Veritas: A Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities
ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

Women's Leadership and Engagement in Environmental Conservation and Sustainability in Kerala

Indhu Vijayan
Research Scholar
CMS College, Kottayam (Autonomous)
&
Dr. Amrutha Rinu Abraham
Associate Professor
Dept. Of Sociology
CMS College, Kottayam (Autonomous)

Abstract

Women have a unique connection with the environment and are often the first to address the environmental crisis. Over the years, Kerala, the southwest state in India, has seen a series of significant movements for protecting the environment, with women playing a crucial and active role. The present study examines women's engagement and leadership in environmental conservation and sustainability in Kerala. It specifically analyses women's leadership in environmental movements and activism, along with the involvement and contributions of women associated with the Haritha Karma Sena initiative of the Government of Kerala. The study also seeks to understand the challenges faced by the women associated with Haritha Karma Sena and the impact of their participation on their social, economic, and political empowerment. The study is theoretically grounded in the dual framework of Ecofeminism and Feminist Political Ecology. Adopting a qualitative research approach, it draws upon both primary and secondary data. In-depth interviews were conducted with eight respondents selected through snowball sampling. Secondary data collected from journal articles, books, news reports, interviews, and other credible online resources were used to analyse women's involvement and leadership in Kerala's environmental movements. The study reveals the significant role of women in conservation and sustainability efforts, both in association with the government and in voicing opposition to state policies that are detrimental to the environment.

Keywords: ecofeminism, environmental movements, women leadership, environmental conservation, ecological and social justice.

Introduction

Nature plays a vital role in supporting human existence and providing them with a good quality of life. While nature is essential for human existence, human also possess the capacity to make changes to their environment, a power that is already in action. The ecosystems and biodiversity are undergoing severe and rapid decline driven by multiple human actions (Ipbes, 2019). Conservation actions are an immediate requirement to stabilise the ecosystem and prevent a complete breakdown. To date, the world has seen several environmental movements. The modern conservation movements began with the book 'Man and Nature' by George Perkins Marsh in 1864, which advocated for a plant-based diet. Towards the end of the 19th century, the environmental movement with a conservation approach evolved into preservationist and resource conservation; the former advocated preservation without human intervention, and the latter stood for optimal use (Erdos, 2022). Later, the publication of 'The

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

Silent Spring' by Rachel Carlsen in 1962 and many disasters followed, such as an oil spill in Santa Barbara in 1969, California, oil slick found in Cuyahoga River, the Three Mile Island accident in 1979 along with decrease in air quality and acid rain led to the emergence and popularity of Environmentalism in the 1970s (Headrick, 2019) which focuses on the quality of environmental parameters. This period also saw the rise of many organizations devoted to conservation and environmentalism (Erdos, 2022). In Lester's opinion (as cited in Doyle, 2005), American environmental movements between 1960 and 1990 accommodated ecosystem concerns and earlier movements' conservation and preservationist concerns. The environmental movements since 1990 expanded their scope to address new issues, including global warming, biological diversity, and sustainable development (Lester, 1998, as cited in Doyle, 2005). At the same time, the growing worldwide attention resulted in the Stockholm Declaration in 1972, followed by the Brundtland Commission Report in 1987. The Brundtland Commission Report changed the environmental narrative by introducing the idea of 'sustainable development'. It also popularised terms such as 'precautionary principle', 'assimilation capacity', 'polluter pays principle', 'public trust doctrine', and 'inter-generational equity' (Urfi, 2021). Environmental justice movements between the 1960s and 1970s, driven by the minority section of society, acknowledged environmental inequalities. Thus, environmental activism became more closely linked to racial and other social inequalities, with minority activists framing these environmental issues in terms of rights to safe and healthy environments (Taylor, 2014).

Environmentalism in India dates back to conflicts over forests, as Scientific forestry introduced by the British denied the rights of local people and provoked sporadic protests from the country's local population (Headrick, 2019). Environmental movements in Colonial India were led by local communities, especially when the Forest Act and the Land Acquisition Act prevented local communities from accessing forest resources. The colonial government's policy that promoted commercial species affected the lives of the local population. This colonial oppression of forest rights of the local population evoked protests and movements, all of which were suppressed by the British regime (Nayak, 2015). Over the years, the country has witnessed movements where people actively and non-violently protect the environment and their livelihood. Some notable environmental movements in India include the Chipko Andolan, the Save the Bhagirathi and Stop Tehri project committee in Uttar Pradesh, the Save the Narmada Movement, the Appiko Movement in the Western Ghats, and the campaign against the Silent Valley project (Karan, 1994). For sustainable and effective environmental conservation, involving the Indigenous population, local communities, and women in the conservation efforts is crucial, as they can provide unique and relevant insights into the matter. Women are more associated with subsistence activities in the house, within the household, which, for most tribal and rural women, include fetching fuel, fodder, and water. This way, they are more acquainted with nature and are thus more affected by environmental degradation. Also, their interaction with their surroundings equips them with a specific understanding of the environment or a 'knowledge system'. The relationship between women and their environment elevates their awareness of environmental planning and preservation (Dalal, 2019).

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

Agarwal (1992) draws two parallel and interrelated trends that demonstrate class-gender effects of environmental degradation. She identifies that the degradation in both the quantity and quality of natural resources, along with the increasing statization and privatization of what were once community-owned resources, are the causes of the class–gender effects of environmental decline. She also puts forward the relevance of women's vulnerability in the face of ecological degradation. There is a pre-existing gendered division of labour whereby women are responsible for chores related to cooking and differences in the distribution of resources for subsistence as well as productive resources. This has a stake in time, income, health, nutrition and their social support network. Owing to their unique connection with nature and their heightened vulnerability to environmental degradation, women—especially those from underprivileged sections—often take the initiative to safeguard their environment, in contrast to the socially ascribed passive gender roles.

Kerala, situated along the southwestern coast of India, is rich in ecological and bio-cultural diversity. The state is divided into five afro-ecological zones, including coastal plains, midland laterites, foothills, high ranges, and the Palakkad plains, each supporting distinct ecosystems and land-use patterns (Bastin et al., 2022, as cited in Kerala State Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (K-SBSAP) 2025 – 2035). Owing to its ecological abundance in the Western Ghats, Kerala is also a home of wetlands and backwaters. This rich ecosystem of Kerala is not free from environmental threats. Kerala's biodiversity is under mounting pressure from a range of anthropogenic and ecological threats (Kerala State Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (K-SBSAP) 2025 –2035). Kerala, with a population of 33.4 million male population comprising 48 per cent and a female population comprising 52 per cent. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute 9.1 per cent and 1.45 per cent of the population, respectively. Regarding female literacy and education, the state's achievements are impressive, with a smaller gender gap compared to other Indian states. However, when it comes to participation in the economy, women have a low labour participation rate and, thus, a disproportionately high unemployment rate (Economic Review, Kerala, 2021).

The present study examines women's engagement and leadership in environmental conservation and sustainability in Kerala through the combined lenses of Ecofeminism and Feminist Political Ecology. It specifically analyses women's leadership in environmental movements and activism, along with the involvement and contributions of women associated with the Haritha Karma Sena initiative of the Government of Kerala. The study also seeks to understand the challenges faced by the women associated with Haritha Karma Sena women and the impact of their participation on their social, economic, and political empowerment.

Theoretical framework

The dual frameworks of Ecofeminism and Feminist Political Ecology provide the theoretical grounding for this study. Ecofeminism is a response to corporate and state power that is exploitative and destructive toward both nature and women. From this perspective, women identify patriarchal structures that oppress them with the same structures that exploit and degrade nature. In other words, according to ecofeminist thought, women and nature are jointly subjected to the domination of capitalist patriarchy, and therefore, women's inequality and environmental degradation are deeply interconnected.

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

Feminist Political Ecology, meanwhile, integrates insights from both feminism and political ecology. It emphasizes gendered access to resources and environmental responsibilities. Examining women's specific roles and engagement in environmental activities through this lens is particularly effective for understanding the social, economic, and political dimensions of women's ecological labour.

Methodology

The study follows a qualitative methodology. Both primary and secondary data were utilised. Primary data were collected to explore the involvement and contributions of women associated with the Haritha Karma Sena in environmental conservation. In-depth interviews were conducted with eight respondents selected through snowball sampling. The snowball sampling method was used asa Haritha Karma Sena members are dispersed across various wards, with two members from each ward. They have informal networks among them, making snowball sampling the most efficient method of data collection, considering the qualitative nature of the study. The respondents were members of the Haritha Karma Sena from Kallara Grama Panchayat and Ettumanoor municipality in Kottayam district, who had been active for at least three years. The participants were asked about their experiences as members of the Haritha Karma Sena and their role in environmental protection at the grassroots level. Secondary data were used to analyse women's involvement and leadership in Kerala's environmental movements. Secondary sources included journal articles, books, news reports, interviews, and other credible online resources.

Findings and Discussion

I. Women's leadership in environmental movements and activism

Hindustan Coca-Cola Beverages Private (HCCB), a subsidiary of Coca-Cola after acquiring land of 34.64 acres in Plachimada of Perumatty panchayat of Palakkad district in Kerala. Within two years of its operation, the people realised the drastic change in water quality and a decline in the water table. It started to affect their daily lives and livelihoods. The company even sold the slurry and sludge waste from the product as fertilizer to the local farmers. The real struggle demanding the shutdown of the plant began with the launch of 'Coca-Cola Virudha Janakeeya Samara Samithy' on April 22, 2002, with participation mainly from Adivasis. The involvement of the Adivasi women, the primary victims, was crucial as they formed the backbone of the struggle (Bijoy, 2006).

Mayilamma was a prominent protest figure who became a protest leader and symbol of the resistance. She had the courage and confidence to speak to the media and visitors. Without formal schooling, she became the face of the protest (Ferman, 2013). Adivasi women, on more than one occasion, talked about being hit by batons, dragged by their saris, and their blouses being ripped during scuffles with the police (Parmar, 2015). Kanniyamma is another leader who fought in the Plachimada struggle. She was vocal in the Plachimada protest and in the protest for compensation for the victims. In an interview, she said that she would continue the protest for compensation and would keep fighting until either she is killed or receives compensation.

The aerial spraying of endosulfan, an organochlorine pesticide, in the cashew estates of Kasaragod, Kerala, for 20 years, since 1976, caused severe health hazards and deaths among people and other living organisms of the region. The government of India later banned this dangerous pesticide. This ban resulted from a long struggle by the people, and the first person to come forward to fight against

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

the dangerous pesticide was Leelakumariamma. She sent petitions to authorities to stop the spraying of endosulfan. When this did not respond, she started sensitising the local public. She took the legal course, and considering her petition, the Munsiff court stayed the spraying of this deadly chemical. She was threatened and fined by authorities (Ajeesh, 2011, as cited in Varma & Rangarajan, 2017).

Haritha Karma Sena is an initiative as part of Haritha Keralam Mission, a project by the state government, where women lead the conservation efforts. Through this initiative, members of Haritha Karma Sena collect cleaned non-organic waste, sometimes organic waste. The members of Karitha Karma Sena work under local self-government bodies in Kerala. The waste collected by Haritha Karma Sena is sorted and sent to the resource recovery facility, which is then handed over for reuse or recycling (https://haritham.kerala.gov.in, 2024). Today, the Haritha Karma Sena represents women's leadership in environmental conservation efforts, even though their primary responsibility is the collection of waste materials from households in Kerala. This labour of women involves the collection and segregation of waste materials, a byproduct of consumerism and capitalist production, which could be seen as an extension of their domestic roles. It creates an affiliation with the material condition of the environment, with women mediating between society and nature. They also play an active role in creating awareness about conserving Kerala's environment. In the initial phase, when people were reluctant to give them waste and pay the user fee, they sensitised the public about the harm that plastic and other waste cause to our environment.

Through these conservation efforts at the grassroots level, they are not only becoming part of protecting the environment but also making environmental conservation more democratic by involving and sensitizing people. It is also important that through their involvement, these women in Haritha Karma Sena are also becoming economically and socially empowered.

Considering the leadership roles taken by Mayilamma, Anniyamma, and the many women in the protest against Coca-Cola, and by Leelakumariamma in the protest against Endosulfan, it is evident that they belonged to the primary affected groups. This leadership assumed by these women can be associated with a special relationship between women and nature developed by the gendered nature of labour, which allocates women with sustenance and caring activities.

Mayilamma, an Adivasi woman living in the affected area of Plachimada, became the icon of the protest against Coca-Cola when their water source was polluted, which affected their daily livelihood. She became the spokesperson for the movement. She spoke to the media and national and international leaders and travelled to places. According to Mayilamma (as cited in Ferman, 2013), "It is not that I am great or anything, I just cook food, but because I talk, people accept me as the leader". This echoes the materialistic ecofeminist idea whereby women are directly tied to natural resources. Her resistance is rooted from her lived experience where livelihood is affected and damaged by the HCCB, representing capitalist-patriarchal. The movement was about regaining control of community resources from the corporate entity that exploits those community resources for its profit.

In the above environmental movement, we see parallels with community-based groups of grassroots environmentalism as described by Freudenberg and Steinsapir (1991). Freudenberg and Steinsapir (1991) identify community-based groups that are usually formed as a result of a community's perceived health hazards, giving them the moral legitimacy for organizing. The community organises

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

for the correction of specific problems, failure of which leads them to take legal paths by filing lawsuits. They also appeal to the political arena where they lobby for legislation, endorse candidates, or propose ballot initiatives. The people also engage in protests.

In the case of the Plachimada movement, they went as far as marching to the MLA's residence with brooms. It is also the case that these grassroots environmental movements are participatory from diverse communities, especially from women and minorities. This is evident in both movements, which are led by women, especially housewives and mothers with no previous organizing experience. This protest against HCCB had the backing of three organisations, namely the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), Haritha Development Association (HDA), and Adivasi Samrakshana Sangam (Adivasi Protection Association). The protest also had the support of C. K. Janu, Venuettan, Ayyankali Pada members and other individuals who visited Mayilamma and others providing assistance. The protest also drew support from activists, writers, and educators, including Medha Patel, Sarah Joseph, Sugatha Kumari, Vasudevan Nair, and Azhikode, who were also leaders in several national and state environmental movements (Karmakar, 2024).

Leelakumariamma, also from the primarily affected groups of endosulfan, challenged the system. Her work influenced the mobilization of the region's people to protest against the banning of endosulfan. In the struggle, women were active participants. Leelakumariamma's activism can be traced to her lived experience rooted in ecological harm, with her family members and community affected by the pesticide contamination. Her fight was against structures of power and economy, that is, the Plantation Corporation of Kerala (PCK), the government, and the pesticide industry, which prioritized profit over the lives of people.

II. Involvement and contributions of women associated with the Haritha Karma Sena: Responses from the field

The respondents were members of the Haritha Karma Sena from Kallara Grama Panchayat and Ettumanoor municipality in Kottayam district, who had been active for at least three years. The respondents belong to low-income families. Of the eight respondents, six had completed education up to the tenth standard or above, although none were graduates. Before becoming Haritha Karmasena members, most respondents were not employed, with the exception of one respondent. But, after becoming members, many of the respondents show an interest in pursuing entrepreneurial activities.

IIa. Challenges faced by Haritha Karma Sena members

Every ward of the local self-government is allocated two Haritha Karma Sena members. In the initial period of its implementation, people were reluctant to give plastic to the members and the user fee to the members. In the initial phase of the mission, the Haritha Karma Sena members were unwelcome and not treated respectfully. People were reluctant to change; they were not ready to collect and clean plastic covers for the members and pay the user fee. One of the respondents recalled that, although they themselves did not face many issues, their fellow Haritha Karma Sena members often encountered comments such as, "The panchayat is allowing women to wander around freely, just by giving them a coat." Another respondent shared, "Initially, there were months when we could not even collect ₹300 in user fees from the entire ward, so we had to wait for months to remit the money to the panchayat." Many of the respondents also recounted similar experiences.

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

But, over the years, many changes have been visible in people's behaviour towards Haritha Karma Sena members. Many people await the arrival of Haritha Karma Sena members these days. They are welcomed and treated with respect. This change in attitude results from sensitization through Grama Sabha and other awareness programmes of the local body, along with the efforts of these members. One Haritha Karma Sena member said, "We were unwilling to give up. So, we visited every house each month, regardless of whether the homeowners were willing to provide plastic. When they give us uncleaned plastics, we clean them in front of them; eventually, they started giving us cleaned plastics. We observed a progressive change." All the respondents agreed that the support from the panchayat was critical in creating awareness. The panchayat fined people who burned plastic and ensured that everyone paid the user fee to the Haritha Karma Sena members before receiving any services from the panchayat.

The women who are members of the Haritha Karma Sena do not receive a steady income and often face significant fluctuations in their earnings. They lack a regular salary for the work they do. Their income depends primarily on the user fee, which is ₹50 per household per month within the ward, from which they must give a 10 per cent share to the panchayat. However, they often do not receive this user fee from every household for various reasons. Although they sometimes receive the pending amount in the following month, this uncertainty in income remains a major challenge.

In addition to their routine work, Haritha Karma Sena members are required to attend classes and meetings. They are frequently called for meetings organised by the local self-government institutions as well as those conducted as part of the Haritha Karma Sena initiative. These commitments interrupt their work in the ward, and they are not compensated for the additional time spent.

A few respondents considered transport a major challenge, as they were provided only with small wagons that could carry limited loads while collecting waste from households. Consequently, they had to make multiple trips around the ward, which required additional time and effort. Another time-consuming task was sorting the collected materials. The respondents acknowledged that it was impractical to expect households to sort the waste themselves, although they felt that plastics should at least be cleaned before being handed over.

IIb. Impact on Women's Empowerment

The initiative of the Haritha Karma Sena goes beyond functioning merely as a state waste-management mechanism. It also makes a difference in the lives of thousands of women. Since its implementation in 2017, it has been making strides in socially and economically empowering women from marginalised and disadvantaged sections (Mohan, 2023). Their income from this work provides them with greater economic stability and financial security. One of the Haritha Karma Sena members of Punchakari Panchayat, Trivandrum, shared during an interview:

Our lives were filled with strain and hardship. We were unemployed and stayed at home all the time. However, once we became part of this initiative, we built good relationships and networks with others. People who previously did not give us plastic gradually began listening to us and handing over plastic. We are now earning a good income. We no longer depend on loans, and we can spend for our children, husbands, and families. We are pleased and satisfied (Sena, 2023).

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

Some respondents expressed interest in initiating a new enterprise collectively through the Haritha Karma Sena members of the panchayat. One respondent noted that although they had attempted to start an enterprise earlier, it did not succeed.

All respondents agreed that, after becoming members of the Haritha Karma Sena, they have become more confident in their engagement and communication with the public. They now find themselves better able to express their opinions in front of others. One respondent stated, “Now that we are members of the Haritha Karma Sena, we have more access to panchayat-level services, and we can assist others as well as ourselves in obtaining these services.” All the respondents noted that, as Haritha Karma Sena members, they are now in a better position to help others in the community.

Many Haritha Karma Sena members are now recognised and rewarded at the local, district, and state levels. One of the respondents said, “If we decide to stand for the local panchayat election, we are sure we will win. We have that much support in the ward that a few parties have approached us." She further noted that she would prefer continuing her work with the Haritha Karma Sena rather than contesting in local body elections, as it offers more stable work and income.

Conclusion

Women are crucial to Kerala's environmental conservation efforts, especially since they are more emotionally attached to the environment. Viewing the present study through the combined frameworks of Ecofeminism and Feminist Political Ecology enriches its sociological meaning. According to Ecofeminism, women are compelled to resist both capitalist patriarchy and environmental exploitation within their local contexts. Women’s unequal access to resources under capitalist patriarchy often drives them toward activism. Thus, the movement against Coca-Cola in Plachimada and the struggle led by Leelakumariamma against Endosulfan exemplify ecofeminist resistance. Similarly, the feminist political ecology perspective highlights women’s unequal access to resources such as water, land, and waste-management spaces, as well as their social activism and distinct involvement in conservation activities, as seen in the case of the Haritha Karma Sena. Therefore, women’s role as part of this Haritha Karma Sena work in conserving Kerala’s environment is also a movement where women assume leadership.

Women’s close relationship with nature makes them among the first to be affected by environmental degradation. In such contexts, it is not surprising that women often take up leadership roles in ecological struggles. In the present study, the women involved in environmental activism and in the Haritha Karma Sena live in close proximity to nature and generally belong to lower socio-economic backgrounds. The study revealed that, along with generating a positive impact on environmental sustainability, the challenges and opportunities associated with the conservation efforts of the Haritha Karma Sena have contributed to the social, economic, and political empowerment of the women involved. Although the engagement of women in the Haritha Karma Sena initiative can be viewed as an extension of their domestic responsibilities—where caring for nature aligns with their traditional roles—it has enabled women who were previously almost invisible in the public sphere to participate actively in community-level activities. Through this participation, they have gained greater visibility, authority, and decision-making power. Despite the challenges faced, their involvement not only

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

supports ecological conservation but also enhances their economic, social, and political participation, demonstrating that environmental engagement can simultaneously foster gender empowerment.

Acknowledgement: Ms Indhu Vijayan is a recipient of the Indian Council for Social Science Research Doctoral Fellowship. The contribution of author Indhu Vijayan is supported by ICSSR. The author acknowledges the support received from ICSSR and CMS College Kottayam(Autonomous). However, the responsibility for the facts stated, opinions expressed and the conclusions drawn is entirely that of the author.

References

Agarwal, B. (1992). The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India. *Feminist Studies*, *18*(1), 119. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178217

Bijoy, C. R. (2006). Kerala's Plachimada Struggle: A Narrative on Water and Governance Rights. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *41*(41), 4332–4339. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/4418807

Dalal, A. (2019). Explicating Environmental Patriarchy: An Examination Through Gender and Environment Perspectives. *Antyajaa Indian Journal of Women and Social Change*, *4*(2), 145–157. https://doi.org/10.1177/2455632719880849

Doyle, T. (2005). *Environmental Movements in Minority and Majority Worlds: A Global Perspective*. Rutgers University Press.

Economic Review, Kerala. (2017).

Erdös, L. (2022). History of the Environmental Movement. In *Springer eBooks* (pp. 1–14). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38948-2_144-1

Ferman, K. (2013). Fighting for the Commons.

Freudenberg, N., & Steinsapir, C. (1991). Not in our backyards: The grassroots environmental movement. *Society & Natural Resources*, *4*(3), 235–245. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941929109380757

Headrick, D. R. (2019). *Humans versus Nature*. Oxford University Press.

https://haritham.kerala.gov.in. (2024). *Haritha Keralam Mission*. Kerala.gov.in. https://haritham.kerala.gov.in/stories_view.php?nid=WFJjMnl2eVdSdXl0L3N3VGM1aXRJQT09&url=Haritha-Karmasena

Ipbes. (2019). Summary for policymakers of the global assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystem services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. In *Zenodo (CERN European Organization for Nuclear Research)*. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3826699

Karan, P. P. (1994). Environmental Movements in India. *Geographical Review*, *84*(1), 32. https://doi.org/10.2307/215779

Karmakar, G. (2024). Plachimada Struggle and the Environmentalism of the Poor: (In)justice and Activism in Mayilamma: The Life of a Tribal Eco-Warrior. *Current Writing*, *36*(2), 124–137. https://doi.org/10.1080/1013929x.2024.2410071

Kerala State Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (K-SBSAP) 2025 – 2035. Edited by Dr. N. Anil Kumar et al., Oct. 2025.

Mellor, M. (2000). Feminism and Environmental Ethics A Materialist Perspective1. *Ethics and the Environment*, *5*(1), 107–123. https://doi.org/10.1016/s1085-6633(99)00026-1

ISSN: 3107-748X (Online)

Merchant, C. (2005). *Ecofeminism*. In *Radical ecology* (pp. 193–221). Routledge.

Mohan, S. (2023, November 11). Garbage turns gold mine, Haritha Karma Sena workers in Kerala strike it rich. The New Indian Express. https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/kerala/2023/Nov/11/garbage-turns-gold-mine-haritha-karma-sena-workers-in-kerala-strike-it-rich-2631956.html

Nayak, A. K. (2015). Environmental Movements in India. *Journal of Developing Societies*, *31*(2), 249–280. https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796x15576172

Pandey, A. (2013). Globalization and ecofeminism in the South: keeping the "Third World" alive. *Journal of Global Ethics*, *9*(3), 345–358. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449626.2013.855647

Parmar, P. (2015). A People's Movement. 67–94. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139962896.004

Sena, K. (2023, March 8). Streeshakthiyude 'Haritha'sena | Haritha Karma Sena | Trivandrum | Womensday2023. YouTube. https://youtu.be/Yhuey4tkAgM?si=r-OtinIm7Z7qBVm

Taylor, D. E. (2014). *Toxic communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility*. NYU Press.

Urfi, A. J. (2021). The origins of India's environment movement. *Nature India*. https://doi.org/10.1038/nindia.2021.40

Varma, R. S., & Rangarajan, S. (2017). The politics of land, water and toxins: reading the life-narratives of three women oikos-carers from Kerala. In *Women and Nature?* (pp. 167–184). Routledge.