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School of International Relations and Politics

Mahatma Gandhi University

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e-mail: vinodan.c@gmail.com

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Gender and Livelihood Patterns in the Context of Migrant Women Labourers to Kerala

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Navas M. Khadar* & Sudhakaran K.M.**

Abstract

According to the Kerala Economic Review 2021, unemployment in Kerala is 10 per cent, compared to the national average of 4.8 per cent. In 2013, a report of the Labour Department of Kerala showed that 2.5 million non-state workers worked in Kerala, which is suffering from the same level of unemployment. In the enumeration of non-state workers in Kerala, only males engaged in development work in cities are included. But women migrant workers working in rural areas are not included. Many migrant women workers work in small businesses, hotels, factories, brick-making units, agriculture, and as domestic helps. Women migrant workers do not get enough consideration in the academic setting where various studies of migrant workers in Kerala are being conducted. It is doubtful whether the constitutional provisions and associated policy directives on discriminating against workers based on gender are implemented among unorganized workers. Since the 1990s, there have been major changes in Kerala's labourer situation, mainly a lack of skilled and unskilled labour and widespread migration from Kerala to the Gulf countries. Studies are being done about the wage exploitation faced by migrant workers in Kerala. But most of it is done in large manufacturing units, or among workers engaged in direct employment. The conditions of male dominance in the field of work also exist among migrant workers. Even the government lacks a clear vision of women's work or their sufferings in the industry. The fact that agents in Kerala operate brothels using migrant workers as middlemen suggests a more tangible form of exploitation.

In the new migration situation in Kerala, the presence of women workers is increasing. A large section of interstate workers find employment in informal sectors like brick kiln industry, the construction sector, beauty parlours, the plantation sector, garment industry, plywood manufacturing units, and other fields. Migrant women workers who previously came only with their families are now coming alone in search

* Voluntary research intern, Centre for West Asian studies and Nelson Mandela Chair for Afro-Asian Studies at Mahatma Gandhi University; Email: navasmkhadarmgu@gmail.com

** Associate Professor, Political Science Department, Sree Sankara Vidhyapeedam College, Valayamchirangara; Email: sudhakaran1971@yahoo.com

of work. There are many women workers in Kerala today who work within and outside the scope of the interstate worker act of 1979. They are constantly subjected to exploitation and human rights violations in society and at work. This paper presents the human rights violations in the everyday experiences of migrant women workers who live in precarious living and working conditions.

Key Words: Labour Force, Interstate Women Migration, Gender Exploitation, Human Rights

Methodology

According to the Planning Board's estimate for 2021, there are 28 lakh to 34 lakh migrant workers in Kerala. It was also mentioned that most migrant workers (28 per cent) live in Ernakulam district. According to the official figures of the Government of Kerala, the total number of migrant workers in Kerala is 5,16,320. The largest number (1,15,053) of migrant workers reside in Ernakulam district. If we look at the number of female migrant workers, according to the data of the Kerala Govt., Ernakulam district has the highest number of female migrant workers (9986). Therefore, Ernakulam district was chosen for the study of women workers. In the first phase of the investigation, pockets of migrant women workers were found in 84 panchayats of Ernakulam district, and out of that, Vengola, Kizhakkambalam, Rayamangalam, Sreemulanagaram, Aikaranad, Asamannur, Kaladi, Kumbalangi, Ramamangalam panchayats and Perumbavoor Municipality were selected for data collection for writing this article. This article is written by taking currently published research reports, articles and government regulations as secondary data.

Migration to Kerala: Changing Trends

Even before the independence of India, the first group of people had arrived in Kerala. According to studies of the Tamil migrant population that arrived in South Travancore and North Malabar in the 1940s for agriculture, Kerala is a good migration ground. During the period when agriculture was given priority, those who came for agricultural work were later made permanent residents of Kerala. As with post-independence migration, migration to Kerala was motivated by a desire for a better job. The period 1950–60 marks the history of the migrant population who arrived for brickyard work, carpentry, and plantation work. That is what the history of people who migrated from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh to Wayanad suggests. Even after 50 years, they are still living in Kerala as a migrant population, which can be understood as an unsolved problem in governance. The 1970s were a period that saw a huge increase in migration to Kerala. When the youth of Kerala migrated to the GCC countries on a whim, all the traditional sectors of Kerala faced awful shortage

of workers. In the 1970s, migration to various sectors such as agriculture, fishing, factory work, goldsmithing, construction, and carpentry intensified. Most of the migrants came from the states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Maharashtra.

As part of the industrial revolution and neo-liberal policies, various factories sprang up in many parts of the country. There were changes in the pattern of migration. Migration from rural to urban areas has increased significantly. New industries started in Kerala. More jobs were created in the manufacturing sector, and the Assam Deforestation Act revitalised the Kerala timber industry. Changes in immigration arrival states have occurred since 2000. According to the 2011 census, the interstate workers coming to Kerala were earlier from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra, but now they are coming from Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Haryana. This shift in migration also led to changes in the arrival of women. Women who used to come only with their husbands are now looking for work on their own. They go to work alone at different workplaces. They try to live together and tend to earn more money.

This research paper explores the phenomenon of migration to Kerala, a state in South India, and its impact on the state's social, economic, and cultural landscape. The study highlights that migration to Kerala has been prevalent for centuries and is motivated by factors such as agriculture, industries, and employment opportunities. The Tamil migrant population arrived in South Travancore and North Malabar in the 1940s for agricultural work, leading to the formation of a migrant population that still exists in Kerala today. Post-independence, migration to Kerala was motivated by a desire for better job opportunities, with the youth of Kerala migrating to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. Changes in the economy brought about changes in migration patterns, with migration from rural to urban areas increasing significantly.

The study also highlights the impact of migration on gender relations. Women who used to come only with their husbands are now looking for work on their own, leading to the emergence of new forms of female labour that challenge traditional gender roles in Kerala. However, migration also poses challenges to migrants, including discrimination and social exclusion. The study emphasizes the need for the state government to provide basic amenities to migrants and ensure that they are not exploited by employers. Overall, migration has played a significant role in shaping the social, economic, and cultural landscape of Kerala. While it has enriched the cultural diversity of the state, it has also challenged traditional ways of life and raised issues of citizenship and marginalisation. The study calls for a comprehensive approach to migration that addresses the needs of migrants and promotes their integration into the local society.

Interstate Women Migration

One particular group of migrants that has gained significant attention in recent years is women migrants who migrate from other Indian states to Kerala. The state has a long history of migration, both internal and external. The first wave of migration to Kerala was from the neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu, followed by labour migration from other parts of India and the Middle East. According to the 2011 Census, Kerala had a total population of 33.4 million, of which 2.2 million were migrants from other states.

Interstate women migration to Kerala has been on the rise in recent years. Women from states like West Bengal, Odisha, Assam and Bihar migrate to Kerala in search of better employment opportunities, higher wages and better living conditions. According to a study conducted by the Centre for Development Studies in Thiruvananthapuram, the number of interstate women migrants in Kerala increased from 1.5 lakhs in 2001 to 5.5 lakh in 2011. The study also found that women migrants were concentrated in the construction, hospitality and domestic work sectors.

Although academic studies have addressed the migrant worker issue, the women workers are found often excluded from such studies. The research gap in this study is that this article about women migrant workers is being made invisible. According to a study conducted by the Kerala Institute of Labour and Employment (KILE) (2020), for which they interviewed 536 migrant women, most women are reluctant to come out. Women from Tamil Nadu, Assam, Odisha, Jharkhand and Bengal are among the first to arrive from other states. Discussions, studies, and academic research on migrant workers currently tend to visualize only male workers. Even in studies of migrant workers, women migrant workers are exploited and excluded. Within the slums, the physical presence and labour contribution of women are not acknowledged, and government policies and academic research that are aimed at them, fail to bring to light the real facts. This article attempts to study the status of migrant women workers in Kerala.

The KILE (2020) report indicates that the vast majority of women migrant workers to Kerala are young and a quarter of them are illiterate. According to the information obtained from the fieldwork, female migrant workers are mostly found in the plantations, fishing sector, and textile manufacturing. Apart from this, they are also actively engaged in work in beauty parlours and hotels, and also as domestic workers. The number of migrant women workers working in plywood and plastic manufacturing sectors, and brickyards is also relatively high.

The primary reason for interstate women's migration to Kerala is economic. Women from other states come to Kerala in search of better job opportunities and

higher wages. The minimum wage in Kerala is higher than that in most other states, making it an attractive destination for migrants. The state's construction and hospitality sectors also provide employment opportunities that are not available in their home states. Another factor driving women's migration to Kerala is social. Women from states with more conservative and patriarchal societies come to Kerala to escape gender-based discrimination and violence. Kerala is known for its progressive social policies, and women migrants feel safer and more secure in the state.

The information about the inflow of female migrant workers gathered from fieldwork on the arrival of women workers in Kerala is shared here. Migrant women come to Kerala mainly in five ways. This does not include students who come to study.

1. Those arriving due to marriage
2. Those that come with the help of relatives
3. Those arriving at the contractor's discretion
4. Those who reach out through community organisations
5. Those arriving alone.

Female migrant workers who come to Kerala due to marriage later turn to work. The arrival of women workers in Kerala began with the migration of Tamil people to Kerala. In the 1950s and 1960s, Tamil male labourers migrated to Kerala along with their wives. Their main occupation was domestic work, plantation work, and working in plantation areas. In the 1990s, migration from North Indian states to Kerala increased, stemming the flow of migration from South Indian states. As such, their wives started arriving with the men who had migrated to Kerala.

They moved away from domestic work and started working in manufacturing units. During this time, women began to do the same jobs as men. The number of women workers who come with their relatives is increasing exponentially. Migrant women come with both men and women. Reports (Resmi, 2009) indicate an increase in sexual harassment among women, accompanied by men. During the fieldwork in the area of 'Vallam' in Kerala's Ernakulam district it was discovered that some sanctuaries are operating in this area where women have been engaged as sex workers and majority of the them had come with their relatives for work in Kerala.

Women migrant workers in many manufacturing units have been classified as contractors under the 1979 Act. It was learned that they started working within 15 days of their arrival in Kerala. Based on interviews with the women working in the plywood sector, it was understood that the principal employer is providing accommodation for them. But unsanitary living conditions and substance abuse are causing them various health problems.

The migration facilitated by community organisations came to light after the police jeep attack at Kitex Garments company at Kizhakkambalam gram panchayat in Ernakulam district on December 26, 2021. During the Christmas celebrations there, a section of the workers of the company, under the influence of alcohol assaulted the policemen, who came to control the noisy partying following a complaint registered by the locals, and set the police jeep on fire (Shajan 2023). The police have arrested all the accused in connection with the incident. From newspaper reports after their arrest, it was understood that all the accused were converted Christians. To understand the truth of this, ten women working from the company were selected for interviews (finding and interviewing them was very difficult). All of them had identified that they were part of a special community organisation. This type of migration is also common in the plywood industry pockets in Kerala. In the fieldwork, we realised that people belonging to the Muslim community were getting jobs in the plywood sector quickly.

The number of women coming to work alone is increasing. Those who come with the aim of seeing Kerala have been provided accommodation by their friends. Through interviews, we understood that those who have passed the 10th Class are the ones who have reached the state this way. Among the solo entrants there were some aspirants looking for professional jobs. And they work in beauty salons, spas, baji shops, and *paan* shops.

Interstate women migration presents both challenges and opportunities. One of the important challenges is the lack of social support systems. Migrant women often face discrimination and exploitation, and the absence of social networks exacerbates their vulnerability. They are also at risk of physical and sexual abuse, and their access to justice is limited. However, interstate women migration also presents opportunities for the state. Migrant women contribute to the state's economy by working in low-skilled sectors, and their remittances provide a significant boost to their home state's economy. The influx of migrants also brings diversity to Kerala's society, enriching its cultural fabric. The state government should work towards creating a conducive environment for migrant women, which includes access to education, healthcare and legal aid. Additionally, there is a need for greater awareness and sensitivity towards the rights of migrant women and the contribution they make to society.

The Health of Women Migrant Workers

In-depth interviews with women migrant workers based on their work, living conditions, and health systems were conducted as part of this study. In the study conducted in Ernakulam district, based on talking to 100 women from 10 workplaces,

it was understood that most of the migrant women do jobs without mental satisfaction. Among those who spoke directly, women in the age group of 18 to 40 faced health-related problems. The important reason for these health-related problems is that they do not have clear knowledge about health and hygiene. Vaginal and sexually transmitted diseases are becoming more common in women, but non-hospitalization exacerbates the problem. Talking to migrant women who suffer from malnutrition, it becomes clear that they have been malnourished since childhood. Lack of rest in non-time-bound work in Kerala worsens their health condition.

The health issues of migrant women workers do not appear to be generally discussed. The Interstate Migrant Workmen Act (1979) clearly states the requirements to be followed by the contractor or employer in the living arrangements of migrant workers. But when we saw their real condition, we realized that 60 per cent of the contractors were not providing the basic facilities. The Migration Act applies to all migrant workers. But when we see their current working methods, it becomes obvious that they are working without any consideration for women workers. The contractors often fail to address the problems of women suffering from menstrual problems and assume that they will somehow cope with it. The main reason why these issues have not yet been addressed is the lack of space for menstrual hygiene practices in the areas they work in and the lack of research on these at the workplace level. As a result, it is critical to conduct health awareness programmes for female migrant workers in their institutions.

Kerala's Labour Department and Local Self-Government system do not collect accurate information about the status of women in the workplace. The lack of specific social security schemes for migrant workers at the panchayat level (Khadar, 2020) can also be considered a fundamental shortcoming. The Department of Labour puts the total number of migrant women workers at 26,516 (Labour Commissionerate 2023). But the actual facts are not in agreement with the government's estimates based on fieldwork. However, the Kerala Planning Board Report (2021) provides figures that are more realistic.

The living conditions of women migrant workers in Kerala are often substandard. They are often forced to live in cramped spaces, such as small rooms or dormitories, with minimal or no ventilation. This can lead to respiratory problems and other health issues. Lack of access to clean drinking water and sanitation facilities further exacerbates the problem, making them prone to infections. The work environment of women migrant workers can also be hazardous. In many cases, they are employed in industries such as construction, manufacturing or agriculture, which involve physical labour and exposure to chemicals and other harmful substances. This puts them at risk of occupational hazards such as musculoskeletal disorders, skin problems and respiratory diseases. In addition, women migrant workers often

face challenges in accessing healthcare. They may not have health insurance or may not even be aware of the healthcare facilities available to them. Even if they do have access to healthcare, language barriers and cultural differences can make it difficult for them to communicate their health concerns effectively.

Women migrant workers in Kerala are often employed in low-paying jobs with long working hours. They may work in industries such as construction and hospitality, or as domestic worker, where they are paid lower wages than their male counterparts. They may also be forced to work overtime without compensation, which can lead to exhaustion and burnout. In many cases, women migrant workers do not have job security or access to social protection. They may be employed on a contract basis, which means that they can be dismissed at any time without any notice or compensation. This lack of job security can lead to stress and anxiety, which can have an impact on their mental and physical health. Women migrant workers in Kerala also face discrimination and harassment at workplaces. They may be subjected to verbal abuse, sexual harassment, or exploitation by their employers or colleagues. This can lead to a hostile work environment, which can have a significant impact on their well-being and productivity. The health and job conditions of women migrant workers in Kerala are a cause for concern. These women are vulnerable to a range of health problems due to their living conditions and the nature of their work. It is important for the government, employers, and civil society organisations to work together to address these issues. Measures such as providing access to healthcare, improving living conditions, and enforcing labour laws can help protect the health and well-being of women migrant workers. In addition, efforts to promote gender equality and prevent discrimination and harassment can help create a more inclusive and supportive work environment for these women.

Application of Labour Force and Social Conditions

Migrant women workers are employed in Kerala at a higher rate than indigenous women workers (Anjali, 2016). In India, women who migrate after marriage are found to have increased their access to employment by 10 per cent (Neetha, 2019). Studies indicate that migrant women workers arriving in Kerala are getting physically abused at workplaces due to overwork, restless work, and sexual harassment (Resmi, 2009). An industry employs a disproportionate number of female workers compared to the number of male workers. Therefore, Prasad (2017) indicates, in his work that is based on the information found through fieldwork, it is the employer who ignores them and pretends not to see them. In Kerala, we have seen the struggle for the rights of women workers at workplaces. The struggles for the rights of women workers, such as the sit-in strike, were successful to some extent through organised movements. But not a single labour organisation is ready to address the problems

of migrant women workers in Kerala in an organised manner. Working long hours without rest, working on roads in extremely hot and humid weather, working at places where there is no place to sit or rest, and not being able to conduct proper health check-ups are all can be considered a violation of human rights. Through the field visit, we have been convinced that it is imperative that the employer and the local self-government bodies jointly organise medical camps at workplaces every month to study and address the health problems being faced by women workers, and it is also necessary to educate women workers about their rights and sensitise them to the exploitative nature of the workforce under the leadership of the Labour Department.

Wage discrimination at workplaces is a major problem being faced by women workers. Even indigenous women workers do not get the same wages as men for doing the same work. In this social situation, the demand for justice for migrant women workers comes from a human rights perspective. The Payment of Wages Act (1936), the Minimum Wages Act (1948), and the Equal Remuneration Act (1976) exist in India, but the fact that those laws still fail to protect the migrant women workers can be seen as a denial of rights.

One of the major issues being faced by women migrant workers in Kerala is low wages. Most of these women work in the informal sector and are paid meagre salaries. This is mainly due to the fact that they are not covered under any labour laws and are not entitled to any benefits such as paid leave or health insurance. In addition, they are often subjected to long working hours and are not provided with proper working conditions, which further exacerbates their vulnerability.

Another major issue faced by women migrant workers in Kerala is the lack of social protection. They are often subject to various forms of abuse, including physical and sexual abuse. Despite this, many of them are afraid to report such incidents, as they fear retaliation from their employers. In addition, they are often denied access to basic amenities such as healthcare and education, which further perpetuates their vulnerability. Moreover, women migrant workers in Kerala also face various forms of discrimination based on their gender, caste and ethnicity. They are often treated as second-class citizens and are subjected to various forms of harassment and violence. This is especially true for women from marginalised communities, who face multiple layers of discrimination based on their gender, caste and economic status.

The application of labour laws and social conditions in the context of women migrant workers in Kerala are complex issues that require a multifaceted approach. It is important to address the systemic issues that lead to the exploitation of these women, including the lack of social protection, the absence of labour laws, and the

prevalence of discrimination based on gender, caste and ethnicity. Moreover, it is important to provide these women with access to basic amenities such as healthcare and education and to empower them with the knowledge and skills required to demand their rights and fight against exploitation. Only then can we create a more equitable and just society, where women migrant workers are treated with dignity and respect.

Migrant Female Workers and Social Security Programmes

The issue of migrant female workers and social security programmes in Kerala is complex and multifaceted. While Kerala has made significant strides in providing social security to its citizens, including migrant workers, there are still significant gaps in the system, particularly in the context of female workers. One of the key challenges being faced by migrant female workers is access to social security programmes. Many migrant workers, particularly those working in the informal sector, may not be aware of the various programmes available to them or may face language and cultural barriers that prevent them from accessing these programmes. This can leave them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, particularly in situations where they are working without legal documentation.

Even when migrant female workers are aware of social security programmes, they may face additional barriers to accessing them. Another key issue is the lack of adequate protection for migrant female workers at workplaces. This can include issues such as wage theft, discrimination, and sexual harassment. Without adequate protections in place, migrant female workers may be hesitant to report abuses, particularly if they fear retaliation from their employers.

Overall, while Kerala has made progress in providing social security to its citizens, more needs to be done to ensure that migrant female workers are not left behind. This may include increasing awareness on social security programmes among migrant workers, providing additional support to help them access these programmes, and strengthening workplace protections to prevent abuse and exploitation. Additionally, there may be a need to re-evaluate the design of social security programmes to ensure that they are accessible to all workers, regardless of their background or employment status.

There are currently three schemes for migrant workers in Kerala. Interstate Migrants Welfare Scheme (2010), Awas Health Insurance (2017) and Apna Ghar (2019). All three of these schemes are for the entire population of migrant workers in Kerala. But only one-third of its total beneficiaries are females. According to the Kerala Labour Commissioner, women account for less than 7 per cent of the total Awas health insurance enrollees in Kerala.

In other words, it has to be understood that the registration system is male-centric or that government officials have failed to draw women to registration processes. Apna Ghar Scheme is a dormitory housing scheme for migrant workers. Discrimination against women begins with dorm registration. A total of 1,140 beneficiaries are living in the dormitory accommodation facility, which has already started functioning at Kanjikode and Kinalur. But the fact that there is not even a single migrant woman worker among them is proof of the marginalisation of women in the scheme. Apna Ghar is only available to migrant workers in industries located in Kanjikode and Kinalur. The reason why women workers are not getting the benefit of this government scheme should be subjected to further studies.

Conclusion

The participation of women migrant workers in the labour force in Kerala has been on the rise in recent years. However, the government's estimation of less than seven per cent of female migrant workers living in Kerala is incomplete and unsatisfactory. The data collection process does not adequately include migrant women workers, making them invisible in official statistics. This exclusion highlights the urgent need for better representation and inclusion of migrant women workers in the data collection process.

Furthermore, the labour sector in Kerala does not follow the legal provision of equal pay for equal work in the case of women workers. Women migrant workers are subjected to harsh working conditions, unsanitary accommodation, and sexual exploitation at their workplaces, which, in turn, violate their basic human rights. These issues are prevalent not just in Ernakulum district but in all the 13 districts of Kerala. Therefore, it is imperative that efforts be made to extend this study's findings to all the districts in Kerala to help understand and address the situation.

It is also necessary to scale up awareness programmes on health among migrant women workers. The local self-government bodies and principal employers should work together to make health and hygiene accessible to all women at work and organise medical camps for the purpose. This step will help migrant women workers access medical facilities and provide them with basic healthcare services.

The exclusion or non-consideration of women migrant workers in government schemes are contrary to the Constitutional values. Kerala's employment situation heavily relies on migrant workers, and women workers are often marginalised and excluded from employment and social status. Therefore, the government must take proactive measures to make women workers more aware of exploitation and human rights violations.

In conclusion, women migrant workers are an integral part of Kerala's labour force, and their contribution is invaluable. However, their exclusion from official statistics and data collection processes is a matter of great concern. Addressing the issues of unequal pay, miserable working conditions, and human rights violations is essential to ensure the protection and well-being of women migrant workers. The government should take proactive steps to improve the situation and create a more inclusive and equitable environment for all migrant workers in Kerala.

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IJPAIR: Aims and Scope

IJPAIR is a refereed biannual journal published by the School of International Relations and Politics, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam, Kerala. IJPAIR is committed to providing a space for the best of writings in Political Science and International Relations (IR). It publishes topical, scholarly work on significant debates in Politics and IR and on all major socio-economic, cultural and political issues affecting India and other countries. IJPAIR seeks to uphold a pluralist perspective. Editorial policy promotes variety in subject matter and methodology. IJPAIR welcomes articles from all perspectives and on all subjects pertaining to Politics and International Relations, besides conceptual essays and policy analysis. Each volume will carry peer-reviewed research articles, and a mix of review essays, interviews and debates. Special issues will also be published from time to time.

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The last name of the author and the year of publication are inserted in the text at the appropriate point. For example,

There is a view, however, that the agreement is, in fact, a continuation of the process of the last few decades (Bajpai 2005).

If the name of the author or the date appear as part of the narrative, cite only missing information in parentheses. For example,

Writing on a hypothetical possibility of India threatening to proliferate, Perkovich (2005) writes, ".....China proliferated to Pakistan and Pakistan proliferated to Libya, Iran, and North Korea. Nor does proliferation that occurred before the NPT was negotiated justify promiscuous proliferation behaviour today."

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When a work has two authors, always cite both names every time the reference occurs in the text. In parenthetical material join the names with "&". For example, as has been shown,

(Vanaik & Bidwai 1989)

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as Vanaik and Bidwai (1989)demonstrated

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(WTO 2006)

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Encyclopaedia Britannica (2007)

Specific Parts of a Source

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(Srinivasan, Grover & Bhardwaj 2005: 5183-88)

Journal Article: where the page numbering continues from issue to issue

Bajpai, Kanti (2005): "Where Are India and US Heading?," *Economic and Political Weekly*, XL(41), August 6: 3577-81.

Perkovich, George (2005): "Faulty Promises: The US-India Nuclear Deal," *Policy Outlook*, 34(4), September: 18-20.

Newspaper Article

Rappai, M.V. (1998): "China: a status quo nuclear power," *The Hindu*, 18 June.

Book

Jalan, Bimal (1991): *India's Economic Crisis*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Article or Chapter in an edited Volume/Book

Thomas, A. M. (2005): "India and Southeast Asia: The Look East Policy in Perspective," in Rajan Harshe and K.M. Seethi (eds.), *Engaging with the World: Critical Reflections on India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Website:

"President Meets with Displaced Workers in Town Hall Meeting," at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/12/print/20011204-17.html>

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