminal work, applied the veil of ignorance to the entire world. If people didn't know their country of birth, they would never agree to a system where a birthright lottery determines their life chances. From a Rawlsian perspective, citizenship is a modern counterpart of feudal privilege, just as Rawls demands the removal of barriers to social mobility within a country, justice at the international level requires the freedom of movement across borders (Carens 1987). The application of difference principle globally was tested and found that the least advantaged are not the poorest people in a wealthy country, but the poorest people in the global system (often migrant labourers from the Global South). The wealthy nations have a Rawlsian duty to redistribute wealth to burdened labour-sending countries to eliminate the desperate conditions that force migration in the first place (Beitz, 1979 and Pogge, 1989). In the context of Kerala, their work suggests that the social contract must account for the migrant worker, as the economic interdependence between Kerala and labor-exporting states creates a collective basic structure that demands justice. While cosmopolitan theorists argue for a borderless application of justice, suggests that the state's coercive legal framework itself creates a moral obligation (Michael Blake, 2001, 2013). In Kerala, because guest workers are subject to local labor regulations and state authority, Blake's framework suggests they cannot be excluded from the protections of the social contract, regardless of their outsider status.

While a Rawlsian audit focuses on the distribution of primary goods, the focus is shifted toward capabilities (Amartya Sen, 1999; Martha Nussbaum, 2006). In the Kerala context, this suggests that justice for the Guest Worker cannot be measured by high daily wages alone; rather, it must be evaluated by their substantive freedom to access healthcare, preserve social affiliation, and live with the dignity that the Kerala Model promises its native citizens.

The Kerala Model is extensively documented in development literature as a unique case of high social development (high literacy, low infant mortality) despite relatively low per-capita income. It is extensively characterized by radical redistribution and the prioritization of human welfare over capital accumulation (Franke and Chasin, 1989, 1994). However, this model was historically predicated on a stable, local population. As Kerala's success—evidenced by high literacy and social mobility—pushed the local workforce out of manual labor, a new least advantaged class of migrant workers emerged. Applying a Rawlsian lens to Franke and Chasin's framework allows us to ask if the radical reforms of the past are being extended to the guest workers of the present.

Recent literature has begun to critique this model for its exclusivity. While the state protected its local labour force through strong unions and minimum wage laws, researchers like S. Irudaya Rajan have noted that the state has become increasingly dependent on replacement labour (inter-state migrants) who do not always enjoy the same social protections as the local populace. While the philosophical framework of justice is provided by Rawls, the empirical reality of the least advantaged is best captured by the work of scholars on replacement migration in Kerala (Rajan, 2010, Peter et al., 2020) reveals a demographic paradox: the state's affluence, built on the emigration of its own citizens, has become structurally dependent on a massive influx of interstate migrants. By documenting the gap between state-led welfare initiatives and the lived reality of these workers, Rajan provides the data necessary to audit whether the Kerala Model truly fulfills the Rawlsian Difference Principle or if it merely provides a utility-based sanctuary for labor.

The empirical literature on internal migration in India highlights the natural lottery of birth. Research by the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) confirms that the wage pull of Kerala is the strongest in South Asia, creating a massive influx of internal migrant labourers (Zachariah & Rajan, 2012). Contemporary studies on Kerala's policy response such as *Project Roshni* and the *Aawaz* scheme evaluate whether rebranding migrants as "guests" successfully provides the social basis of self-respect required by Rawls, or if it remains a symbolic

gesture without structural backing. The consensus among researchers is that while Kerala offers an economic shelter for India's poor, the transition from an economic unit to a social citizen is hindered by structural barriers (Peter et al., 2020; Athira, et al,2025). This creates a fertile ground for testing whether a high-HDI state can truly fulfil a Rawlsian social contract for a non-resident population.

At the centre of this evaluation is the Difference Principle, which mandates that social and economic inequalities are permissible only if they result in compensating benefits for the least advantaged members of society. In the context of Kerala, migrant workers often represent this least advantaged cohort. To determine the fairness of the Kerala Model, we must analyze two pillars: The Difference Principle - Do the inequalities faced by migrants (lack of local political voice, cultural isolation etc.) result in a net benefit that they could not achieve elsewhere? , and Primary Social Goods - Does the state provide the necessary primary goods such as rights, liberties, opportunities, income, and the social bases of self-respect required for a dignified life?

The broad objective of the study is to examine the Rawlsian Social Justice in the Kerala Model with special reference to Guest workers

II. Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are the following

1. To analyse the Rawlsian difference principle in Kerala Model
2. To examine the accessibility of primary social goods and realisation of self respect among the guest workers

III. Methodology

To bridge the gap between normative political theory and socio-economic reality, this study employs a Mixed-Methods Normative Analysis. This methodological framework is structured to evaluate the Kerala Model through a dual-lens approach: establishing a philosophical baseline of justice and testing that baseline against empirical field data. The research adopts the Original Position as its primary analytical method. The core evaluative tool is Rawls's Difference Principle, which serves as the minimum justice threshold. Under this framework, the achievement of Kerala's labour policies is not measured by aggregate economic growth, but by the extent to which they improve the life prospects of the migrant labourer, defined here as the least advantaged member of the social contract.

Empirical Foundation

The empirical data for this synthesis is drawn from a comprehensive study of the migrant labour force in the Malappuram District (Poovancheri, 2022). Malappuram was selected as the representative research site due to its status as a critical hub for construction and service-sector labour, reflecting the broader demographic trends of internal migration in Kerala.

- **Sampling Design:** The study utilized Multistage Stratified Random Sampling to ensure a representative cross-section of the internal migrant population engaged in construction sector. A total number of samples taken is 400
- **Data Collection Tools:** Evidence was gathered through structured interview schedules and longitudinal field observations.
- **Measurement Scales:** Qualitative perceptions regarding social dignity were quantified using a Response Scale, facilitating the development of a Composite Social Integration Index.

Variable Selection: Identifying Primary Goods

In alignment with Rawlsian theory, the study operationalizes primary social goods into three measurable categories of variables viz; Economic Variables (Indicators of material welfare, including daily wage structures), Social Variables (Indicators of institutional inclusion, specifically housing quality, enrolment in the Aawaz health insurance scheme, and linguistic proficiency in Malayalam), Psychological Variables (Indicators of the Social Bases of Self-Respect, measured through perceived dignity and policy changes or recognition by the state).

Bridging Theory and Data: The Conversion Factor

While Rawlsian theory provides the ideal benchmark for fair equality of opportunity, the empirical data from Malappuram is used to identify conversion factors. These are the real-world socio-political obstacles, ranging from cultural barriers to administrative exclusion, that stop high nominal wages from translating into a substantive state of justice. By synthesizing these two domains, the methodology moves beyond simple economic reporting to provide a robust audit of social justice within the Kerala Model.

IV. The Difference Principle: Empirical Analysis

Rawls’s Difference Principle serves as the primary normative criterion for this analysis. Social and economic inequalities are considered just only if they result in compensating benefits for the most vulnerable members of society. In the perspective of the Kerala labour market, the migrant population represents the least advantaged cohort. This section evaluates whether the documented wage disparity satisfies this principle or if the inequality is merely a hollow economic gain.

The Wage Difference

The primary benefit identified in the field survey is a significant increase in nominal income. The empirical data indicates that internal migrants in Kerala earn approximately 250% more than the mean wage received for similar unskilled labour in their native states.

Table 1
Paired Sample Statistics on Daily Wages (N=400)

Sl. No.	Wage Location	Mean Wage (₹)	Std. Deviation	Avg. Difference (₹)
1	Daily Wage in Kerala	672.78	87.49	402.84
2	Daily Wage in Native State	269.94	77.41	(SD: 117.87)

Source: Field Survey (Poovancheri, 2022)

To validate the significance of this disparity, a Paired Sample t-test was performed. The results indicate a statistically significant difference between the wages received in Kerala and the native states, $p < .001$. The statistical evidence confirms that wage differentials are the primary determinant of migration. From a strictly fiscal perspective, the benefit required by the difference principle is present. The migrant worker is significantly better off financially in Kerala than they would be in the original position of their home state. In this study, the internal migrant worker is categorized as the least advantaged subject. Rawls’s framework suggests that justice is not found in a strained equality of outcome, but in a fair structure, one can compromise under conditions of perfect impartiality.

Primary Social Goods and Self-Respect

Rawls introduces the concept of Primary Social Goods—things that every rational person is presumed to want, regardless of their specific goals in life. These include rights, liberties, opportunities, income, wealth, and, most importantly, the social bases of self-respect. For Rawls, self-respect is not a luxury; it is a primary good that a just society must secure for its citizens. This structure provides a powerful lens for the study of Kerala’s migrant workers, as it shifts the focus from mere economic survival (wages) to the deeper moral question of whether these guests are granted the dignity and rights required by justice. The access of social goods to migrant workers are analysed by taking their living condition and working condition.

Living Conditions

A critical tenet of Rawlsian justice is that the benefit to the least advantaged must be holistic. High wages alone do not satisfy the Difference Principle if the worker remains deprived of basic social goods such as healthcare and stable housing. Within the Kerala model, inequality is only just if the migrant's contribution to infrastructure leads to a measurable rise in their own quality of life, rather than merely subsidizing the living standards of the local population.

To assess the Primary Goods of shelter and sanitation, the study examined the living circumstances within labour camps. While some basic utilities show high coverage, significant gaps remain in infrastructure that supports health and privacy.

Table 2		
Availability of Basic Facilities in Labour Camps		
Facilities	Available (Yes)	Unavailable (No)
Separate Kitchen	64.0%	36.0%
Toilet Facility	90.0%	10.0%
Drinking Water Facility	90.5%	9.5%

Source: Field Survey (Poovancheri, 2022)

Although access to water and toilets is high (>90%), the lack of separate kitchen facilities for 36% of the respondents indicates overcrowding and poor indoor air quality, which directly impacts long-term health, a violation of the Rawlsian requirement for a fair share of social primary goods.

The Difference Principle in Practice: Workplace Perception

To further test the internal validity of the social contract within the Kerala Model, we analyze the quality of social dealings within the micro-environment of the workplace. Rawls argued that the social bases of self-respect is perhaps the most vital primary good.

Table 3			
Working Condition Perceptions - Estimated Response Scale			
Variables	Score	Maximum Value	Percentage
Relation with Co-workers	1038	1200	86.5%
Relation with Supervisors	1008	1200	84.0%
Overall Perception	1079	1200	89.9%

Source: Field Survey (Poovancheri, 2022)

The empirical data reveals a high degree of perceived fairness within the workplace hierarchy. With an Overall Perception score of 89.9%, the results indicate that a cordial relationship exists between migrant workers and their supervisors. This suggests that at the level of instant labour relations, the Kerala model preserves the dignity of the worker.

1. Workplace Justice: The high scores in Table 3 suggest that the workplace functions as a site of mutual respect, satisfying the Rawlsian requirement for the social bases of self-respect.
2. Structural Injustice: However, this cordiality remains localized. When the worker leaves the site, they revert to a state of Social Goods Poverty as given in Table 2

The research demonstrates that while the migrant worker enjoys a considerable degree of fair justice within the workplace and receives a significant Benefit through higher wages, the social contract remains fragmented. The transition from Guest Worker to Equal Citizen remains the unfulfilled promise of the Kerala Model’s application of Rawlsian justice.

The Social Basis of Self-Respect

John Rawls identified self-respect as perhaps the most necessary Primary Good. Without it, the ability to pursue one's life plan with confidence is severely diminished. In the Kerala context, the state has attempted a normative shift toward providing this good, yet empirical data reveals a gap between symbolic recognition and structural reality.

he Guest Rebranding: The formal recognition

The transition in official state discourse from the term Migrant Worker to Guest Worker (Economic Review, 2018), represents a deliberate Rawlsian attempt to provide the social basis of self-respect. By reframing the worker as a guest rather than a mere tool of labour, the state seeks to include them into the moral fabric of the community. By rebranding migrants as Guests (*Athidhi*), the state moves from an instrumental view of the worker to a relational one. This acknowledges their moral status within the community, fulfilling the Rawlsian requirement that institutions must support the self-worth of all members. The transition to *Athidhi Thozhilali* represents an institutional application of Rawls’s Difference Principle and his center on dignity. It provides the social basis of self-respect, ensuring that the least advantaged members of the economic system are not excluded from the community’s moral concern.

Another attempt was the launching of The AAWAZ Health Insurance Scheme –a welfare initiative launched by the Government of Kerala specifically for interstate migrant workers, whom the state officially designates as Guest Workers in November 2017. It made Kerala the first state in India to provide free, inclusive health and accidental insurance to its migrant workforce. The scheme was designed to remove the financial barriers that often prevent guest workers from seeking medical care. To access these benefits, workers must register and receive a biometric AAWAZ smart card. The empirical research shows that only 20 % of sample migrant workers enrolled in the scheme (Poovancheri, 2022). This shows the tradeoff between formal and real attainment of primary goods to migrant workers.

Under the Kerala Model, legal frameworks provide migrants with the right to access public education and healthcare. The Kerala Government officially launched the Athidhi registration portal and mobile app to streamline welfare and identification, effectively making the guest status a formal administrative category for legal and educational inclusion. For providing linguistic support and teaching migrant children Malayalam, the project Roshni directly addresses the fair equality gap. It moves beyond formal enrolment to ensure migrant children compete on an equal footing with local peers. Rawls distinguished between having a job and having a fair shot at life. While the Kerala Model provides the former through a robust labour market, the latter is often

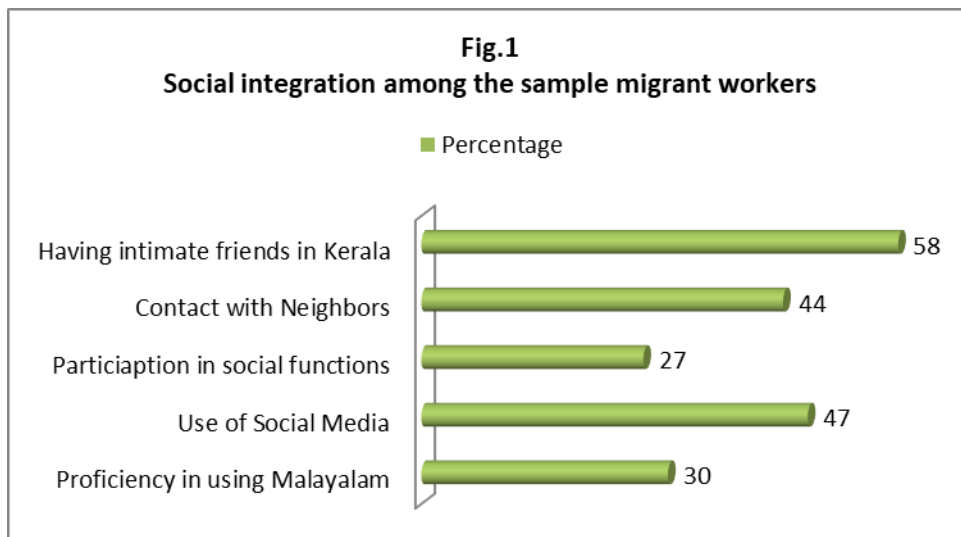
obstructed by structural barriers. However, specific state interventions serve as a Rawlsian attempt to bridge this gap.

Empirical Conflict: Recognition vs. Integration

Even though there were many state sponsored programmes to uplift the social status of migrant workers or deliberate Rawlsian attempt to provide the social basis of self-respect to guest workers, the empirical data reveals that there still exists certain barriers to realise the self respect among the migrant community like language barrier, cultural isolation, asymmetric information regarding the opportunities available to the migrant community. To examine the fairness of the Kerala model through Rawlsian lens, the social integration of the migrant community estimated in empirical research have been used.

Extend of Social Integration among the Sample Migrant Workers

The extend of integration of migrant community with the Kerala community is measured by taking the variables like, proficiency in using the official language of Kerala, use of social media, participation in social functions in Kerala, contact with neighbours in Kerala, and the workers having intimate friends in Kerala. Language proficiency is an important element of social integration in every community. Lack of language proficiency acts as a barrier in integration with local people. Nowadays social media is the best way of social integration, through which information can easily be shared among the users. In this sense the membership of migrant workers in social media groups is a way to ensure the degree of social integration. Participation in social functions like marriages, other parties and programmes organized at local level, the extent of contact with Kerala neighbours near the migrant residence, and those who have intimate friendship with Keralites are also considered as a sign of social integration. The relative proportion of involvement of migrant workers in the above five areas are measured from the primary data.



Source: Field Survey (Poovancheri, 2022)

The figure shows the social integration of sample migrant workers in Malappuram district in terms of five variables collected during field survey. In order to measure the extend of social integration, the percentage score of each item is converted into weights assigning a score of 0 to 4, where 0 for no integration, ranging up to 20, 1 for low integration, ranging from 21% to 40%, 2 for medium integration ranging from 41% to 60 %, score 3 for high integration ranging from 61% to 80%, and 4 for very high integration ranging from 81% to 100%.

The extend of Social integration is estimated with Equation 1

$$\text{The extend of Social Integration (ESI)} = \sum \frac{w_i F_i}{n} \times 100 \dots (1)$$

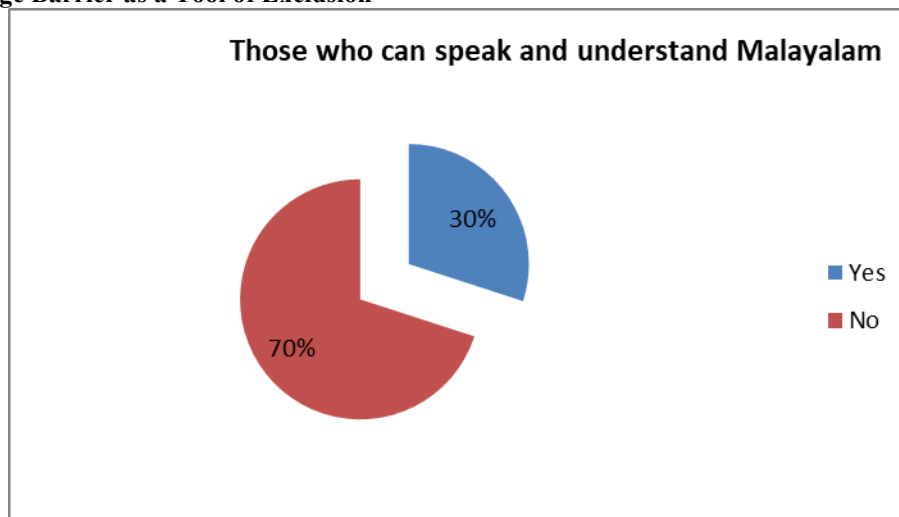
Where, w_i = weight, F_i = number of respondents favourable for i th item

$$\begin{aligned} \text{ESI} &= \frac{1413}{3280} \times 100 \\ &= 43.08 \end{aligned}$$

This score reveals a significant deficit. On a scale where 100 would represent full social parity, a score of 43.08 suggests that migrants remain socially peripheral. While they are integrated into the market, they are excluded from the community, reinforcing the presence of social goods poverty. When the least advantaged cannot navigate the systems of health and education due to structural barriers, the social contract is breached. In

a Rawlsian sense, the system fails to pull the bottom up effectively, as the migrant's progress is stalled by a ceiling of social exclusion.

The Language Barrier as a Tool of Exclusion



Source: Field Survey (Poovancheri, 2022)

Even though the workers were fluent in more than two languages, the degree of integration with the local community depended upon their ability to speak and understand Malayalam, which is the official language of the state. The proficiency of the workers in Malayalam language shows that only 30 percent of the workers could speak and understand Malayalam. Majority of the workers were not able to speak Malayalam, this created problems in integrating with the local community. The Social Integration Index (ESI = 43.08) highlights a profound disparity in the ability of migrants to navigate the state's bureaucracy. In Kerala, linguistic proficiency functions as a gatekeeper to justice. Even though there is formal access to a healthcare facility (a legal right) does not constitute a real opportunity if the labourer cannot communicate symptoms or realize medical advice due to the linguistic barrier. The research suggests that without linguistic and cultural mediation, the state's high-quality public services remain out of reach, effectively nullifying the principle of fair equality of opportunity. When the least advantaged cannot navigate the systems of health and education due to structural barriers, the social contract is breached. In a Rawlsian sense, the system fails to pull the bottom up effectively, as the migrant's progress is stalled by a ceiling of social exclusion.

The application of Rawlsian principles to the migrant labour experience in Kerala reveals a reflective duality. The Kerala Model succeeds in providing market justice through statistically significant wage advantages ($p < .001$) and maintains a point of micro-justice through cordial workplace relations (89.9%). However; the macro-justice remains elusive. With an ESI score of 43.08 and continual deficiencies in housing and substantive rights, the internal migrant worker remains a "Guest" rather than a stakeholder. For Kerala to truly symbolize the Rawlsian ideal of justice as fairness, it must move beyond economic compensation and guarantee that the least advantaged are granted the full spectrum of primary social goods, effectively closing the gap between formal policy and lived experience. For the Kerala labour system to be truly just under a Rawlsian audit, policy must advance from providing a formal benefit to ensuring substantive integration. Only by removing these structural barriers can the Guest worker finally become a full participant in the social contract.

Recommendations

Following the evidence from empirical research, to fulfil the requirements of a just social contract, Kerala must move toward a Property-Owning Democracy—a Rawlsian concept where citizens (including migrants) have a tangible stake in the system. This involves:

- Structural Inclusion: Moving beyond temporary help to providing housing rights and digital inclusion.
- Borderless Justice: Ensuring the Social Contract is borderless within the state's territory, where the Guest is afforded the same substantive rights as the resident.

To be a truly Rawlsian society, the Kerala Model must solve the paradox of the wealthy but excluded worker. Inequality is only justified if it pulls the bottom up; if the people physically building the state's infrastructure remain excluded from its famous social goods, the contract remains incomplete.

V. Conclusion

The study of internal migration in Kerala through a Rawlsian lens reveals a sophisticated but incomplete social contract. While the Kerala Model successfully fulfils the difference principle in a formal sense, providing the least advantaged with a significant wage advantage of up to 250% and a cordial workplace environment, this economic benefit is undermined by persistent social goods poverty. The research indicates that high nominal wages are frequently offset by exploitative housing costs, linguistic isolation, and a significant gap between the legal right to welfare and its substantive utilization. Consequently, the migrant worker exists in a paradoxical state: they are financially better off than in their home states, yet they remain structurally excluded from the primary social goods that define Kerala's egalitarian reputation.

To bridge the gap between guest status and true social membership, the state must move beyond symbolic rebranding and toward a more robust application of fair equality of opportunity. As demonstrated by the low Social Integration Index (43.08) and the underutilization of health schemes, the social contract remains fractured by linguistic and administrative barriers. Achieving a truly Rawlsian society requires transforming the migrant from a temporary economic unit into a stakeholder with a fair shot at life. This necessitates a shift toward portable welfare, integrated housing rights, and linguistic mediation. Only then will the Kerala Model ensure that the inequalities inherent in the Natural Lottery of birth are not just managed, but morally justified by a system that truly pulls the bottom up.

Reference

- [1]. Athira, K., & Happy, P. V. (2025). Affirmative Action In Practice: Kerala's Policies For Inclusive Education Of Migrant Workers' Children. *The Academic*, 3(8), 1000–1015.
- [2]. Beitz, C. R. (1979). *Political Theory And International Relations*. Princeton University Press.
- [3]. Blake, M. (2001). Distributive Justice, State Coercion, And Autonomy. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 30(3), 257–296.
- [4]. Blake, M. (2013). *Justice And Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press.
- [5]. Carens, J. H. (1987). Aliens And Citizens: The Case For Open Borders. *The Review Of Politics*, 49(2), 251–273.
- [6]. Department Of Labour And Skills. (2023). *Interstate Migrant Workmen (Adatithi Portal) Implementation Guidelines*. Government Of Kerala.
- [7]. Franke, R. W., & Chasin, B. H. (1989). *Kerala: Radical Reform As Development In An Indian State*. Institute For Food And Development Policy.
- [8]. Franke, R. W., & Chasin, B. H. (1994). *Kerala: Development Through Radical Reform (2nd Ed.)*. Promilla & Co.
- [9]. Government Of Kerala, *Economic Review (2018)*, State Planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram.
- [10]. Nussbaum, M. C. (2006). *Frontiers Of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership*. Harvard University Press.
- [11]. Poovancheri, A. (2022). *Analysis Of Socio-Economic Status Of Internal Migrant Workers In Kerala: A Case Study Of Malappuram District*, Doctoral Dissertation, M.G University, Kerala, India.
- [12]. Peter, B., Sanghvi, S., & Narendran, V. (2020). Inclusion Of Interstate Migrant Workers In Kerala And Lessons For India. *The Indian Journal Of Labour Economics*, 63(4), 1065–1086
- [13]. Pogge, T. W. (1989). *Realizing Rawls*. Cornell University Press
- [14]. Rajan, S. I., & Zachariah, K. C. (2010). Replacement Migration. *Frontline*, 27(18), 19.
- [15]. Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory Of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press Of Harvard University Press.
- [16]. Rawls, J. (1993). *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- [17]. Rawls, J. (2001). *Justice As Fairness: A Restatement*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- [18]. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). (2020). *Project Roshni: Educational Inclusion Of Migrant Children In Kerala*. District Nirmithi Kendra, Ernakulam.
- [19]. Sen, A. (1999). *Development As Freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- [20]. Zachariah, K. C., & Rajan, S. I. (2012). *A Decade Of Kerala's Gulf Connection: Migration, Monitoring And Its Socio-Economic Impact 1998–2011*. Centre For Development Studies.