Street Vendors in Ahmedabad: Status, Contribution and Challenges

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Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)

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About Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)

CUE was established at CEPT University in 2009, evolving from the Urban Poverty Alleviation (UPA) Cell established in 2008. CUE advocates a human-centered and equitable urban development paradigm. CUE undertakes research and advocacy; conducts training and capacity-building; imparts education; and networks with stakeholders on various aspects of human settlements. CUE is recognized as a National Resource Centre (NRC) by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA), Government of India.

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Abstract

This Working Paper forms part of the research project, *Making Space for the Poor: Law, Rights, Regulation and Street-Trade in the 21st Century*, awarded to Cardiff University by the UK's Economic & Social Research Council and Department for International Development (UK-Aid) (ESRC/DFID Awards RES-167-25-0591). This working paper reports the findings of fieldwork in Ahmedabad in 2011-2012. This is the second Working Paper of the Centre for Urban Equity from the project. The focus was to explore the characteristics of street vending in Ahmedabad, and vulnerabilities of street vendors as evidenced in harassment, coercion, bribery and eviction, and the associational and response methods adopted to address these problems.

Acknowledgements

Many people contributed to the research presented in this report and our particular thanks to Manali Shah, Shalini Trivedi and Geeta Goshti of Self Employed Women's' Association, Shantabhen and other Street Vendor leaders, who guided the research framework, questions and fieldwork, and gave on-going support for the work and research staff at CUE, Tejas Patel and Vishal Darji. The research owes to Tejal Patel, the efficient administrative support at the Centre and our occasional field worker for her contribution. Lastly, this work would not have been feasible without the response from the street vendors themselves, who gave their time to us during their busy business hours to reply to our probing questions.

This Working Paper is an output of the research project *Making Space for the Poor: Law, Rights, Regulation and Street-Trade in the 21st Century*, awarded to Cardiff University by the UK's Economic & Social Research Council and Department for International Development (UK-Aid) (ESRC/DFID Awards RES-167-25-0591). We are grateful for this financial support. Part of this working paper is drawn from the Working Paper 2 titled *Claiming Urban Space: Street Vending in Ahmedabad*, by Alison Brown, Michal Lyons and Darshini Mahadevia, July, 2012, available at:
http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/cplan/sites/default/files/Law-rights-regulation_working-paper-2.pdf

Preface

Urban areas in India in general are under tremendous change with new infrastructure projects under implementation through the funding from the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). The changes are rapid in mission cities identified under the JNNURM as compared to other cities. However, among the listed mission cities, some have shown excessive dynamism and have been able to access the JNNURM funds of the national government much more than the others. Ahmedabad is one of the dynamic cities with large proportion of funds received for infrastructure and housing projects.

The other side of the coin in the active JNNURM cities is displacements of the lives and livelihoods of the urban poor and those in the informal sector. Street vendors have come under severe impacts of these projects, in particular public transport and road widening projects that have broken the natural markets of the street vendors who have been dispersed in the adjoining areas and consequently lost their business turnovers. Some projects such as Kankaria lake-beautification, wherein the free access to lake has closed and the street vendors doing business in the vicinity have been evicted and instead licensed kiosks have found place inside. There is very little street space left for vending. The walled city revitalisation project has currently temporarily displaced the vendors. It is not clear whether they would find space in the final plan. Besides, large many vendors have been displaced from various nodes in the city on account of declaration of some roads as ‘model roads’ and the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) routes. Lastly, the scheme for the street vendors, prepared by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) (See Mahadevia and Vyas 2012), has also prohibited vending on major roads. This research was undertaken before these changes in the urban space begun in Ahmedabad City. Nonetheless, this research and statistics will be of help for the advocacy work on rights of the street vendors in Indian cities. This research is to draw attention of urban planners to a section of urban population that does not find place in the urban planning processes in Indian cities. We are hopeful that this research would serve this purpose and influence Indian urban planning processes and practices.

Contents

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

"Street vendors form a very important segment of the unauthorized sector in the country. It is estimated that in several cities street vendors count for about 2 per cent of the population. Women constitute a large segment of these street vendors in almost every city. Street vending is not only a source of self-employment to the poor in cities and towns but also a means to provide 'affordable' as well as 'convenient' services to majority of the urban population". (MHUPA 2009: 1) This quotation in the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors, 2009, describes the economic context of street trade in Indian cities, indicating their important role in the urban economies. In the urban transport discussions, now there is an agreement that street vendors play a very useful role in keeping the streets safe and hence there is a need to allocate space on the roads for all users including the street vendors. Street vendors are "eyes on the street" and hence planning practices should take care of their spatial and services' needs. Street vending makes walking an interesting experience. Street vending provides an entry level livelihood possible, which creates hopes for the unemployed and reduces possibilities of violence of the subaltern. Unemployment is considered to be an important cause of increasing violence in urban areas. Hence, street vending has a very important role in the urban economy and society. It has therefore become imperative to recognise their role and make spaces for them in the cities.

Street trading is an entry level profession due to ease of entry and exits, low initial and working capital requirement, flexible work hours, etc (Sethuraman 1976). Because of its characteristics, women are predominantly found in this sector. The current policy paradigm and legislative regime is extremely hostile to this segment of the urban population in general but also in Ahmedabad City, the locale of our research in particular. We say this because of the dynamics of change observed in the city and playing out of the legal systems in the city's space, which has resulted in evictions and occasional relocations of the street vendors in the city, resulting in their loss of employment or business.

The context of this research is also the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors, 2009, framed by the national government. This policy has been converted into a Bill; the Model Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Bill, 2009, prepared by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA), Government of India (MHUPA 2011). This Bill is under discussion in the Parliament of India. This policy was one of the reasons for selection of India as a case study among the different countries in the world and advocacy by the street vendors' organisations in influencing the government to frame the policy and then the national bill. The important role in this advocacy has been played by the National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI), which was formalized in 2003 and which had undertaken a national level campaign on this. NASVI has a membership of 540 street vendor organisations and a platform for around 10 million vendors of which 3.5 million are members, to articulate their issues and demands at the national level (WIEGO). A draft, Delhi government has been persuaded by the NASVI to enact law for the street vendors in 2011. A model law is being proposed because legislating on the street vendors is in the jurisdiction of state governments and the national government cannot enact a legislation that is in the purview of the state government. In some states in India, there is a positive move towards inclusion of the street vendors in urban planning. An example is in Bhubaneshwar city in Orissa wherein one-third of the pavement area is reserved for the street vendors and another two-thirds for the pedestrians.

In Delhi, in the first phase of the planning of Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS), the corridor developed has demonstrated inclusion of street vendors in street design. Subsequently, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) has adopted this experience and has developed comprehensive street design guidelines, which has been approached from the perspective of the pedestrians and cyclists. DDA's Unified Traffic & Transportation Infrastructure (Plg. & Engg.) Centre (UTTIPEC), has developed this guide book. There are now discussions to include these guidelines into the Indian Road Congress's (IRC's) road design manual. UTTIPEC has accepted the presence of street vendors in Delhi's economy and has developed design guidelines to include 'Hawkers Zones' in pavement design (UTTIPEC 2009), which is a big step forward in the inclusion of street vendors in city planning. UTTIPEC guidelines, which proactively take care of the vendors' interests, are motivating example in other cities.

Ahmedabad was selected as a locale for our research because, Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), has organised about 60,000 street vendors of the city into a union. SEWA is an active member of NASVI. SEWA Union is also working with the street vendors in many cities of India. The organisation approached the High Court of Gujarat with a plea to implement the Draft National Street Vendors' Policy of 2004. Subsequently, the organisation has influenced the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) to give vendors' spaces under the newly built fly-overs in the city for carrying out their business and has assisted in space design. This is the reason for selection of Ahmedabad as a case study local. Besides, there was also practicality to the selection; the research team is located in Ahmedabad and has studied the city in its many dimensions.

1.2 Methodology

This study was carried out over two years of span. The first round included identifying locales for carrying out field work and canvassing structured questionnaire that got modified while undertaking surveys and case studies of some markets. The second round included understanding of the links of the vendors with the local state, which includes the police, local government officials, and the intermediaries, involved in these linkages, through once again case studies of some markets. It needs to be mentioned that between first round and the second round of the study, some parts of some street vendors' markets had vanished due to road widening and BRTS projects. Master's dissertation study by Kaushal Jajoo, which was on the largest street market, located in the traditional Central Business District (CBD) has also been included in this paper.

The study started with identifying market sites for field work. For this, the concept of 'natural markets' developed by SEWA was used. A 'natural markets' is one which develops because of commercial opportunity created in a location on account of its good accessibility and a significant pedestrian flow. In 2003 SEWA supported a survey of 165 'natural markets' in

Ahmedabad (Dalwadi 2003). Street vending in Ahmedabad is widespread, and it was impossible to sample all 165 locations for this research, so the survey locations representing different types of markets, with a focus on areas of dispute (eg: peripheral or marginal sites) and on vulnerable groups of vendors were selected. Attention was also paid to selecting markets that were known for single commodity trading such as Delhi Darwaja market for selling of recycled clothes, etc.

In order to understand patterns of trading, the operation of existing legislation, and informal processes of organisation, the research, carried out in January 2011 and supplemented in January 2012, adopted a mixed-methods approach, including five main strategies:

i. *Previous studies:* The review of previous academic and other studies and the legal and regulatory review undertaken in the parallel working paper on *Law, Rights and Regulations for Street Vending in Globalising Ahmedabad* (Mahadevia et al. 2012)

ii. *Key informants:* Key informant interviews were held at national level with officials from the National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI) and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA), and at local level with street vendor leaders, local NGOs, officials from Ahmedabad City Council, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) team of the Gujarat State Government, and a High Court judge.

iii. *Semi-structured interviews in six vending areas:* Six street-vending locations were selected for detailed study representing different vending contexts(eg: central area, district market, etc)—Bhadra, Delhi Darwaja, Kankaria Lake, Jamalpur Market, Parasnagar Market, and Khodiyarnagar.183 semi-structured interviews were carried out with vendors covering: personal data; employment and migration information; the business; value chains; associational characteristics; state-vendor relations; legal context and shocks and stresses.

iv. *Pilot semi-structured interviews in four additional vending areas:* The research team were surprised that there was relatively limited link between migration and street vending and carried out a further 17 interviews in four additional areas: outside the Indian Institute of Management (IIM), Nehrunagar, Vastrapur, and outside CEPT University.

v. *Guided interviews in six areas (including four of the initial areas and two new ones).* To cross check associational characteristics, guided interviews were carried out in six locations: Bhadra/Manek Chowk, IIM, Khodiyarnagar, Geeta Mandir Bus Stand and Vejalpur Market.

1.3 Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad is the seventh largest metropolis in India, and the largest of the State of Gujarat, with an estimated population of 6.35 million in 2011 and an urban area of over 466 sq km. Ahmedabad is the main commercial and business city of Gujarat, which is considered a model state in India from the perspective of economic development and economic freedom (Debroy et al., 2011). Central Ahmedabad, administered by Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), had a population of 5.5m in 2010. Greater Ahmedabad includes the new state capital of Gandhinagar, and the Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA) areas. The city is frequently cited in good practice or innovative projects discussion. A decade back, city's Slum Networking Programme (SNP), which is a UNHABITAT award winning project was being discussed as an example of good practice. In last few years, the city's BRTS has received national and global recognition. Besides that the city has received national award for the Economically Weaker Section Housing under the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) component of the JNNURM.

Mahadevia (2012) state that in the last half a decade, almost since 2005, the city has witnessed number of distortions on account of its stride to become a 'world city', an urban development paradigm defined by the upper economic strata. High growth of the state's economy has meant that a certain segment has acquired tremendous wealth, who then desires to replicate the capital-intensive projects in the developed countries and now even some Asian countries such as Singapore and Chinese cities, in India. The idea of a world class city is wide roads, formal real estate development, fast moving new cars, and investments in commerce and recreational activities. The vision of the world class cities does not have space for informal sector. The elites of Ahmedabad have latched onto one such vision and hence support projects that have caused massive displacements of the lives and livelihoods of the poor, such as the Riverfront project, Kankaria lake development project, BRTS, model road development, and even BSUP housing (See Our Inclusive Ahmedabad 2010). The right-wing state government has tremendous support in the city.

Mahadevia (2012: 12) states: "In the past few years, the dialogue with the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation officials has more or less broken down because they do not participate in any dialogue processes initiated by civil society organizations. If the city leaders do engage, they present their own promotional materials rather than any serious dialogue. The regression in governance is very severe. Private consultants now manage the development programmes. Trade unions no longer participate in the city's elections, and the trade unions provide the only platform for any city-level discussion." "The once-inclusive city, thriving on philanthropy, voluntary organizations and participatory efforts for development, has become an exclusive and excluding city. Social dialogue has ceased, and partnerships between the state government and civil society have fallen apart; there is now more state civil society confrontation than cooperation. The industrial working class has lost its collective voice in the decision-making processes." (Mahadevia 2012: 13). On top of it, the city has become communally segregated, with the Muslim population largely moving into the segregated ghettos.

These changes in the city's political economy have come about with the decline in the textile mills in the city since the beginning of 1990s. Consequently, the city's economy has informalised. In Ahmedabad district, in 2005, about 85 per cent of the employment was in small-sized or self-owned enterprises (Mahadevia 2012: 16). In employment, while work is available in the city, it is of the informal type again. The manufacturing has shifted to self-employed category for both males and females. In fact, there is significant out-sourcing of manufacturing work in eastern part of the city. Around 91 per cent of the manufacturing employment among women and 48.4 per cent of the same among men is self-employed type in 2009-10 (Mahadevia 2012: 22). One third of the employed women are in manufacturing. One-fourth of the employed men are in petty trade, hotel and restaurants. On the whole 23 per cent workers are in trade, hotel and restaurants, which also includes street vendors (Mahadevia 2012: 20). On the whole, 63 per cent workers are either self-employed or casual labour, indicating that they are in the informal sector. Another estimate by Mahadevia and Shah (2012), state that there were total of 21.05 million workers in Ahmedabad in 2009-10, of which about 16.34 million (78 per cent) are in the informal sector or unorganised sector. The entire unorganised labour is unprotected and without social security coverage (Mahadevia 2013 forthcoming).

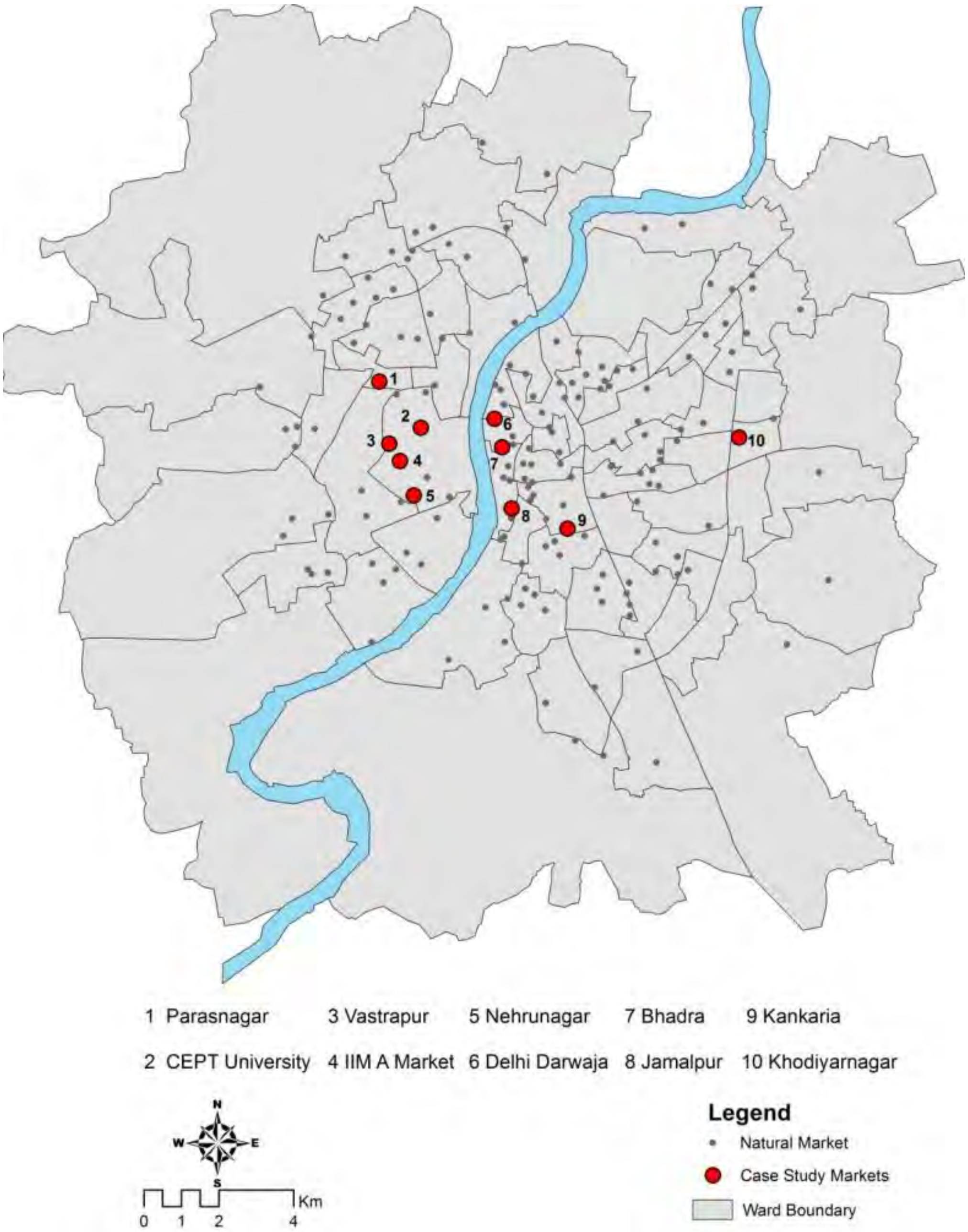
The outcome is that the urban poverty in Ahmedabad remains acute. In 1998 it was estimated that about 60 per cent of households fell below the poverty line (AMC 2005). Since 1991 the number of slums has decreased to 710 identified slums, but the population of slum dwellers has nearly doubled, estimated in 2001 to be around 906,000 people, about 26 per cent of the AMC population. An additional 1m people live in *chawls*, tenement housing originally built for mill workers is often sub-standard (AMC 2005). Thus, city has a large poverty burden and the city therefore needs to support street vendors who have found answer to their own poverty situation.

2 Vending Areas

2.1 Locations of Research

This section describes the locations where interviews were undertaken (Figure 2.1).The descriptions below are drawn from survey findings, supplemented by information from the survey of 'natural markets'. The survey locations are shown in the Appendix.

Figure 2.1: Location of Case study Markets



Source: Natural Markets mapped by SEWA
Map prepared by Centre for Urban Equity

2.2 City Centre Sites

Two of the selected vending areas are within the historic city. **Bhadra** is one of the largest market areas stretching from Bhadra Fort to the Lal Darwaja (Red gate), which is one of the main city public bus, called the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Services (AMTS), terminus. There is another continuous market from Bhadra Fort eastwards to a second gate, called Teen Darwaja (Three gates), and thence eastwards to link with the cloth markets, and the central jewellery and vegetable markets of ManekChowk (jewellers' square).In Bhadra and ManekChowk there were thought to be around 5,000 vendors, 3,500 between Bhadra Fort and Teen Darwaja, and a further 2,000 eastwards to Manek Chowk at the time of our survey. In the middle of 2012, these vendors were shifted to side lanes entering the Bhadra gate to Teen Darwaja area, on account of redevelopment of the area underway with the funding from the JNNURM. The market lies near several important historic and government buildings, including Bhadra Kali temple, Raja no Hajiro, Rani no Hajiro, and the Jumma Masjid (Friday Mosque), all of the Sultanate period.

Bhadra is one of the oldest markets in the walled city, with a predominance of Muslim traders. The main commodities sold are new clothes, household goods, shoes and sandals, and fashion accessories. SEWA has a strong presence in Manek Chowk market, wherein, it has organised the vegetable and fruit vending women. They won a classic case against the AMC for getting a space within the formal vegetable and fruit market, which however is not yet occupied as the AMC has not acted on the court order. The space allocated to the vendors was also not convenient; it was on the rooftop of the formal market (See Mahadevia and Vyas 2012). The pre-litigation status quo remains and the women continue to vend on the street. For the survey, most interviews were undertaken between Bhadra Fort and Teen Darwaja (Figure 2.2), and a few interviews with vegetable vendors in Manek Chowk.

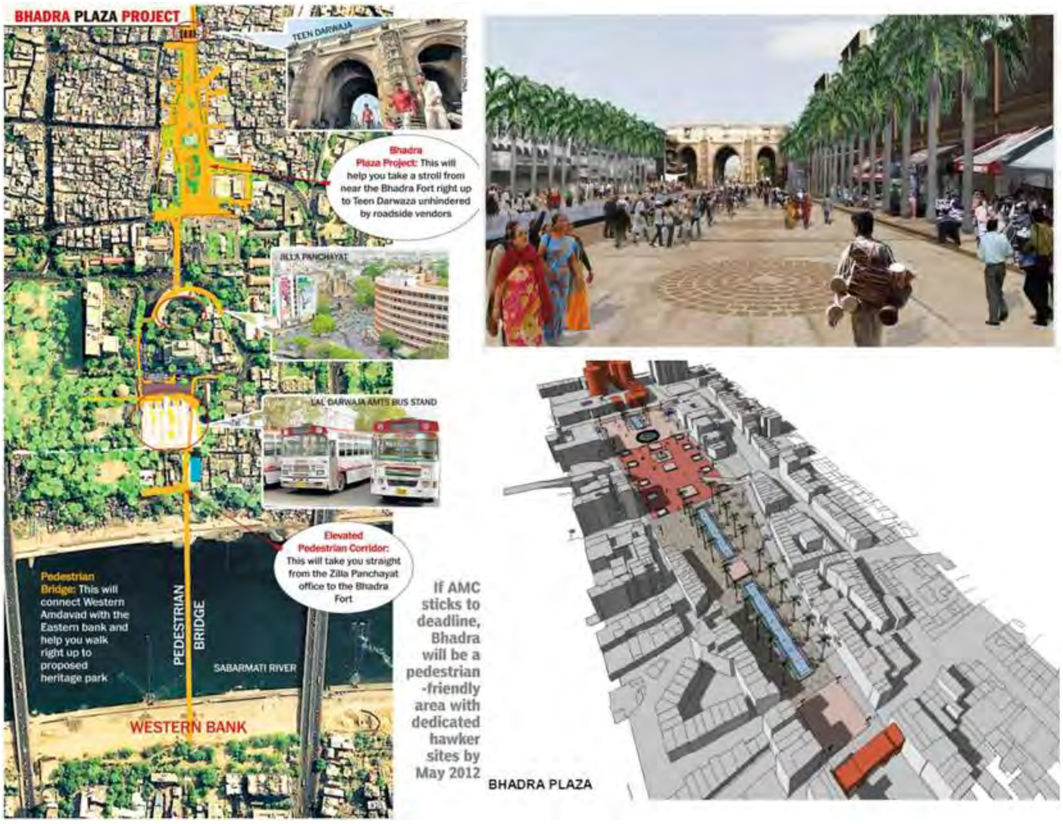
Figure 2.2: Bhadra Market

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

In addition to the vegetable vendors in ManekChowk, there is also a night market that operates from 8.00pm-2.00am, with at that time 27 licensed vendors selling cooked food and four unlicensed vendors. This is a 50 year old market. Before 1978, there were only some vendors selling Gujarat snacks and ice-cream, but, subsequently the vendors were given licenses and the market thrived. All types of food is available here, such as pau-bhaji (Bun and vegetables), sandwich, South Indian food, Chinese, Gujarati snacks and ubiquitous ice-cream. This market begun because there were 16 cinema halls in the vicinity and the customers of the cinema halls came to this market for dinner. The last show of cinema was 9-12 pm, and hence, the market carried on its business up to 2 am catering to the last show customers. Now, these cinema halls have closed but the market continues as eating out is important aspect of Ahmedabad culture. People have a habit of eating out every weekend and often after dinner during the weekdays. The first author has fond memories of eating in this market in her childhood.

The area from Bhadra Fort east to Teen Darwaja is part of the Bhadra Plaza Development Project, a pedestrianisation and improvement scheme for the Bhadra Fort area (Figure 2.3).The project is undertaken under the JNNURM programme through a partnership with AMC and the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), the first such partnership in the country. The budget is Rs. 115/-crore (US$ 23m), or which Rs.74.39 crore (US$ 15m) had been committed by the JNNURM committee by July 2011. Drawing of the scheme below are those uploaded onto the open internet site Skyscraper City 2012. Work has started in January 2012, after which the vendors from the area have been shifted to the smaller lanes, as mentioned above.

Figure 2.3: Bhadra Fort Redevelopment Project Source: Skyscraper City 2012



Source: Skyscraper City (2012) (open blog)

Figure 2.4: Bhadra Market after eviction of vendors from the Fort precinct

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

Delhi Darwaja is located beside the Delhi Darwaja gate on the eastern fringes of the historic city near several city bus stops, and is around 50 years old (Figure 2.4). The market accommodates around 150 traders, and is known for the sale of second hand clothes and household utensils, and many of the traders are women selling from temporary facilities or sheets on the ground. Nearly 90 per cent of the vendors here belong to a particular Scheduled Caste community called the *Devipujaks*. The clothes sold are sourced from the city and wider region and are not imported (Dalwadi 2003). There is a complex local collection mechanism. In the morning, hawkers move around in the residential colonies and sell household utensils in exchange for old clothes and then after 3 pm they sell these old clothes in this market. There are three layers of buyers. One is the poor who cannot afford to buy new clothes. Others are the retailers form within the city and nearby villages. They buy better quality clothes in bulk and then hawk in the same market, or in the other areas of city or in the villages. The third group of the buyers are the suppliers to the industries and factories to whom the old clothes are sold by weight.

Figure 2.5: Delhi Darwaja Market

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

2.3 Areas in Ring around Central Areas

Kankaria Lake is an artificial lake with 34 sides, built in 1451 AD, with a summer palace on a peninsular extension in the lake. In 2009, the Kankaria Lakefront Redevelopment project created a gated lakefront precinct with a paved walkway round the waterfront, cafés, seating areas, playgrounds, a small train along the shore, and 6 kilometres of access roads. The lake is popular at weekends but an entry fee is charged. The beautification project displaced several slum settlements and vending locations. Although some vendors have relocated outside the gates, their numbers have reduced, and the clientele has changed. Prior to the project, low and middle income groups were frequent client of these vendors but now only high and middle income groups visit the area as these are the ones who tend to pay entry ticket to the lakefront development. Inside the gated lakefront development, kiosks have been allotted through bidding process and it is unlikely that any former vendor would have found their way to put in deposit for bidding process. Hence, the commerce run by the vendors have been taken over by the relatively higher segment of traders. Further, many vendors were living in the slums nearby, such as Machhipir slum, etc. have also been demolished (see details in Our Inclusive Ahmedabad 2010) and have been pushed out to the city's periphery.

Coming back to vend at their original place of business has become extremely difficult for many of the displaced vendors and hence their numbers have declined. However, a section of the former vendors continue to carry out their business around Kankaria Lake Inspite of harassment from the police in absence of any other livelihood option.

Figure 2.6: Kankaria Lake development and vendors

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

Jamalpur Market is a vegetable market accommodating about 675 vendors, at the eastern end of Sardar Bridge at the junction of Bhagtacharya Road and Jamalpur Road, which are connected by a new flyover. The informal market lies outside the Sardar Patel Agricultural Produce Market Committee (the APMC market), which is the vegetable and grain wholesale market for the district. Vendors at Jamalpur buy from the APMC market (Figure 2.5). The Calico Mill flower market is nearby, and is located towards the riverbank. Traders in Jamalpur have to pay a service charge of 10 per cent on the purchase of goods from APMC market, which formerly used to be paid by farmers selling to the market.

Figure 2.7: Jamalpur Market

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

Jamalpur has been the subject of a number of confrontations between traders and the AMC because of concerns over encroachment onto the road, and vendors have formed a market vending committee to help resolve issues with the police and municipality officials and the confiscation of goods. The conflict and construction of the flyover have reduced trade. Many of the traders are SEWA members, and SEWA is supporting the market vending committee in negotiating with AMC to move vendors to space under the flyover and to manage the new location. Recently, SEWA has been able to plan space under the flyover and allocated spaces to the vendors who are members of the vendors' committee. (Figure 5.2)

2.3.1 Peripheral Areas

Parasnagar Market has about 130 vendors and is near the Ahmedabad Electricity Company Limited zonal office in Naranpura Village, beside the Parasnagar ATMS bus stand, and adjacent to the new BRTS route. Before the construction of the BRTS corridor, the vendors would sit along the main road but after BRTS construction, they have now moved to a side street surrounded by residential colonies. The market caters for the surrounding low and middle-income area, selling vegetables, food, small household items and fashion goods. It opens after 3.00pm, but during the day many vendors hawk in nearby areas. Many vendors buy goods from Jamalpur or Kalupur wholesale markets, and there is a strong SEWA membership in the market.

Khodiyarnagar is a linear suburban market with about 250-300 vendors in the east of the city, on the eastern side of Narol-Naroda Road north of the junction with Nikol Road. The market is the main vegetable market for the area of Khodiyarnagar and operates from 8-11am and 4-9pm.The market is about 20 years old, and used to be located within the residential area, but the location became untenable when AMTS buses started to use the route, and the vendors sought permission to move to the main road. There are 200 plus stalls selling vegetables, 24 stalls selling 'Amerika' (imported second-hand clothes), and about 10 food vendors selling snacks. Three owners control about 25 *laris*, used by their employees or renters.

In 2010, vendors were moved into the cycle/service lane to accommodate the BRTS, which resulted in disputes between shopkeepers and vendors. The vendors have formed a market committee, supported by SEWA, to solve disputes, arrange the market in rows to avoid traffic congestion, and deal with municipal officers and the police during evictions. Newcomers tend to locate in the carriageway which causes objections from the police.

Figure 2.8: Khodiyarnagar Market

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

Figure 2.9: Map of Khodiyarnagar market along BRT corridor

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

In addition to the main survey, small pilot surveys were undertaken in four additional locations. Of these, two markets serve the student population. Vendors operate from the footpath outside the **Indian Institute of Management(IIM) campus**, where about 10vendors sell cooked food and snacks; the stalls are open from about 7.00am to 9.00pm. However, each vendor is on the locale till his goods are sold. This market does not have any female vendors. The market has been in existence for about 25 years, and vendors sell tea, *pauva*, buns, sandwiches, *idli-dosa*, and other prepared food. While, only a few vendors, who come with homemade food or limited quantity food items, go early, all remaining vendors are on the locale for the 13-14 hours of the day. The customers are IIM students as well passersby. It also acts as a meeting place for many. Ahmedabad has a culture of people sitting out at a tea, food or pan (betel nut) stall in the evening for socialising, passing time or transacting some minor business. Students congregate to chat. Hence, street vendors selling eatables are part of city culture. At **CEPT University** and Atira Park about 40 vendors sell T-shirts and new clothing along the wall.

The other two locations surveyed were **Nehrunagar** on the BRT route from Nehrunagar Circle to Shivranjni Crossroads. This is a new evening market selling new clothes, and **Vastrapur Market** near Vastrapur Lake, an important landmark. The lake is surrounded by a mixed residential area of shops and residential societies, and attracts visitors to whom vendors sell toys and cooked food etc.

The guided interviews took place in four areas already surveyed, Bhadra (including the ManekChowk night market), Delhi Darwaja, Khodiyarnagar, and IIM, and then covered two further markets. **Geeta Mandir Bus Stand** is the main ST bus terminus east of the river, near the Geeta Mandir temple, where vendors are affected by a proposed extension to the BRTS. The market is about 40 years old and serves bus passengers. Stalls operate for about 19 hours a day, so many people work in shifts. **Vejalpur Market** is an evening vegetable and fruit market open from around 4.00-9.00pm with around 150 vendors, serving the nearby residential area. The market has been open for about 20 years, but has expanded rapidly as new housing has been built.

3 The Vendors

3.1 The Sample

The sample could not be drawn after taking a count of the universe, which was not possible on account of two reasons; the markets did not have any physical boundary and the number of vendors fluctuated through the day. Further, in some markets vendors changed as per the time of the day, some vending in the morning, some from late afternoon to late evening and some in the night. Hence, it was decided to survey between 20-30 vendors in each of six main survey markets, Bhadra, Delhi Darwaja, Kankaria Lake, Jamalpur, Parasnagar and Khodiyarnagar, with more interviews in Bhadra reflecting its larger size. Instead, the respondents were selected on the basis of gender, goods sold and the type of trading facility, representing observed variations in each market. The survey thus presents an in-depth analysis of different sectors. This section describes the sample selected. Table 1 presents the information on major products sold in each of the market and total number of vendors surveyed along with the gender break-up. In this paper, the term ‘vendors’ refers to those trading from a location, and ‘hawkers’ to those carrying goods and moving around, but the distinction is not clear-cut.

After the first fieldwork period, two supplementary questions were explored. First, was whether street vending was an entry job for new migrants to the city, a common assumption not evident from the initial results, through pilot surveys in four newer vending areas. Second, was the associational character and economic integration of vending areas, through guided interviews with well-established traders in four main areas, Bhadra/ManekChowk, Delhi Darwaja, Jamalpur and IIM, and two other areas, Geeta Mandir Bus Stand and Vejalpur.

Each market, except Bhadra market had some special commodity for sale (Table 1). Jamalpur market, as discussed earlier, on account of its nearness to the APMC market has specialised in sale of fresh fruits and vegetables. The peripheral markets too, at Parasnagar and Khodiyarnagar are large centres for fresh fruits and vegetables. The two markets of western Ahmedabad, at IIM and near CEPT University, are near known academic institutions and hence have eateries outside to cater to the student clientele. Both these academic institutions are about half a km apart in the University area and also draw on the clientele from other academic institutions around. CEPT University also has vendors selling clothes. Now, the CEPT University road has been declared as a ‘Model Road’ hence these vendors have been displaced. A flyover construction is underway near the IIM and hence the eateries market has shifted half a km west on the same road. Kankaria Lake originally had large number of eateries and some still remain. Toys are for those who visit Kankaria Lake for recreational purposes. Vastrapur market is on the lakefront, which is accessible to all unlike the Kankaria Lake, and large many eateries have converged here. Ahmedabad has a very strong culture of eating out during the weekends and also to a lesser extent on the week days after dinner.

Hence, many eateries thrive in the city. Hence, all public places, such as gardens, lakefronts, temple areas, educational institution area, etc. have eateries. Lastly, Bhadra Market is multiple goods' market, and every commodity sold in the shops, which have been there traditionally, is also sold on the street. The Bhadra market is in vicinity of a very large cloth and clothes market (Dhalgarvad) and hence these commodities have also spilled over on to the main streets.

Table 1: Vendors Interviewed - Male/Female by Market

Market	Products	Males	Females	Total
Bhadra/ Manek Chowk	New clothes, ladies accessories, home decorations, household wares, shoes, key makers, etc. in the day and eateries in the night in Manek Chowk	33	5	38
Delhi Darwaja	Second hand clothes	13	17	30
Kankaria Lake	Toys and eateries	21	10	31
Jamalpur	Fruits and vegetables	4	15	19
Parasnagar	Fruits and vegetables	26	8	34
Khodiyarnagar	Fruits and vegetables	18	13	31
IIM	Eateries	3	0	3
Nehrunagar	New clothes and ladies accessories	4	1	5
Vastrapur	Eateries	4	0	4
CEPT University	New clothes and eateries	4	1	5
Total		130	70	200

Men and women were vending in all markets, but, as reflected in the survey, in Bhadra, vendors were mostly men, and in Jamalpur they were mostly women. In total the survey included 200 interviews with 130 men and 70 women (Table 1). Women vendors dominated Delhi Darwaja market and Jamalpur market and both places had strong presence of SEWA. Besides Bhadra, Kankaria lake market and Parasnagar market were dominated by men.

3.2 Location and Type of Vending Facility

The majority of vendors interviewed were trading in the open without cover (73.5 per cent of the sample) reflecting the lack of facilities in the locations surveyed, although at Jamalpur few traders were located under the flyover (Table 2). Except in Vastrapur market and CEPT University market, in all others, the vendors largely carried out their business in open. In Jamalpur, as mentioned above, the vendors were vending underneath a flyover. In Khodiyarnagar, Kankaria Lake and Bhadra, some vendors had a temporary structure to protect them and their goods such as an umbrella or a plastic sheet covering. Otherwise, the vendors are all exposed to elements of nature while vending. This means that in summer they would carry on their business during the evenings and the mornings. It also means that the business is not possible during monsoons.

Table 2: Protection over Vending Facility

Market	Covered		Tent, umbrella, other*		Open		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	1	2.6	6	15.8	31	81.6	38
Delhi Darwaja	3	10.0	3	10.0	24	80.0	30
Kankaria Lake	5	16.1	6	19.4	20	64.5	31
Jamalpur	0	0.0	8	42.1	11	57.9	19
Parasnagar	2	5.9	1	2.9	31	91.2	34
Khodiyar nagar	2	6.5	7	22.6	22	71.0	31
IIM	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	3
Nehrunagar	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	100.0	5
Vastrapur	3	75.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	4
CEPT Univ.	2	40.0	3	60.0	0	0.0	5
Total	**18**	**9.0**	**35**	**17.5**	**147**	**73.5**	**200**

* Includes flyover or a bridge

Note: Row totals add up to 100 per cent.

Figure 3.1: Mobile cart (*lari*) parked in open

Source: Centre for Urban Equity

Table 3: Type of Vending Facility

Market	Fixed (no.)	%	Mobile (no.)	%	Not reported (no.)	Total vendors
Bhadra	19	51	18	49	1	38
Delhi Darwaja	12	40	18	60		30
Kankaria Lake	12	40	18	60	1	31
Jamalpur	10	56	8	44	1	19
Parasnagar	16	48	17	52	1	34
Khodiyarnagar	14	45	17	55		31
IIM	1	33	2	67		3
Nehrunagar	4	80	1	20		5
Vastrapur	2	50	2	50		4
CEPT Univ.			5	100		5
Total	90	46	106	54	4	200

All the markets had static and mobile vendors - just over half the vendors in the survey were mobile (54%) (Table 3). Most of the mobile vendors used a *lari*, a trolley on four bicycle wheels, usually 1.8m x 1.1m in size (Figure 1). Often one person will own and rent out several *laris*. In fact, the *laris* are ubiquitous. These are flexible and easy to move with the display, but they are quite large for the amount displayed, and are thus a constraint to achieving a compact trading layout. Fixed vendors are those who have a cabin (mainly of wood and metal sheet) or vend on ground. The vendors in Nehrunagar are stationary because they are vending on the side lane, where there is not in the way of the traffic. In fact, Nehrunagar site might offer options for road design that could be inclusive of the vendors. Delhi Darwaja market, Kankaria lake market and IIM market are on main roads and are vulnerable to evictions when dignitaries visit the area. The first one is on the road to the airport and has to face eviction or closure on the days there is some movement of dignitaries. In these markets therefore, the vendors are mobile and can move away in situations of such threats. Jamalpur market has more than half the vendors who have fixed vending spaces because partly some are vending under the bridge and some are vending in the area, but on the ground, for long time.

Table 4: Type of Display by Markets

Market	Ground, wall	Box	Table	Kiosk	Bicycle	Carrying goods	Lari	Other	Valid response
Bhadra	11	5	5	2	2	3	16		44
Delhi Darwaja	13			1	1		13		28
Kankaria Lake	7		4	3	6	3	8		31
Jamalpur	18						2		20
Parasnagar						1	31	1	33
Khodiyarnagar	4		2		1		22	1	30
IIM	2				1				3
Nehrunagar	3					1	3		7
Vastrapur							4		4
CEPT Univ.							4	1	5
TOTAL	58	5	11	6	11	8	103	3	205

Note: There were multiple choices.

While vending using the *lari* was the most common form of display (about half of them did so), it was also common to display goods on the ground or on a wall behind or on a box (about 31 per cent did so). In Bhadra, Delhi Darwaja and Jamalpura high proportion of interviewees were trading from the ground (11, 13 and 18 vendors respectively), whereas in the peripheral markets of Parasnagar and Khodiyarnagar most traders used *laris* (Table 4). *Lari* was also common in Bhadra and Delhi Darwaja where 16 and 13 respectively used it for vending. Hence, vendors have many diverse ways of displaying their goods and market design for street vendors must take care of spaces for all different types of vendors. For example, those vending on ground could be given a platform whereas those vending on *laris* need to be given a paved side street, and so on. Kiosks are rare and are high fixed cost and may not be affordable to all. Box is a better display mechanism than display on ground and table and cycle are displays in place of a *lari*. Display on cycle will be of small goods and small amount of goods for which *lari* is not required. Display on cycle is also by male vendors and by those coming from distance to vend in a place. They might also be itinerant vendors for part of the day. Those vending using *laris* can also be itinerant vendors for part of the day. While *laris* facilitate transport of goods, absence of any secure vending space and any storage space for those selling durable commodities make *laris* an important asset of the vendors. If formalisation of vending creates such infrastructure, some might give up possessing a *lari*. Only, those who are partly itinerant vendors would then continue to own *laris* for their business.

3.3 Vendors' Characteristics

Almost half the traders interviewed were in the 35-54-year age group (49%), the main age of family responsibilities, with a significant group of older traders of 55 or over (16%) (Table 5).This age distribution suggests that vending is a main occupation for those surveyed, confirmed responses to other interview questions. In general, women in the survey were older than men with 80% aged 35 or over compared to only 55% of male traders (Table 5). Young vendors, in age 18-24 were found in large proportion in IIM market where one-third of them were in this age group. Older than 55 years' vendors were found in Bhadra, Delhi Darwaja, Vastrapur and CEPT University markets. In Delhi Darwaja nearly a quarter of the vendors interviewed were 55 or above (23%), suggesting that older women can find work selling second hand clothes. Bhadra has elderly vendors as this market is well established over a long period and the older vendors continue vend here. It is possible that new entrants find difficult to enter this market on account of elder vendors and hence there is a small proportion of young vendors in this market.

Table 5:Vendors by Gender & Age

Market	Age group										Total
	< 18		18-24		25-34		35-54		55+		
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	0	0.0	3	7.9	11	28.9	16	42.1	8	21.1	38
Delhi Darwaja	0	0.0	1	3.3	3	10.0	19	63.3	7	23.3	30
Kankaria Lake	1	3.2	3	9.7	9	29.0	15	48.4	3	9.7	31
Jamalpur	0	0.0	1	5.3	1	5.3	14	73.7	3	15.8	19
Parasnagar	0	0.0	3	8.8	12	35.3	16	47.1	3	8.8	34
Khodiyarnagar	1	3.2	5	16.1	11	35.5	9	29.0	5	16.1	31
IIM	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	3
Nehrunagar	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	60.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	5
Vastrapur	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	4
CEPT Univ.	0	0.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	3	60.0	1	20.0	5
Total	2	1.0	19	9.5	51	25.5	97	48.5	31	15.5	200
Male	2	2	15	12	41	32	56	43	16	12	130
Female	0	0	4	6	10	14	41	59	15	21	70

The low proportion of younger vendors in the survey suggests that vending is not an entry profession for new migrants to the city although there were younger men aged 18-24 in the survey than young women (Table 5). The pilot surveys in four additional markets did not show a significantly younger age profile, indicating that newer markets are also not an entry point for migrants either. Key informant interviews suggest that new rural-urban migrants are more likely to work in construction than street vending and move into vending if they can as working conditions are seen as easier. The new migrants do not either find finance or confidence to start vending in any area. Vending is a tiny enterprise and some years of stay in the city is required before any such tiny enterprise is begun. It is easier for the new migrants to get into casual labour such as construction, which is available in plenty in Ahmedabad City on account of large many infrastructure and real estate projects. Our studies in slums in cities of Gujarat, we find that new migrants get into casual labour employment and then move into self-employment work after making some contacts in the city (Mahadevia et al 2010) Hence, although the literature points out ease of entry as an important reason for new migrants expected to take to vending, the reality is that they do not.

Many of the vendors' businesses were very well established. Although 20% were set up between 2006 and 2010, and a further 37% in the previous decade, 43% started in 1995 or before, with 12 started in 1975 or before, i.e. more than 36 years before the survey. One person had been vending for 70 years. The responses on period in years have to be taken with a caution as there is a tendency to overstate the duration of any informal business to protect it from possible eviction.

Many people had taken over the business from parents or family members:

> "Since generations I have been trading here. I buy old clothes from the *feriwalas* (people who collect old clothes from households in exchange for household goods) and wash and iron these and sell them on my bicycle." (Male, Delhi Darwaja market, selling old shirts and trousers for 50 years).
>
> "I started assisting my mother since age of 12, and continued even after marriage. I used to reside in Chamanpura (old city) before being married, then I shifted to Saraspur with my husband."(Female, Bhadra market, selling onions, potato, garlic, chilli and ginger, for 43 years).
>
> "I had no past job, my family was trading here, earlier we were inside but now we have been shifted outside the Lake premises. Now we might stop this trade because there are many issues with trading space and police and also the business is less outside." (Female, Kankaria market, selling snacks and water packets for 30 years).

There was some evidence of a move into street vending after the decline of Ahmedabad's textile industry in the late 1980s and early 1990s, or as a result of failure to get a government job:

> "I used to work as a rolling man in a textile industry (Arvind Mills) for 11 years (1982-1993) but I had to resign due to closure of the mills 15 years ago." (Male, Khodiyarnagar market, selling vegetables, brinjal, cauliflower, for 15 years).
>
> "When I migrated to Ahmedabad, I worked as a waiter for 10 years in 3-4 hotels/restaurants. Then I worked in a factory (textile bleaching) for 5 years, and left due to very low salary for my family needs. Then I used to sell peanuts by hawking for 2 years but, due to very less profit, started in this business." (Male, Kankaria market, selling coconut water, for 15 years).

> "I tried many interviews in government jobs but did not get any as most of them had Reservation Quota. In 1986, the quota issue flared up and there were riots in Ahmedabad. I did jobs here and there but that was for Rs.50/- a day. Selling vegetables is better, you are independent and you earn more."(Male, Delhi Darwaja market, selling vegetables for 15 years).

Certainly, many of our interviewees have been in vending for long. They shifted to vending after trying other employment. Some of them get training from their family members in the trade. Some come to it after losing employment in formal sector. But, vending in Ahmedabad is not for entirely a fresher in the employment market.

3.4 Origins, Caste and Religion

In the six main markets, the survey found a traditional sector dominated by specific groups, many of whom were second generation vendors, disproving a general understanding that there is ease of entry into street vending. There is another misunderstanding that migrants get into street vending. Our data even disproves that. 68.5 per cent of the vendors are natives of Ahmedabad (Table 6). The natives of Ahmedabad dominate all the markets, particularly ones in the core city and in the ring around the core city. In peripheral areas such as Khodiyarnagar have one-third vendors as migrants from other states. Even in IIM market and Nehrunagar market, which are in the periphery of the ring around core, have one third and two-fourth respectively, as inter-state and international migrants. The inter-state migrants are largely from Rajasthan, with a few from Uttar Pradesh and others from Bihar and Karnataka. We also found two vendors two from Pakistan. Older markets of Bhadra and Jamalpur are dominated by the natives of Ahmedabad. Rather than having an uniform understanding that migrants find easy entry to street vending, there has to be a more disaggregated and nuanced understanding of the trade. Older markets have entry barriers for the new migrants. Also, traditionally some communities have entered street vending then they continue to vend. As observed earlier, the new migrants tend to get into casual labour work rather than start their own tiny enterprise.

Table 6: Marketwise Place of Birth

Market	Ahmedabad		Other Gujarat		Other state		Total responses
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	29	80.6	6	16.7	1	2.8	36
Delhi Darwaja	22	73.3	2	6.7	6	20.0	30
Kankaria Lake	21	67.7	7	22.6	3	9.7	31
Jamalpur	16	84.2	2	10.5	1	5.3	19
Parasnagar	21	61.8	9	26.5	4	11.8	34
Khodiyarnagar	18	60.0	2	6.7	10	33.3	30
IIM	0	0.0	2	66.7	1	33.3	3
Nehrunagar	3	60.0	0	0.0	2	40.0	5
Vastrapur	3	75.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	4
CEPT Univ.	2	40.0	3	60.0	0	0.0	5
Total	135	68.5	34	17.3	28	14.2	197

Table 7: Marketwise Caste

Market	SC		ST		OBC		Other		Total Responses
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	6	15.8	1	2.6	13	34.2	18	47.4	38
Delhi Darwaja	20	66.7	0	0.0	5	16.7	5	16.7	30
Kankaria Lake	4	13.	1	3.3	14	46.7	11	36.7	30
Jamalpur	10	55.6	1	5.6	1	5.6	6	33.3	18
Parasnagar	9	27.3	0	0.0	14	42.4	10	30.3	33
Khodiyarnagar	13	41.9	0	0.0	10	32.3	8	25.8	31
IIM	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	66.7	3
Nehrunagar	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	50.0	2	50.0	4
Vastrapur	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	100.0	4
CEPT Univ.	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	4	80.0	5
Total	63	32.1	3	1.5	60	30.6	70	35.7	196

Of the 200 interviewees, about a third was from Scheduled Castes (SCs) (32%), and a third from Other Backward Casts (31%), with a slightly higher rate in the six main vending areas (Table 7). In Delhi Darwaja 67% of interviewees were from Scheduled Castes. Jamalpur market also had about half the vendors from the SCs, while in Khodiyarnagar, 42 per cent belonged to this social group. In Delhi Darwaja 14 of the 30 traders interviewed came from the Dataniya community, which is a SC, and Khodiyarnagar 9 of the 31 traders interviewed came from the Patni community[1], which is also a SC. The Scheduled Tribes (STs) are not into vending as their proportion in the city is very low. In case they come to the city then many are as seasonal migrants and are in casual labour jobs (Mahadevia 2013, forthcoming). Bhadra had lower proportion of SCs (15.8%), which is much lower than overall proportion of SCs. In Bhadra 47.4 per cent of the others are Muslims, as we would see later. In Vastrapur all vendors belong to other castes, meaning higher castes. In IIM market two-thirds and in Nehrunagar half the vendors surveyed belong to higher castes. Many of them are inter-state and intra-state migrants as already seen.

Table 8: Marketwise Religion

Market	Hindu		Muslim		Christian		Other		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	15	39.5	23	60.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	38
Delhi Darwaja	30	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	30
Kankaria Lake	29	93.5	2	6.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	31
Jamalpur	18	94.7	1	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	19
Parasnagar	34	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	34
Khodiyarnagar	31	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	31
IIM	3	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
Nehrunagar	4	80.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	5
Vastrapur	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4
CEPT Univ.	4	80.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	5
Total	172	86.0	26	13.0	1	0.5	1	0.5	200

Hindus form 86 per cent of the total sample and the Muslims 13 per cent (Table 8). This is nearly the same proportion as their proportion in the city. But, the Muslims are overwhelmingly in the Bhadra market; 60 per cent vendors in this market are Muslims. In

Kankaria and in Jamalpur markets too some Muslim vendors are found. Otherwise, in all other markets, Muslim vendors are absent indicating a total segregation of Hindus and Muslims in the city. Christians are only found in market near CEPT University. The religious profile of the vendors show that Ahmedabad's street markets are not easily open for all and the markets are influenced by society's social structure.

3.5 Education

The inquiry here is on whether they are literate and if so their abilities to sign, read and write and years of schooling. On the whole, only 28 per cent were illiterate making 72 per cent of the sample literate (Table 9). But, literacy did not mean very high capabilities. Among the sample, 8.5 per cent could only sign and another 8 per cent could only read. Among the markets, highest proportion of illiterates were found in Jamalpur market (63%) and Delhi Darwaja market (43 per cent), which have large proportion of women vendors belonging to the SC. These are also members of SEWA. This means that SEWA is working with one of the least developed groups among the street vendors. The sample had 7 (3.5%) respondents as college graduates with one person with post graduate degree. 30% respondents had secondary education. Hence, large majority, 66.5 per cent are either illiterate or with only primary education. Interestingly, in the newer markets in western Ahmedabad, namely near IIM, at Nehrunagar, at Vastrapur and at CEPT University, the vendors were better educated and with exception of Vastrapur market, all were literate.

Table 9: Marketwise Education Status

Market	Illiterate		Signature		Read		Write		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	10	26.3	0	0.0	5	13.2	23	60.5	38
Delhi Darwaja	13	43.3	3	10.0	1	3.3	13	43.3	30
Kankaria Lake	6	19.4	5	16.1	3	9.7	17	54.8	31
Jamalpur	12	63.2	3	15.8	1	5.3	3	15.8	19
Parasnagar	8	23.5	2	5.9	4	11.8	20	58.8	34
Khodiyar nagar	6	19.4	2	6.5	1	3.2	22	71.0	31
IIM	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	3
Nehrunagar	0	0.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	4	80.0	5
Vastrapur	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	75.0	4
CEPT Univ.	0	0.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	3	60.0	5
Total	56	28.0	17	8.5	16	8.0	111	55.5	200

Vendors in the different markets showed distinct differences in literacy. Overall 127 vendors could either read or write, or read (64%), but 73 vendors were either illiterate or could only write a signature (37%). In both Bhadra and Khodiyarnagar literacy was relatively high with 74% of sample read and write or reading, although 26%in both markets were illiterate. In Jamalpur literacy was low with 15 of the 19 traders interviewed (79%) either illiterate or able only to sign their name; illiteracy rates in Delhi Darwaja were also high at 53% (Table 9).

3.6 Vendors' Family Characteristics

The majority of vendors were married (84% of 199 responses) suggesting strong family support amongst vendors (Table 10). A higher proportion of men were single compared to women (18% compared to 3%), reflecting the younger age of male vendors.

Table 10: Vendors by Gender and Marital Status

Gender	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Valid responses
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Male	23	18	104	81	2	2			129
Female	2	3	63	90	3	4	2	3	70
Total	25	13	167	84	5	3	2	1	199

The surveyed vendors have a household size of 6.4, which is large as compared to average of the city, which is 5.0. Of 6.4 members in a household, 2.1 work, which is a Work Participation Ratio (WPR) of 33.3 per cent. This is less than the city's WPR of 36.0 per cent in 2009-10 (Mahadevia 2012: 19). Thus, the surveyed group had relatively high dependency ratio (non-working to working household members) of 2.1 (Table 11), which is 2.1 dependent per 1 working member. The figures suggest relatively high participation of women in the labour market, suggesting that the poverty impacts of disruptions to vendors' work are significant for dependent family members. There were some differences across the markets, with a higher dependency ratio in Jamalpur (2.9) and Bhadra (2.7), on account of large household size and low WPR. If the vending activity stops among these households due to any reason, it is likely that the family will slip in poverty. Both Jamalpur and Bhadra have large proportion of Muslim vendors and they seem to have large household size. Even vendors in Vastrapur have large family size but they have almost half the family members engaged in work.

Table 11: Household size, Workers per Household and Dependency Ratio

Market	Household size	Workers in household	Dependency ratio
Bhadra	6.9	1.8	2.7
Delhi Darwaja	5.7	2.2	1.6
Kankaria Lake	5.5	2.1	1.6
Jamalpur	9.1	2.3	2.9
Parasnagar	5.8	2.1	1.7
Khodiyarnagar	5.9	1.9	2.1
IIM	7.0	2.3	2.0
Nehrunagar	4.4	2.6	0.7
Vastrapur	7.3	3.5	1.1
CEPT Univ.	6.0	2.6	1.3
Total	6.4	2.1	2.0

Note: Dependency ratio is dependents per worker in a household.

A high proportion of vendor's households (172 out of 199 responses) include children, and around 88 per cent of the children of school age were going to school, although the proportion was lower amongst vendors at Kankaria Lake where the most vulnerable households were found (Table 12).

Table 12: Details of Children

Market	Hhs with own children	Hhs with no children	Av no children (total Hhs)	Av no children of school age	% of school age children in school	No. households supporting other children
Bhadra	31	6	2.9	2.2	89	14
Delhi Darwaja	25	5	2.9	1.4	88	3
Kankaria Lake	27	4	2.2	1.4	77	2
Jamalpur	18	1	4.1	2.5	83	2
Parasnagar	30	4	2.5	1.1	90	5
Khodiyarnagar	28	3	2.7	2.0	93	2
IIM	2	1	1.0	0.7	100	-
Nehrunagar	4	1	0.8	0.6	100	-
Vastrapur	3	1	2.5	1.8	100	1
CEPT Univ.	4	1	2.8	2.8	93	1
Total	172	27	2.7	1.7	88	30

3.7 Legal Identity

Being without a legal identity is a crucial problem for many of the urban poor, so the research explored several aspects of this—whether vendors have a ration card, a voting card or social security (Table 13). Ration cards are available to households who request one, and give access to government shops selling subsidised food and fuel, especially kerosene which cannot be purchased elsewhere. There are two types of ration cards, Above Poverty Line (APL) cards and Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards. Another important identity card is the Voting Card. It is also called electoral card, required to be considered a valid voter. Both, the ration card and the Voting Card have address of the household. The BPL ration card gives access to some social welfare schemes meant for these households. Many social security schemes today for the unorganised workers are for the BPL card holders and holding one gives the households access to certain entitlements such as subsidised food grains, health insurance under the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY) and other schemes under the Unorganised sector workers' social security act, 2008. Mahadevia (2013) has shown that it is easier to access voting cards as these are made available before the elections, in response to the vote-bank politics.

Table 13: Vendors by Market and Identity Cards

Market	Availability of Ration Card (APL and BPL)					Availability of Voting Card			Availability of Social Security		
	APL card		BPL card		Valid response	Yes No.	Yes %	Valid response	Yes No.	Yes %	Valid response
	No	%	No	%							
Bhadra	13	87	2	13	15	18	47	38	27	75	36
Delhi Darwaja	18	90	2	10	20	25	83	30	27	90	30
Kankaria Lake	12	63	7	37	19	21	68	31	29	94	31
Jamalpur	14	88	2	13	16	17	90	19	16	89	18
Parasnagar	16	76	5	24	21	28	82	34	26	84	31
Khodiyarnagar	14	88	2	13	16	19	61	31	26	84	31
IIM	2	67	1	33	3	3	100	3	2	67	3
Nehrunagar	4	80	1	20	5	5	100	5	5	100	5
Vastrapur	2	67	1	33	3	3	75	4	4	100	4
CEPT Univ.	3	100	-	-	3	3	60	5	1	20	5
Total	98	81	23	19	121	142	71	200	163	84	194

In the survey, vendors in Kankaria Lake stood out as having the highest proportion of BPL ration cards in the survey (Table 13). On the whole however, only 19 per cent vendors possessed BPL cards.

In 2009 the Indian government launched a 3-year initiative to provide a UID (Unique Identification Number) to every Indian citizen, as a commitment of the Congress party's 2007 election manifesto. The UID includes biometric data, with the aim of extending services to poorer people and will mean that all adults have to carry an identity card (UIDAI 2011). Take-up is voluntary, but progress on registration has been faster than sceptics initially predicted. Vendors' groups should explore the extent to which the UID provides an opportunity to collect data about vulnerable street vendors.

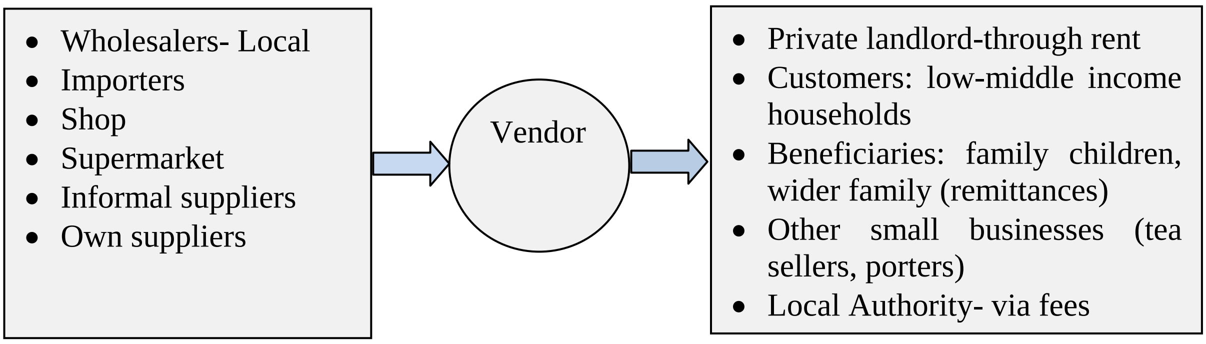
4 The Businesses

Large vending economies are linked in complex value chains[2] to city economies and to national and international supply chains. Vending areas tend to be very specific and tailored to particular supply chains or customer bases, a characteristic reflected in the survey sites in Ahmedabad. As in the entire economy, there is intricate link between the formal and informal, or more organised and unorganised economies. Since, a large segment of the vendors in our sample are in this activity for a long time, they have established long-term forward and backward linkages.

4.1 Goods and Suppliers

The vendors in the supply chain can be conceptualised as having different sources of backward linkages and forward linkages as illustrated below. All are evident in Ahmedabad.

Figure 4.1: Street Vendors in the Value Chain



Street vending provides an important outlet for lower cost goods, and street vendors often buy goods from formal sources, for example wholesalers, or act as selling agents for formal businesses (Table 14).

Backward linkages: New goods such as the shoes and clothes sold in Bhadra and CEPT University are often bought from formal businesses, sometimes on credit. In Bhadra several vendors are outworkers for ready-made garment shops and factories in different parts of the city, selling new clothes on commission. The second hand clothes sold in Delhi Darwaja are sourced through complex local systems from Ahmedabad, and elsewhere in Gujarat and

Rajasthan, reportedly as far afield as Ajmer, Jodhpur, and Jaipur (Dalwadi 2003), while some of the second hand clothes sold in Khodiyarnagar (Amerikas) are imported. As discussed earlier, the clothes are purchased against giving of utensils in the morning and in the afternoon these vendors come and sell their collected clothes in this market from where others buy in bulk.

Jamalpur is an important link in the distribution of vegetables which are purchased mainly from the APMC market nearby. In fact, the Jamalpur market has come up on account of the APMC market. In Khodiyarnagar and Parasnagar vegetable vendors generally buy from Kalupur, Jamalpur, Naroda and Manek Chowk, as second or third tier purchases from the APMC market. Many of the cooked food sellers make their own goods and report as self as their backward linkage. Their proportion in the total surveyed vendors is 15 per cent. But vendors in IIM who sell snacks get regular deliveries of milk, bread, and flour to their place of work. In all, 61 per cent of the vendors purchased their goods from the local wholesalers. Some in Khodiyarnagar and Parasnagar purchase from the supermarket. These are likely to be vegetables purchased by the eatery owners as they tend to purchase potatoes and onions in bulk from the supermarkets where these are relatively cheaply available. Lastly, in Ahmedabad, we do not find vendors selling on the streets on behalf of the regular shops, with exception of one in Bhadra and one in Delhi Darwaja.

Table 14: Vendors by Market and Suppliers

Market	Super market		Small shops		Other vendors		Self		Local wholesaler		Other		Valid response	Total vendors
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
Bhadra	1	3	1	3	5	13	1	3	27	71	6	16	41	38
Delhi Darwaja	-	-	1	3	13	43	3	10	2	7	9	30	28	30
Kankaria Lake	-	-	2	7	1	3	7	23	18	58	1	3	29	31
Jamalpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	100	-	-	19	19
Parasnagar	5	15	-	-	-	3	7	21	23	68	-	-	35	34
Khodiyarnagar	2	6	1	3	1	3	4	13	24	77	1	3	33	31
IIM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	67	1	33	3	3
Nehrunagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	80	1	20	5	5
Vastrapur	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	50	2	50	-	-	4	4
CEPT Univ.	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	100	-	-	-	-	5	5
Total	8	4	7	4	21	11	29	15	121	61	15	8		200

Note: This was a multiple choice question.

Forward linkages: Vendors' incomes support a complex network. Customers are mostly other small businesses or low to middle income households, and vendors rely almost exclusively on passers-by as their clients. In a multiple choice question 171 vendors (86%) said passing pedestrians were their most important clients, and 102 (51%) mentioned local households (Table 15). Other types of customers were much less important, and when vendors are relocated they often lose their client base. Seven vendors of the 30 in Delhi Darwaja stated that other businesses and another 14 stated that other vendors were their clients.

Table 15: Customers by Markets

Market	Businesses	Passers-by	Other vendors	Households	Other	Valid response	Total vendors
Bhadra	-	36	-	18	-	54	38
Delhi Darwaja	7	17	14	8	2	48	30
Kankaria Lake	-	25	3	4	6	38	31
Jamalpur	1	16	8	12	1	38	19
Parasnagar	-	34	1	28	-	63	34
Khodiyarnagar	-	29	-	25	-	54	31
IIM	-	3	-	3	-	6	3
Nehrunagar	-	5	-	1	-	6	5
Vastrapur	-	4	-	1	-	5	4
CEPT Univ.	-	2	-	2	1	5	5
Total	8	171	26	102	10		200

Note: This was a multiple choice question.

Table 16: Business Services Used by Markets

Market	Porters		Guard		Repairs		Food & drink suppliers		Other services		Valid responses	Total vendors
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
Bhadra	8	21	7	18	2	5	-	-	3	8	20	38
Delhi Darwaja	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	3	9	30	11	30
Kankaria Lake	-	-	-	-	2	7	3	10	6	19	11	31
Jamalpur	-	-	1	5	-	-	3	16	4	21	8	19
Parasnagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	15	5	34
Khodiyarnagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	10	3	31
Other markets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		17
Total	8	4	9	5	4	2	7	4	30	15		200

Besides serving the customers in convenient location, the vendors also contribute to the local economy. Vendors require support of porters, guard, food and drink suppliers (*chaiwalas* – prepared tea supplier), repair services and other services, which are rarely understood by the policy makers and taken into account by them for understanding of local economy. About 58 respondents (30%) stated that they used some business services in the market (Table 16). In fact, half of them said they used other services, which are not specified. It is likely that these services are of the middleman (called *aagyevan* in local language; *aagyevan* meaning leader). This middleman is engaged in service of collecting bribes (payments) to be distributed among the actors of the state to overlook this 'illegal activity' on the street. Vending without license is consider illegal by law, besides many other violation of provisions of other laws that impact the street vendors (Mahadevia and Vyas 2012). Other services required are low in proportion, although our understanding is that street vendors use the services of at least, the *chaiwalas*. Other services used by vendors also include the renting of space on the footpath for keeping their goods and equipment such as a *lari* at night. Many paid the formal shopkeepers to keep their goods. Some places where there was a godown, they paid the owner to keep the goods. This was reported by many vendors in Bhadra to Manek Chowk area.

We probed further on the illicit payments, such as bribes made by the vendors (also see Sections 5.1 to 5.3 below).

> *"*I set up 5 to 6 stalls during the kite-flying time to sell kites and threads, but at that time all the policemen (from high to low ranks) from Ghatlodia Police Station came and took goods worth of Rs. 5000/- from each stall, as well as cash bribes. This is very unfair because we built our stall on somebody's land and we pay Rs. 1000/- per stall; policemen taken too much bribes and all our profit is eaten by them*"*. (Male, Parasnagar market, selling seasonal items - fruit, kites and kite threads).

> "The police come on occasions like Diwali, rakhshabandhan etc and takes bribe from each vendor. Every morning the police visit at around 7 and take vegetables from us." (Female, Jamalpur market, selling vegetables).

In interviews of some vendors in Bhadra, whose names we did not ask as that would have deterred them from stating the truth, mention about the aagyevan:

> "He (*aagyevan*) is hardly concerned about the vendors' problems. He always thinks about his own profit. *Aagyevan* are police agents. They collect protection money from us. All vendors pay protection money." (A shoe seller in Bhadra market).

> "There are three *aagyevans* in this part of (Bhadra) area. Each lane is divided for collection of money by *aagyevan*. If the aagyevan is not paid, police comes and lifts the *lari* and then they have to go without livelihood for 3-4 days."(A cutlery seller in Bhadra market).

> "*Aagyevan* collects the money daily and gives to the local police at the end of the week." (Fruit chat seller, Bhadra market).

> "In case the police directly take our good (in this case flowers), then we take back this money from the aagyevan. In emergency, we also borrow from the aagyevan and return back the money without interest. Not all amount collected by the aagyevan is handed over to the police. He keeps some for himself."(Artificial flower seller, Teen Darwaja market, Bhadra).

There is a thin line between the *aagyevan* being a middleman and a local organisation. An interview with one aagyevan, who himself is a vendor (crockery seller) shows that:

He is *aagyevan* of the northern stretch from Teen Darwaja to Pankornaka. He is representative of about 100 vendors and running his business since last 28 years in this market. According to him, no vendor was paying any kind of rent or bribe to the local police for doing business in the location. In fact, he said that he had collected information of all the vendors to register them. (At the time of the survey, the AMC was getting the survey of all the vendors done. This was a biometric survey.) He showed us a form which was being used for the survey (he did not say that it was AMC survey). He said that he was collecting this information from the vendors along with their photo because he was concerned about the possible eviction on account of a proposed beautification project.

He gets goods from distributors in this market itself and keeps goods in the formal shop in front of his stall at night. He has good relationship with shop owner, so he doesn't pay any money to him for it. He informed that this market attracts people because they get so many varieties at cheaper price. The number of customers is gradually increasing. When he started business in this place, there were fewer customers than today.

He said, whenever police or AMC tells him and other vendors to close the shop, they do. Sometimes police and local administration do not allow vendors to open their shops because of traffic congestion, while sometimes police had also pressured to restrict vending in this area. But whenever vendors were not allowed to do business, the wholesalers also were adversely affected as the latter's goods piled up.

Lastly, he said that he had an organization named "*Swayam Sewi Sramgeevi Sangathan*". Some other people had started it but he and another person (also a vendor) were taking care of the organisation now.

4.2 Business and Changes in it

Almost all the vendors in the survey (82%) sold the same goods throughout the year (Table 17), although some added seasonal items like kites or seasonal fruit. At IIM and CEPT University, all the vendors were selling the same goods round the year. About two-fifths of Jamalpur and Parasnagar vendors changed goods as per season.

Table 17: Proportion of Vendors Selling Same Good Round the Year

Market	No	%
Bhadra	33	86.8
Delhi Darwaja	27	90.0
Kankaria Lake	29	93.5
Jamalpur	11	57.9
Parasnagar	21	61.8
Khodiyarnagar	27	87.1
IIM	3	100.0
Nehrunagar	4	80.0
Vastrapur	3	75.0
CEPT Univ.	5	100.0
Total	163	81.5

Some 32 per cent vendors have experienced change in their business in years (Table 18). The rest 68 per cent have not experienced any change however. Among those who have experienced change, 70 per cent (22.5 per cent of the total) have experienced decline in business in the recent years, which is an ominous sign. The vendors of Nehrunagar market (80%), Jamalpur market (53%), CEPT University market (60%) and Bhadra market (42%) stated change in their business in the recent times. Nehrunagar and CEPT University market reported improvement in business (both are in western Ahmedabad), whereas Jamalpur and Bhadra market vendors reported decline in business. The decline has come on account of infrastructure and city beautification work ongoing in the two markets respectively. Development projects disrupt the natural markets, which results in decline in the business of the vendors and this can be seen in these two markets. Ahmedabad story is about decline in business of vendors when any road is declared as 'Model road' or there is any infrastructure project ongoing such as the BRTS or flyover construction.

Table 18: Changes in Business in Recent Years

Market	Reporting of changes in business		Reporting improvement in business		Reporting decline in business		No change in business	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Bhadra	16	42.1	7	18.4	9	23.7	22	57.9
Delhi Darwaja	9	30.0	1	3.3	8	26.7	21	70.0
Kankaria Lake	7	22.6	0	0.0	7	22.6	24	77.4
Jamalpur	10	52.6	1	5.3	9	47.4	9	47.4
Parasnagar	8	23.5	1	2.9	7	20.6	26	76.5
Khodiyarnagar	7	22.6	3	9.7	4	12.9	24	77.4
IIM	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0
Nehrunagar	4	80.0	4	80.0	0	0.0	1	20.0
Vastrapur	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	100.0
CEPT Univ.	3	60.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	2	40.0
Total	64	32.0	19	9.5	45	22.5	136	68.0

Table 19: Causes of Business Decline

Market	Inflation		Development projects		Others		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	5	55.6	0	0.0	4	44.4	9
Delhi Darwaja	6	75.0	0	0.0	2	25.0	8
Kankaria Lake	0	0.0	7	100.0	0	0.0	7
Jamalpur	0	0.0	6	66.7	3	33.3	9
Parasnagar	4	57.1	0	0.0	3	42.9	7
Khodiyarnagar	1	25.0	0	0.0	3	75.0	4
IIM	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
Nehrunagar	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
Vastrapur	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
CEPT Univ.	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
Total	17	37.8	13	28.9	15	33.3	45

Of the 45 who stated that their business had suffered, about 38 per cent stated that it was on account of macroeconomic factors such as inflation (Table 19). Another 30 per cent stated that the business had suffered because of ongoing development projects, which as discussed above would lead to breaking up of the natural market and hence decline in business.

4.3 The Trading Space Access

Nearly 80 per cent of vendors have an informal arrangement to secure space, which often involves weekly or monthly payments and it is extremely difficult for new vendors to get space in most of the markets surveyed, particularly Bhadra, Delhi Darwaja, and Jamalpur (Table 20). In Nehrunagar, 40 per cent stated that they paid someone and in IIM, Kankaria lake and Bhadra, 33 per cent, 23 per cent and 21 per cent respectively stated that they did nothing to access vending space. They managed to get it on their own. In Delhi Darwaja and Bhadra markets, because there are large many vendors, some of them adopted a strategy to come early to get space.

Table 20: Access to Vending Space by Markets

Market	Informal arrangement		Arrive early		Pay someone		Do nothing		Mobile trader		Other		Total vendors
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	22	57	3	8	-	-	8	21	-	-	5	13	38
Delhi Darwaja	24	80	3	10	-	-	3	10	-	-	-	-	30
Kankaria Lake	22	71	-	-	-	-	7	23	2	7	-	-	31
Jamalpur	19	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Parasnagar	30	88	1	3	-	-	1	3	-	-	2	6	34
Khodiyarnagar	27	87	2	7	-	-	2	7	-	-	-	-	31
IIM	2	66	-	-	-	-	1	33	-	-	-	-	3
Nehrunagar	2	40	-	-	2	40	-	-	1	20	-	-	5
Vastrapur	4	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
CEPT Univ.	5	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Total	157	79	9	5	2	1	22	11	3	2	7	4	200

New vendors can only come to the area when a place is vacated, eg: by a death, and costs are high. One vendor reported paying Rs.50,000/- to the middlemen as a deposit, returnable when he leaves. He also paid a monthly rent of Rs.3,000/- to the middlemen, which is increased to Rs.3,500 during festivals. He shares storage with four other vendors which costs him Rs.750/- a month. These payments are in addition to 'protection money' payments.

4.4 Access to Facilities

Access to basic services in the street markets studied is poor, with only 99 vendors (50%) saying that they had access to water at their place of work (Table 21), and only 103 vendors (52%) having access to a toilet (Table 22), although some people have access to water and toilets in nearby buildings (47% and 30% respectively). There is no pattern among the markets with regards to access to water. All the vendors in IIM market have access to water and they seem to access the institution's water supply. They tend to have good relations with the guards at the gate and consequently are able to access water supply of IIM campus. Around 95 per cent of the vendors in Jamalpur also have access to water supply and they seem to be using the source of the APMC market nearby. If there is no such institution nearby, as is the case with vendors at Delhi Darwaja, Parasnagar, Khodiyarnagar and Kankaria lake, the proportion of vendors having access to water supply is low and they seem to be buying water.

Table 21: Access To and Source of Water

Market	Access to water		Water Source							
	Yes	%	Nearby	%	Buy	%	Home	%	Other	%
Bhadra	24	63	11	46	5	21	6	25	2	8
Delhi Darwaja	10	33	4	40	5	50	1	10	-	-
Kankaria Lake	18	58	6	33	8	44	-	-	4	22
Jamalpur	18	95	12	67	4	22	1	6	1	6
Parasnagar	11	32	4	36	2	18	1	9	4	36
Khodiyarnagar	11	35	5	45	2	18	-	-	4	36
IIM	3	100	3	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nehrunagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vastrapur	2	50	1	50	1	50	-	-	-	-
CEPT Univ.	2	40	1	50	-	-	-	-	1	50
Total	99	50	47	47	27	27	9	9	16	16

All vendors near IIM had access to toilet and all of them seem to be using the institute's facility. Around 95 per cent of the vendors in Jamalpur market also had access to toilet, which is likely to be of the APMC market; and 90 per cent of the Bhadra vendors too had access to toilet but they used 'pay an use' toilet set up by the AMC. The access to toilet was low in the peripheral markets such as Parasnagar and Khodiyarnagar. Vendors in Delhi Darwaja and Kankaria Lake paid to use toilet. Hence, there is a mixed picture. The AMC has constructed 'pay and use' toilets in many parts of the city. These toilets are managed by an NGO named Sulabh. These are of importance for the vendors.

Table 22: Access To and Location of Toilet

Market	Access to toilet		Location of Toilet					
	Yes	%	Building nearby	%	Pay	%	Home	%
Bhadra	34	90	9	27	23	68	2	5.9
Delhi Darwaja	19	63	1	5	17	90	1	5.3
Kankaria Lake	19	61	4	21	14	74	1	5.3
Jamalpur	18	95	8	44	10	56	-	-
Parasnagar	3	9	1	33	2	67	-	-
Khodiyarnagar	2	7	2	100	-	-	-	-
IIM	3	100	3	100	-	-	-	-
Nehrunagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vastrapur	2	50	2	100	-	-	-	-
CEPT Univ.	3	60	1	33	2	67	-	-
Total	103	52	31	30	68	66	4	3.9

4.5 Employment

The majority of vendors worked independently (128 of 200- 64%), although some people particularly in Bhadra employed others to work for them (26% in Bhadra) (Table 23). In the smaller markets such as Parasnagar, Kankaria Lake, Khodiyarnagar, the surveyed were mostly independent workers. Nearly a quarter of the samples (23%) were the family members helping in the trade, to a large extent in unpaid capacity. Most of the businesses were very small, with only 1 or 2 workers, and none of those interviewed reported having more than 5 people involved in the business.

Table 23: Employment Status by Markets

Market	Employer		Independent		Paid employee		Unpaid or family worker		Valid responses	Total vendors
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
Bhadra	10	26	21	55	2	5	5	13	38	38
Delhi Darwaja	3	10	19	63	1	3	7	12	30	30
Kankaria Lake	1	3	24	77	-	-	6	19	31	31
Jamalpur	-	-	9	47	-	-	10	53	19	19
Parasnagar	4	12	23	68	-	-	7	21	34	34
Khodiyarnagar	-	-	25	81	-	-	6	19	31	31
IIM	-	-	2	67	-	-	1	33	3	3
Nehrunagar	3	60	1	20	-	-	1	20	5	5
Vastrapur	-	-	4	100	-	-	-	-	4	4
CEPT Univ.	-	-	-	-	2	40	3	60	5	5
Total	21	11	128	64	5	3	46	23	200	200

For most vendors interviewed, vending was their main job, with 80 per cent working 7 days a week, and 97 per cent working for 12 months a year at the trade. Of the 122 who replied to the question, for 103 (84%) vending was their main form of employment. The days are often very long:

> "I go to Jamalpur at 4 am and come back around 9 am. If vegetables are left from yesterday then I go for hawking in residential societies (areas), and during the evenings I come to Parasnagar to vend." (Male, Parasnagar, selling vegetables)

The average working hours put in by all the vendors was 9.7 hours per day (Table 24). Those working at the IIM market reported 14.7 hours of working, followed by the vendors at CEPT University market (13.4 hours), and then Jamalpur market (12.1 hours). The markets where the vendors had reported long working hours were indeed the ones where the vendors stayed for full day. The shorter than average working hours were in Nehrunagar (6 hours), which is an evening market, Khodiyarnagar (7.8 hours), which was largely an evening market.

Table 24: Average Working Hours A Day

Market	Hours a day worked
Bhadra	11.4
Delhi Darwaja	8.8
Kankaria Lake	8.4
Jamalpur	12.1
Parasnagar	9.5
Khodiyarnagar	7.8
IIM	14.7
Nehrunagar	6.0
Vastrapur	10.1
CEPT Univ.	13.4
Total	9.7

Three quarters of those interviewed (75%) stated that they had started vending within the last five years (Table 25). About 40 per cent had begun vending only in last 2 to 3 years. Long term vendors, that is those engaged in the business, were only 20 per cent of the sample.

Table 25: Duration of Engagement in Vending Business

Market	Years								Total vendors
	<=1	2-3	4-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31+	
Bhadra	1	7	10	11	6	2	1	-	38
Delhi Darwaja	1	5	12	4	1	5	1	1	30
Kankaria Lake	2	17	10	2	-	-	-	-	31
Jamalpur	-	4	6	7	1	1	-	-	19
Parasnagar	-	17	13	3	1	0	-	-	34
Khodiyarnagar	1	18	9	1	1	1	-	-	31
IIM	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Nehrunagar	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Vastrapur	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
CEPT Univ.	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	5
Total	6	79	64	29	10	9	2	1	200

> "It's a family business, not much change happens in the business. I feel that it might go on years and years." (Female aged 55 or over, Delhi Darwaja market, selling second hand clothes and buying cutlery and kitchen equipment which is then exchanged for the second hand clothes)

Some people had evidently had a more varied employment history, as these two vendors illustrate:

> "I was a diamond worker earlier for 5 years and then I was working as blacksmith for one year, but I was not gaining enough money, so my uncle helped me to join his business, and I now handle my uncle's business. Although I have not had any kind of eviction yet since I just started 1 year ago, but during festival times we have to take care as there are lots of traffic problems and the police come to evict vendors."(Male, Khodiyarnagar market, selling shoes and sandals).

> "I did labour work for about1.5 years, first as a security guard, then as a gas cylinder lifter and then an auto rickshaw driver when the market was shut." (Male, Bhadra market selling sandals for kids, ladies shoes (*chappals and mojdi))*

4.6 Costs and Vending Income

The research tried to establish the costs of trading; including space rental, transport costs, and storage (Table 26). Nearly 32 per cent stated that they paid for the storage, 62 per cent stated that they paid for transport and overwhelming 80 per cent stated that they paid bribes. Payments for storage range from about Rs.10/- to Rs.60/- per day, and transport costs, mostly to auto rickshaws, from about Rs.20/- to Rs.100/- a day.

Table 26: Trading Costs by Markets

Market	Pay for storage		Pay for transport		Pay for bribes		Total
	Yes	% of sample	Yes	% of sample	Yes	% of sample	
Bhadra	23	61	25	66	19	50	38
Delhi Darwaja	6	20	23	77	7	23	30
Kankaria Lake	7	23	13	42	10	32	31
Jamalpur	14	74	15	79	4	21	19
Parasnagar	4	12	23	68	10	29	34
Khodiyarnagar	2	7	15	48	2	7	31
IIM	1	33	1	33	1	33	3
Nehrunagar	4	80	5	100	3	60	5
Vastrapur	1	25	1	25	1	25	4
CEPT Univ.	1	20	3	60	4	80	5
Total	63	32	124	62	61	31	200

The incidence of giving bribes was much higher in the markets in western Ahmedabad than eastern Ahmedabad. Even half the vendors in Bhadra market paid bribe. Payments for bribes were not well reported properly in the survey, but the guided interviews suggest that in Bhadra at least, vendors are paying about Rs.300/- a month for rental and 'protection' money. Some other vendors gave the amount as Rs. 1,000 per month if the person was vending on a *lari* and Rs. 50 per day if the vendor was sitting on footpath (had a *pathari* on road). The figures do not tell much as these are very diverse. Vendors at the IIM market stated that they were paying minimum of Rs. 3,000 per month as protection money to the police. The amount appears to be on the higher side, however. Some other forms of bribes were also reported. In IIM market, for example, while the new comers were not welcomed, the old ones managed their relationship with the local police by giving them free food. The bribe amounts increased during the festival periods, for example, during Diwali and Ramzaan.

Bhadra market vendors stated that the system of bribe collection was very systematic. There was an *aagyevan* (leader) for specified lanes, who collected ‘protection money’ regularly. Some vendors stated that the *aagyevan* was hardly concerned about the welfare of the workers while the others stated that such people were useful and sometimes advanced them money in times of need. Non-payment of bribe means confiscation of goods and other assets such as *lari*, jail for a few days during which they lose their livelihood and then payment of fine. Also, particularly in Bhadra area, any new local policy leader taking charge meant that either payment of the bribe once again to the person or even increase in the bribe rate. Eviction was used as a strategy to increase the bribe rates. One cut-fruit vendor (fruit-chat vendor) at Bhadra stated that before the last eviction they were paying Rs. 20 per day as bribe, which increased to Rs. 40 per day post-eviction and that the eviction was carried out as a new Deputy Police Commissioner had taken charge of the area.

Establishing income data from surveys is notoriously unreliable, either because people are reluctant to disclose information, or because they do not accurately record their earnings. However, information on costs, income and profit was provided by 139 respondents which allows for cross-checking; this suggests that profit (net earnings) for street vendors varies between Rs.90/- a day in Kankaria Lake to Rs.360/- a day in Bhadra(Table 27). When corroborated by key informant information, the data seems reasonable with the exception of Delhi Darwaja where earnings are probably lower than reported. This appears generally consistent with a study eleven years earlier in 2000 that found net earnings averaged Rs.28,142/- a year (Rani and Unni 2000)

Table 27: Average Reported Costs (Purchases), Income and Profit by Market

Market	Costs/ day Rs.	Income/day Rs.	Reported profit/ day Rs.	Valid responses*	Total
Bhadra	1,481	1,878	362	25	38
Delhi Darwaja	870	1,073	230	20	30
Kankaria Lake	306	379	90	19	31
Jamalpur	1,532	1,616	222	8	19
Parasnagar	1,256	1,379	229	27	34
Khodiyarnagar	1,119	1,303	132	25	31
IIM	2,210	3,250	442	2	3
Nehrunagar	929	5,250	1,000	4	5
Vastrapur	663	1,088	438	4	4
CEPT Univ.	2,600	3,520	920	5	5
Total	1,143	1,453	263	139	200

Notes:

1. Results drawn from interviews where all three relevant questions were completed
2. Data from other sources (i.e. student thesis) suggest that profit for traders in Delhi Darwaja is probably lower - around Rs.100-150 a day
3. Small samples suggest that data from IIM and CEPT University sites should be discounted.

Table 28: Profit as a Proportion of Income by Markets (% vendors)

Market	% of income				Total
	<= 20	21 - 40	41 - 60	61+	
Bhadra	54	27	8	12	26
Delhi Darwaja	40	40	20	0	20
Kankaria Lake	19	57	10	14	21
Jamalpur	89	0	0	11	9
Parasnagar	48	44	7	0	27
Khodiyarnagar	50	50	0	0	24
IIM	67	0	33	0	3
Nehrunagar	50	0	0	50	2
Vastrapur	0	75	25	0	4
CEPT Univ.	40	60	0	0	5
Total	45	40	9	6	141

Two-fifths of the vendors stated that their profit was between 21 to 40 per cent of their income (turnover) per day and 45 per cent stated that it was less than 20 per cent of their daily income (Table 28). In particularly, Bhadra, Jamalpur, IIM market, the vendors carried out their trade with less than 20 per cent of profit margin. Higher margin was reported in only Nehrunagar, where only eateries were covered. But, small sample in this market does not give us any general idea.

The overall value of street vending to the urban economy is significant, although difficult to calculate because of uncertainties in income data and numbers of street vendors. However, the survey suggests that the amount of income retained in the local economy from approximately 3,500 street vendor enterprises in Bhadra amounts to Rs. 236.88 crore or US$ 43.75m (Table 29). The overall value of street vending to the urban economy is likely to be much larger.

Table 29: Potential Contribution of Vendors to the Local Economy

Item	Number	Rs.
Approx No: Street Vendor (Enterprises)in Bhadra (1)	3,500	
Average workers per business (survey findings)	2.5	
Est. number of vendors in Bhadra	**8750**	
Average business turnover per day (Rs.) (2)		**1,880**
Average days per week worked (3)	6.97	
Weeks per year worked (3)	51.65	
Average working days per year	**360**	
Annual Average Turnover		Rs.236.88crore
Annual Average Turnover (US$) (4)		US$ 43.75 million

(1) Jajoo 2011
(2) Calculated from Table 28.
(3) Data analysis
(4) Assuming an exchange rate of US1 = Rs.54.14 (as on 15th March 2013)

We had asked the traders if they had experienced any change in their business in the last one year. They had expressed that there was change and had also clearly stated the causes of change to their business. Overwhelming 68 per cent stated that there was no change in their business (Table 30). Another 23 per cent stated decline and among all markets decline was reported mainly from Jamalpur market. This market was affected by construction of flyover and hence had experienced decline in business. Vendors in only Nehrunagar had expressed increase in business. In Bhadra, Delhi Darwaja, Parasnagar, and Khodiyarnagar, wider economic factors were seen as the main problem, specifically inflation, identified by 17 of the 45 people who answered the question. In Kankaria Lake and Jamalpur the main problem was 'beautification' - city improvement works.

Table 30: Extent of Change by Markets

Market	Increased		Decreased		None		Valid response	Total vendors
	No	%	No	%	No	%		
Bhadra	7	18	9	24	22	58	38	38
Delhi Darwaja	1	3	8	27	21	70	30	30
Kankaria Lake	-	-	7	23	24	77	31	31
Jamalpur	1	5	9	47	9	47	19	19
Parasnagar	1	3	7	21	26	77	34	34
Khodiyarnagar	3	10	4	13	24	77	31	31
IIM	-	-	-	-	3	100	3	3
Nehrunagar	4	80	-	-	1	20	5	5
Vastrapur	-	-	-	-	4	100	4	4
CEPT Univ.	2	40	1	20	2	40	5	5
Total	19	10	45	23	136	68		200

The questionnaire asked about the sending and receipt of remittances, but this is did not seem to be a significant part of vendors' networks, possibly because they are relatively established and those interviewed were not linked to migration routes.

5 Challenges

5.1 Associations

Vendors in only six markets, namely, Bhadra, Delhi Darwaja, Kankaria Lake, Jamalpur, Parasnagar, and Khodiyarnagar, of the ones studied reported that they were members of any association. The associational characteristics of vendors were specific to the different markets. In two markets, Jamalpur and Khodiyarnagar, SEWA membership was strong and provided security. In Jamalpur, 10 of the 19 interviewees were members of SEWA or SEWA Bank, and 3 vendors were members APMC market association (the nearby wholesale market) (Table 31). In Khodiyarnagar, 8 of the 31 interviewees were SEWA members. In Bhadra, they have their own association. One vendor here however stated that their leader died five years back and since then they do not have any leader to take up their cause. On the death of the leader their association has also become defunct. The night market in Manekchowk area has one association named *Manek Chowk Ratri Bazaar Khani Peeni Association*. As per the President of the association, there are 27 licensed vendors and 4- 5 unlicensed food vendors selling different kind of eateries.

Table 31: Market by Associational Character

Market	Belong to associations	%	Total
Bhadra	17	45	38
Delhi Darwaja	9	30	30
Kankaria Lake	4	13	31
Jamalpur	13	68	19
Parasnagar	3	9	34
Khodiyarnagar	10	32	31
IIM	-	-	3
Nehrunagar	-	-	5
Vastrapur	-	-	4
CEPT Univ.	-	-	5
Total	57	29	200

Table 32: Problem Resolution by Markets

Market	Bribe		No bribe		Association		Market manager		Other means		Valid response	Total vendors
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
Bhadra	7	18	15	40	1	3	3	8	9	24	35	38
Delhi Darwaja	4	13	1	3	-	-	3	10	13	43	21	30
Kankaria Lake	10	32	1	3	-	-	-	-	7	23	18	31
Jamalpur	7	37	-	-	5	26	9	47	4	21	25	19
Parasnagar	12	35	2	6	2	6	2	6	4	12	22	34
Khodiyarnagar	1	3	3	10	6	19	1	3	10	32	21	31
IIM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	100	3	3
Nehrunagar	4	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5
Vastrapur	1	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	50	3	4
CEPT Univ.	4	80	1	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Total	50	25	23	12	14	7	18	9	52	26		200

In the areas where SEWA is active, it has a crucial role in solving disputes (Table 32).Many vendors said they did not have enough time or money to join associations, or that no-one had ever asked them to join. Nevertheless, the scheduled interviews suggest that some interesting associational processes exist particularly in the older established city centre vending areas. Findings are outlined below:

Bhadra: In the mainly Muslim vending areas around Bhadra Fort, many of the vending businesses have been in existence for 40-50 years. Access is often controlled by an *aagyevan*(informal landlord), who oversees perhaps a hundred vendors. Vendors reported paying Rs. 100/- a week in 'protection' to the *aagyevan* who gives a bribe to the police at the end of the month. A portion is retained, and if the police confiscate goods the vendor is reimbursed, and in an emergency may get a no-interest loan. The *aagyevan* also retains a small percentage of the money collected. It was suggested that when a new Deputy Commissioner of Police is appointed there are more evictions and bribes tend to increase. Some higher payments were reported, e.g.: *lari* operators may pay Rs.1000/- a month in 'protection'.

An aagyevan who has been working in the area for a long time has usually developed good relations with the police. Some *aagyevan* also use a registration form for their members as a bargaining point in discussions with AMC. One organisation identified was *Swayam Sewi Sramgeevi Sangathan*, but in general there are few vendors' associations in the area. Vendors have sought the help of SEWA to negotiate with AMC during the proposed 'beautification'.

ManekChowk (at the eastern end of the Bhadra complex)**:** There used to be 16 cinemas in the area, so the night market in ManekChowk became established as an evening venue. Most of the cinemas have closed but the night market remains popular and operates from around 8.00pm to 2.00am. Vendors have formed the *Manek Chowk Ratri Bazaar KhaniPeeni Association*. No new licences have been issued since 1978, but existing vendors are allowed to renew their licenses for 1, 2 or 5 years. An AMC waste-collection vehicle calls round at 11.00pm, and stall holders clear their rubbish into this.

Delhi Darwaja: Delhi Darwaja one of the 30 interviewees reported being affiliated with a local shop, and six were in local savings groups including three saving with SEWA Bank. However many respondents said that they were not educated, had no time or money to take part in associations, or were living far from their home town. Seven of the vendors reported paying bribes to the local police or municipality often at festival times, and one said that:

> “Mostly the Dabaan (eviction squad) come to clear the roadside because of traffic jams. There are haftas (inducements), but on festivals I have to give 'something'' (Male selling second hand men's clothing).

Khodiyarnagar: Newcomers are allowed to vend but not in locations used by long-established traders. Many vendors are SEWA members, but there are no landlords controlling the market.

IIM: There is an internal system of self-management so that vendors keep their stalls about 2 metres apart. The vendors have little problem from the local police unless there is an obstruction to traffic, and several vendors keep a whistle which they stop customers in cars parking badly and disrupting traffic. However, AMC officers evict vendors about once a month confiscating their goods. Vendors can retrieve their goods after 15 days but have to pay a minimum fine of Rs. 500/-, with a surcharge of Rs.10/- a day over 15 days if the goods are not claimed. Three vendors have combined to buy an AMC dustbin costing Rs.600/-.

Geeta Mandir Bus Stand: At one stage there was an organisation (details not given) that fought a Supreme Court case to establish a legal vending place, but the case was lost. Although the stalls have no legal status, newcomers have to pay money to the previous vendor to occupy space. There are clearances every two months. Vendors reported that they were paying around Rs. 30-40/- a day in protection money.

Vejalpur Market: There is no local market association but the vendors pay around Rs.50/- to the local police about every two months. Vendors also pay to AMC and are given receipts, but did not appear to know why. The *dabaan* (AMC eviction squad) comes about every four months to evict vendors.

In markets where SEWA is active the latter plays and important leadership and conciliatory role, as this vegetable vendor from Khodiyarnagar illustrates:

> "Mostly there are disputes between vegetable vendors and Patharnawalas (roadside sitters). Vegetable vendors sell in shifts - in morning and in evening. They go home in the afternoon and come back in evening just to find that Patharnawalas have taken their places. SEWA is good at helping to resolve the conflicts, but I would like a permanent place to sit as I have been evicted twice before over the BRTS." (Female, Khodiyarnagar market, selling vegetables).

5.2 Relations with the State

Relations between vendors and state agencies were generally conflictual. All the vending areas were fairly regularly patrolled and visited by municipality officials, *dabaan,* or the police; various reasons for the visits were given, including:

- general order and patrolling
- settling disputes between traders
- to reduce traffic congestion and ensure that vendors were not blocking highways
- eviction / *hafta*(inducements) / seizing goods / getting free snacks
- during visits of higher officials, ministers or the Chief Minister

Visits for *hafta* were much more frequent during festivals, which was a considerable burden for vendors.

> "For the future, only thing I want is that the government makes this place a permanent bazaar'. In 2000 the police took 14-15 people to the police station for questioning and after some intervention by municipality offices, they released them. There was also was a law suit which recently finished in this year some time."(Male, Bhadra, selling T-shirts, trousers, pants for men and women)

Although few vendors in the survey (8%) said that councillors were useful in solving problems, there are exceptions. The research team visited a local Corporator (councillor) in Gomptipur who had negotiated space for a local vending area alongside the road for about 300 vendors, and used his locally allocated development funds for small-scale infrastructure improvements in his ward.

5.3 Rent-Seeking

There is considerable difficulty in getting information on bribes and informal payments from workers in the informal economy, because systems are complex, payments are irregular, and people find it difficult to report with accuracy, or because they may be unwilling to reveal information. The term commonly used in Ahmedabad for payment is *hafta*, a politer word than a 'bribe' referring to a negotiated payment. The research team therefore tried several methods to understand the informal payments which vendors make and the amounts paid.

In addition to a direct payment of *hafta* and the person to whom they paid, the traders were also asked how they resolved their problems. A quarter of them said that they used bribes to resolve their problems (Table 32). Information was triangulated through the scheduled interviews. Payments appear to be made in a variety of ways, through rent to the owner of space, payments to an *aagyevan*, direct payments or giving goods to the police or AMC officials. In Bhadra it was suggested that these payments typically amounted to around Rs. 2,500/- a month, although payments are higher for larger centrally-located businesses.

5.4 Evictions and Other Problems

An extremely high proportion of the vendors surveyed (86%) had suffered shocks and stresses, with particular problems in the main markets of Bhadra, Jamalpur, and Delhi Darwaja; some 16 of the 17 vendors interviewed in the four outlying areas had also suffered problems (Table 33). The shocks and stresses suffered were slightly lower in the peripheral markets than the central ones.

Although the survey sites were selected as points of conflict in order to explore how disputes were resolved, they nevertheless covered a wide range of vending locations and different types of market. The extent and degree of harassment is acute, and if replicated throughout the city, represents a significant level of insecurity for vendors that cause hardship and personal distress to vendors, their families and other businesses which depend on them.

Table 33: Suffered Shocks and Stresses by Market

Market	Yes	%	Total
Bhadra	37	97	38
Delhi Darwaja	27	90	30
Kankaria Lake	25	81	31
Jamalpur	18	94	19
Parasnagar	25	74	34
Khodiyarnagar	24	77	31
IIM	3	100	3
Nehrunagar	5	100	5
Vastrapur	3	75	4
CEPT Univ.	5	100	5
Total	172	86	200

Low-level harassment, confiscation of goods, and fines are common, but the most significant result is that half the vendors had suffered eviction at some time in the past (Tables 33 and Table 34). Two in five reported that they were harassed and same proportion reported that they had faced confiscation of their goods. Many vendors reported visits by the *dabaan* every one or two months, resulting in street clearances and confiscation of goods. A standard fine for reclaiming confiscated goods was around Rs.500/- paid after 15 days.

Table 34: Type of Shocks and Stresses by Markets (Multiple Choice Question)

Market	Harassment		Confiscation		Fines		Eviction		Valid response	Total vendors
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
Bhadra	11	29	16	42	12	32	24	63	63	38
Delhi Darwaja	4	13	8	27	1	3	16	53	29	30
Kankaria Lake	4	13	2	7	6	19	13	42	25	31
Jamalpur	4	21	7	37			13	68	24	19
Parasnagar	9	27	8	24	2	6	11	32	30	34
Khodiyarnagar	6	19	4	13	2	7	15	48	27	31
IIM	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	67	2	3
Nehrunagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	100	5	5
Vastrapur	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	25	1	4
CEPT Univ.	3	60	-	-	1	20	-	-	4	5
Total	41	21	45	23	24	12	100	50		200

Conflicts were commonly reported with the police or municipality officials (91% of the sample). The respondents did not always make a very clear distinction between the Municipal enforcement officers and the Police (Table 35). In fact, the municipal officials and the police, both, come together. When the *dabaan* comes, it is with a pose of police. In Bhadra, evictions have become the norm, which take place when vendors' stalls encroach too far onto the road or restrict access to Bhadra Fort, or when the Chief Minister or a dignitary is visiting the area. The most frequent conflicts with the police were report in Jamalpur and Kankaria Lake (Table 35). Although a small sample, the vendors in Vastrapur and IIM markets also reported conflicts with the police. Contrary to our expectation, there were no market managers in most markets.

Table 35: Type of Conflicts by Markets (Multiple Choice Question)

Market	Municipality		Market manager		Police		Formal shops		Other traders		Neighbour		No conflict		Total vendor
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Bhadra	16	42	2	5	18	47	3	8	6	16	5	13	5	13	38
Delhi Darwaja	12	40	2	7	15	50	5	17	0	0	7	23	2	7	30
Kankaria Lake	15	48	1	3	20	65	0	0	2	7	8	26	4	13	31
Jamalpur	8	42	0	0	13	68	0	0	1	5	2	11	2	11	19
Paras-nagar	11	32	0	0	12	35	0	0	4	12	16	47	3	9	34
Khodiyar nagar	11	36	0	0	16	52	3	10	4	13	13	42	1	3	31
IIM	1	33	0	0	2	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	3
Nehru-nagar	0	0	0	0	3	60	0	0	0	0	3	60	1	20	5
Vastrapur	2	50	0	0	3	75	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	4
CEPT Univ.	0	0	0	0	3	60	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	20	5
Total	76	38	5	3	105	53	11	6	17	9	56	28	20	10	200

Bhadra: 'Beautification' plans for Bhadra Fort are now a major threat to a long-established vending community (see Figure 2.3, and Section 2.2).The Bhadra Fort Redevelopment Project was approved in June 2011under a JNNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission) scheme to create an historic pedestrian route from Teen Darwaja to a new pedestrian bridge over the River Sabarmati. Vendors were first evicted in December 2011, but made representations to AMC, and given a temporary reprieve, but evictions were carried out in January 2012. As of now, there is no plan mentioning anything about the rehabilitation of the current vendors into the new project area or elsewhere.

Jamalpur: Conflict has been a factor in Jamalpur for many years (Figure 5.1). SEWA has worked with vendors to establish and support an organising committee, and is now negotiating with AMC to take over space underneath the flyover to create a new market (Figure 5.2). In Khodiyarnagar, vendors reported being evicted about every two months, and just before the 2012 interview, four vendors lost their *laris*, and had to pay a fine of Rs. 500/- to reclaim these.

Figure 5.1: Summary of Key Events in Jamalpur

Evolution of the Natural Market

1975 APMC shifted to Jamalpur
Wholesale market attracted vendors- 4 *thada* and 7 vendors initially

1976- Number increased to 90 vendors

1985- Riots, more vendors shifted to Jamalpur for safety reasons

1996- Vendors given demarcated space under clean city campaign by AMC

2002- AMC built platforms for vending at the open plot beside flower market for vendors where they sat for a year

2003- Vendors shifted back to original place- security reasons and fear of losing their place to other vendors

2004- SEWA formed a trust for its vendor members- 'Jamalpur' *Vechnara Bajar SEWA Samiti*

2004- AMC wanted to allot river basin space to other vendors under auction

2004- A case filed by vendors in court

2006- Court passed stay order

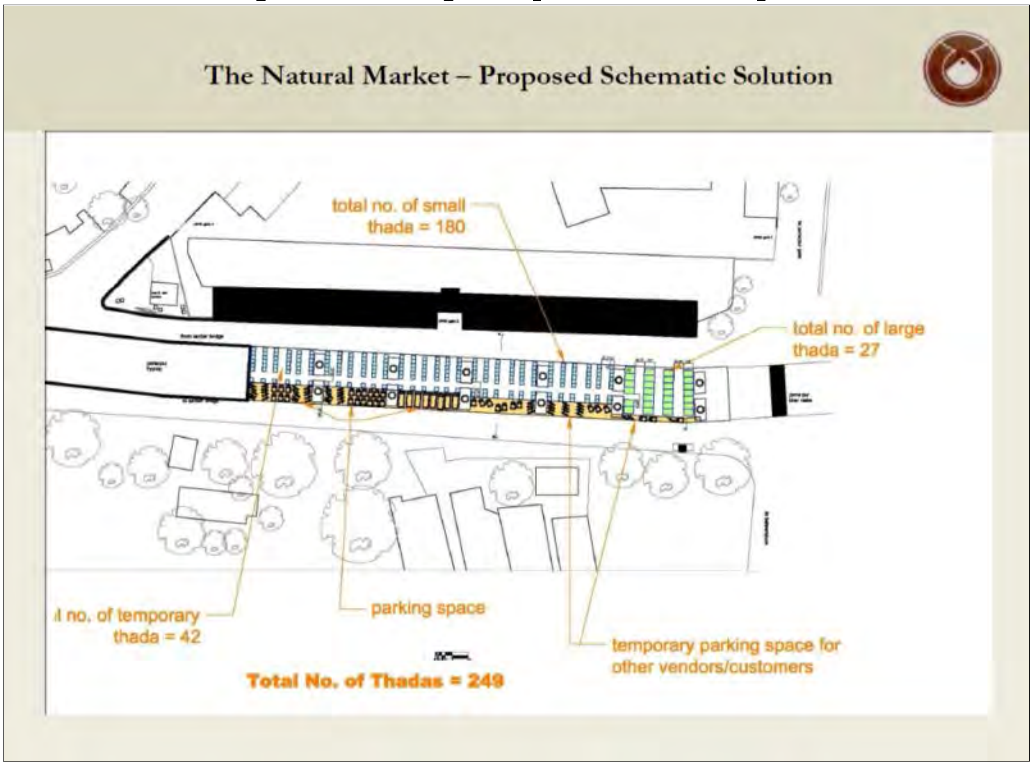
2008- Increase in number of vendors due to financial crisis

2008- SEWA made efforts and presentation in front of the AMC to regularize the vendors

2008- An over bridge built at Jamalpur under JnNURM project to curb traffic issues.

Source: Reproduced with permission from SEWA, based on Presentation November 2011

Figure 5.3: Design Proposals for Jamalpur



Source: Reproduced with permission from SEWA, based on Presentation November 2011

5.5 Vulnerabilities

Vendors commonly report four main forms of stresses in their trading environment: low-level harassment, confiscation of goods, fines and eviction. The latter may be short-term removal from the trading site or a longer-term eviction.

The extent to which different groups were vulnerable to different types of stresses was examined by considering gender, age, the facility from which vendors operated the type of ration card that people held, and their caste and religion. Some interesting dynamics emerge. Female vendors appear to be more vulnerable to confiscation and to suffer much higher rates of eviction than men (67% of female vendors reported having been affected by eviction compared to 40% of men) but men report a slightly higher rate of fines (Table 36). Those with the least permanent facilities, i.e.: trading on the ground or carrying their goods, also report significantly higher levels of eviction (60%) compared to those with a more established vending set-up (i.e: trading from a table, bed, *lari* or bicycle).

Table 36: Vulnerability of Vendors by Gender and Age

	Total responses	Harassment		Confiscations		Fines		Eviction		Other problems	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Shocks & Stresses by Gender											
Male	130	27	20	25	19	19	14	53	40	18	13
Female	70	14	20	20	28	5	7	47	67	2	2
Total	200	41	20	45	22	24	12	100	50	20	10
Shocks & Stresses by Type of display											
Temporary (1)	64	14	21	16	25	7	10	39	60	6	9
Equipment (2)	132	25	18	29	22	17	12	59	44	14	10
Total	196	39	19	45	23	24	12	98	50	20	10

(1) Vendors with temporary facilities: selling from the ground or carrying goods were classed vulnerable

(2) Vendors with equipment had a slightly higher degree of investment e.g.: a table, *lari* or bicycle.

Table 37: Vulnerability of Vendors by Type of Ration Card and Possession of Voting Card

	Total responses	Harassment		Confiscations		Fines		Eviction		Other problems	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Shocks & Stresses by Type of Ration Card											
APL	98	22	22	16	16	9	9	51	52	9	9
BPL	23	4	17	6	26	4	17	14	60	3	13
Total	121	26	21	22	18	13	10	65	53	12	10
Shocks & Stresses by Possession of Voting Card											
Yes	142	31	21	27	19	13	9	74	52	15	10
No	58	10	17	18	31	11	19	26	44	5	8
Total	200	41	20	45	22	24	12	100	50	20	10

Vendors with BPL ration cards (Below Poverty Line) were mainly found in Parasnagar and Kankaria Lake. Although numbers of respondents are small, they appear to have suffered more shocks than vendors with an APL ration card (Above Poverty Line) (Table 37). Whether or not vendors possessed a voting card was not associated with vulnerability (Table 37).

Muslim vendors were less subject to fines and harassment than Hindus, probably because the *aagyevan* system in Bhadra gave them some form of protection, but they reported higher levels of eviction and confiscation, probably because most were trading in the city centre areas (Table 38). Vendors from Scheduled Castes (SCs) had suffered more evictions than others in the survey (Table 38). Relocations to new sites promised as part of an upgrading project often do not transpire, as the quote below illustrates.

> "When the Kankaria plan was developed Modi announced that everyone would get their own space after completion, but after the first month of operation, we were evicted from the premises and after that we had to find places for ourselves...at the same time I was also evicted from my home, which was in a slum demolished to make way for the development. The government promised to re-house the residents, but for the last four years nothing has happened." (Male, Kankaria Lake, selling Pakodi (snack))

Table 38: Vulnerability of Vendors by Caste and Religion

	Total responses	Harassment		Confiscations		Fines		Eviction		Other problems	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Shocks & Stresses by Caste											
SC	63	16	25	14	22	2	3.2	37	58	5	7
ST	3	1	33	-	-	-	-	2	66	-	-
OBC	60	10	16	12	20	14	23	21	35	7	11
Other	70	14	20	17	24	8	11	37	52	8	11
Total	196	41	20	43	21	24	12	97	49	97	49
Shocks & Stresses by Religion											
Hindu	172	37	21	33	19	14	8	85	49	18	10
Muslim	26	4	15	12	46	9	34	14	53	2	7
Christian	1	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-
Other	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-
Total	200	41	-	45	-	24	-	100	-	20	-

Note: Overall percentages for different religious groups are not given as numbers are small

The survey team found at least one family sleeping on the street after the Kankaria evictions. The stories of vendors demonstrate an entrenched history of harassment and eviction over a long period of time.

> "During the early years when there were just 27 vendors in Jamalpur and we had to face lot of evictions. But after I joined SEWA it has reduced. We want a place to vend and not licenses. How will the government give us licenses when they do not permit us to vend at all. I saw the police taking bribes from each of the carts with vegetables coming from the APMC market. They were collecting around Rs.20-30/-from each vehicle. There was a police van standing outside gate with 3-4 police and each of the police took turns to stand at the gate to collect money." (Female, Jamalpur market, selling chilli and garlic)

> "We are tired! Continuous demands and hopes but nothing good has happened. When the market used to be on main road, the business was good, but since we moved to an inside location business has decreased. In 1972 a leading politician said we could trade here. We did for 25 years, even before Parasnagar housing was constructed. But 6 years ago, the residential apartments had shops on ground floor. The shopkeepers started complaining about the vendors and insisted that we should be removed. Our *laris* were taken to police station. Vendors were arrested for a day. The sufferings increased so vendors came together (a group of 15-20) and united and shifted to place near Parasnagar."(Male, Parasnagar market, Vegetable seller and seasonal items).

Often the police are named as culprits, but vendors do not always distinguish between the police and city officials.

> "The police and corporation people used to come and do a *laath*i charge (beating with a stick) and sneaking away goods if I can't pay *hafta*. Once a man objected to the *laath*i charge, but he was taken to Ela Ben in SEWA, she fought against the police." (Female, ManekChowk market, selling garlic, chilli and vegetables)

Certain events trigger a crackdown, for example the visits of high level politicians, as this vendor from Delhi Darwaja reported. During festivals both rents and bribes escalate, and the experience of a vendor Parasnagar was widespread.

> "Whenever any politician goes by we are not allowed to sit here and the police visit to evict us, even if there are no traffic problems. Once the police go back we come back." (Male, Delhi Darwaja market, selling second hand clothes)

> "I created 5 to 6 stalls during the kite season to sell kites and threads. At that time all the police men from the Ghatlodia police station (from high to low rank) came and took goods worth Rs.5000/- from each stall as well as cash bribes. This is very unfair because we made our stall on somebody's land and we pay Rs.1000/- per stall. When the policemen take too much bribes then all our profit is eaten by them." (Male, Parasnagar market, Vegetable seller and kites near the Utarayan festival)

Evictions are still on-going in all the markets interviewed.

> "Around 25 days ago, the municipality vehicle has seized the goods and cart. We have to pay Rs.600/- and get a receipt from the Usmanpura Office, and we get a 1-year window to retrieve things, but it can take 3 months to get the goods back. I lost many goods and after 3 months the goods will be of no use and the cart will be broken." (Female, Parasnagar market, selling green vegetables and spices)

> "The police and *dabaan* come 2-3 times in a week and try to evict us. At that time we run away with goods and come back after they are gone."(Male, Delhi Darwaja market, selling second hand clothes).

> "Only in name are we democratic. Earlier before the development there were around 500 vendors. Now a there is around 75% reduction in vendors - all are dispersed. Only those who are working from generations are here. We are sitting on the internal road, but still have a lot of *dabaan*, only because the police consider us money-makers for them. Bribes have increased after development as it has become a centre of attraction. If the police take away our goods, we have to give Rs.300/- as a bribe to get them back." (Male, Kankaria Lake market, selling pan)

The stress of evictions on the vendors is very evident. Effect of combined evictions from housing and livelihoods can be devastating as this vendor explains.

> "When they confiscate our goods in order to release then we have to pay Rs.90/- per item and most of the times half of the things are broken, so this way they mentally torture us."(Female, IIM, selling Punjabi and Chinese food and paratha)

> "I stayed at Machhipir slum. I had gone to my village as my in-laws expired. I was given a notice that this land is municipal land. When I came back my house was destroyed by a bulldozer. I lost all my documents except my voting card. Now I have no place to stay, so I stay on road. My family has been vending here since generations. It was good there. They took photos and told us we would be given space to sit. After it was built we were allowed to sit only next to the boundary of the lake. Then a few months ago during Christmas they built a small gate and we were pushed out. Earlier we were 100 in this row. Now only 30 remain, the rest have gone to do labourers work."(Male, Kankaria Lake market, selling popcorn).

6 Summary and Conclusions

The results of this survey demonstrate legal, physical and political marginalisation of street vending in Ahmedabad, and its complex segmented character. Many of the 200 street vendors— 130 men and 70 women—in this survey were working in insecure environments, under constant threat of eviction, and paying considerable sums for their space. Yet they are given neither voice nor space in urban management and upgrading plans.

6.1 Vendors and their Goods

Vendors in the six main markets surveyed showed very different characteristics. In Bhadra, the vendors were predominantly Muslim, reflecting the rich cultural heritage of Ahmedabad's historic core. In Delhi Darwaja, just outside the city centre, significant numbers were from the Dataniya community (a SC community) and in Khodiyarnagar several people from the Patni community (SC community) were found. Such low caste people are often marginalised in urban development processes.

Some 65 per cent of the vendors were over 35 years old, and 84 per cent were married, particularly women, suggesting that most vendors have family responsibilities and dependents. For 80 per cent of those interviewed, vending was their main job, and 69 per cent were from Ahmedabad. This evidence belies the common view that street vending is an entry-level urban job for young people and new migrants.

Access to state benefits and a legal identity was by no means assured. All 200 vendors answered the question that asked if they had a voting card—only available to those with an address—71 per cent did, but 29 per cent did not. Only 121 vendors answered questions about ration cards[1]; of these 81 per cent had an APL ration card, but only 23 per cent had a BPL ration card. This confirms earlier studies that the poorest and most vulnerable find it difficult to get a BPL card.

6.2 Businesses in the Urban Economy

Street vending is intricately enmeshed in the urban economy, with different areas dominated by ethnic, religious or caste groups. It is a long-established profession, with businesses sometimes handed down through generations, where 'gatekeepers' and trading traditions make access, particularly to the more profitable locations, difficult and expensive.

Many of the markets exhibit complex links to other economic sectors in Ahmedabad. In Bhadra and the CEPT market, vendors sell new clothes on commission from shops and factories elsewhere. In Jamalpur, vegetable vendors act as middle-men buying wholesale from the adjoining APMC market and selling in bulk to small businesses. In Delhi Darwaja, there is a complex part-cash economy where second hand clothes are collected from households in exchange for household utensils, and later sold in the market. Khodiyarnagar and Parasnagar act as local centres, and the Kankaria Lake area sells snacks and souvenirs to visitors.

Estimates of income and profits are notoriously unreliable, but results checked through various questions suggest that, at the extremes, average business turnover and profit is lowest in Kankaria Lake (Rs.380/- and Rs. Rs.90/- a day respectively), and highest in Bhadra (Rs.1880/- and Rs.360/- a day respectively), indicating that street vending's economic contribution is significant. At the time of the survey there were around 8,750 vendors working in 3,500 business enterprise in Bhadra; their combined average turnover could thus be around US$ 43.75m[2] a year (Jajoo 2011).

6.3 Challenges

With the exception of markets where SEWA has a strong presence, vendors do not have strong associations, although in some markets—notably Bhadra and probably IIM—a local *aagyevan* (informal landlord) collects 'protection' money and negotiates with the police. This does not always prevent problems, and the *aagyevan* have not been effective in saving vendors from eviction during the Bhadra Plaza Development Project. Street vendors are

[1] APL = Above Poverty Line; BPL = Below Poverty Line

[2] At an exchange rate of US$1 = Rs.54.14/- (as on 15th March 2013)

particularly vulnerable during 'beautification' and urban infrastructure projects such as the improvements to Bhadra market and the introduction of the BRTS (Bus Rapid Transport System), which are actively, pursued in Ahmedabad as part of its modernisation agenda.

Relations with the state are almost always conflictual. All the areas visited were regularly patrolled by the *dabaan* (AMC eviction squad) or police, whose visits resulted in demands for free snacks or goods, *hafta* (inducements), confiscations and fines, or eviction. Payment of *hafta* is widespread, mostly to the *dabaan* or police, although the reported amounts varied from around Rs.400/- to Rs.2,500/- a month. A standard fine for reclaiming goods is Rs.500/-.

The extent and degree of harassment is acute, with more than half of vendors suffering eviction at some time in the past, sometimes with violence and injuries. The evictions vary from temporary displacements, which take place before the Chief Minister or VIP pass, to permanent clearances. The rent-seeking and evictions represent a significant and on-going level of insecurity that causes hardship and personal distress to all; vendors, their families and other dependent businesses.

The stress of evictions is acute with people feeling victimised and excluded from democratic processes. Some specific vulnerabilities are evident. Female vendors seem more liable to confiscation and eviction than men, although male vendors report more frequent fines. Those with temporary vending facilities are particularly vulnerable. Vendors from SCs and those with a BPL ration card were more liable to evictions than others in the survey.

There is some good practice in joint management, but the examples are rare. In Jamalpur, conflict has been ongoing since 1985, but SEWA is working with AMC officials to organise vendors, redesign and manage the vending space. This represents imaginative use of urban space that should be replicated elsewhere in the city, but examples are rare.

6.4 Recommendations

The marginalisation of street vendors appears to significantly harm the livelihoods of some of the most vulnerable urban workers and run counter to good practice in poverty reduction. The following recommendations are made:

i) Local government policy should recognise the importance of street vending as a livelihood option for the urban poor, especially the vulnerable poor, e.g.: women (particularly older women), and SCs;
ii) Further research, led by vendors' representatives, should strengthen understanding the economic contribution of street vending and its place within Ahmedabad value chains;
iii) Policy should identify all 'natural markets' throughout the city, based on and updated from the initial identification in the 2003 by Dalwadi (2003), and protect vending in these. This should be the prime role of the Town Vending Committee (TVC) established to implement the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors in Ahmedabad.

iv) In identified 'natural markets' decentralised management committees should be set up, led by vendors based on the pilots by SEWA in Jamalpur, Khodiyarnagar and elsewhere, to manage the market and collect vending fees;

v) Elsewhere in Ahmedabad, street vending should be permitted provided that it does not cause problems for public safety;

vi) Urban infrastructure and 'beautification' schemes should protect street vendors' livelihoods, and where vending spaces are affected, should redesign public space to accommodate vendors in situ;

vii) Where this is not possible, alternative viable trading sites should be sought. Summary evictions should never take place;

viii) Inexpensive alternatives to the *lari* should be explored to create smaller mobile vending platforms that allow for efficient use of space. This could be a project for engineering or architectural students.

Appendix

Delhi Darwaja Market

Bhadra Market

Kankaria Lake Market

Jamalpur Market

Parasnagar Market

Khodiyarnagar Market

CEPT University Market

IIM Market

Nehru Nagar Market

Vastrapur Market

Geeta Mandir Market

Indira Nagar Market

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Notes

[1] The Dataniya and Patni are sub-castes of the Vagri, a scheduled caste (tribal communities) from Gujarat and Rajasthan.

[2] A value chain describes the links between producer and end user of goods *and* the social relations that support that chain.

Centre for Urban Equity (CUE) advocates a human-centered and equitable urban development paradigm. CUE undertakes research and advocacy; conducts training and capacity-building; and networks with stakeholders on various aspects of human settlements with a central focus on urban equity.

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