

The Role of Social Media in Penkoottu's Fight for Women's Labour Rights in Kerala

Vijila C M

PhD Scholar, Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Amarkatak, Madhya Pradesh, LMI-5848.

Orcid ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-9925-667X>

DOI: 10.46609/IJSSER.2026.v11i08.036 URL: <https://doi.org/10.46609/IJSSER.2026.v11i08.036>

Received: 12 July 2026 / Accepted: 16 August 2026 / Published: 30 August 2026

Introduction

The intersection of digital technology and grassroots activism has significantly transformed the landscape of contemporary social movements. Although social media, as a corporate system, is not inherently decentralised, it has nonetheless emerged as a decentralised platform for marginalised communities, offering new avenues to voice their demands, mobilise support, and challenge systemic inequalities. One illustrative example is women in the informal sector using social media to protest injustices in their working lives. In India, where the informal labour sector remains largely unregulated, women workers face heightened precarity due to the absence of legal protections, gender-based wage disparities, and exploitative working conditions. Despite their critical contributions to the economy, these women have historically been excluded from formal trade unions and decision-making forums, rendering their struggles largely invisible within mainstream discourse.

This paper examines how the **Penkoottu movement**, a grassroots labour struggle led by women workers in Kerala's informal sector, leveraged digital platforms to amplify its cause and secure tangible labour rights. From the **Toilet Strike (Moothrappura Samaram)** to the **Right to Sit protest (Irikkal Samaram)**, Penkoottu's activism, initially confined to Kozhikode's SM Street, gained momentum through strategic social media engagement, transforming local demands into widely recognised labour rights issues. By using platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube, the movement mobilised workers, documented injustices, and generated public pressure that ultimately led to policy reforms.

This study is anchored in primary data collected through in-depth interviews with *Penkoottu* participants and critical analysis of the movement's digital footprint across WhatsApp groups, Facebook pages and YouTube channels. Livestreamed protests, viral status updates, and grassroots digital storytelling not only amplified their demands but also redefined solidarity,

enabling localised struggles such as the *Irikkal Samaram* (Sitting Strike) to resonate nationally and globally. Through this lens, the study documents how WhatsApp became a site of intimate political dialogue, Facebook a tool for visibility and YouTube a repository of resistance, transforming SM Street's hidden struggles into a transnational narrative of feminist resilience. By centring the voices of women in the informal sector and their innovative digital praxis, this work illuminates how marginalised communities reclaim agency and offers a blueprint for labour rights advocacy in an increasingly mediated world.

Informal sector

The informal sector in India constitutes a vital source of non-agricultural employment and contributes significantly to economic growth, despite offering limited job security and social protection (Jindal, 2024). According to India's National Accounts Statistics-2025, the informal sector accounted for approximately 45% of the nation's total GDP. The International Labour Organisation reported that the Indian labour market is overwhelmingly dominated by informal employment, constituting approximately 90% of the workforce. From a labour market perspective, data from the 2023–24 Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) indicate that around 61% of female workers in the non-agricultural sector are employed within informal enterprises.

The informal economy in India could be seen as both a site of exploitation and a site of accumulation with economic dynamism (Maiti & Sen, 2010). As a site of exploitation, the informal workforce in India faces significant labour challenges including exploitative working conditions marked by long hours and low wages, inadequate job security, limited legal protections, lack of social security, high vulnerability to discrimination and forced or child labour, and a pronounced gender disparity that leaves women disproportionately exposed to precarious employment (Mallick, 2023). This structural informality engenders systemic precarity marked by unstable employment, irregular wages, and exclusion from legal safeguards, including occupational safety standards and collective bargaining rights.

As reported by the ILO 81.8% of the Indian working women work in the informal sector, which also means that 81.8% of the working women are working in a system that has an exploitative face also. This disproportionate representation reflects entrenched patriarchal norms that systematically relegate women to low-wage, high-risk roles, domestic work and home-based production, while simultaneously imposing unpaid care responsibilities upon them (Young, 2010). These conditions heighten risks of chronic physical ailments and mental health strains, including anxiety and depression as precarious employment disrupts work-life balance and amplifies economic instability (Espejo-Chacón et al., 2024). The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated these vulnerabilities, disproportionately displacing women from informal jobs and deepening income precarity (Pande, 2023). But the familial and economic demands force them to

choose flexible, albeit unstable work, though their agency remains constrained by systemic barriers (Jankowski, 2024). These women typically earn wages insufficient to cover even the most basic living expenses. It became significant to discuss this injustice when it became a significant portion of these workers who belong to marginalised communities and possess minimal formal education (often limited to secondary schooling). It exacerbates economic insecurity and restricts their capacity to pursue better-paying opportunities (K, 2019). This lack of skills or training perpetuates their entrapment in low wage precarious employment while undermining their ability to advocate for labour rights or negotiate improved working conditions.

Women's economic struggles are further intensified by the dual burden of labour and caregiving responsibilities reinforcing a cycle of dependency with limited prospects for upward mobility. Despite policy frameworks ostensibly aimed at protecting informal workers, ineffective implementation and institutional inertia perpetuate wage disparities, exclusion from social safety nets and inadequate enforcement of labour rights, underscoring the urgent need for gender-responsive reforms that address the socio-structural roots of precarity (Jalisatgi, 2022). This multi-layered marginalisation illustrates how precarity in informal labour is not merely an economic condition but a socio-political phenomenon entrenched in gendered power asymmetries and institutional apathy.

The **Fourteenth Five-Year Plan (2022-2027)** of the Planning Board of Kerala addresses the informal economy of the state in detail. The Kerala government contends that the nature of informal sector labour in the state differs significantly from that in other parts of India. It is argued that workers in Kerala's informal sector benefit from certain privileges and protections that are largely absent in other states. By using Alternative data sources such as records from the **Factories Act** and the **Shops and Establishments Act**, the government indicates that an increase in the number of informal sector workers in both rural and urban Kerala between 2011-12 and 2017-18. Notably this growth was marked by a larger increase in female participation than in male participation. The government further attributes this trend, at least in part, to the relatively slow growth of employment in the organised sector. However, despite the state government's claims of relative privilege within Kerala's informal economy, it is important to critically examine the lived experiences of women workers in this sector. The struggles they face raise questions about whether these women, in reality, perceive themselves as enjoying such privileges. The growing number of working-class women's movements in Kerala forms the basis of my scepticism.

Recently there has been a notable increase in protests by working women both individual and collective particularly among those employed in the unorganised sector. These protests have emerged in response to various forms of exploitation faced in the workplace, including wage-related issues, sexual harassment, and the lack of basic facilities. This growing unrest

underscores the importance of studying the lives of women in general and those in the informal sector in particular. The objective of this study is not to theorise the forms of exploitation faced by women in the workplace but rather to examine how women themselves have actively resisted such exploitation and articulated their demands. In exploring their lives as protestors, it becomes evident that many of these women have strategically employed digital platforms to draw the attention of the government and the public. Within this context, *Penkoottu*, a grassroots movement based in the Kozhikode district of Kerala presents a valuable case for analysis. While this study does not seek to provide a comprehensive account of the Penkoottu movement as a whole, it specifically focuses on how the movement has utilised social media platforms to advance its objectives.

Penkoottu movement

S.M. Street, locally known as *Mittai Theruvu* and historically called Sweet Meat Street, is a culturally significant commercial artery in Kozhikode, Kerala, famed for its association with the iconic Kozhikodan Halwa (a sweet). Originating during the colonial era when Kozhikode was a key trading center on the Malabar Coast. The street earned its name from the abundance of sweet shops and bakeries lined it. Over time it has evolved into a bustling marketplace that balances commercial vitality with the preservation of its historical identity. Recent government-led renovations have sought to improve infrastructure, public spaces, and cleanliness aiming to enhance the visitor experience, support local businesses, and safeguard the street's heritage as a traditional trading hub within Kozhikode's urban and cultural landscape.

Despite the public attention SM Street has garnered through the history of social and political importance it became a focal point of discussion in 2010 when female sales personnel of textiles in SM street began to voice their grievances against the long-term exploitation they endured in their workplaces. This marked the emergence of the Penkoottu movement, a significant initiative aimed at addressing the challenges faced by women in the informal labour sector, especially sales girls.

In 2009, S.M. Street in Kozhikode became the site of a significant, though often overlooked, labour protest when a group of women sales workers publicly demanded access to basic sanitation facilities. The protest was led by Viji, a tailor from the SM Street. The protest was emerged in response to the persistent denial of sales girl's restroom access by shop owners, who had repurposed spaces originally designated for toilets into storage rooms. This act reflected both regulatory negligence and disregard for workers' rights. The women's appeals were met with indifference and, in many cases, hostility, including verbal abuse and instances of sexualised comments. Unlike their male counterparts, who faced no barriers to urinating in public spaces like behind shops (a practice tacitly accepted within the local social context), women workers

were constrained by gendered norms and forced to endure extended periods without access to sanitation. They often waited until they returned home after long work shifts. Lacking affiliation with any local trade unions, these women had no formal platform to voice their concerns or negotiate for better conditions (Although they approached mainstream trade union leaders in an attempt to find a resolution to their issues, the discussions did not yield any meaningful outcome). For years they internalised this denial of dignity as part of their occupational obligation, viewing such suffering as an implicit cost of employment. It was only after prolonged endurance of these injustices that workers mobilised to assert their rights, marking a rare instance of gendered resistance in an informal commercial setting. However, the women workers refusing to acquiesce to prolonged neglect mobilised support from activists, feminist groups, and women's organisations, thereby transforming their individual grievances into a broader collective struggle. This convergence of grassroots resistance and external advocacy generated sufficient public and political pressure to compel government intervention. As a result, restroom facilities were eventually installed on S.M. Street, representing a critical achievement in the ongoing struggle for labour rights and dignity within Kerala's informal sector, particularly for women workers who have historically been excluded from institutional representation and basic workplace entitlements.

This movement led to the formation of *Penkoottu* ("women for each other" or "women's collective"), a pioneering association of women workers that emerged in direct response to the systemic neglect women in the informal sector face. *Penkoottu* became a catalyst for a series of grassroots mobilisations, including the *Irikkal Samaram* (Sitting Strike), which demanded the right to sit during work hours, the *CO Samaram* (protests by community organisers), Coupon mall strike (protest against the unnoticed shutdown of the shopping mall) and numerous other campaigns advocating for the rights and dignity of women workers. Building on its growing influence and sustained activism, *Penkoottu* formally established its own trade union in 2016 the *Asanghaditha Mekhala Thozhilali Union* (AMTU), representing workers in the unorganised sector thereby institutionalising its efforts to challenge gendered labour inequalities and assert the rights of informal women workers within Kerala's broader labour movement.

Throughout its evolution, *Penkoottu* has adopted a diverse range of strategies and tools to build a strong and inclusive union for women workers in the informal sector. The organisation has intentionally sought to maintain regular engagement with its members, fostering connections that go beyond purely rational associations to include emotional bonds. Among its various approaches, the strategic use of social media platforms has played and continues to play a pivotal role. The following section of this paper explores how *Penkoottu* has effectively utilised digital media to further its organisational objectives, enhance communication, mobilise support, and amplify the voices of marginalised women workers.

Social media

Technological advancements have fundamentally transformed global communication and reshaped the landscape of socio-political activism, with social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Telegram, and WeChat enhancing access, visibility, reach, and empowerment in contemporary movements (Bari, 2025). Successful social media strategies include participatory democracy, which fosters community engagement and commitment; the integration of mass physical protests with online activism to enhance visibility and impact; and the need for movements to maintain independence from established political institutions to preserve their integrity and effectiveness (Artz, 2022). So the marginalised groups, those who struggled to get attention from the government and public sphere, strategically employ social media platforms as an effective tool. Unlike short-lived or spontaneous protests, *Penkoottu* has demonstrated a sustained commitment to addressing the multiple forms of exploitation experienced by women workers. This steadfast approach underscores the importance of long-term planning and structural strategies for achieving meaningful, lasting change. Acknowledging both the limitations of conventional methods of mobilisation and the potential of emerging digital tools, the movement strategically adopted new forms of collective action, most notably through the use of social media. Platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp played a central role in organising protests, disseminating information, and expanding the movement's reach beyond the confines of Kozhikode. In later stages, YouTube was also utilised to amplify their message further. The following section examines how *Penkoottu* effectively harnessed these digital platforms to strengthen its organisational capacities and public engagement.

Mobilize:

Mobilisation in social movements refers to the process through which the demand for collective action is connected with the availability and willingness of individuals to participate. It encompasses persuasive communication strategies, the identification and recruitment of potential participants, and the effective use of social networks to facilitate engagement (Miller, 2022). These approaches are crucial for securing public support, sustaining participant motivation, and ultimately increasing the movement's overall impact and effectiveness. So the mobilisation encompassing participant recruitment and resource acquisition remains a critical dimension of all social movements (della Porta & Diani, 2006). Historically, mobilisation strategies have relied on physical, co-present engagement through public assemblies, demonstrations, printed material distribution, and mainstream media coverage (e.g., television and newspapers). Such methods prioritise face-to-face interaction and institutionalised communication channels, operating within spatially bounded public spheres.

The proliferation of digital media has radically transformed this paradigm, fragmenting public spheres into hybridised virtual and physical domains. The interaction between open communication on platforms like Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter and the physical occupation of urban spaces led to the creation of a hybrid public space known as the 'space of autonomy' (Castells, 2012). This reconfiguration has necessitated a shift in mobilisation practices, with digital platforms assuming a central role in contemporary activism. While many individuals engaged symbolically through online solidarity, the digital space also served as a conduit for coalition-building, attracting mainstream activists whose initial digital endorsement often translated into physical presence at protests. Over time, these activists became recurring figures in subsequent phases of the movement. Illustratively, the Penkoottu movement strategically harnessed digital tools, primarily WhatsApp and Facebook, to circumvent the limitations of traditional mobilisation. By establishing dedicated Facebook pages (named Penkoottu) and WhatsApp groups (named Penkoottu), the movement disseminated real-time updates on protest logistics, including strike plans, negotiation stages with government bodies, schedules for general body meetings, and key protest events such as activist arrivals and public speeches. These platforms enabled asynchronous communication, accommodating the temporal and spatial constraints faced by participants, particularly women balancing domestic and labour obligations. Crucially, digital mobilisation persisted beyond the immediate protest phase. Following the formalisation of the movement into a trade union (AMTU), Penkoottu continued to utilise these platforms to sustain engagement, recruit active participants and reinforce collective identity.

Time and space:

The continued underrepresentation of women in leadership positions within mainstream trade unions (despite their substantial membership) is due to both the patriarchal structures inherent in these organisations and the wider societal norms that enforce gendered divisions of labour, particularly the unequal allocation of domestic responsibilities to women (Ledwith, 2012). This dual burden of paid work and caregiving limits women's time and mobility, thereby restricting their participation in political and organisational activities. The *Penkoottu* movement advocates for the rights of women workers, faced similar obstacles as its members often found it difficult to maintain active involvement due to the demands of both employment and household duties. In response to these structural constraints, *Penkoottu* strategically employed WhatsApp as an organising tool, enabling the creation of a hybrid space for collective dialogue and decision-making. While WhatsApp is not inherently decentralised, the movement's innovative use of the platform facilitated a more flexible and accessible mode of engagement.

In 2024, *Penkoottu* introduced an innovative initiative titled *Sneha Sallapam* (Friendly Talk), a weekly discussion held via WhatsApp. Every Wednesday from 8:00 to 9:00 PM (IST), a member shares her personal and political journey, followed by an interactive segment in which

participants respond via text or voice messages. In contrast to elite digital spaces such as Google Meet or Zoom, which are often inaccessible to many due to technical limitations and the need for assistance from others in the household, *Penkoottu's* use of WhatsApp reflects a deliberate and inclusive strategy. This choice acknowledges the digital constraints faced by many working-class women and prioritises accessible communication over technological sophistication. The asynchronous nature of the platform enables women to participate on their own terms, whether after completing domestic responsibilities or concurrently managing them. In doing so, *Sneha Sallapam* effectively challenges the rigid temporal structures that traditionally marginalise women in participatory spaces. By anchoring political discourse in a digitally mediated yet familiar and intimate environment, the initiative subverts patriarchal norms within formal union politics. It cultivates a form of inclusive engagement that reflects the intersectional realities of women's lives.

Empathy and solidarity:

People often engage with a cause due to an immediate concern, but many disengage once their specific issue is resolved. Therefore, fostering a sense of collective identity and political consciousness requires deliberate and sustained efforts. Unions and associations strategically employ various methods to cultivate this 'we-feeling' among their members. Given the constraints of time and space, *Snehasallapam* has emerged as a significant platform that fosters empathy and ultimately leads to solidarity.

Interestingly, the questions posed by members in this space differ significantly from those typically found in formal research interviews. Rather than focusing on conventional topics deemed academically relevant, they often delve into seemingly mundane or personal subjects—such as regrets, favourite clothing choices, or even the number of sarees one owns. At first glance these inquiries may appear trivial, yet they frequently uncover deeper, more intricate layers of an individual's lived experience. They offer moments of introspection and catharsis, particularly when discussing difficult aspects of one's past. For instance, one of my respondents, Mini, a saleswoman (her name has been changed to protect her privacy), was asked a question that elicited a particularly revealing response.

Question: *Mini Chechi, how many sarees do you own? Would you be willing to give one to someone in need?*

Answer: *At present, I have plenty of sarees. However, a few years ago, my house burned down completely, and I lost everything. At that time, I did not even have a single saree to wear and had to rely on old clothes given to me by others. I lived that way for years until I started working and*

could afford my own things. Now, I have enough sarees, and I am more than willing to share them with anyone in need. I would not hesitate at all.

This narrative underscores the intersectional precarity faced by marginalised women, revealing how crises such as displacement exacerbate existing material deprivation. Simultaneously, it highlights the transformative potential of economic agency in reshaping lived experiences. This is a key reason why many women chose to join *Penkoottu*, having endured personal crises, they were motivated to prevent similar suffering in the lives of others around them. Their participation reflects a political awareness and an empathetic commitment to collective wellbeing. Mini's response exemplifies how acts of mutual aid enabled by financial independence can interrupt cycles of scarcity and reinforce collective resilience. The willingness to redistribute resources not only illustrates personal generosity but also signifies a deeper assertion of solidarity within marginalised communities. *Penkoottu* benefited from these shared reflections, which illuminated the members' common experiences of poverty, shaped by diverse and intersecting causes. The conversations facilitated through *Sneha Sallapam* fostered a deeper understanding of one another's lives, enabling participants to connect through shared narratives. This initiative reflects the principles of decentralisation and challenges hierarchical norms within organisational settings. By cultivating an open, informal space where all members can share their stories and participate equally, *Sneha Sangamam* promotes a sense of belonging and empowerment seldom found in rigidly structured systems. The process illustrates how seemingly simple and personal inquiries can spark profound dialogue, offering both emotional relief and strengthened interpersonal connections among group members.

Voice and visibility

The case of a workplace that remained largely overlooked and unacknowledged despite hosting a significant women-led labour struggle highlights the systemic challenges marginalised groups face in securing media coverage, public recognition, and governmental responsiveness. Women workers, frequently denied formal recognition as labourers across diverse contexts, often encounter dismissal of their demands as inconsequential, even by trade unions. To counter this erasure, the collective *Penkoottu* strategically leveraged digital platforms, including a Facebook page, WhatsApp groups, and a YouTube channel, to amplify their demands and carve out visibility within mainstream discourse. By livestreaming protests, disseminating updates via WhatsApp statuses, and hosting post-protest discussions on YouTube, they documented and shared multifaceted stages of their struggle, transforming localised activism into a resonant public narrative.

This digital mobilisation garnered widespread public discourse across Kerala on the exploitation of saleswomen, compelling institutional action. Notable outcomes included the installation of e-

toilets on SM Street and governmental mandates requiring textile shops to provide seating for female employees. The movement's cultural impact was further cemented when filmmaker Kunhila Mascilamani directed *Asangatithar (The Unorganised)*, a film inspired by Penkoottu's struggle, featuring members of the collective. This cinematic project emerged directly from the visibility generated through their social media campaigns, illustrating how digital tools not only mobilised solidarity but also transcended geographical and institutional barriers to reshape public consciousness.

The movement's reach was globally validated in 2016 when Penkoottu co-founder Viji was named among the BBC's 100 Women, underscoring the interplay between grassroots digital activism and transnational recognition. These developments collectively demonstrate how marginalised groups can subvert traditional hierarchies of visibility, deploying digital platforms to assert agency, legitimise grievances, and catalyse structural change.

Virtual platforms now serve as critical arenas for organising, disseminating information, and fostering solidarity, enabling movements to transcend geographical limitations and amplify their reach. While conventional tactics remain relevant, digital tools offer novel opportunities for rapid communication, decentralised coordination, and the cultivation of global networks. Consequently, contemporary social movements often operate within a hybridised framework, integrating both traditional and digital methodologies to optimise resource mobilisation and sustain collective action. This dual approach underscores the evolving nature of public engagement in an increasingly mediated world, where the interplay between virtual and physical spaces shapes the efficacy and trajectory of social movements.

Conclusion

The Penkoottu movement stands as a compelling testament to the transformative potential of grassroots activism in contesting systemic gender and labour injustices. Emerging from the lived experiences and struggles of informal women workers in Kerala's SM Street, the movement has evolved into a powerful force advocating for labour rights, visibility, and dignity.

Situated within a contemporary context where digital platforms play a significant role in everyday life, this study investigates how Penkoottu has effectively utilised these technologies to amplify its cause, mobilise workers, and influence policy reform. By strategically leveraging social media, the movement has been able to transcend conventional barriers to collective action, engage a broader audience, and cultivate solidarity across diverse sectors and geographical regions.

Drawing on primary data, including interviews and digital ethnography, this research illustrates how Penkoottu has redefined labour organising in the informal sector. Beginning with the

seminal “Toilet Strike” (*Moothrappura Samaram*), the movement has launched various protests and programmes aimed at asserting the political presence of informal women workers in Kerala. The analysis highlights the dynamic interplay between online and offline activism. WhatsApp served as a space for intimate political discourse, enabling the translation of personal grievances into collective political demands; Facebook offered visibility and a repository of protest events; and YouTube documented acts of resistance, transforming local struggles into nationally and globally recognised labour rights campaigns.

These digital interventions have enabled women workers (long excluded from the formal trade union sphere) to assert their agency and demand recognition as legitimate labourers. The findings of this study underscore the critical role of digital media in contemporary social movements, particularly for marginalised groups who lack access to mainstream platforms. Penkoottu’s ability to maintain engagement beyond protest events through initiatives such as *Sneha Sallapam* demonstrates how social media can function as an enduring space for collective deliberation, emotional sustenance, and political education.

The movement’s achievements in securing concrete policy changes, such as the provision of restrooms and seating arrangements for saleswomen, attest to the tangible impact of sustained grassroots mobilisation. However, the study also acknowledges the challenges posed by digital activism. While social media facilitates rapid dissemination and mobilisation, it simultaneously exposes activists to surveillance, online harassment, and the risk of co-optation by political and corporate entities. At times, individuals engaging with these platforms may attempt to hijack movements under the guise of solidarity, while covertly advancing agendas that conflict with the movement’s core principles. Penkoottu encountered such challenges. Yet, as noted by Viji, the movement’s leader, they were ultimately able to address and navigate these disruptions effectively. It is also important to recognise that digital engagement, while impactful, cannot wholly substitute for offline organising, which remains vital for direct action, legal advocacy, and sustained community building.

The broader implications of this research extend beyond the specific case of Penkoottu. It offers valuable insights into the evolving dynamics of labour movements in the Global South. Because informal workers constitute a significant share of the workforce everywhere. The study affirms the necessity of integrating digital tools with traditional organising methods to build sustainable, inclusive, and resilient labour movements.

Penkoottu exemplifies how marginalised communities can reclaim political agency through strategic activism and digital engagement. The movement’s trajectory demonstrates the potential of hybrid activism combining on-the-ground mobilisation with digital strategies to challenge entrenched inequalities and advocate for justice. As social movements continue to evolve in an

increasingly digitalised world, Penkoottu stands as an inspiring model for future labour struggles, illustrating how collective resilience, innovation, and solidarity can engender meaningful social transformation.

Bibliography

Artz, L. (2022). *Social media and social movements*. In A. U. Aydın & A. M. Demir (Eds.), *Protest* (pp. 117–134). Istanbul: Peter Lang Publishing. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/358339372_Social_Media_and_Social_MovementsRE_VISED

Bari, S. I. (2025). Role of social media in shaping modern-day activism. *Bangladesh Journal of Bioethics*, 16(1), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.62865/bjbio.v16i1.131>

Castells, M. (2012). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the internet age*. Polity Press.

Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2006). *Social movements: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Blackwell Publishing. <https://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Networks-of-Outrage-and-Hope-Social-Movements-in-the-Internet-Age-Manuel-Castells.pdf>

Espejo-Chacón, L., Zavala-Amézquita, J., Manrique-Plácido, J., Pacheco-Torres, J., & Gonzales-Renteria, Y. (2024). Precarious work and its impact on job security: A systematic review during 2019–2023. *Journal of Ecohumanism*, 3(7), 1111–1126. <https://doi.org/10.62754/joe.v3i7.4276>

Government of Kerala, Kerala State Planning Board. (2022). *Fourteenth five-year plan (2022–2027): Working group report on labour in the informal sector*. Social Services Division. <https://spb.kerala.gov.in/sites/default/files/inline-files/Labour%20in%20the%20Informal%20sector.pdf>

Jalisatgi, A. M. (2022). Plight of the women workers in the unorganised sector—A growing challenge. In V. Mahajan, A. Chowdhury, U. Kaushal, N. Jariwala, & S. A. Bong (Eds.), *Gender equity: Challenges and opportunities: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Sardar Vallabhbhai National Institute of Technology* (pp. 85–92). Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-0460-8>

Jankowski, K. (2024). Positioning precarity: The contingent nature of precarious work in structure and practice. *The British Journal of Sociology*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.13125>

Jindal, D. (2024). An in-Depth Analysis of the Relevance of the Informal Sector of the Indian Economy on Wages and Income Levels of the Labour Market. *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research*, 09(11), 5455–5470. <https://doi.org/10.46609/ijsser.2024.v09i11.033>

K, S (2019). Educational, social and economic status of women in the textile industry in India. *Research in Educational Policy and Management*, 1(1), 33–43. <https://doi.org/10.46303/repam.01.01.3>

Ledwith, S. (2012). Gender politics in trade unions: The representation of women between exclusion and inclusion. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 18(2), 185–199. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1024258912439145>

Maiti, D., & Sen, K. (2010). The Informal Sector in India. *Journal of South Asian Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097317411000500101>

Mallick, S. (2023). *Informal workers in India, issues and challenges: Comprehensive analysis*. *International Journal for Multidisciplinary Research (IJFMR)*, 5(5), 1–8. <https://www.ijfmr.com/papers/2023/5/6798.pdf>

McCosker, A. (2015). Social media activism at the margins: Managing visibility, voice and vitality affects. *Social Media and Society*, 1(2), 2056305115605860. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115605860>

Mendelsohn, J., Vijan, M., Card, D., & Budak, C. (2024). Framing social movements on social media. *Journal of Quantitative Description: Digital Media*, 4. <https://doi.org/10.51685/jqd.2024.icwsm.9>

Miller, A. L. (2022). Consensus and Action Mobilisation. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, 1–3. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm048.pub2>

Pande, R. (2023). Women in the informal economy in India: Remuneration, protection and duality of the labour market. *Revue française d'histoire économique*, 19(1), 106–127. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rfhe.019.0106>

Press Information Bureau. (2025, January 30). *Consultation with ministries/departments and other stakeholders on estimation of informal sector in Gross Domestic Product held on 30th January, 2025, in Tagore Chamber, SCOPE Convention Centre, New Delhi: MoSPI Finance*. Government of India. <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleaseDetailm.aspx?PRID=2097693>

Young, Marisa C., Gender Differences in Precarious Work Settings (March 15, 2010). Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations, Vol. 65, No. 1, 2010, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1586936>