



# Mapping Livelihoods in Informal Vending, Bhuj, Gujarat



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## : Acknowledgement :

The winter institute of 2015 has been the culmination of the efforts of different sets of people. We would like to extend our gratitude to Prof. Mouleshri Vyas and Prof. Amita Bhide for giving us an insight into informal economies, especially that of street vendors through the two pre- Winter Institute Workshops; Ar. Himanshu Burte, Prof. Ratoola Kundu, Prof. Lalitha Kamat and Ms. Richa Bharadwaj for having accompanied us and having guided us through the Research process; the entire TISS family with the Secretariat and all Faculty members for rendering their help whenever required. It goes without saying that our host at Bhuj, Hunnarshala Foundation and Urban Setu have been instrumental in helping us understand not only Bhuj but also the different dynamics of street vending there. We would also like to acknowledge the services rendered by Yaksh Mandir where we stayed and that of the Chakdawale Bhaiyyas who made travel easy for us.

Most of all, we wish to thank the street vendors of Bhuj who have been extremely warm and patient with us. The time spent with them has enriched our understanding of Street Vending and its different dynamics. We will cherish the Dabelis and Chais we've had in the course of our conversations with them.



## : About Winter Institute :

The Winter Institute is a full-fledged 2 credit Course in the academic calendar of the Masters in Urban Policy and Governance program of the School of Habitat Studies at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. It is conducted as a continuous module of approximately 2 weeks duration, involving immersion in a community and location. The duration of this year's Winter Institute was 28th November, 2015 to 8th December, 2015. The Institute is conceived as a platform for interdisciplinary collaborative learning through research and action in the field. The rationale behind this intense field experience is that of enabling students to analyse and understand issues, as well as possibilities of strategic response to them, as they are studied in the field. Students typically work in mixed groups on live problems, guided by one or more faculty members, and their output is designed to be of direct use to the host community and local collaborating organization.

### THE RESEARCH THEME :

The thrust of this winter institute has been to focus on informal livelihoods in the city of Bhuj, specifically that of street and other informal vending or hawking. The project will contribute research and analysis to a live project undertaken by Hunnarshala Foundation, in collaboration with Bhuj Municipal Council, to integrate informal vending into the formal governance system of the city. Hunnarshala has already started research and stakeholder consultations towards developing a Detailed Project Report to be submitted to the state government of Gujarat, to obtain funds for implementing the project. The output of the Winter Institute research would be an important contribution to the problem definitions.

### Objective:

- To document and understand the livelihoods dimension of informal vending in Bhuj in a multidimensional and comprehensive manner through participatory research.
- To outline existing and possible conflicts and collaborations that characterize informal vending in Bhuj.
- Identify various implications of the above for an urban vending policy for Bhuj that would simultaneously enable sustainable livelihoods and a functional urban system.

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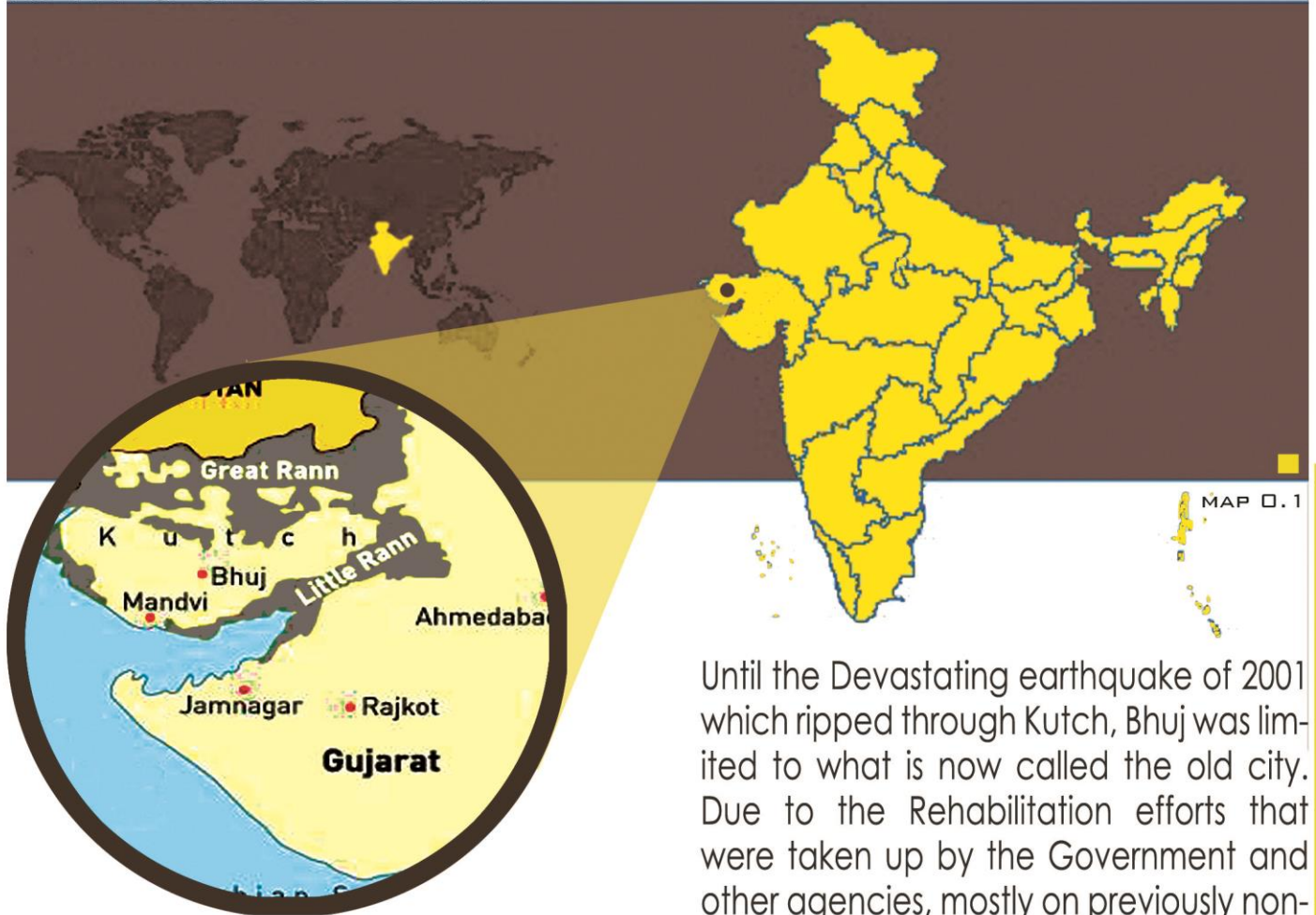
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Bhuj is known all over India and also abroad for the myriad varieties of Handicrafts it offers. Villagers from in and around Bhuj bring in handicrafts that they've made and sell it in the extremely lively markets of Bhuj.

## :Introduction:



## :Bhuj :

'Threads of different colours being woven into one.' This phrase best explains the essence of Bhuj. The largest city in Kutch district of Gujarat, Bhuj stands out as a combination of bustle and calmness. It is a typical example of a desert town located between two geographical features- Bhujiyo Dungar on the east and Hamisar Lake on the west. It has had a rich traditional history, remnants of which are monuments like the Aina Mahal, Prag Mahal, Kutch Museum etc.

Until the Devastating earthquake of 2001 which ripped through Kutch, Bhuj was limited to what is now called the old city. Due to the Rehabilitation efforts that were taken up by the Government and other agencies, mostly on previously non-urbanised areas, the city has now tremendously sprawled. Various Government incentives that were offered to industries and other entrepreneurs in the post earthquake period led to a rapid growth of the city, which meant an increase in the employment opportunities and also the population.

The people of Bhuj are extremely warm and hospitable. Its ethnic diversity springs from the fact that Kutch had trading and migratory relations with ancient civilizations abroad as far as Zanzibar, the Middle East and Greece.



THE CITY OF BHUJ

The main languages spoken in Bhuj are Gujarati, Kutchi and Hindi. The population of Bhuj as per the 2011 census was 1,48,834. The people of Bhuj engage in different occupations, right from agriculture to corporate jobs. However, the most desirable among these is to start a business of your own. It is not uncommon to hear tales of NRIs from Canada and the US who originally belong to Bhuj, but now come back intermittently to invest in some profitable ventures back home. The cost of living in Bhuj is low when compared to metro cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Bangalore etc. But, the quality of life is good because the city has not yet fallen prey to intense pollution, congestion, excessive mechanisation etc. The important means of transport include City buses and *Chakdas*. (Auto Rickshaws on sharing basis ). Bhuj is the best example for a city which has adopted modern technology but has retained its traditional niche.



LOCALS IN THE MARKET

## :Street Vendors:

The informal sector is an important component of the Indian Economy. Street vendors constitute a major portion of it, with a population of more than 10 million. A Street Vendor may be defined as 'A person who offers goods or services for sale to the public in a street without having a permanent built up structure'. They can be divided into stationary, peripatetic and mobile street vendors. Street Vending is a form of self-employment resorted to, by people who have been retrenched from a previous formal job, have been victims of natural calamities or displacement, have migrated to a city or who simply do not have any other means of livelihood. They also benefit small scale and home based industries from whom they procure products for business.

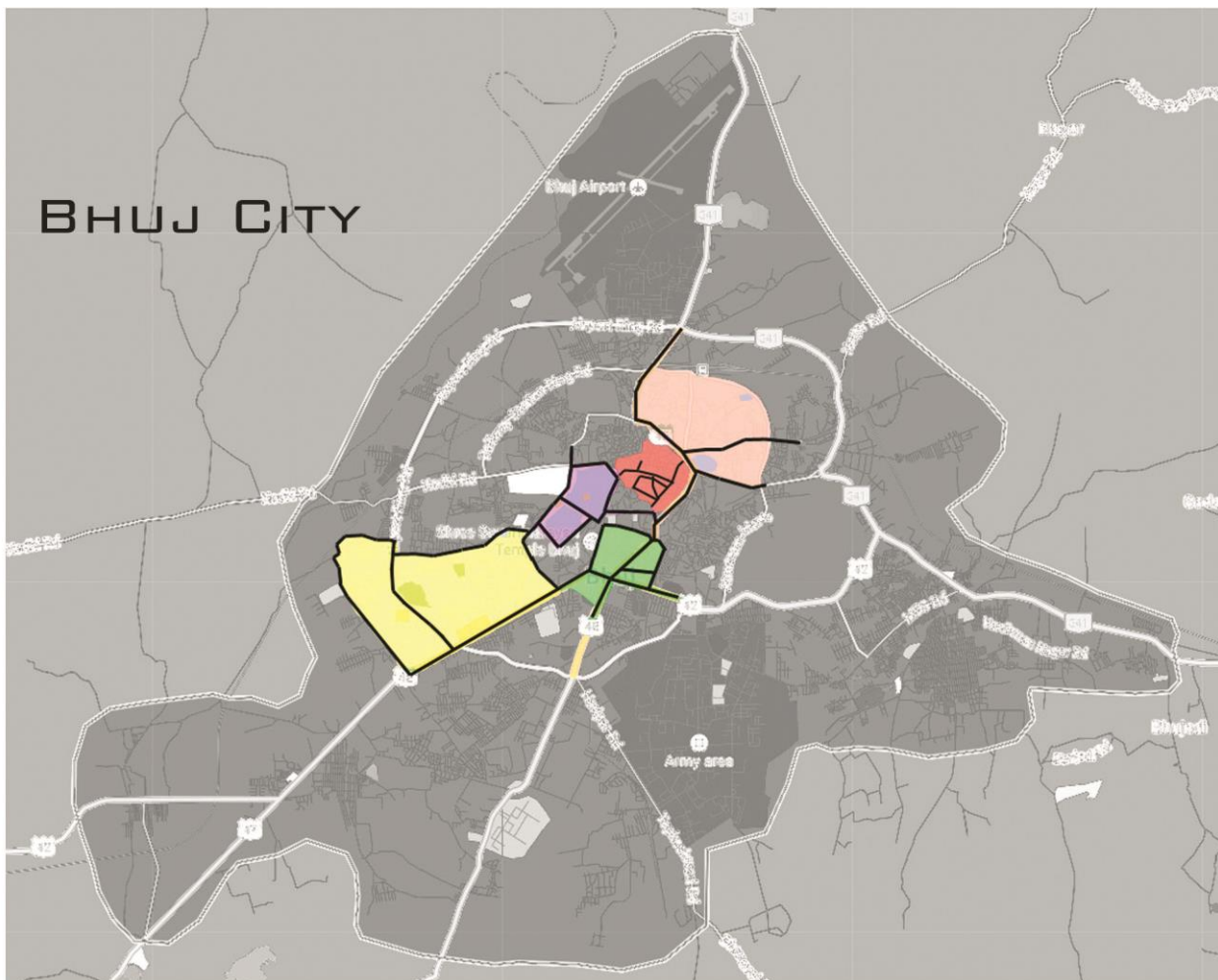


LADY SELLING GARLIC

Street vendors in general lack formal education and economic capabilities to access the larger market. Given the fact that they are highly non-formalised and unorganised, they suffer further deprivations. Although Street vendors have been an integral part of the market economy in India, their makeshift nature has always rendered them illegal. It was not until the National Urban Policy on Street Vendors, 2004 was formulated that an effort was made to recognise street vendors as a legitimate part of our economy.

The old city that Bhuj is, street vendors have always been an integral part of it. Even before big complexes and showrooms came into the picture, street vendors served the needs of the people of Bhuj. Almost everything is available with them for sale, ranging from fruits, vegetables to fast food items. Also be it things like clothes, footwear, accessories or services like that of cobblers, barbers, butchers etc. street vendors are seen to provide with all of these. The people of Bhuj are known for their social lives, in the sense that most of the populace has food outside of their homes on Sundays and are often seen in huge numbers in the hotspot vending areas.

The street vendors in Bhuj are not homogenous. Some are mobile while others are not, some have constructed semi-permanent stalls while other have movable carts, some sell things which vary with seasons while others sell the same thing throughout the year, some have grown from being really poor to having a decent standard of living, while others have economically stagnated. However, the common thread between them is that of the desire and need to earn a livelihood for themselves and their family. Across the five groups, efforts have been made to integrate the different aspects of the economy, livelihoods and lives of the street vendors of Bhuj.



- STUDY AREA 1
  - STUDY AREA 2
  - STUDY AREA 3
  - STUDY AREA 4
  - STUDY AREA 5
- ARRANGED AS PER DECREASING INTENSITY OF VENDING ACTIVITIES  
 - THE ROADS MAPPED FOR THE STUDY ARE MARKED BOLD IN BLACK

MAP 0.2: SHOWING THE SITES OF VENDING COVERED IN THIS REPORT



## : Methodology :

The field is said to be the best teacher. But, before going into the field an overview of the subject in question, along with an understanding of how it fits into a larger picture is very essential. Two pre-winter institute workshops were conducted at the TISS Mumbai campus itself. The first of which was conducted by Prof. Moulashree Vyas. She threw light on what the informal sector actually meant for a developing economy like India and also provided considerable insight into the Street vendors Act, 2014. The second workshop was conducted by a team headed by Prof. Amita Bhide. (Dean - School of Habitat Studies). It mainly focused on participatory methods of research and engaging different stakeholders in the process of research. Both these workshops provided good amount of information about street vending as an activity and how we could make the research a truly participatory one.

In order to understand the nature of the field, the first day of the Winter Institute was planned in such a way that, different groups discovered different aspects of life in Bhuj. For instance: Food, Market area, old city, religious places, monuments etc. As a result, most of the city was covered by one group or the other. Presentations made thereafter, helped everybody to get a gist of what Bhuj felt like.

After having gotten a snapshot of the life and times of Bhuj, the focus on Street Vendors was brought to the fore. The process of studying the Lives, Livelihoods and Economies of the street vendors

began with a special emphasis on making sure that the research was subject driven rather than researcher driven. Hunnarshala had identified potential locations to be researched along with detailed maps. These were distributed group wise and a few Setu members and interns from Hunnarshala were also assigned to few groups.

Throughout the research, emphasis has been laid on the need to make the research participatory. Even if this doesn't fit in perfectly, every effort has been made to avoid a researcher- driven study. Visits to the field have varied depending on the nature of vending in the assigned location. For instance, in order to study the vegetable market, visits had to be made very early in the morning. While the food vendors had to be mainly studied in the evening.

After getting a basic idea of the location, transect maps have been made for each location based on certain commonly accepted parameters. Based on the preliminary information obtained, intensity maps have been made. They depict intensities through different colours. They have been also been differentiated between day and night intensity maps.

These preliminary activities, helped chose a sample which is representative, taking into account other intersecting axes of diversity including caste, gender, urban/rural base of vendors etc. Once the samples were chosen, detailed interviews were conducted and the participatory aspect was introduced here through seasonal calendars, social

capital mapping, resource mapping, business cycles etc. which were made by the vendors themselves. Few focussed group discussions were also conducted in order to understand the different stakeholders and their roles. This also provided some insight into the power dynamics among the street vendors. Cases that were thought to be outstanding or representing a wide spectrum of trends have been made into individual life stories.

The data collected through all of these methods aim to synthesise a multidimensional portrait of vending in Bhuj including various conflicts and potential collaborations for integrating informal vending into the formal governance system

## : Collaborators :

### Hunnarshala :

Formed in the aftermath of the Kutch earthquake of 2001, Hunnarshala Foundation is a non-profit organization that has done pioneering work in participatory rehabilitation, sustainable construction in India (Gujarat, Bihar, Kashmir) and abroad (Indonesia, Iran, Qatar). It has also developed an enviable track record of using participatory rehabilitation projects to conduct research leading to significant policy changes that enable the emergence of a more sustainable development paradigm.

Hunnarshala has been actively engaged with the challenges and possibilities related to the sustainable and equitable

planning and development of the city of Bhuj. The multidisciplinary team of the organization is currently active in the areas of inclusive urban planning, community driven housing for the marginalized (including housing finance), urban watershed management and solid waste management among others. Hunnarshala's approach has been able to merge the technical with the socio-political in a creative way. It is this aspect of planning and developmental activities – of bringing about changes in policy, the interface of bottom-up with top-down in various sectors, which the Winter Institute has tried to leverage.

The Artisan School run by the foundation is both an education and an entrepreneurial initiative to train the local youth in masonry and carpentry crafts.

### Urban Setu :

Urban Setu, established in 2010 is a part of the Kutch Navnirman Abhiyan, which is a collective of grass root local NGOs. It acts as a bridge between the citizens and various government departments in providing assistance to urban citizens with regards to Government entitlements, Government Schemes, various service deliveries, Ngo contacts and links. Few members of Setu were assigned to accompany the students during their research with the street vendors. They being locals were of great help to familiarize the students with the ground situations. Their familiarity with the local languages and camaraderie with the street vendors made the process of the research much easier.

## : Limitations :

The field is an intermixture of various divulging factors. Hence, a research project cannot be devoid of limitations. They might hinder some part of the process, but also enrich the overall analysis.

- The nature of work of street vendors in some sorts limits the scope for detailed interactions with them. However, efforts have been made to make the process as participatory as possible without intruding their business.

- The informality of street vending as an activity sometimes makes it difficult to get static and objective data. Verification and triangulation has been carried out to ensure that the data is as empirical as possible.



NEWSPAPER CLIPPING

## : Introduction to Policies :

As Urban Policy & Governance students, it would be remiss not to begin with something as fundamental as the fact that, since Independence most if not all of the cities have made their development plan at the expense of the informal economy. i.e. even after substantial amendments, space (both literally as well as figuratively) has not been carved aside for such economies, which includes street vendors whom if the will of the DP had its way would render

their existence and resultantly their livelihoods, invisible. For that is how they are generally represented in DPs, by not being represented at all.

It is important to note that for a large part of our history as an Independent nation, our attitudes towards street vendors has been the continuation of the legacy that we inherited from the British. In other words, apathy in its mildest forms to eviction at its harshest. Section 34 of the Police Act reads: 'No person shall cause obstruction in any street or public place by... exposing anything for sale in or upon any stall, booth, cart, and basket or in any other way whatsoever.' This act has been in place since 1961, four years after the First War for Independence, 1857. The Act

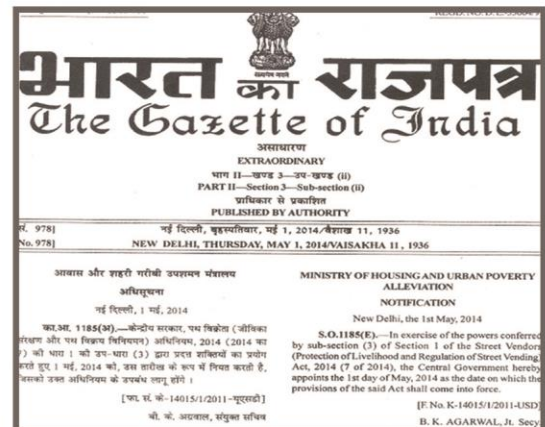


PHOTO OF THE ACT

However, with the realisation that street vendors are an integral part of our economy, the Government, under the pressure of various agencies has begun to make policies and laws to accommodate them into the formal governance system. One of the first steps taken in this direction was the formulation of the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors, 2004 which was later revised in 2009. This policy was made and is being implemented under the aegis of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation.



A YOUNG VENDOR SELLING DRY GROCERIES IN SHARAF BAZAAR, BHUJ

The core of the policy has been to provide a supportive environment to the street vendors to carry on their livelihood and at the same time ensuring that they do not hinder traffic flow and create congestion on busy city lanes. However, this policy has not made much headway in terms of implementation. Except for a few states like Odisha which have succeeded to some extent in creating vending zones and operationalizing them, not much has been achieved on this front.

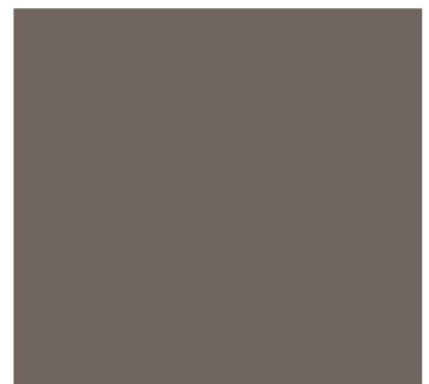
The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014 has been an extremely important step towards legalising street vendors and safeguarding their right to livelihood. It is

in many ways a replica of the earlier policy, but given the fact that it is an Act passed by the Parliament of India, it is expected to have a greater bearing on the present situation of street vendors. The Act covers a huge spectrum of issues and ideas. It includes : recognition of the right of street vendors to livelihood, formation of Street Vending Committees, provision of basic amenities to street vendors, protection from arbitrary eviction, integration of street vending in town planning etc. Each of the State Governments is now expected to come up with schemes and policies for its effective implementation. However, the larger question of effective implementation of otherwise very well formulated laws in India still lingers in our recesses.

## : Group Studies :

The students were divided in groups of 3 or 4 and were assigned to study various sites in the city with respect to vending activities. The task was designed in a two staged format, where in the first stage; the students were required to present an overview of the ground situations in their specific sites and an analysis of the same through various participatory research tools like transect, trajectories, intensity

mapping, diurnal mapping etc. The second stage comprised of looking deeper into issues of lives and livelihoods of the vendors through life story projections, stakeholder analysis and value chain analysis. Also site-specific issues were dealt in with greater details and plausible solutions or policy recommendations were also suggested by the students for the same.



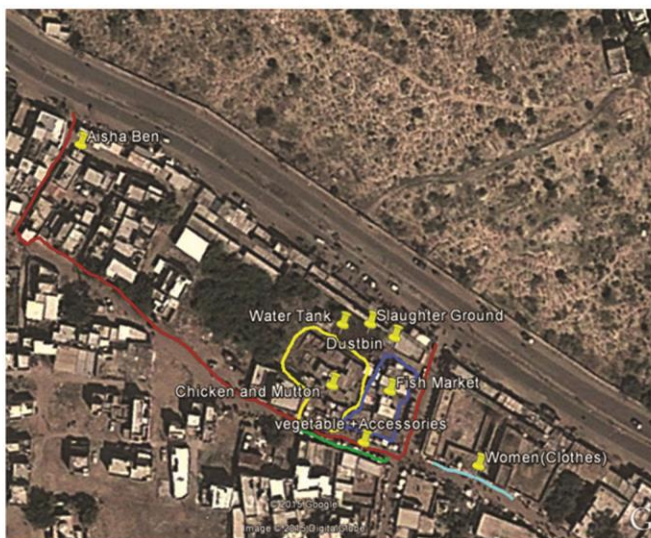


# : Study 1:

Site : Bazaars of The Old City, Bhuj

The area covered in this section is the heart of the city from where it started growing- The Old City. In the earlier era the city was a walled city and had five gates that operated in accordance to a fixed routine and nobody was allowed to enter the city once the time of entry elapsed.

We started our study from Vaniyawad Gate covering Chhati Bari Ring road, Anam Ring Road, Saraf Market, Danda Market, Azad Chowk and finally crossed Bhid Gate to Mutton Market. The transect and intensity maps of all these areas have been included in later section. The mutton market under study is the only wholesale mutton market in the city and has a traditional history which speaks about it. It used to be something that is totally different from how it exists in the present day world. So in this section the mutton market has been studied in great detail to get a deeper understanding of this unique area of Bhuj.

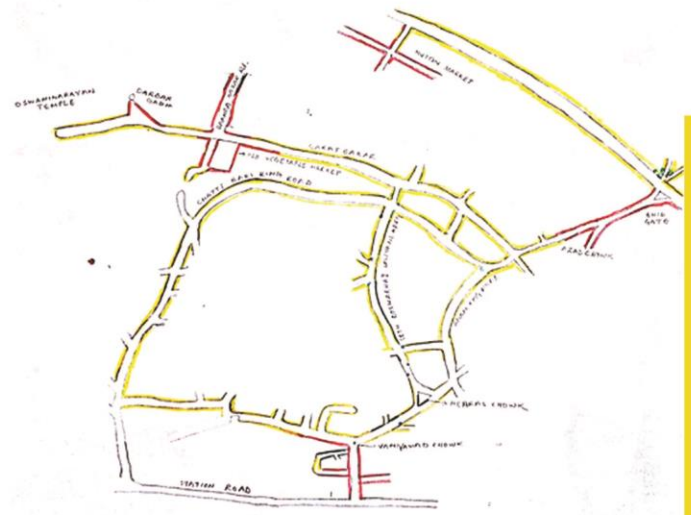


GOOGLE IMAGERY OF THE SITE

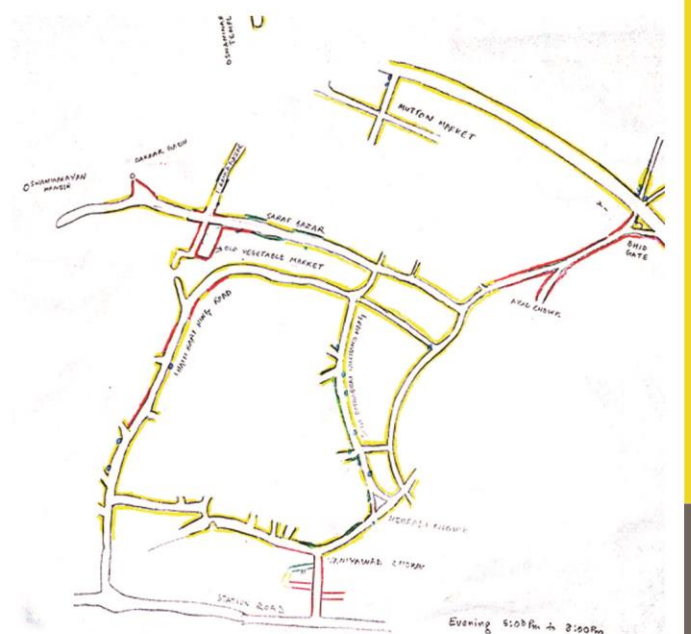
100 years ago	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Raja Khaingarji ruled the city.</li> <li>He brings in some people from Kathiyawaar &amp; establishes a mutton market.</li> </ul>
50 years ago	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The mutton market is bought by the Nagar Sabha for a sum of 600 'kodis'.</li> <li>The place continues to be the wholesale mutton market catering to the rest of the city</li> </ul>
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>An unfortunate earthquake strikes the city and the mutton market is in shambles.</li> </ul>
After that	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Khatqis go united to the Nagar Sabha to help re-establish them.</li> <li>Apparently the Nagar Sabha had different plans.</li> <li>They are told that they would be shifted to some other place in the city</li> <li>These people are devastated.</li> </ul>
Finally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The then Nagar Sabha chief administrator Jagdeeshan gives them permission to continue their work at their own place, but denies them any support from the Municipality.</li> </ul>

TABLE 1.1: TIMELINE OF MUTTON MARKET

- High Intensity - more than 3 in 2m
- Medium Intensity - 3 to 2-30m
- Blank Space/into voids.



MAP 1.1: DAY TIME INTENSITY OF THE SITE



MAP 1.2: EVENING TIME INTENSITY OF THE SITE

## AZAD CHOWK

## BHID GATE



TRANSECT 1 : AZAD CHOWK TO BHID GATE (LEFT SIDE)

## AZAD CHOWK

## BHID GATE



TRANSECT 2 : AZAD CHOWK TO BHID GATE (RIGHT SIDE)

## Mutton Market (Internal Stretches)



TRANSECT 3 : MUTTON MARKET INTERNAL (LEFT TO RIGHT)

Stretches	Azad Chowk	Between Azad Chowk and Bhid Gate	Bhid Gate
Number	Approximately 17	Approximately 45 to 50	Approximately 20
Types	Second-hand clothes, food(chat), Bidi, pan, veg/fruits, kabaad	Vegetables/fruits, second-hand clothes	Mostly vegetables and cloth vendors
Gender	Only men	Both men and women vendors. 6 women selling fruits/veg, 10-12 women selling second-hand clothes without carts on ground.	3 female veg vendors, 3 female cloth vendors(no carts)
Structure	Mostly carts with wheels, 2-3 semi-permanent structures	Some use moving carts and while some are without carts and vend on ground	Movable and usage of ground
Closed/open/occupied	All open between 9am to 4pm	Approximately 9am to 8pm	Open
Hotspots	Crowded- mostly Kabaad(second hand)  Market and clothes( second-hand winter clothes).	Crowded with vehicles, vendors and customers	Crowded- mostly vendors
Amenities	No toilet was constructed after earthquake.  No water tap.	No toilet and water. Drinking water from home.	No toilet. No drinking water.

TABLE 1.2: DATA TO TRANSECT 1

Stretches	Azad Chowk	Shops-Shops-Shops....	Bhid Gate
Number	Approximately 22	Approximately 40	Approximately 15
Types	Kabaad, clothes	Clothes, vegetables/fruits, jewellery, mataka	Vegetables, food/chat
Gender	2 women vendors(Kabaaadi)	Many women vendors selling vegetables and clothes without carts sitting on the roads.	Women vendors selling clothes( without carts)
Structures	Semi-permanent, Carts	Carts(mobile), static(ground)	Carts and on ground
Close/open/occupied	Open from 9am to 4 pm	9am to 8pm	9am to 8pm
Hotspots	Crowded with vendors	Crowded by vendors and customers	Crowded by vendors
Amenities	No toilet and water	No toilet/water	No toilet/water

TABLE 1.3: DATA TO TRANSECT 2

## Mutton Market (Entrance road)



TRANSECT 4 : MUTTON MARKET (ENTRY)

Number	Approximately 14	Approximately 16	Approx . 8-12	Approximately 15
Types	Masala, plastic, Meat and mostly vegetable vendors	Mostly Second hand clothes vending is done. A few food and jewellery carts.	Varied- Meat, Veggies/fruits, plastic, Dry fish, jewellery and accessory	All Second-hand cloth vendors
Gender	Mostly men but a few women as well	Second-hand cloth vending done by women and the others by men	Mixed- male and female vendors	All female vendors
Structure	A few cart with wheels and most of the shop are semi-permanent and non-moveable	Cloth vendors put their clothes on the ground and jewellery and food item vendors have carts	Semi-permanent meat shops and mostly carts with wheels.	Vending is done on ground
Closed/Open/occupied	All the vendors were opened from 9am to 1pm. None closed.	All open. Occupied without space.	All Open.	All open
Hotspots	High intensity of vendors. Not that much customers( not so rush)	High intensity of vendors	High intensity	High intensity of vendors
Amenities	No toilets for the vendors in the adjoining areas. The shopkeepers keep pouches of water and mostly buy water for drinking.	No toilets. Bring drinking water from home	No toilets. Drinking water from home. Or buy water pouches. For cleaning and usage there is a borewell.	No toilets. Water from home or buy.

TABLE 1.4: DATA TO TRANSECT 3

Number	Approximately 13
Types	Meat shops, vegetables, jewellery and accessories
Gender	All Males
Structure	Meat shops are mostly semi-permanent, Veggie and jewel vendors have cats with wheels
Closed/open/occupied	The semi-permanent shops were closed and look deserted. These are used as storage spaces sometimes by adjoining shopkeeper who owns them
Hotspots	Less active as compared to other lanes
Amenities	None.  Shopkeepers and vendors think that the area is rather ignored

TABLE 1.5: DATA TO TRANSECT 4

## Livelihood and Economy

The whole area covered by the team had so much in terms of and in terms of types of vendors, which automatically reflects in the difference seen in the economy of these people. Rather than covering vendors of the whole of the Old City, the team tried to focus on vendors of the Mutton Market area which itself shows a lot of variety. Mutton market area has three types of vendors inside the core block i.e, Mutton vendors, chicken vendors and the fish vendors. On the periphery of mutton market, there are vegetable/fruits vendors, accessories vendors and an interesting market of second hand clothes run by women vendors. In this section the team tries to present an idea about the economy and livelihood of all of them taking one example from each type.



A MEAT VENDOR

### Economy of a meat Vendor

Meat vendors in the mutton market belong to 3 communities namely the Khataqis, the Pinjaras and the Turiyas. Legend has it that the market was established a 100 year ago by the then Raja, Raja Khaingarji. He bought some members from Kathiyawar belonging to the Khataqis community and settled them in Bhuj and also gave them this place,

which came to be known as the mutton market. Till now the Khataqis continue to practice their traditional trade of meat vending.

A typical day in the life of a meat vendor starts by the procurement of mutton and chicken. A market is held every morning from which goats are purchased. The purchasing is done by the method of auctioning. The rate of a goat varies from 1500-5000. The chickens are brought in daily from Rajkot. Typically a chicken is bought at a price of 75 INR and is sold off at a rate of 120 INR.

Bhuj has an arid kind of climate and does not experience much rainfall. Even when it rains, about 75 cm. of rainfall is received at a stretch in a day or two. The mutton market then experiences water clogging and difficulties but does not remain shut. However at the times of festivals such as Navratris, the mutton market remains totally shut.

Thus it can be said safely that the meat vendors belong to the category of improving poor. They do not have a subsistence that is hand to mouth. They belong to the category of improving poor.

There hasn't been much addition to the categories of goods that are being sold since the times the mutton market was established. These meat vendors still depend on selling meat and eggs for their subsistence but certainly the number of shops have increased. Reportedly there were only 16 shops at the start, but now there are a total of 38 shops.

### Economy of a Fish Vendor

Fish vendors are not many in the mutton market. Fish vending is mostly done by

women. They belong to a particular community known as the Kevar. Fish is procured daily from a fishing contractor, who gives each woman some fishes to sell. It is not necessary that all the fishes that are procured are sold in the same day. Some fisher women have a fridge where they keep it for the next day while some don't have it. Those who don't own a fridge they depend on the fishing contractor for using a fridge. There are earnings of 200-300 INR on an average basis.

The traditional style of selling fish hasn't changed over the years. The fisher women mostly sell it on the ground or in baskets kept on the ground. There hasn't been an improvement in this lifestyle. One of the reasons perhaps is the fact that most of the community members wanting to sell fish want to break away from this job. They want to do something that is cleaner and which gives them more money. It was noticed that usually the elder members in the family are involved in fish vending. The newer generation is engaged in tie-and die work in their house. They get an income on a daily basis which is usually 100 INR but can vary, depending on the amount of work that a woman is able to carry out. The men are engaged in various household jobs.

The children are being educated so that they can achieve a better job and standard of living in the future. Pleasantly surprising is the fact that the Kevar community does not face any resistance from other meat vendors who dominate the market, namely the Khataqis, the Turiyas and the Pinjaras. The fish vending women are allowed to make use of the common water source, without any conflict.

## Economy of a Vegetable Vendor

Vegetable vendors in the mutton market have come up by virtue of it being a natural market. When people come to buy meat they also tend to buy vegetable and day-to-day usage things. These vendors stand on the periphery of the market with their moving carts. They sell vegetables only till the time the mutton market functions, which is till 1:30. They do not take their carts home and have rented out storage spaces nearby where they store the leftover vegetables from the day.

These vegetable vendors do not have access to the water and other facilities that the Khataqis use. They bring water for the vegetable washing from their homes. For drinking purposes there are small water pouches available in shops, which the vegetable vendors mostly buy and drink.

## Economy of a Cloth Vendor

The cloth vendors belong to the Satwara community. Cloth vending is completely done by women and they do not have moving carts. They sit on the ground. Reportedly they have been doing this since years and after marriage it is the responsibility of every man to go selling steel utensils in exchange of old clothes. The males usually stock up utensils worth 2000-3000 INR. The clothes that are obtained as a result are sold off by the females of the household. The women usually come to the market place at 9 and leave by 1.

The worth of each piece of clothing is different. Some pieces of clothing may be as cheap as 10 INR while some clothes

are values at 40-50 INR. People belonging mostly to the economically weaker sections of the city visit these vendors and buy clothes for themselves and their family. When quizzed about their aspirations the women are seemingly clueless, as they think that they only know how to sell clothes. The maximum addition that they can think about the business is that they aspire to have an umbrella on their heads since it is very sunny in Bhuj and an umbrella would help them escape the heat.

### Linkages of Formal and Informal

The market was established by Raja Khaingarji around 100 years ago. He bought in some Khataqis and asked them to work in the mutton market. When India got independence, the land was sold off to the then Nagar Sabha at a price of 600 'kodis'. In 2001 a disastrous quake hit Bhuj and the market was completely in shambles. The Khataqis united under their headman and went to BHADA to help them. But after the quake the development plans took some different turn. BHADA authorities asked them to stay and sell at this place, but at the same time any official support was denied to them. Despite it being a market in the first place, there was no water or waste disposal system provided to this place. The condition still continues to exist 15 years hence. The mutton market continues to depend on its own resources which the vendors have contributed to and developed over the years. The solid waste management system is self managed as well as the bore well water arrangement has been done by the community. With the municipality

denying any such accusations the question looms long in the mind, that how did a traditional and flourishing market, go on to become informal from a formal one.



MUTTON MARKET DESERTED  
IN AFTERNOON

### Livelihood and Lives

The city of Bhuj itself is an example of how peacefully people from all occupations, class, communities and religions can live together. The city has an attractive force which binds the people together. This same attraction was also visible during the study in the Old City and the Mutton Market in particular.

### Conflict of Space

The market has a history of more than 100 years and many of the people who earn their livelihood from here have been following their ancestral business and therefore have developed a relationship where space is fixed for all. The dominance of particular community over particular activity also eases the understanding of space as no outsider is allowed but if anyone belonging to the same community wants to start from here, adjustment is made and temporary space with mutual understanding is given

to them to start their vending activity. Symbiotic relations: The presence of vendors of different type shows a kind of symbiotic relationship that has developed here. As the market works for short duration of the day between 7AM to 1PM, this gives an opportunity to vendors of vegetables, accessories etc. to run their business in a profitable manner. For instance, the customers who come to buy meat/mutton/fish during operational time of the market also get attracted by presence of other vendors selling vegetables, fruits, accessories right next to the market, and end up buying the same. People here are well aware of this business process and how it benefits their existence at the same place. Another example of this symbiotic relationship is that, after the mutton market gets closes at 1PM, all other vendors also wrap up their stalls and move to other places. The vegetable vendors move to more crowded places in other parts of the city and the accessories vendors have their fixed villages where they go to sell their stuff for years now. Only the chicken selling shops are open till 8PM and cater to the demand of the city.

### Government and Mutton Market

When it comes to administration and maintenance of a city, the role of government holds significant importance. After the earthquake of 2001, when the whole city was destroyed, the mutton market also witnessed the calamity very closely. The redevelopment of the entire city was taken up by the government but the people who have worked for generation in this market complain about the ignorance of government for this

place which is easily visible when one visits the place. Though some permanent structures are seen and some say they got a compensatory amount, most of the structures still continue to be semi-permanent in nature and are built by the owners themselves without any help from the side of the government. They still are waiting for government to grant them legal status along with redevelopment which is their right. As legend has it, the land belongs to the government since independence and is leased to the mutton market vendors. But after the earthquake, even after more than 10 years when no government action for redevelopment was seen, the people who claim their right over the land have stopped paying the lease renewal money or any other charges like cleaning charge to the municipality. Various rumours regarding the future of the market are also creating a sense of insecurity among the vendors as their livelihood depends on this place.

### Solid Waste Management

A meat market without a proper Solid Waste management system can create a severe problem not only for people who visits such place but also to people who live near the place. It can become a breeding ground for many diseases, if proper care is not taken. During our study, this came out to be one of the major areas of concerns as no proper system was in place for the same. According to vendors, they pay the municipality workers (not municipality) around 400-500 INR in 8 days to clean the garbage twice a week. All the shop owners and vendors dispose the leftovers

in the dustbin which is put there by the municipality. The shop owners and vendors pay Rs 10 in 3-4 days to the 3 people from mutton sellers who in turn pay it to the municipality worker.

An interesting question raised here is why the municipality is not taking responsibility of cleanliness of this area where at the same time other vendors are paying 150/month for the same. Why these people are not paying this money? Is it not asked for or they are not interested in paying? The team got many responses from the people which are included in the table below and would like to leave this question open ended for future study.

### Amenities

The lack of proper amenities like drinking water and public toilet gives a sense of informality of the market in general.

A market which has been traditionally been set up by the royal family about 100 years ago seem to have lost its value in modern times. But this is not particular to this place only, and is seen in the whole city as it lacks proper public toilets and drinking water services which specially affect the women of the city who are left with no option but to wait to return back to their house in emergency. Some female said they control the nature's call until it is too urgent. This may have a serious effect on their health. Even for drinking water either they carry it from their homes or buy small pouches which are available near the market. To wash fish and other meat stuff, people have contributed money to dig a bore well and built a tank with 6 taps which is common to all meat vendors. This tank is near the slaughter place and it used only by meat vendors and not by other vegetables and

View 1	Municipality has not recognized the place after the quake, no reconstruction has been done.  Nobody comes to clean this market. Ready to pay the charges if were given the service.
View 2	No formal agreement between the municipality and vendors about the recognition of place as mutton market after the quake. Municipality simply withdrew from the scene leaving them to manage everything themselves.
View 3	The market exists from about a 100 years back. Raja gave the mutton vendors this place which was later bought by Municipality and now works on lease system. After the earthquake, no lease rent or cleaning charges are being paid as their basic demand of reconstruction of permanent structures has not been fulfilled. On the outer side of the wall, shops have been constructed and given on rent by municipality, so why not to these vendors?
View 4	Municipality has put up a dustbin and comes to clean twice a week for which Rs 10/vendor is collected and given to the worker (not to the municipality).
View 5	There is a proposal to make parking zone on this market land.
View 6	No parking zone or displacement is planned. Only in this local election, one person said that but nothing is on paper.
View 7	According to municipality, land is recognized as Mutton market. There is dustbin there from where garbage is collected regularly. But as no charges are paid, so regular service not is provided. There is staff crunch also.

TABLE 1.6: THE VARIOUS POPULAR VIEWS ON THE MUTTON MARKET

## Storage

A symbiotic relationship is also seen here. The live animals and birds which are not used in the day are taken back to respective homes of vendors. But stuff like fish and mutton which is not sold are packed in plastic boxes with ice and kept in shops of those with permanent structures which they themselves built. If vendors like women who sell in open are left with unsold fish, then they store it either in the shop of master vendor from whom they bought it or have an understanding with other shop owners who provide them space to keep their things without demanding any rent. For vegetable and other vendors, they take their things home along with them and keep their carts either at their homes or rent places paying Rs1200-1500/month.



CONDITION OF DUSTBINS  
AT MUTTON MARKET

## The Life of Aisha Ben

Out of many vendors the team met and interviewed during the study, it selected the life story of 60 year old Aisha Ben who has been selling fish in Mutton market for 25years now. Though she has two daughters and one son, since last 15years she has been living alone after her husband left her to marry and live with another woman right after the earthquake of 2001.



AISHA BEN AT HER HOME

Aisha Ben is an example of the strength and courage of women to sustain herself and live with self-respect even during worst of times. After her husband left her to never come back even to see his children, rather than going and staying at her son's house, she choose not to leave the house where she first came after her marriage and decide to earn her own living by selling fish in the mutton market. Soon after her husband left the house, she started with Pakora stall setup right outside her house where people from her neighbourhood use to come and buy. But this business did not get her enough money for decent living as her mother was also her responsibility at that time, so she turned to fish vending which is dominated by her Kevar community people.

## Role of Community

The fish vending business is a Kevar community dominated business in Bhuj. Aisha Ben lives very close to mutton market and has many contacts and a healthy relationship with people who are already part of this business. Mutton market has space constraints and no outsiders can easily occupy space there to start their business. To setup her



business Aisha Ben was helped by her friend who she says is like her sister. She gave Aisha Ben space to sit with her fish basket near her own vending space in mutton market. They share a bond like siblings and no issues and conflicts have ever taken place between them. The importance of symbiotic relations also comes to fore when we look at the place of residence of Aisha Ben. People in neighbourhood treat her with respect and help her when needed. She does not have water connection at her house and fill in water from common water tap which supplies water twice a week. Many times her daughter who lives right back of her house also visits and stays with her to help. But she takes no money from her and lives with dignity.

A day in Aisha Ben's life:

The day starts at 5AM in the morning when she wakes up and after her routine and tea goes to market at 6AM to buy fish from Seth. She usually deals in small fish like Bui fish, lady fish and Sangari which fits her pocket and has less risk as investment is around Rs 1000-2000 per day. Around 7AM the market starts with buyers coming in and continues till 1:30 PM. She generally makes a profit of RS 300-400/day and when the business is low she keeps the remaining fish in storage space of the main Seth and sells the next day. Business runs with mutual understanding and the owner does not demand any rent for the storage space. At 2PM she comes back to her house and makes lunch for herself and takes a short nap. At the age of 60, she is not having any health problems but now she finds it difficult to work but wants to continue till she can.

## Seasonal Calendar

Fish business is not carried out all round the year and is at its peak only during 4 months of winter season. During summers there is very little business and hardly any money is earned by Aisha Ben. The monsoons show zero business and at this time Aisha Ben is left with nothing in hand.

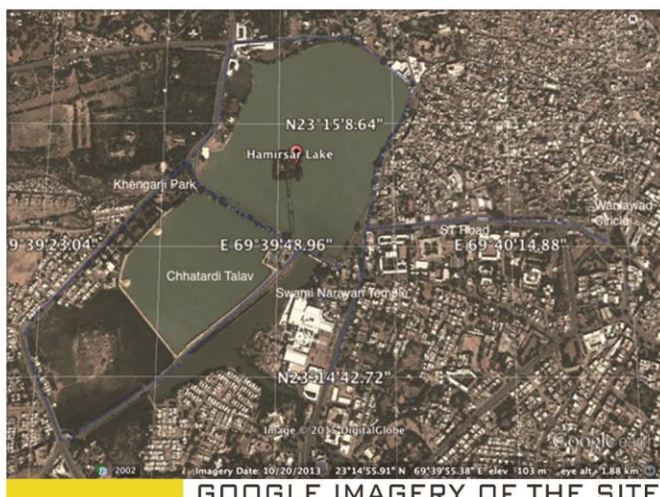
## Group Reflections

To study a place like Mutton market gave the team a lot of questions to think about the people whose livelihood depend on it and also about the actions on the part of government which are needed urgently. The tragedy of 2001 Earthquake shattered the lives of people of Bhuj but their spirit to defeat the pain and again get up with courage deserves huge respect. When one looks at Bhuj now, one sees that development is on its way but maybe in all this the Mutton Market and its people are left feeling ignored. Just adjacent to wall of Mutton Market facing the road one can see shops constructed and rented by Municipality, but at the same time the market which has its existence since more than 100 years reflects that the attention by the government is missing. People complain they have not been compensated after the earthquake and also the legal recognition by the government has not been done. The anger which these people hold needs to be looked into immediately as no one will benefit from it. The urgent need of amenities like toilet and water should be given top priority. If toilets under Swatch Bharat Mission can be constructed in the houses near the market, why is such an important site of the city left behind?

## : Study 2:

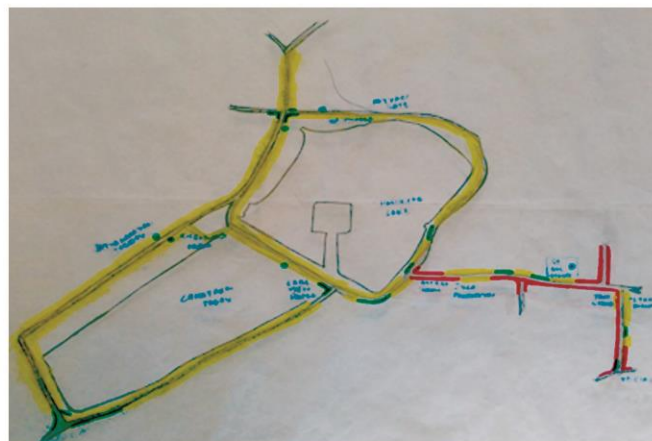
Site : Hamirsar Lank to ST Road

The area around the Hamirsar Lake and ST Bus Stand Road can be called the lifeline of Bhuj because of their importance to the economy of Bhuj. Along with these 2 main stretches, the area around Chhatardi Talav and the entire stretch from the Hamirsar Lake all way until Waniawad Gate and VD Circle was also studied. Because of the presence of the ST Bus Stand and the Chakra stand in these stretches, this stretch sees a lot of daily traffic from nearby villages as well as from around the state. As such numerous hotspots are created and there is a constant flow of people.

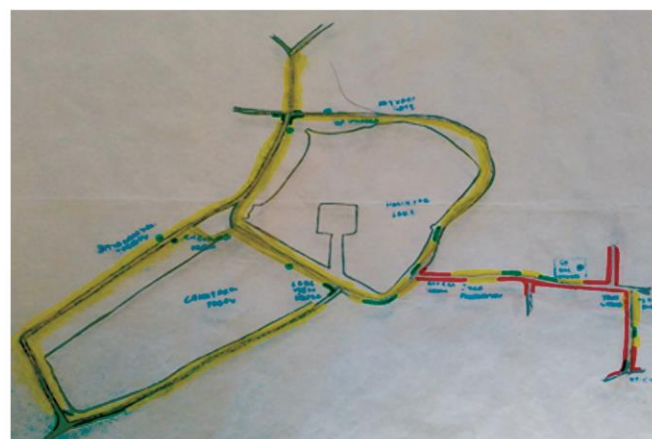


### Intensity Maps

The entire stretch from the Hamirsar Lake to Waniawad Gate has a very high density of vendors. While the type of vending activity changes as per the time of the day there is not much change in the number of vendors per se.



MAP 2.1: DAY TIME INTENSITY OF THE SITE



MAP 2.2: EVENING TIME INTENSITY OF THE SITE

During the day, the Sabzi Mandi takes over the stretch from the ST Bus Stand to the Waniawad Gate. After 9am however, this same stretch sees vending activity of some vegetable and fruits vendors but mostly the vendors with permanent structures outlining the walls are open for business. These vendors sell socks, belts and some small clothing items. The Hamirsar Lake area near the Kutch Museum and the Masjid become a hotspot in the evening. Apart from the more common food and drinks vendors, one can also find swings for kids that open exclusively in the evening. In the evening, the fafda jalebi vendors pave way for those selling omelets on the ST Bus Stand road.

## Transect

As the vending activity in this is really dense, the team focused on certain key parameters while doing our transect walk. These were: Number of vendors in a particular area/ stretch, Gender of the vendor, Type of vending activity, hotspots, structure of vending cart/ stall, closed/ occupied and access to amenities.

## Research Theme

As the focus zone was the main city area with an intense vending activity scene on the ST Road, two kinds of vendors were studied in details:

1. Those selling women's wear along the Alfred School stretch, henceforth referred to as the Women's Clothes market vendors, and
2. The itinerant vendors that were encountered at various points throughout

NUMBERS	14	6		44-50	18-20
GENDER	MALE	5 MALE, 1 FEMALE	FEMALE, MALE	MALE	MALE/FEMALE
TYPES	SERVICE, DRINKS FOOD, VEGETABLES	FOOD, DRINKS	WOMEN'S CLOTHING	CLOTHES, BELTS, LEATHER BAGS, VEG-TAMS, FRUITS FOOD, DRINKS, OMELET	VEGETABLES, FRUITS, DRINKS (2)
HOTSPOTS	-	-	-	-	YES
STRUCTURE	WOODEN CARTS WITH TYRES WOODEN TEMP. STR.	WOODEN TYRE CARTS	BAMBOO ON FOOTPATH, CART WITH WHEELS	CART WITH WHEEL, (BASKET)	WOODEN TEMPORARY STRUCTURE
CLOSED/OCCUPIED	-	-	-	1	1
AMENITIES	VENDORS USE BENCH ALONG THE ENTIRE PATH NO SUCH AMENITY	PUBLIC TOILET WITH 2 SEATS FOR MEN NEAR STAIRS OF PALACE	PUBLIC TOILET, ST BUS STAND TOILET, BATTERIES, WATER BOTTLE	TOILET AND ST BUS STAND, BATTERIES FOR LIGHT, WATER BOTTLE	OPEN GROUND, BATTERIES WATER BOTTLE

TRANSECT DRAWN FOR LEFT SIDE OF THE STREET

NUMBERS	8	10-12	20-25	5-7	12-15
GENDER	Male (all)	Male (all)	Male (all)	MALE	MALE
TYPES	Tea, food	Food, Drinks (major)	Clothes, Vegetables, Fruits, food, Flower (1)	FOOD, DRINKS, CLOTHES VEGETABLES/ FRUITS	CLOTHES (GENTS)
HOTSPOTS	-	Varis, cart with wheels	-	-	-
STRUCTURE	wooden str. (temp stand)	-	Carts with wheels, Basket (1)	CARTS WITH WHEELS	WOODEN TEMPORARY STRUCTURES.
CLOSED/OCCUPIED	-	-	-	-	1
AMENITIES	no toilet no water batteries operated checkbox only	nearby public toilet (open) batteries operated water bottles	Toilet - bus stand batteries operated water bottle	TOILET MAINTAINED AT ST BUS STAND	OPEN GROUND

TRANSECT DRAWN FOR RIGHT SIDE OF THE STREET

the time in this area.

Findings from Sabzi Mandi, and other markets and vendors will also be referred to supplement this study.

This group has attempted to study how natural markets come up, the formal informal rules by which they function. Conscious effort have been made to map the movement of these vendors and their personal life stories in order to create

an understanding of what makes a vendor, and vending profile. Questions such as why people choose to leave behind stable salaried jobs to work as vendors, the factors that help vendors decided where to set up base, as well as the criteria by which the vendors measure their success and more are some being studied in this report. At the end, more questions have been raised through our experience with these two markets.

CATEGORY	OBSERVATIONS
Age	Young boys (12-17 years) vend on individual stalls
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Men – individual vending more common.</li> <li>• Women – Clothes stalls, Corn, Sabzi Mandi etc. Collective vending more common.</li> <li>• Gender based division of work.</li> </ul>
Experience in Vending	<p>Personally for Vendors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Change vending type but have been vending for some time</li> <li>• New to city and new to vending</li> </ul> <p>As Markets:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Might be established as per plan or rule</li> <li>• New spaces being converted into vending zones</li> </ul>
Natives or Migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Migrants usually have smaller set-ups, are mobile.</li> <li>• Migrants dependent on informal social networks to join the trade and type of vending.</li> <li>• Natives at Sabzi Mandi, sell local food – fafda and jalebi.</li> <li>• Migrants sell novel foods – pani poori, chatpatti.</li> </ul>
Mobile/ Stationary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dependent on location and time.</li> <li>• Sabzi Mandi is a fixed market spatially but time bound.</li> <li>• Itinerant vendors moving across space, as per time of the day and where hotspots are formed</li> </ul>
Investment in Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Investment differs based on the product and demand.</li> <li>• Experienced vendors invest more – machines for com, popcom etc.</li> <li>• Change in vending type happens when vendor is able to invest more into the business.</li> </ul>
Individual or Collective Selling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual Selling happens mostly for food stuff eg chatpatti, paani poori, etc.</li> <li>• Collective Selling for bigger vending areas eg the clothes market.</li> </ul>
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Markets are community controlled, historical trade based.</li> <li>• Access to space and vending type is community controlled.</li> </ul>

TABLE 2.1: KEY OBSERVATIONS ON TYPES OF VENDING ACTIVITY FROM THE FIELD

## Case Study 1: Women's Clothes Market

Along the pavement lining the boundary of Alfred School on ST Road, close to the Kutch Museum is a stretch of 15 vendors selling women's clothes. Each set-up is approximately the same size and sells similar items i.e. traditional Indian wear and Kutch design wear. There are 2 bags vendors – 1 with a vending space as large as the clothes vendors and one who has a small cart. There are other mobile vendors who situate themselves in this area during various points of day. This stretch faces the Park View Hotel building which houses some bank branches and other shops. Clothes range between Rs 300 to 1000 depending on quality and detailing of work.

Leaving the bags vendors aside, the 13 odd vendors mostly belonged to one large family that migrated to Bhuj from their villages located near Ahmedabad in 2010.

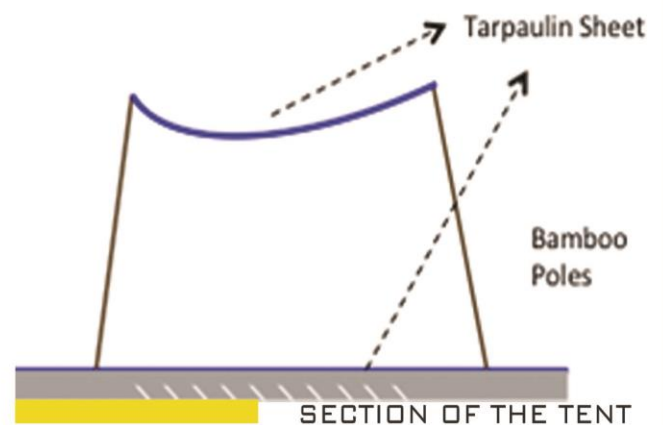


LINES OF CLOTHES VENDOR

This group of vendors presented interesting details about community dynamics and how it can impact control over vending activities which will be discussed further in this report.

### Vending Site

The approximate shop area is 6sq meters. The width of each vending space is about 20ft. There are some shops that are smaller as well (owned by the same family). The structures are all temporary structure and have to be dismantled at the end of the day, a process that takes up to 2 hours. Shops are set up from 9am onwards and the vendors vacate the space at 10pm. One family manages one vending space – men, women and their kids were present at different points in time to sell. Frequent movement between the vendors of the vending space was observed. Some women quipped about being “jethani-devrani” and mentioned more relatives in this small stretch.



SECTION OF THE TENT



TIMELINE WITH THE SPATIAL HISTORY OF THIS PAVEMENT

## Life Story of Aziz Noor Mohammed: Bag Vendor at the clothes Market



AZIZ ATTENDING TO HIS CUSTOMERS

Aziz set up his vending space in 2012. Born in 1974 to family of 6 brothers, Aziz is an original Kutch resident. His village Chhasra is located in Mundra, about 14 kms from the Adani Port. Originally from a farming household, Aziz graduated with a BA from Bhuj University. After graduation he shifted to Mumbai in 1996 to work as a distributor for toiletries with Hindustan Levers Ltd. He was also compelled to make this move as he had married without his parent's consent to a girl he met during his college days. However, Mumbai at first was not a smooth ride. He left his distributor job as he had been given the incentives he was promised despite meeting his targets. After quitting this job, Aziz went to work at the West View Showroom in Matunga East. Here he worked as salesman until 2011. Signing to work at a mere monthly salary of Rs 800 in 1996 proved to be hard deal. His house rent in Vasai at that time was Rs 1500 itself. To supplement his income, Aziz worked at a garment factory in Jogeshwari Andheri area, removing threads from clothes until 2am every day. Luckily, his salesman job

soon proved to be a boon as his salary jumped to Rs 8000 per month within a year's time. As West View where he sold cosmetics, the shopping crowd mostly comprised of NRIs and the Mumbai elite. Everyday he would take the 8.15am local from Vasai and reach his workplace by 9.30am. Even a delay of 1 minute could affect his bonus package. By the time Aziz left his job, he was learning Rs 27000 per month. He was also guaranteed 2 months salary as bonus and 30 days leave. This allowed him to buy a Maruti Swift and a flat in Vasai. Things changed when his father passed away in 2011 and he was forced to relocate back to Bhuj in order to claim his right over his inheritance. His father a zamindar owned huge property in his village, on his death the property was to be divided into equal parts between the brothers. However, the Gujarat State government's rules do not allow for division by the owner alone. The property had to be allocated in 60:40 in which the majority would go to the farmer tilling the land and the rest to the owner. This created trouble between the brothers and Aziz had to come back to stay in Bhuj so that he could own his share of the property. This meant a loss of stable salary and his way of life in Mumbai, one that he had come to enjoy. Starting from scratch, Aziz set to become a vendor, he bought himself a cart and started selling hair accessories, make-up and imitation jewelry in the same stretch as he is in now. Bhuj proved to be more expensive if he wanted to enjoy the same living as in Mumbai where he could send his children to English medium schools. In all this while, Aziz has never borrowed any money from anyone and any bank and has been living off his savings.

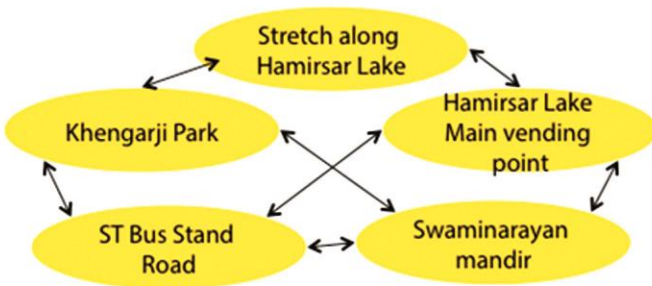
## Case study 2: Itinerant vendors from Agra



RAJU, 12 YEARS. ONE OF THE YOUNGEST ITINERANT

### Vending Sites of the Itinerant Vendors

These vendors can be found usually at the following sites from 7am to 7pm.



Their movement as per the time of the day can be traced as follows:

Morning: S.T. Bus Stand stretch - Sabzi Mandi area. Khengarji Park

Afternoon: Seating area at Hamirsar Lake

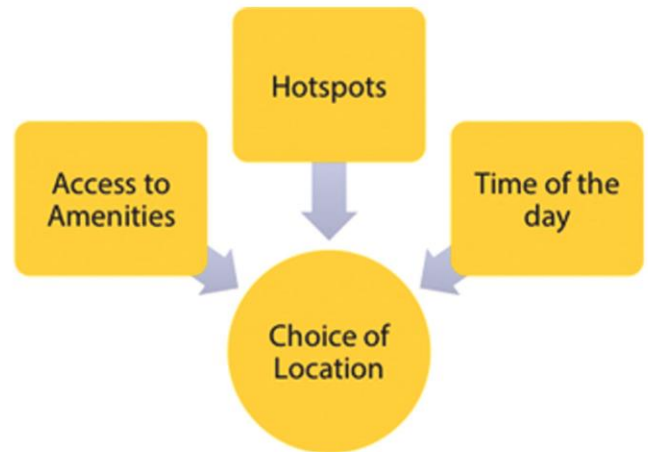
Evening: Market area at S.T. Bus Stand road. Swaminarayan Temple

Night: Areas where is a gathering/ programme taking place. For instance the Jubilee Ground

The vendor's choice of location is dependent on the following factors:

The vendors naturally situate themselves where they can access amenities such as drinking water and toilets such temples etc. They go to locations where they

hope to find more crowds such as museums, temples, Hamirsar lake area. The time of the day is crucial for locating this crowd for instance, more people frequent parks in the morning and the evening so the vendors make their way to the Khengarji Park then.



Economy

Seasonal Calendar

Vending activity in this stretch is affected by seasons depending on the vending type. In the women's clothes market, maximum amount of sale usually took place between October to January which is when there are a number of festivals happening such as Eid, Diwali etc. It is also the tourist season in Kutch – the Rann Utsov happens in December-January. For the sabzi mandi, the only difference is the change in the vegetables that take place, the amount of vending activity remains the same. However, the team was not able to gather a better understanding if livelihoods of certain vegetable vendors were affected by the change in seasonal products. The itinerant vendors from Agra had varied cycles. Some of them worked in Bhuj for a few months and then headed back to Agra, so they were seasonal in that sense. The older migrants intended to

stay for a few years before heading back.

## Value Chain

The value chain of the women's clothes market has been captured in the image below. The clothes vendor would buy their stock of women's clothes a month in advance from their wholesalers in Mumbai and Ahmedabad. These clothes are then sold over a period of a month; after which, some of the unsold clothes are returned back to the wholesaler based on the terms of relationship and some are kept with them in hope of future sale. These clothes vendor are also the only resellers of a certain type of traditional Gujarati dress to shops within the town of Bhuj. Each clothes vendor had a separate accounting system, even though they belonged to the same family. As such they all travelled on their own to their suppliers in order to get the stock of new clothes.

These new clothes come to Bhuj via trains from Mumbai or Ahmedabad. However the vendor themselves travelled in luxury here buses to these areas. The clothes are taken back to their home at the end of the day. The set-up process takes place daily and can be quite time-consuming as all the clothes vendors share the same auto that makes to and fro rounds from home to their area. The vendors recently introduced western wear in their collection – a conscious decision taken after requests from the customers. In that sense, their cycle is affected by decisions taken by customers.

Compared to this market the itinerant vendors have a shorter value chain. This is one only source of the chatpatti raw materials – that is the oldest migrant from Agra – Mr Shripal. He does most of the frying at home and rest of the materials he gets from the shops within the city. All the Agra vendors who are selling chatpatti – both young boys and men get

## LINKAGES TO OTHER ACTORS



16

CHART 2.1: VALUE CHAIN FOR THE CLOTHES MARKET



get their stuff from him. They then sell these chatpatti as Rs 10 and Rs 20 packs. This is a fixed price across town and they say they do no charge differentially, based on where they are or who they sell to. Their raw materials includes corn flakes fried, boiled chana, chana beaten, cut tomatoes and onions, lemon juice, salt and chili. There is no competition between these vendors as they are charging the same price. The team also found as small as , about 5-6 vendors in a stretch around the Swami Narayanan Temple complex.

## Credit

The clothes vendor had a credit relationship with their suppliers in Ahmedabad and Mumbai. They were able to get stock of clothes on credit based on their reputation and relationship. The itinerant vendors on the other hand, in some cases have a Seth to whom they pay a monthly vending fee of Rs 3000, which they try and earn back over the month. The team however is not sure about the exact nature of this relationship.

FREQUENCY	ACTORS	NATURE OF NEGOTIATIONS (Whether Avoidable/ Necessary)	OUTCOME
DAILY	Customers	Types: a) Those that haggle but buy b) Those that haggle without buying c) Those that threaten Unavoidable but highly important for the sale to take place.	(1) Sale of items and profit earned. (2) Loss in expected in sale value. (3) Fear of threats becoming real.
	Gender	Wives and Husbands taking turns to vend. Necessary and useful. Symbiotic relationship	
MONTHLY	Suppliers	Necessary for continuity of business. Symbiotic relationship	(1) Availability of Credit
	Nagarpalika	Unavoidable Coercive	(1) Cleaning Tax @Rs 500. Unwillingness to pay could result in closure of business. (2) Willing to pay as much as asked for
	Traffic Police	Unavoidable Coercive One-sided	(1) Dabaan Rs 300. Unwillingness to pay could result in dire consequences (2) Loss of revenue
YEARLY	Prospective Vendors (?)	Vendors in power. Use of political clout.	(1) Control over vending territory → Control over revenue.
	Other Relatives (?)	Vendors in power to support their own community.	(1) Community specific progression in livelihood and wealth

TABLE 2.2: MAPPING NEGOTIATION WITHSTAKEHOLDERS

AMENITIES	GENDER			WHETHER DONE INDIVIDUALLY OR COLLECTIVELY
	Aziz	Men	Women	
Water	Sourced from home			Collectively
Toilets	Public Toilet near Mosque	Go back home		Individually
Electricity	Battery operated			Collectively
Inventory Storage	Bags stay inside the Van	Home, needs to be transferred out of the auto every night.		Collectively for the family. Individually for Aziz.

TABLE 2.3: MAPPING NEGOTIATIONS WITH ACCESS TO AMENITIES

The issues with lack of access to amenities are many:

- Gender – Men, are better able to deal with the lack of amenities, as they are mobile. Men ride on scooters back home on their own while women have to be escorted all the way back.
- Daily rental for the battery, although minimal is still a continuous overhead which might increase depending on who it is being sourced from.
- Lack of permanence of space and setting up time eats into the time available for selling.

## Livelihoods

### Conflicts

Meeting with one of the officers of Nagar Palika during the fieldwork regarding the street vending activity gave the team a clear hint that street vending is not part of formal economy of Bhuj. There have been clashes between street vendors, traffic police and officials of Nagar Palika. Most of these clashes are thought of as the only ones, which these vendors have to go through. But there have been incidents of clashes and argumentation that have happened between street vendors of same community, of different community, with the customers and with the shopkeepers. While working on the field and talking to these vendors and their relationship with other vendors, some insecurity could be sensed with regard to new vendors occupying the space and with the help of their well built social networks and relations helping their family and friends to set up business in vending.

As we worked in our field, we could categorize the existing conflicts in two categories:

### 1. Superficial/ Visible Conflicts:

The sabzi mandi market near S.T. Bus Stand operates from 5am to 9 am in the morning every day of the week. After 9am the market is replaced with the other vendors of food, drinks, dabeli-walas, clothes etc and also all the shops open up. The sabzi mandi market is dependent on the bus stand on the same road and so is the bus stand. The traffic police have to manage the buses, autos and chakrawala and private vehicle every morning. This sabzi market is a wholesale market therefore the customers are not just the ones who live in town but are also the ones who live in nearby villages and uses buses to reach to market. The retailers act as customers to the wholesalers. While the team was working on field and asking questions about the relationship status with traffic police and municipal officials, the vendors complained that the police comes once in every 2 or 3 weeks and take fresh vegetables in kilos without necessarily paying for them. And when the vendors ask for money the traffic police warn them of removing their carts from that area. Thus there is a visible tension amongst the vendors and the traffic police working together in the sabzi mandi.

### A Case the on Superficial Conflicts in Sabzi Mandi

While working on the field work in sabzi mandi area, an incident came up during

during the times of difficulties or not. But this particular incident made things in context of vendors as helping hands to each other quite clear. One of the vendors, when he was setting his stall to sell was interrupted by a policeman. The policemen asked him to give him few kilos of vegetables, which cost him in hundreds. When the vendor asked for the money from the policemen, his words were not taken seriously. The vegetable vendor refused to give the vegetables. The policemen then threatened to remove his stall such that he will not be able to make any sale in the coming days. Looking at this when the team quizzed other vendors that what they did in this situation to help their fellow vendor, they clearly mentioned that it was a personal matter and they could not interfere in somebody else's matter. Also not just they decided not to help him but he was made fun of because of his informal attitude shown for the policemen.

When the team further asked the vendors that if they work as a community or as independent sellers their answer was the latter. This attitude came as a surprise to us.

## 2. Silent/ Hidden Conflicts:

While on field, talking to women sitting in clothes market near Hamirsar lake, the women never happened to mention any dispute with any of the officials of either nagar palika or traffic police. But while interviewing Aziz (the bags vendor on the same stretch), he mentioned that how he had to go through a formal fight with these women and their families to get space for himself on the pavement to set

up his business. Aziz used his connections to make space for his business to set up. The then collector of the town gave a notice to close the entire stretch for 22 days. Aziz could finally get space to set up his bag stall. And now Aziz is helping his brother to set up his business right next to him. Thus Aziz is trying to involve his family and friends too in the business on the pavement stretch just like the 6 brothers who have already helped each other to set up the business.



SABZI MANDI, EARLY MORNING

## Symbiotic Relationships:

Visiting any of the markets, it may appear to one that street vendors are independent small entrepreneurs, but actually all of them are dependent in one way or another on each other. Taking the example of the field work in sabzi mandi and the chatpatti walas, the team noticed that early morning at 5 am it is not just the vendors selling fruits and vegetables who make a sale but also the tea stalls and the stalls of khakra and jalebi (morning breakfast for the people of bhuj) come up. The chatpatti wala also reach the mandi early in the morning to sell their chapatti. Thus not only vendors depend on customers and vice versa but

but also there was a collaborative relationship which was noticed of vendors being dependant on other vendors in one way or the other. Also these days a common trend of helping family members to join the business and thus setting collaborative family setup to run vending in a street could be seen. Taking into account the fact that the group of 35-40 people of all age group, who are from Agra have been helping each other for decades now (some 3 decades) provided insight, that not just these people help each other to set up the businesses but also they help each other to find affordable shared rooms on rent and also help them in learning the technique and strategies to run a business successfully.



CHATPATTI VENDOR

The photo is of Shripal, who is one of the oldest vendors from Agra. He has been here for 25 years and has progressed from a chatpatti seller to a pop-corn seller over the years.

Some of the chatpatti walas also sell on their motorbike – such that this arrangement above. This is an example of an upward trajectory in form of upgradation of ways of selling followed by these vendors.



CHATPATTI CONTAINER ON A BIKE

Lives

### Home and Livelihood Relations

Across the fieldwork and while talking to the street vendors during the fieldwork especially women, the team could conclude that it is easier for both male and female vendors if their homes are nearby their field of work. The female vendors mentioned the point that it is easier to take care of kids and prepare food and alternate the vending activity with their husbands if home is closer to work area. For most of the vendors their home was closer to workplace, within 1km of the vending market.

The relationship of home and workplace is of outmost importance especially in case of street vending. Transportation cost is reduced to a great extent for vendors. During the fieldwork, it was realized that amenities in context of sanitation especially for women hardly existed. And most of the time public toilets in especially for women are not available in Indian cities. Thus, understanding the work home relationship and the availability of amenities for all vendors are important points for consideration while framing street vending policies and deciding zones.

## Social Capital

The Women's Clothes market vendors came from the Motiburu village in Dholka Taluka under Zilla Ahmedabad that is about 20 kms from the Dholera Airport. The population of their village according is 6000 persons only and their family is mostly dedicated to farming on their own (and most times, on other people's land). They were compelled to move because of poverty. Belonging to the Gathiawadi community, they have managed to create a big relatives network in Bhuj. Initially they came as a small group but have been joined by their relatives over the years.

Same is the case with group from Agra selling chatpatti in Bhuj. They initiated their business with group of 4 people and are 40 in town today. The trust and faith, which they have in people of their community, is the social capital that they have been building for years now and have become the support system for each other. The team noticed during their fieldwork that in Sabzi Mandi people were not just of one community but from different communities and hence were reluctant to help each other in times of difficulty. While on the other hand the Chatpatti walas not just helped each other in town but also helped people from their community who were new in business by providing they place to live when new vendors came in from Agra to Bhuj. Thus social capital is of utmost importance when it comes to street vending. It acts as vendor's true support system.

## Quality of Life

Most of the street vendors the team came across were actually spending good quality of life. Some of them seem not just satisfied with what they were doing but also were happy and had come to Bhuj to enjoy for some time, explore the town, earn and spend the money earned (the group of people from Agra especially the kids who come to Bhuj to enjoy for 4-5 months).

Looking at the quality of life of these vendors came as a surprise to the team. One usually has this notion that vending is very monotonous, tiring and not very productive job, but that is not always true. Vendors with whom the team developed a friendly relationship told us that they have not just managed to set up their business but also have purchased a 3 room house for themselves worth Rs 2 lakh within 2 years of starting of their business (three chatpatti vendors). Hence when it comes to quality of life, this aspect of vending community is actually quite unpredictable.

## Migration

Migration was a common phenomenon that could be seen amongst the vendors on our stretch. Taking the case of women's clothing market and the group from Agra, most of them were migrants. Here the migrants were also of various types. Few formed the group of seasonal migrants who were coming to Bhuj for 3-4 months, earning, spending and saving some and then going back to home town.

Another group was of the vendors who have settled here with their families now but earlier were seasonal vendors.

The most complicated part of making a policy for vendors and its implication is dealing with these migrants. Where to add them and how to keep a track on their activities? The important aspect that the team realized during the fieldwork was that most of these migrants were working under a common leader (Chatpatti wala case) or are part of larger group (the women clothing market). Hence, while making the policy for street vending in any area, it is important to look for such groups, which would help in tracing the route and trajectory of the migrant vendors on street.

## Caste and Communities

It is assumed that in India people are happy to talk about caste and community to other in public places, but while working on field and when asked about the question about their community, the vendors were quite reluctant to share the name of the community in this case. On the other hand the vendors made one thing very clear that they don't allow people of other community or caste to share the vending space on which they are working so easily.

Caste and communities function in the stretch in two ways.

1. The vendors can leave their business as a responsibility to the other vendors belonging to their community (their village say). On the stretch of women clothing market one of the vendors and his family members were going to attend

a marriage leaving their business to the fellow community vendors for the coming 10 days.

2. These groups or communities prefer to motivate people from their community to start up the business as vending and do not allow people from other community to occupy the space, which has de-facto come to 'belong' to them.

Thus people in vending activity are very particular about who is sitting next to them and competing with them in the same business. They consider people from their caste or community as a boon because same community people act as social support.

## Group Reflections

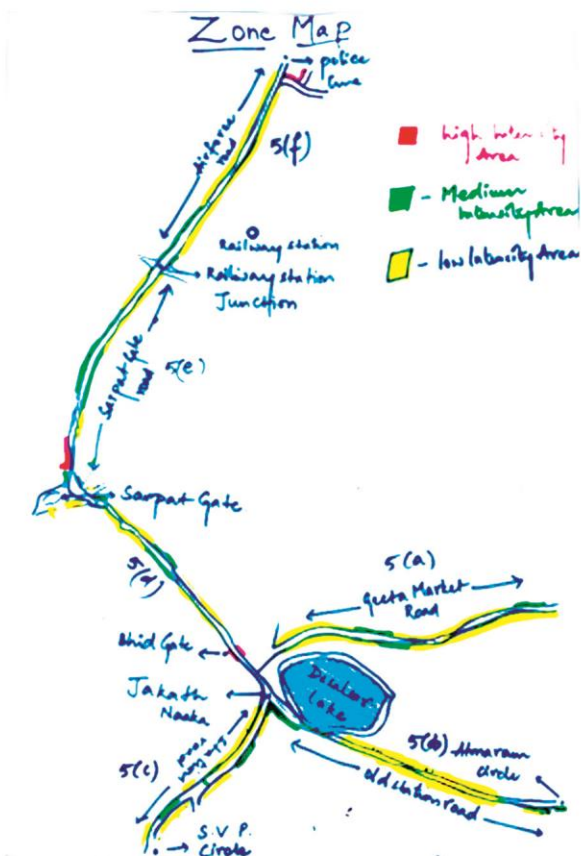
During the fieldwork, the team came across many markets that one would have ordinarily not thought about twice. Understanding these markets, their life cycles, how the vendors function and make decisions, seeing as people in continuous movement has made one appreciate their presence even more. The interviewers doubt that there will ever be a time when one comes across a street vendor and does not think about his or her work, story, and occupation of providing for his or her family.

## : Study 3 :

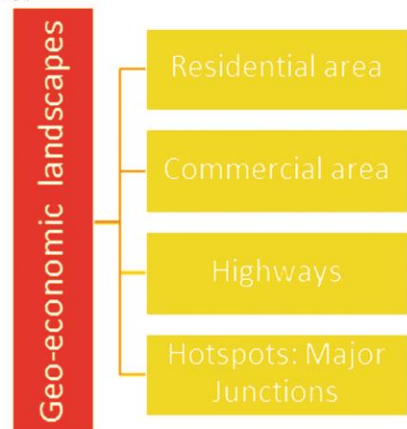
Site : Around Desalsar Lake (Police line to Atma Ram Circle)

Lying on the outskirts of the old city of Bhuj around the Desalsar lake, Zone 5 covers a lot of area-with notable hotspots being Jakath Naaka, Bhid Gate and Sarpat gate- extending up to Atma Ram circle, S.V.P circle, Geeta Market road and police line. The area comprises of a diverse geo-economic landscape which ranges from residential areas to business areas on one end and a busy junction centre to low income informal housing on the other. As a result of the diverse demography of this area, there is a diversified economy as well. Likewise, the variety of vending, intensity and types of vendors (mobile to stationary) also changed from place to place.

This was most apparent in the commercial area where in the vendors were mostly selling pan, gutka and tea. In contrast, in the residential areas there were also women moving vendors present who were selling the daily household items such as vegetables, fruits, logs of wood etc. to the lower income groups. On the whole, vending in this zone was sparse in accordance to space and intensity. Though this leads to very less (or no) conflict between the vendors or between the vendors and other stakeholders such as the Bhuj Municipal Polity or police, it also leads to having no internal coherence amongst the vendors. But overall, there is a lack of recognition from the municipality for these vendors.



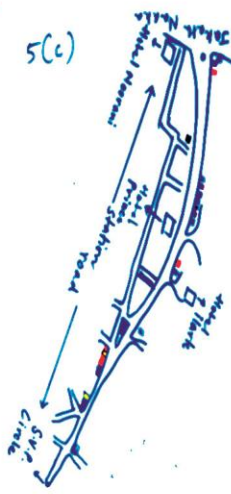
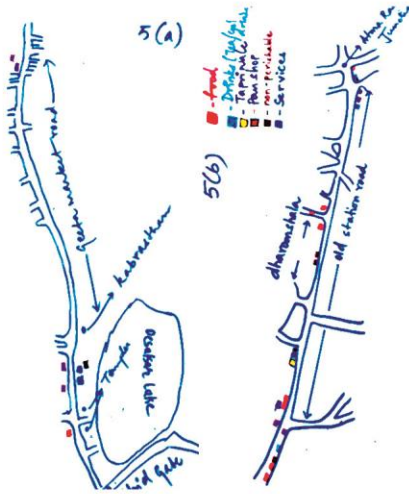
MAP 3.1 : INTENSITY MAPPING OF STUDY 3



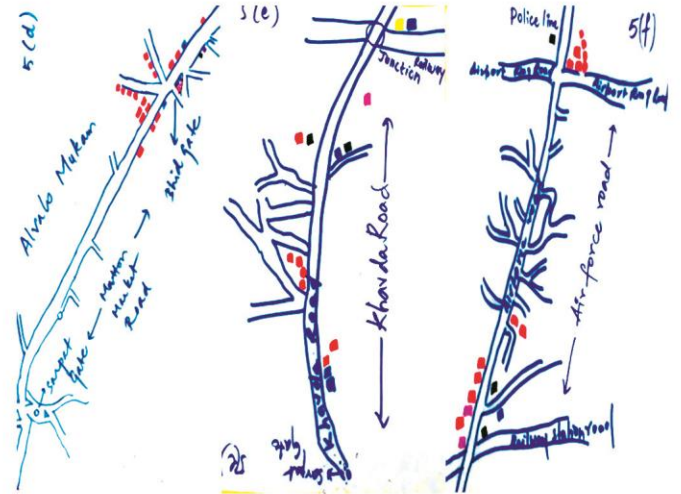
DIVIDING SITE INTO DIFFERENT GEO-ECONOMIC SPHERES

Lack of Amenities (overall)

- No toilet facility all across- vendors mostly openly urinate.
- There are also situations where in the vendors use the bathrooms at homes (especially women moving vendors) or offices or institutions (seen in commercial area- 5c of our zone).
- No water facility: most vendors bring water from homes or use from other nearby hotels or offices.
- Electricity: No electricity, use batteries to light up their carts.



MAP 3.2: 5(A), 5(B) AND 5(C) DEPICTING THE VENDING PATTERN



MAP 3.3: 5(D), 5(E) AND 5(F) DEPICTING THE VENDING PATTERN

**Residential Area 5a, 5e, 5f**

- Mobile vendors also present along with stationary carts
- Mostly vegetables, fruits, wood logs, pots, snacks sold
- Increase in women vendors observed
- Customers: Lower income residents

**Commercial Area 5c**

- Mostly stationary vendors
- Mostly tea, pan and gutka vendors
- Only male vendors (with helpers in some cases)
- Office goers and related institutions employees

**Highways (or roads connecting to them) 5b and 5d**

- Very scarce vendor population – spatial and intensity
- Food, tea and gutka vendors
- Only male vendors
- Travellers on the road

**Hotspots (Bhidgate and Sarpat Gate)**

- Intensely populated-natural markets
- Major conglomeration of various actors
- Include stationary and mobile vendors
- mostly male vendors
- Women present but only as moving vendors
- Varied customer-s-travellers + regular customers

UNDERSTANDING THE LANDSCAPES ALONG THE LINES OF THE MAJOR PARAMETERS

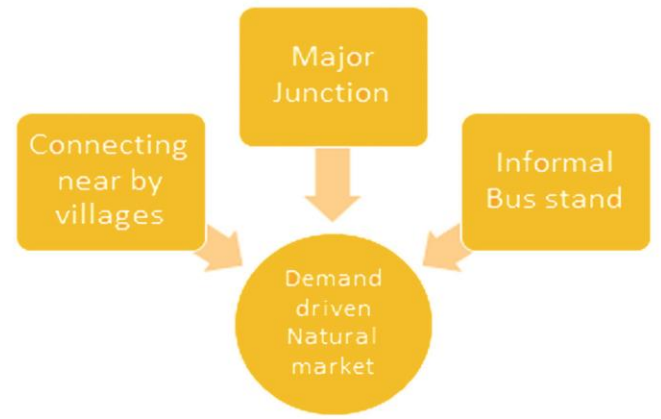
**Sample Area: Sarpat Gate**

Sarpat Gate is local vending ecosystem with a thriving population of various types of vending and has a greater intensity in comparison to other areas in the stretch. This is major junction connecting the Bhuj as a city to its neighbouring villages such

as the Benni, Khavda, Pascham etc. This junction has makeshift bus stop in front of these vending carts. Therefore, the travellers become their major customers. These villagers come to the city of Bhuj for important works such as apply for ration, adhaar cards, other govt. work and also for medical services due to lack of proper



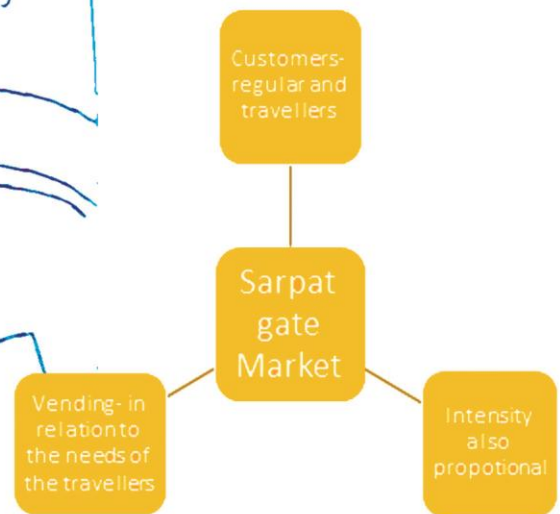
hospitals in the adjoining areas. Therefore, in the larger city economy, the Sarpat Gate economy basically serves the (mostly) lower income travellers travelling to and fro from the city. Therefore, different types of vending also only includes selling of food items (breakfast, evening snacks and packed foods), tea vendors and fruits and vegetables. Also they sell cheap toys, shoes and assorted items for kids.



SHOWING SARPAT GATE AS DEMAND DRIVEN MARKET AND ITS CONSEQUENCES



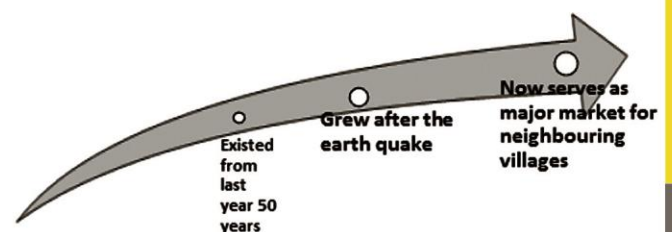
MAP 3.4: MAPPING VENDORS AT SARPAT GATE



### History of the Market (Trajectory)

This junction has risen as natural market over the years and a particular part of this junction that has been taken up for study in detail is populous in terms of the vendors and their customers. The vendors claim that this market has been developing from the past 50 years. The tea vendor who is one of the first vendors in this space (noticeable due to larger area for his cart/hotel) than the others. Till around 15-20 years back there were very few vendors on this junction, as Bhuj city had not grown out of its old city and also there wasn't much inflow into the city from the surrounding villages due to lack of established transportation system. It was little before and during the earthquake that most migrated to the

outskirts of the old city and settled there. This led to an influx of customers as they were still using the markets of the old city (as their markets have not developed as yet). This has also increased the number of vendors and introduced different types of vending to the area. Also this has given rise to major space crunch, as was observed in this particular space.



GROWTH OF SARPAT GATE MARKET

SUMMER:	WINTER
Tea vending	Cool drinks (or just close their shops)
Vegetables and fruits- summer items- melons, mangoes Along with items which are produced all year	Winter items- grapes, oranges etc.
Pan, packed food and bhedis etc-	No change
Non-perishable items- toys, shoes; services- present all throughout the year	No change

TABLE 3.1: SEASONAL CALENDER

## Relationship with Stakeholders

### Customers:

They have a good rapport with their customers. The vendors claim that there are regular customers which they get at certain times of the day and they give them extra items as incentive too. But their income is dependent on mostly travellers. Therefore, they say they behave as politely and decently as possible.

### Police:

The relationship of the vendors with the police is a little complicated- most claim that they don't have any problems with the police. But some of them also claim that some vendors have greater connection with the police than the others and therefore, there is a fear in them that those vendors shall be safer than the others if and when eviction takes place. Also, they claim that when new police officers join the force, they come over to threaten them of eviction so as to establish their supremacy over the vendors.

### Municipality:

This relationship is also very similar to their relationship with the police. Some vendors have better relations with the municipality than others. All these

complexities feed into their internal relations.

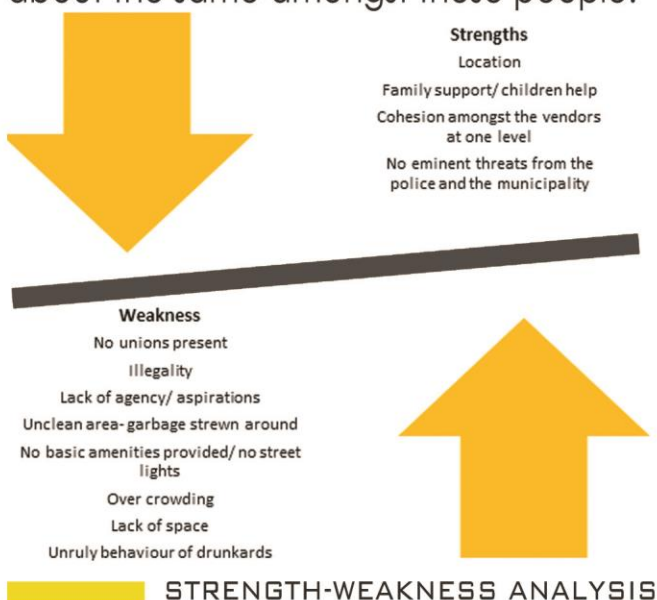
### Internal Governance:

The relationship of the vendors amongst themselves is very complex. At one level, everyone is almost like family to each other. They know each other's family histories, daily life, issues at home, occupation etc. They keep a look out for the each other's carts, even take care of their business for a certain period of time if and when needed. They protest against the drunk men creating a nuisance in the park behind their carts. There is also no segregation on the basis of the religion and caste. Also some vendors have an understanding as far as timing and space utilization is concerned. There is also a notable incident- all these vendors club money to provide free water, food, and medical expenses for 4 days to the travellers on their way to the Haji Pir. But when it comes to forming a union and fighting for themselves, it has never been successful because they are paranoid that some vendors will take up the leadership position and manipulate others and have more incentive from the police and the municipality.



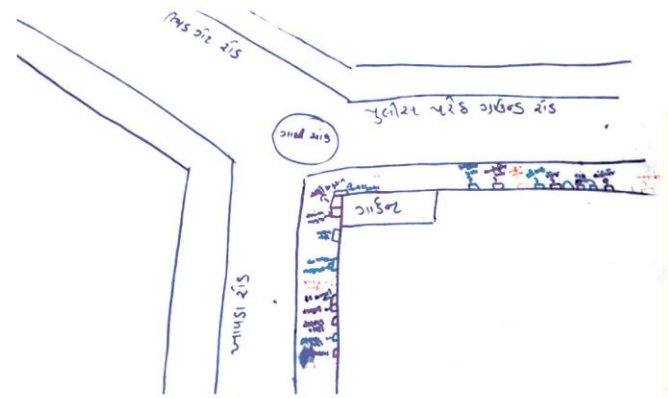
## Home and Livelihood

Most vendors live in the nearby villages. They travel by their own vehicles or public transport to reach Sarpat gate. The vendors live in their own houses- only few live in rented houses. They also have married off their children at very young ages, especially girls. When asked why, they say that is the purpose of a woman's life, education will not be of much help anyway. Their sons are educated to a certain level but they are also mostly brought back into the same profession as themselves. In most cases, this is the sole occupation which takes care of households of minimum of 3 and most vendors spend most of their time of the day in their carts- until the market dies down. They earn around 150-250 per day after all the outlays taken away which is mostly used up for the daily needs. They go through what is called the hand to mouth experience. They earn enough to feed their family and other related expenses but they are not prepared to endure any major health issues or other shocks. This precarious situation of theirs is supplemented by lack of licences or insurance. There is also no awareness about the same amongst these people.



## Entitlements

Most of them have ration cards but their entitlements vary and are not in accordance with the provisions of National food security act. For eg:-They are getting only 8 kg of wheat but policy provision is 25 kg. They are entitled to subsidised gas cylinders .They pay market rate and subsidised amount is transferred to their account which is linked with Aadhar cards. They have bank accounts in schemes like Jhan Dhan Yojna but are not aware of different facilities like overdraft or insurance facilities linked to it.



**PARTICIPATORY MAPPING BY VENDORS AT SARPAT GATE**

## In Future

This is a natural market which has been in existence with a lot of disadvantages at present. If any of the current problems increases in nature- such as lack of space, intensity of vendors or travellers etc. - it may lead to conflict in the now dormant areas. Also lack of amenities- toilets, street lights for public is a raising concern. Therefore, there is a dire need of re-imagining of the current market not only in terms of space but also in terms of visibility, amenities, inclusion of symbiotic relations, and responsibility of the municipality. Also providing them with a legal status would help the current vendors in establishing their business thus securing their livelihoods.

## Moving Vendors: Another Dimension

### Understanding

This is a collaboration of manual labour and vending and it is quite unlike the stationary vending. They mostly sell perishable goods and related items- such as vegetables, fruits, logs of wood and cooking pans made out of mud. Increase in women vendors observed in this type of vending. This is to supplement the income for the home. Storage of their goods is generally at home. They usually cater to population in residential areas- therefore they have no regular customers/income. They also travel long distances every day in order to increase their sales. They usually operate in the mornings- mostly due to the items they sell (mostly perishable or related items) demand at that given time and also convenience (sunlight, safety etc.) They too have hand to mouth existence like the other vendors-i.e. have no savings.

### Issues

- Harsh sunlight, tiresome work
- No Amenities

- Health problems over years
- No Recognition
- No regular sales

### Suggestions

In the short term, these vendors can be provided with hoods/roofs over their carts which will protect them from the harsh sunlight for the most part. In the long term, designated places for clean drinking water and public toilets should be constructed. This is a requirement for both stationary and moving vendors. Recognition in terms of licences and health insurance is also required.

Subsequently, a space can be made for formation of market of moving vendors. This can be created in the evenings for few hours. This will also give the vendors some rest and also more sales. It will also give variety in the items sold and ease of access for the customers. This can be created in the commons-in the residential area- around the temples, mosques etc. or some grazing area. The villagers and the vendors can act as the primary stakeholders.



OPEN GRAZING GROUND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ASHA PURA VILLAGE WHICH CAN BE USED FOR CREATING EVENING MARKET FOR MOVING VENDORS.

## The Curious Case of Issaq



ISSAQ AT HIS HOME

This is the story of 52 year old Issaq, a transgender living in Bhuj, Gujrat and earning his daily lives by selling logs of wood within a stretch of 5 km from airport ring road to Sarpat gate.

The main propelling idea behind interviewing him was to get an insight into the various societal challenges which a transgender has to go through and relate those with economy and livelihood and at the end we got some riveting facts which changed our very outlook towards a transgender.

Issaq was born into a Muslim family and has 4 male siblings. At the age of 12; he was introduced into this job of cutting woods and selling them for sustaining a livelihood. Thus apart from his father, he used to earn to supplement his family income. 40 years back, he bought his axe for Rs 15 and an NGO had donated to him his vending cart which is still being used by him. He started selling wood which is used as fuel by poor slum dwellers for a sum of Rs 15 which has increased to

Rs 300/cart (capacity of one cart is around 200 kg of wood).

Issaq's day begins around 4 am and he leaves for his destination at 6 am. Issaq has to travel roughly 5 km which takes 2 hours to reach his destination where there are patches of babool trees at the outskirts of the protected forest area. So he does not need permission from forest department to cut those trees. He has a pet dog named 'Changu' to accompany him on his walks. It takes him around 2 hours to cut enough trees to fill his vending cart and around 10 am, Issaq starts his return journey for home and on the way back he sells those wood to poor slum dwellers for a sum of Rs 300/kg. Even though he does not have fixed customers, his integrity is well known and his customers do not even think about weighing those wood logs before buying. Issaq reaches his home by 2 pm. He then joins his family members for lunch -which means they wait until he gets home every day. This shows the love and affection the family has for Issaq.



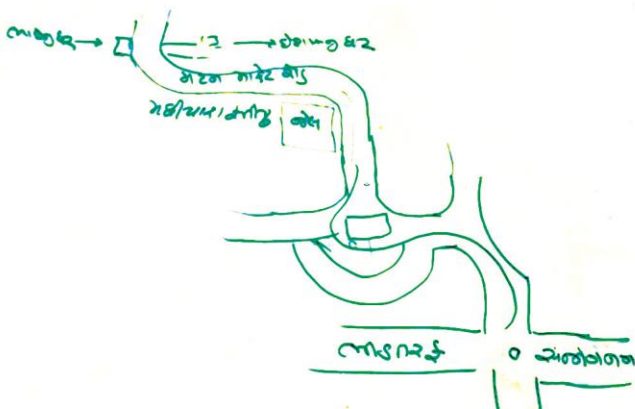
MAP 3.5: DAILY ROUTE OF ISSAQ FROM SARPAT GATE TO AIRPORT RING ROAD

Issaq has been the breadwinner for his family from a very small age and his family members are very grateful for this contribution. Also 10 years back, his eldest brother passed away and it was up to Issaq to take care of his brother's wife and

children and Issaq did a commendable job by educating them and making them independent. As a result, his nephews look up to him as their father and are more than eager to take care of him in his old age. Also Issaq has a very good equation with his neighbours and is invited to all of their functions and special occasions. Religious beliefs of Issaq are very liberal and secular as result, he is called to important functions of both Hindu and Muslim families of his neighbourhood.

Issaq has been able to inspire a different outlook amongst the interviewers, about transgenders. In our traditional society, transgenders are looked down upon and ostracised but Issaq's case has presented a contrasting way to look at some accepted facts of society and societal norms.

More than that, Issaq's outlook towards life is something which every person should look forward to. Despite not belonging to accepted societal norms, he comes across as a person who is very optimistic and has good hope for the future. He is content and satiated and that's partly also because of the emotional support he has got from his family which is also his source of motivation to keep working.



ISSAQ'S DAILY ROUTE DRAWN BY HIM

## Symbiotic Relationships

These relationships are found in various dimensions. This is also another dimension which can be concentrated upon when re-imagining the vending economies in future.

### Case 1: Between Vendors & Customers

This is seen in Noorani Hotel road (5c) case. There is no public pay and use toilet in the area. One municipality toilet which was present was demolished by the earthquake and no efforts have been made to rebuild the same. The vendors therefore, have their own personal (not so personal) connections with shops/buildings/petrol pumps around. This is advantageous to both the parties involved. The vendors not only have a toilet facility but also make regular customers out of the employees of these institutions. Institution employees also get valued vendors- thus reflecting that this relationship is based on trust.

### CASE 2: Among Vendors

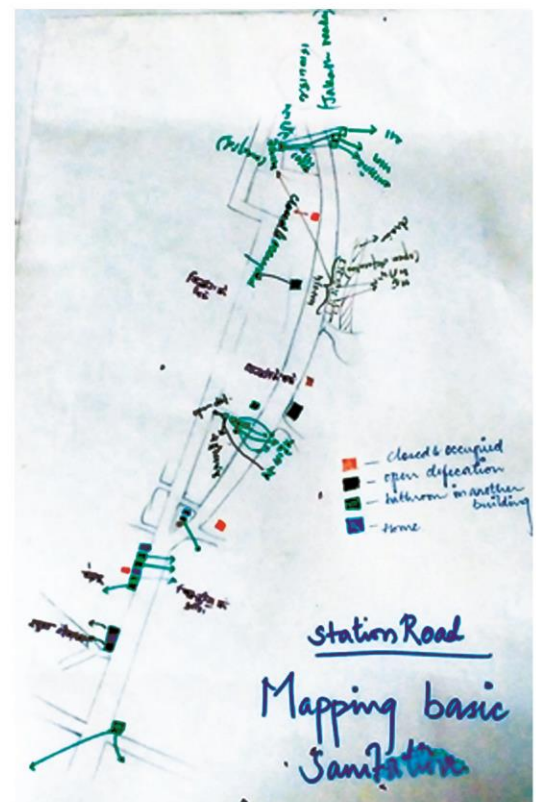
Here too there is definite coordination seen between the morning vendors and the evening vendors-each of them has set a definite timing for oneself so as to not affect other's business. They also clean up the area surrounding their cart after wrapping up of their business.



THE SPACE WHERE THE TEA, PAN/TAPRIWALA AND THE OMELETTE VENDOR CO-EXIST

## Group Reflections

Biggest un-learning (as we call it) for us was to understand that people involved in occupations such as the street vending aren't despondent and hopeless. Most are very much content with their lives (even though most are living on their daily incomes) and came off as such pleasant natured people who were genuinely interested in interacting with us. Apart from all the academic learning, meeting such warm people, being a part of their lives for a while and learning about them and from them has been the greatest education for us as people and future social workers.



MAPPING OF BASIC SANITATION OF VENDORS ALONG THE NOORANI HOTEL/ STATIONROAD, PARTICIPATORY LEARNING TECHNIQUE

## : Study 4:

Site : Jubilee Circle to VD Circle and RTO Circle, Lal Thekri & Hospital Road

These are some of the main junctions in the eastern part of Bhuj with connectivity to highways, also forming centres of amenities vital to any city. The Arjan Circle is situated on the Hospital Road which is frequently visited by, people who are not from within the city, but also by those who reside in nearby villages. All inter and intra city buses and other forms of road based commuting and transportation services either start or definitely go through Jubilee Circle and the RTO. The Lal Thekri and VD Circle have evolved as spaces for natural markets, which is understandable given the connectivity of roads and the space they have to offer. Thus, these are also the areas that have been taken up for study.

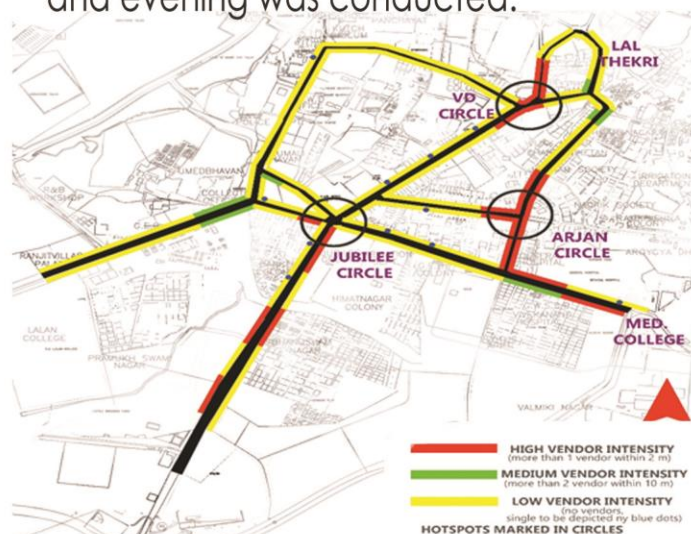
### Objective

The major objective of the study is:

1. To do a spatial and intensity mapping of the vending activity in Bhuj post the Town Planning Scheme.
2. To understand the vending economy in Bhuj, reasons for this choice of profession, impact of the unregulated growth in the number of vendors and its future implications.
3. To understand how family as a unit is vital to this activity.
4. To understand the challenges faced in setting up and conducting vending, and where do they make their space in the economy and the social setting in which they dwell.

### Research Theme and Methodology

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted to conduct this study on street vendors. While the quantitative aided in counting and listing of vendors, qualitative approach enabled a much more comprehensive study into the reasons for street vending, nature of vending and the trajectory that was followed there, and the aspirations and the factors enabling or disabling attempts to cope up with the extremely competitive environment. For this purpose, life stories were recorded, case studies were conducted along with semi-structured and unstructured interviews. In total 73 vendors were recorded and approached for the study. The important component and perhaps the most challenging aspect was in making the process participative. Although to some extent success was achieved. The everyday routine of vendors and their seasonal calendar was created in their presence. The team revisited the same vendors multiple times to verify the analysis that was drawn from the data that had been collected. Apart from the mentioned a comparison of the vending activity during the day and evening was conducted.



MAP 4.1: INTENSITY MAP FOR VENDING

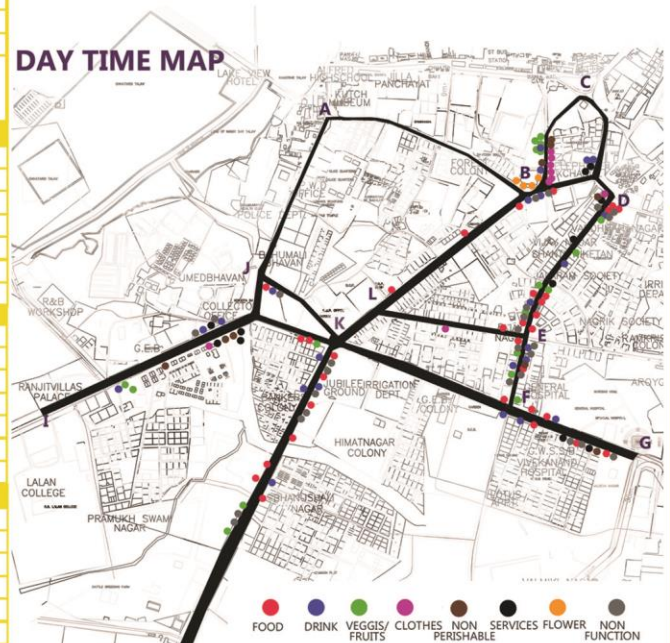


## Spatial Mapping ( Day & Night)

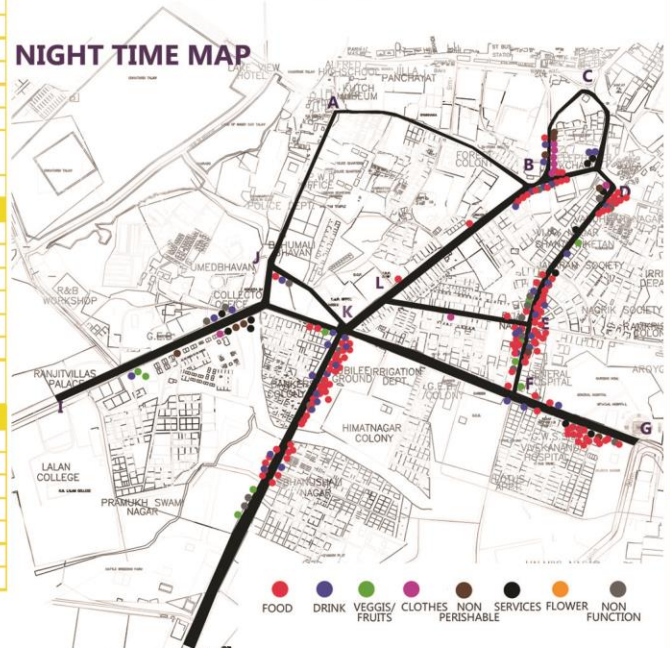
A day and night map of the intensity and the nature of vending was created, as it was observed that the number and the kind of stalls that opened were different at different hours of the day. While the stalls that sold flowers, fruits, vegetables, clothes and other non perishable items were most active during the day, the

number of food stalls increased drastically as the evening set in. The peak hours for vending were noticed to be between 10am to 3 pm and 7pm to 9pm. While most vendors have a service cart, there are others who possess both a service cart and a cabin like structure. Some even have a customized four wheeler (mostly street food & ice cream vendors).

<b>STRETCH I-J-A</b>	Banjil villa to Kutch Museum via DC Office
<b>No's of vendors</b>	15 open / 2 closed
<b>Types</b>	Fruits/Juices/ Chai/ Winter wear/ Tyre/ Laundry/ Tailor/ Sanitary & Tiles/ Xerox/ Helmet & Sun-glasses
<b>Gender</b>	1 woman vendor at Sun-glass shop
<b>Structure</b>	Mostly makeshift or cart type, Xerox- demountable structure
<b>Hotspots</b>	Chaiwalas in front of the Dc office
<b>Amenities</b>	No Public Toilets or Drinking Water facility
<b>COMMENTS</b>	Medium intensity stretch with fewer vendors Customers comprise mainly of people coming to the DC Office, also mostly passer-bys.
<b>STRETCH A-B-C</b>	Forest colony till VD Road
<b>No's of vendors</b>	45/2 closed
<b>Types</b>	Flower/Fruits & Veggies/ winter Clothes/Shoes
<b>Gender</b>	No Woman vendor
<b>Structure</b>	Cart-type (some with storage carts too), Flower vendors on pavement
<b>Hotspots</b>	VD circle, vegetable market
<b>Amenities</b>	None
<b>COMMENTS</b>	Vendors were mostly open except for some food stalls
<b>STRETCH K-G</b>	Jubilee circle to Medical College Gate
<b>No's of vendors</b>	35/4 closed
<b>Types</b>	Food & Drinks /Services
<b>Gender</b>	No women
<b>Structure</b>	Carts (storage carts with some)
<b>Hotspots</b>	Medical College Gate
<b>Amenities</b>	none
<b>COMMENTS</b>	More number of food carts during Evening Hours
<b>STRETCH C-D-E-F</b>	Lal Theloi Road & Hospital Road
<b>No's of vendors</b>	70/ 5 closed
<b>Types</b>	Food & Drinks/ Fruits/ Warm clothes/Services/ Toys
<b>Gender</b>	No woman vendor
<b>Structure</b>	Carts; few selling on ground
<b>Hotspots</b>	Arjan Chowk opposite English School
<b>Amenities</b>	Drinking water facility available, Toilet Available
<b>COMMENTS</b>	Most Food stalls open up in the morning hours (8am-12 noon) & evening (5pm-9pm)
<b>STRETCH B-L-K</b>	VD Road- Jubilee circle till VD school
<b>No's of vendors</b>	30/3 closed
<b>Types</b>	Food & Drinks
<b>Gender</b>	No women
<b>Structure</b>	carts
<b>Hotspots</b>	Vd circle
<b>Amenities</b>	none
<b>COMMENTS</b>	The entire stretch of the VD road doesn't have many vendors, one or two rarely but the Vd circle has a high concentration of food stalls.
<b>STRETCH K-H</b>	Jubilee circle to Reliance Mall
<b>No's of vendors</b>	65/7 closed
<b>Types</b>	Food & Drinks/ Vegetables
<b>Gender</b>	
<b>Structure</b>	Mostly carts
<b>Hotspots</b>	In front of Reliance mall and Bhuj haat
<b>Amenities</b>	
<b>COMMENTS</b>	Evening hours witnessed a heavier footfall on this stretch and more vendor opened up their stalls, few moving vendors were also encountered.
<b>STRETCH J-K</b>	
<b>No's of vendors</b>	7/2 closed
<b>Types</b>	Food & Drinks
<b>Gender</b>	All male
<b>Structure</b>	carts
<b>Hotspots</b>	----
<b>Amenities</b>	----
<b>COMMENTS</b>	Few moving vendors were seen moving into the residential areas



MAP 4.2: SPATIAL VENDING MAP (DAY)



MAP 4.3: SPATIAL VENDING MAP (NIGHT)

TABLE 4.1: VISUAL SURVEY DATA FOR VENDORS

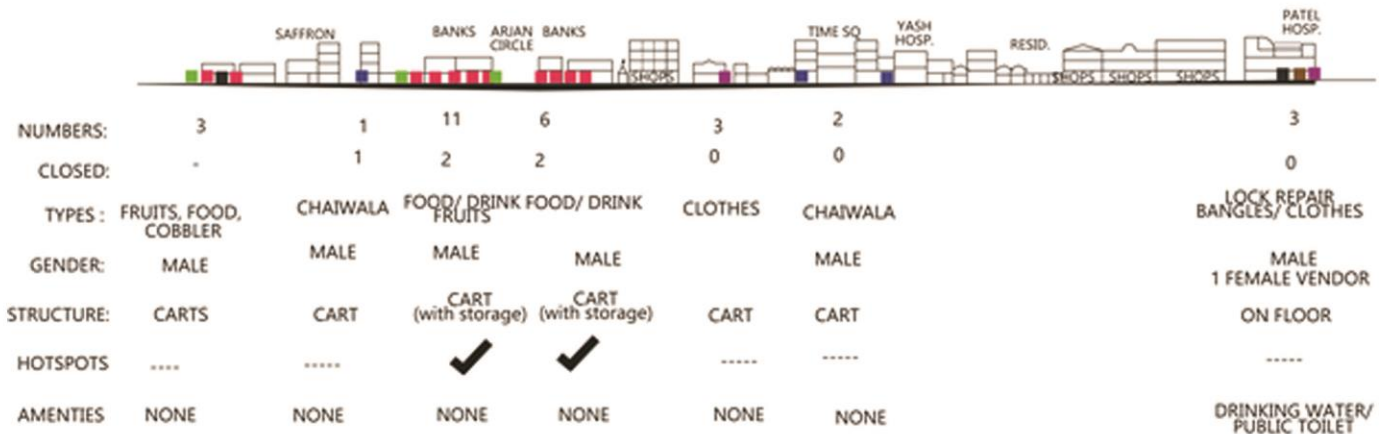
## Sample Area : Hospital Road

The Hospital Road was selected as the sample area because it seemed to be a vibrant vending zone that had emerged. It appeared as a product of a unique amalgamation of town planning and natural market. A link is evident that inspired a more detailed research on this particular stretch.

Intensity mapping and transect were created to get a preliminary sense of the vending on this road.



### VENDORS AT HOSPITAL ROAD



### TRANSECT DRAWN AT HOSPITAL ROAD

## Land Use Pattern

After the 2001 earthquake the Hospital Road underwent significant development under the Town Planning Scheme. Many of the inhabitants, especially those from the lower class were relocated and pushed to the periphery of the city. Also there was a dense green cover which was later cleared for the coming up various hospitals and banks. Although there still remains the Camp area nearby which comprises of the slums where most of the vendors conducting business on the Hospital Road reside. Coming up of so many hospitals and banks invited a lot of population from outside who started availing these services. Widening of this

customer base also attracted more vendors. Thus, it emerged as a “natural market” in response to the development that planning brought about .

## Vending Trajectories

Vending is more than a buffer activity in Bhuj. It is considered quite enterprising among the lower strata. It also gives the people a sense of ownership. While conducting the study a trajectory was observed in how vendors go about establishing themselves in the extremely competitive environment that has come about on the Hospital Road. Many even call it the “VIP area”, because of the Banks and the Hospitals that flourish along

the road.

Many ways have been recorded in which new vendors enter into the vending circle. Some of them have been discussed as follows :

- Trajectory 1

The first step towards starting their own enterprise is to either work for other better off vendors or be employed by a “Seth”, who controls multiple vending carts across the city. Here the vendor gets “employed” in the sense that he gets a salary of 7000-8000INR. Apart from this, the Seth tends to provide other benefits like reimbursing the expenditure on ration. The whole family gets involved in the activity here, however this trajectory was observed mostly among the migrants who had no contacts here. Some were able to muster enough savings to generate their own capital to conduct their own vending business, while many are unable to escape from the clutches of impoverishment.

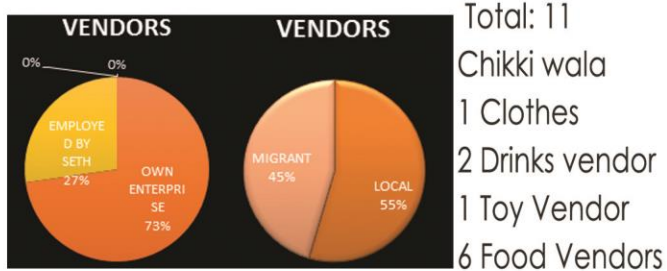


CHART 4.1: VENDORS INTERVIEWED

- The businesses are owned by Local Seths whereas the Migrant workers are employed to render services for salaries ranging from Rs 3000-6000 as per the work hours.
- Many cases of new entrants in this line of work was observed; youth from Rajasthan, MP, UP and Bihar who were only few months old in the city were seen working on many rekris.

## Case of the Migrant vendor



THE VENDOR SELLING CLOTHES

Here he got employed by a Seth who himself stays in Delhi, but owns stalls across the city, where he has employed people to carry out the vending. Like all the others Vendor A also gets a regular salary of 7000 INR per month, along with the ration expenses for his family. He starts at 8 am and closes at 9pm. He has put up his stall right at the beginning of the hospital road, against a clinic's wall. He claims that the doctor of the clinic has given him the permission to acquire that space. He and his family can even use the washroom in the clinic and take water from there. He deals in clothes and bangles, while the clothes (vary seasonally) come from Ludhiana and Delhi, the bangles are brought from Agra. The purchasing and transportation costs are taken care of by the Seth, Vendor A is only to sell these items. His customers comprise of people from lower class as most of what he sells is not high quality stuff. However even after 14 years he is staying in the camp area (slum) on rent with his wife and 3 children. Although he does say, “Apna dhanda hota toa zayada achcha hota”, he has not been

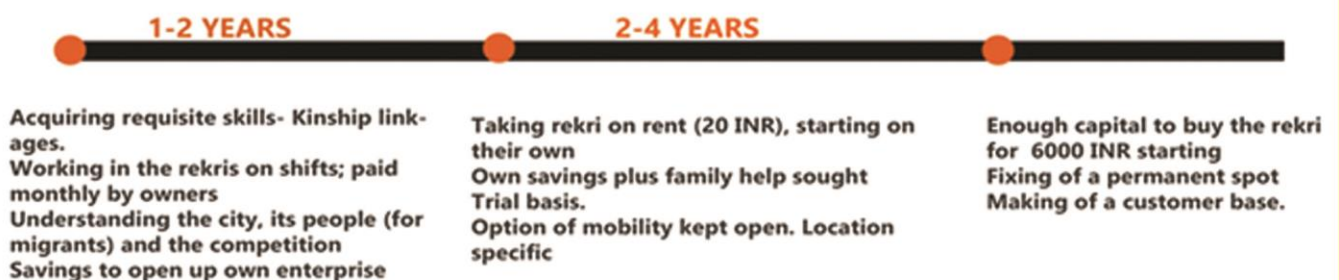
been able to muster enough capital to start his own enterprise, but then again he says *“Uske liye bahut paisa chahiye jo humarae pass nahi hai”*. In the last 5 years there has been no raise in the amount he gets from the Seth .Whenever Vendor A brings it up, the reply from the other side is, *“Karna hai to kar lo, varna aur bhi hai”* . He enrolled all of his three children in a government school hoping they would do something better for themselves- *“Kismat me hoga to kuch banjayengae, varna sarkari school me kaisi padhai hoti hai apko bhi pata hai”*. He even complains about the discriminative treatment he receives from the people of Bhuj, only because he is a ‘migrant’. *“Kuchch log jalte hain humse kyuki hum log mehnat karte hain aur apni rozi roti kamate hai.”* With all this, having become a part and parcel of their lives, the family continues to stay here, as now they have established themselves in Bhuj.

However these are not the set patterns that are followed, other ways exist depending on the finance with the vendor, the social capital to muster credit if needed, already established relatives or other contacts.

## Conflicts

Street Vending does have a vulnerable quotient which cannot be ruled out .For a very long time street vending has been perceived as a major challenge to urban planning. Many cities experience cycles in which local authorities tolerate, then regulate, extort and then evict street vendors in accordance with economic trends, election cycles and other urban management pressures. .These approaches assume that street vendors are a negative force in cities. In Bhuj as well 150INR is collected from every vendor as “Safai Charge”. Some argue

### TRAJECTORY FOR NEW ENTRANTS IN VENDING



#### • Trajectory 2

Another interesting thing that was observed here was that there is another lobby of better off vendors who are well established and possess multiple carts which they give on rent to the newly arrived vendors. Later on if the new entrant is able to make enough profit, he buys the rekri or the cart and liberates himself of one kind of recurring expenditure.

that tolerating street vendors is costly because city governments fail to collect enough revenue from vendors to cover the cost of enforcing vending regulations. Others contend that street vendors contribute to vehicular congestion and pollution by crowding busy thoroughfares and slowing traffic. .Finally, city officials and residents complain of uncollected trash and untreated wastewater in areas where street vending is concentrated. Migration is yet another problem that is seen associated with street vending, as is

seen in the case of Bhuj where Town Planning Schemes invited a lot of migrants from all over Gujrat and also from Bihar, Rajasthan, Delhi and other places to conduct business. This created some contention between the locals and the migrants. A person who has been residing in Bhuj for 14 years (in the case of Vendor A) is still treated as an outsider.

## Lives and Livelihoods

### Kinship

Personal relations are integral to vendors in Bhuj. From acquiring credit in times of need to solving any differences, kinship acts as the mechanism. Although there is no recognition of a union, yet there is a sense of community that brings all the vendors together in times of need. Another interesting thing that was noticed was that if a certain vendor does not have the particular article demanded by the customer, he would go to another vendor and get the item. The most intriguing is the harmony in regards to the space each vendor claims. There is a mutual understanding so as to not disrupt the other's business. However, there are a few cases of disruption but those are simply anecdotal. They also take care of each other's assets when the owner is not around.

### Quality of life

While most of the street vendors lived in the camp (slums) nearby, there are others who have managed to do well for themselves and bought houses in a proper residential complex. This was observed in the case study of a

*Dabelivala* at Arjan Chowk who not only has a house of 2BHK which was handed over to him from his father, but also a motorcycle. Thus, a generalisation cannot be drawn here. Migrants face the most distress here. No generalisation can be made about the quality of life of street vendors. However it require long hours of labour- be it in preparing the ingredients for *Dabeli* and *Chikki*, or ferrying a cart full of coconuts. It is a harsh life.

### Education

Most vendors haven't been to school while there were those who had studied till VIIIth and Xth standards. The interesting fact noticed was that they were keen on getting their children educated. This is exemplified from the case study of a *Chikki vala* who had studied till VIIth standard, but had ensured that her three daughters went for higher education. Thus, there is a semblance of improving poor, but they are those who had had some capital. However there were also those who did not consider education that important. "*Padh likh kar kya karenge, itni mara mari hai naukari kae liye. Yeh dhanda hi achcha hai.*"

### Family as a Unit

The study recorded that street vending is not a solo activity. The whole household is involved. For food vendors they prepare their food at home, in which their wife and children also contribute to the best of their capacities. Although not many women vendors were seen, but they do play an important role behind the scenes

## Formal Credit & Policies

Credit is an extremely interesting facet that was observed. Formal credit was mostly inaccessible to those questioned and many were of the opinion that banks prefer to target people of a certain income bracket. On inquiring with the banks, it was made clear that they have to assess each prospective client so as to not incur heavy NPAs ( Non-performing assets.) Interestingly, they had informed us of schemes such as MUDRA and loans given to SHGs which were particularly for SEZs in and around. Though NULM too, had released sector specific schemes which encompasses Street Vendors, the banks weren't aware of it. In fact, the bank that was approached for the purpose of study was supposedly the lead bank for such linkages between the State and the vendors, and yet wasn't aware of such initiatives and policies.

The vendors had a language issue - Not of words, but of lingo. Many were wary about percentages and interest rates and chose to eschew loans but on further prodding and simplifying figures to full figure values owed plus amount given, every single interviewee agreed to a rate of 7%. Incidentally 7% was the rate at which loans were meant to be offered as per NULM guidelines. NULM guidelines also provides for a moratorium period up to 18 months-even goes as far as to offer credit cards! However as aforementioned, there is no mechanism in place for the banks to act as a liaison resulting in all of these facilities to remain merely on paper. What was monumentally crucial for vendors were the financial assistance and support that they could avail of thanks to the strong

kinship bonds. This is a perfect illustration of how social capital was leveraged to access finance. This is precisely how many vendors started their enterprise- by taking loans from family & friends.

Credit is an important requirement in street vending, both to sustain existing activity and to upscale it. Since vendors work on a turnover basis, they often take recourse to high interest loans from non-institutional lenders. Although they usually demonstrate high repayment capacity, absence of collateral and firm domiciliary status usually debars them from institutional credit.

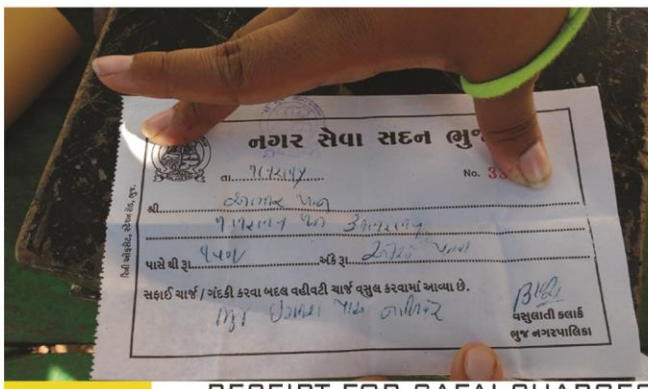
## Conclusion

While most look at it as a problem, alternative approaches to urban governance treat street vending as an integral, permanent feature. Accordingly, it is poor management that generates problems of congestion and pollution. Street vending, it is argued, contributes to the economic, social, and cultural life of a city by offering a dependable retail outlet for a wide range of affordable goods, including fresh produce, prepared food, school and office supplies, clothing, hardware, and electronics. Because street vendors sell affordable goods in small quantities, they offer the poor customer access to otherwise unaffordable goods. They also represent a major attraction for foreign tourists looking for an authentic experience. Street food, in particular, has generated a substantial following among Western tourists. Buying street food or locally made handicrafts in a bustling open-air market allows tourists and residents to experience the vitality of

public life. Outside of cities, street vendors represent a vital part of a country's retail distribution network, and can contribute to macroeconomic goals of market competition and control of inflation.

## Suggestions

- Urban policies and local economic development strategies rarely prioritize livelihood security for informal workers. Urban renewal projects, infrastructure upgrades and mega events routinely displace street vendors from natural markets, leaving the most vulnerable without a workplace. Also, basic infrastructure – shelters, toilets, electricity and water – can both improve vendor work environments and make public space safer, more comfortable and aesthetically pleasing.
- State governments and the municipal authorities should enable Self Help Groups (SHGs) and organizations of street vendors to access credit from banks through mechanisms like the SHG Bank Linkage.
- The Town Vending Committee (TVC) should be constituted by the ULB as per the 2014 Act and it should disseminate information pertaining to the availability of credit, especially micro finance and micro insurance.



RECEIPT FOR SAFAI CHARGES  
BY MUNICIPALITY

## Group Reflections

Being born and brought up in Indian cities, imagining streets without street vending is an alien concept and the very notion sounds odd. It is inconceivable to think about our streets sans these vendors who lend their own flavour which adds to the vibrancy and character of the city. Yet the majority of the city's relationship with the vendor begins and ends with the transaction, many of whom form the base of the pyramid who are the only source of vendors for consumer comprising the very base. Yet, there is something democratic about Street Vending as it cuts and includes every strata of people who eat from the same dabbelliwala. But somehow these vendors have always been in the background little realizing the vulnerability and inequity faced by them.

The Winter Institute gave us an opportunity to probe these very same people and in the process made us more sensitive to those around us who conduct their day to day living, not in a fancy room, but on our streets in the dead of heat. The unawareness of various Government schemes for their benefits threw light upon the huge gap between policy formulation and policy implementation. The Safai charges taken by the ULB are actually a penalty on the assumption that the vendors are dirtying the streets, which leaves us pondering about the whole idea of inclusion. The vendors were extremely welcoming, co-operating and generous. Many even offered us items from their stall without laying any charges, and no matter how many times we approached them they happily cooperated.

# : Study 5:

Site : Peripheral Area of Bhuj City

The periphery of Bhuj city was studied. These areas mostly emerged and developed after the devastating earthquake that struck the city in 2001.

The markets that emerged in this region grew on the basic notion of demand and supply, and these natural markets are in their nascent stage are so far shielded from the competition and conflicts that plague street vendors in the old city. But at the same time, they face certain problems unique to the location owing to its sparse and neglected location.

## Research theme

There were several objectives to study the informal vending in peripheral Bhuj. The major focus of the study was to undertake a spatial analysis of peripheral Bhuj to understand the livelihoods of street vendors and the growth of natural markets. Through a spatial analysis, Bhuj's periphery was understood by mapping things like: where they are, study how they relate, what it means and try to predict its trajectory. This was chosen as a theme after a week of field work because of the nature of the study area.

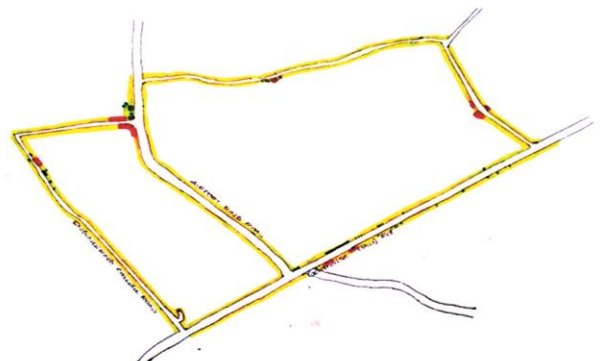
It is often the norm that governments do not take preventive measures and plan a space, and leave it to grow unregulated



MAP 5.1: SHOWING THE SITE OF STUDY AND THE VARIOUS HOTSPOTS

## Transect

For the study of street vendors, quantitative methods were adopted to find the total number and types of vendors and this data was used for analysis. A transect and survey of 147 vendors present was conducted, after which representative cases were chosen as samples for a detailed study.



MAP 5.2: INTENSITY MAP DRAWN OF THE SITE



till the problem is unmanageable. Planning can help prevent conflicts and is more feasible and easy to undertake rather than corrective action. Currently, the study area is a low density vending space where the vendors have the leisure of space and have less issues with the traffic police unlike the congested parts of the city. But through the study, it was analysed that the periphery has an expanding customer base as the city is spreading. There are several emerging market sites with a threat of future conflict. The first part of the analysis advocates the need for planning street vending in peripheral Bhuj, which would have a direct impact on the livelihoods and lives of the street vendors.

Further in the study, an attempt has been made to integrate the various other emergent themes and study the economy and lives of street vendors. What does vending mean in the periphery, what advantages and disadvantages do the street vendors face there. What are the reasons for the emergence of new natural markets? What are the linkages between the growing city and street vendors? What implication does this have on migrants entering the business? What is the effect of eviction on a street vendor? With all the growth, do factors like caste, community and religion still play a role? What is the quality of life of the street vendors and their families? What's the relation with their homes? What makes one street vendor successful, while most vendors barely progress after decades in the job? What bargaining power and agencies do the street vendors have? What aspirations do they have? What are the concerns for the street vendors and

the challenges for the ULBs. And finally, keeping in mind all the variations in the lives, livelihoods and economies of the street vendors, the study tries to arrive at the type of policies and support the street vendors require.



MAP 5.3: BHUJ MUNICIPALITY GROWTH MAP  
SOURCE: HUNNARSHALA FOUNDATION

### Spatial Analysis and growth of street vendors in peripheral Bhuj

Secondary data from Hunnarshala, BHADA (Bhuj Housing and Development Agency) and Google Earth indicates that over the decade, there has been a huge expansion of the city limits. Barren areas outside the city centre have now got people residing, working and vending. The nearby villages like Madhapar and Sukpar are showing signs of urbanisation in infrastructure and demography.

There are several infrastructure linkages contributing to the growth. There is a rapid and large scale construction of homes happening in Prabhu Nagar, New Ravalvadi and near the government college. In a few months, shops like DMart (a convenience store) and theatres are being started in these locations. The ULB has also just completed laying sewer lines

in the periphery, a stark move, away from the septic tanks the current residents rely on. In 10 years, the population of Bhuj has more than doubled and shows all signs of further growth. (Source: census of India. 2001 population- 136429, 2011 population- 299983)

With the growth of the city, several new natural markets have cropped up and there has been a huge growth in the number of street vendors.

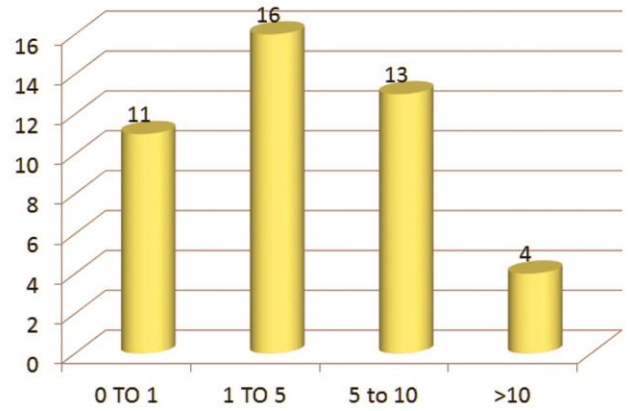


CHART 5.1: NUMBER OF YEARS OF STREET VENDING IN PERIPHERAL BHUJ (SAMPLE AREA OF GOVERNMENT ENGINEERING COLLEGE, HANUMAN MANDIR CHOWK, RAGHUWANSHI NAGAR AND MANGALAM CHOWRAH)



GOOGLE IMAGERY DATA SHOWING GROWTH OVER A DECADE

This shows that there has been a huge increase in the number of street vendors in the last 5 years, and especially in the last one year.

The study also tried to understand the reason for the growth of peripheral Bhuj. For 5 years after the earthquake, Kutch district was given a tax concession for the setting up of industries. In that period and post it, Kutch has become hope for several industries whose headquarters and significant workforce reside in Bhuj. The periphery of Bhuj was also the site of relocation of all the residents in Bhuj's centre when their home were destroyed. Bhuj being the administrative capital of Kutch is also the home to all government servants. Student population has grown due to the setting up of several new colleges like the Government Engineering College and Adani Medical College. And the promotion of tourism in Kutch has led to the setting up of several hotels, restaurants and handicraft shops in Bhuj. All these have proven to be strong pull factors for migrants entering the city in search of livelihood, from nearby villages to people coming from Jharkhand, MP, Assam and Nepal.



REASONS FOR POPULATION INCREASE

## Conflicts

Street Vending can be prone to various kinds of conflicts. Which may include- spatial, monetary, social conflicts etc. Even though there are fewer conflicts in the periphery, they are present despite the absence of overcrowding and traffic problems. There are also several cases where there is a looming threat of conflicts, be it between migrants and locals, the government engineering college or the increasing population and number of street vendors.

Given the nature of peripheral vending, the kind of conflicts in these areas are also comparatively different. 2 major cases of conflict have been explained in detail below:

### Commerce College, Bhuj Mundra Highway

This case is a good example to show how the conflicts in the city's periphery are not mainly to do with lack of space or conflict among vendors. From interviews conducted with the street vendors and students close to the Commerce College on the highway it has been inferred that a tiff that occurred between students close to one of the Tea Stalls, resulted in the eviction of about 40 street vendors. This was a result of the complaint filed by the College to the Municipality. Here, the conflict is associated with the vulnerability of the street vendors. Because they have no legal standing and bargaining power, arbitrary evictions are common.

Hanuman Mandir Chowk. Airport ring road.

This road connects the Bhuj airport to the Main city. There is a cluster of street vendors at the junction. They face a different kind of vulnerability. Since, this road sees high VIP movement, evictions are quite common. Prospective eviction will be carried out here between 15-18th December because the Prime Minister of the country will be taking this route to the city. This conflict is mainly to do with beautification of places, only during VIP movement at the cost of the livelihood of street vendors.

## Lives and Livelihood

### Collaborations

Like any other business enterprise, street vending too does not work in isolation. It consists of a web of relations and collaborations. The collaborations vary from a Chaiwala with Milkman to Vegetable vendor with wholesaler. Also, a street vendor does not deal with just one person, but a comprehensive network of people. Even if one of these links is missing, the vendor will not be able to carry on his business. To illustrate this with a simple Example. A Dabeliwala, in the process of his business will collaborate with a number of people which may include the bakery from which he gets the paav, the vegetable vendor from whom he purchases potatoes and other vegetables, the agency from which he refills his cylinder, the occasional dealer who buys in bulk from him etc.

### Symbiotic relations

Given the fact that vendors are spatially quite separate in the periphery of the city, the intensity of symbiotic relations is not as strong as the city centre. However, the presence of symbiotic relations cannot be denied. Ex. A homeless Tea Vendor gets water from Mangalam hotel in front of which he stands. A few poor street vendors get free meals at Ramkund. Also, there are instances where street vendors share amenities like seating space, water etc. In few other places the symbiotic relation works quite subtly. Ex. A pan shop in front of a hotel or a Soda Drink vendor adjacent to a Chat stall.

### Social capital

Street vending is informal in nature. Therefore, the kind of transactions that take place are also mostly informal. The vendors seldom resort to formal means in the process of their business. Even when they have options to borrow from formal institutions like banks, they resort to borrowing from wealthier individuals who are willing to lend at less stringent conditions. Vendors benefit best when they use their interpersonal skills to forge goodwill among different people they deal with, during business. For instance, a simple Tea Vendor might manage to get extra seating space for his customers due to his good relations with an adjacent vendor. Also, in times of distress these vendors mostly fall back on the social capital that they have accumulated in the form good relations, goodwill among customers, harmonious relation with the police etc.

## Quality of life

No generalisation can be made about the quality of life of street vendors. While there are vendors who earn pretty well and manage to garner a good quality of life, there are others who live on hand to mouth existence and eat free food from Temples. Their quality of life in terms of the physique is quite bad because they work for long hours, mostly under stressful conditions. They are mentally stressed because they have to make ends meet with meagre resources.

## Life Story- The Cobbler

*“ Padhai karke kya faida hua, aakhir mein main mochi he bana”*



A deep cut through the chest and shrivelled hands is all you see when you look at this old man on the Bhuj- Mandvi Highway. He has been a cobbler for more than 30 years. A graduate in Economics, son of a cobbler from the Chamar Caste (Scheduled Caste), he now sits below this little shack of his with a heart full of misery and indignation. His father managed to educate him despite being a poor cobbler. After finishing his graduation, he gave up several job opportunities with the hope of studying further. Little did he know that he would be plagued by a life threatening disease which pushed him down, both economically and mentally. After spending lakhs for his heart transplant and medicines, all he could do was, take up the occupation that was traditionally assigned to his caste. He stays close to his makeshift cobbler tent. Aspiring for something higher seems to have gone out of his mind long ago. He sits there all day waiting for customers trying to make ends meet for him and his family. The number of customers he gets varies, during winters he has more customers because people tend to wear shoes and also during festivals like Diwali. The only investment he needs to make is the shoe polish and some things like the sewing needle which he has been using for long time. Even the thread he uses for sewing is made at his house. He feels that education is futile due to his own bitter experience. There is a sense of apathy and indifference towards life on his face.

## Life Story- The Pot Seller

*“ Sarkar chahe license de ya na de, hamein toh pet paalne ke liye dhanda karna hi padega”*



THE POT SELLER

Ever imagined what it would be like to stay in a makeshift tent on a highway for more than 20yrs of your life? This is exactly how life is for this vegetable vendor who shares this shelter with his potter friend whom he calls “Bhai”. The Bihari potter and Gujarati Vendor met through common friends 20yrs ago and have been together ever since. The potter who runs his business along the highway has provided food and shelter to this vegetable vendor all these years. Whenever the potter is out on work or is back home, the business is looked after by the vendor. He also has young boys from his family in Bihar who have come to help him with business. When the eviction drive took place on Bhuj- Mandvi highway, they were one amongst the first ones to be evicted. They were off business for more than 3 months and then gradually after tempers cooled, they put up their business again step by step. The “Bhai” is out on a vacation to his hometown, while the vendor and another assistant handle business here. The vegetable Vendor goes to the market at ST Road early in the morning

with his cart and thereafter goes on selling vegetables on different streets of Bhuj where he has made himself familiar to the customers. He is back by afternoon to this place on the highway he calls home. He is very articulate and says that though he isn't highly educated he is updated with current affairs and all the happenings of the day. When explained about the Street Vendors Act, 2014 and its advantages to street vendors like him, he seemed to suggest that such measures would barely make a difference to people like him, who have to make ends meet, despite being subjected to arbitrary exploitation each time. The old and dusty pots in the background were probably an indication of how life felt for these vendors who are at the brink of poverty and deprivation.

## Home and livelihood relation

The street vendors don't function alone, though the man of the family stands in the cart and sells food, almost always his wife and the rest of his family are involved in the business. The family functions as his cooks, cleaners, helpers and support system. His house is a workplace. The cart is just a place to sell his products.

When we visited the homes of two street vendors, one in Prabhu Nagar 2 and the other in Bhuj Mandvi highway, we were struck by the sight of their small homes where almost half the space was occupied by raw material. In Prabhu Nagar, the single bedroom house shared by a couple and their child was half covered by a heap of cabbages. The remaining space was occupied by huge utensils, gas cylinders, stove, oil, noodles

and knives. We could only imagine how congested it must become when cooking actually starts.

The homeless street vendor on the highway, lived in makeshift shelters with his family. His vegetable cart was in the back and the pots he sold in the front. His home was his workplace. A kitchen was a cooker with a cloth tied on bamboo as a roof. He had no toilets or electricity connection. With several kids, the youngest is in 6th grade yet out of school; he still gave us place to sit in his home.

Unlike other occupations, in street vending, home and work are often intermixed. Be it the Panipuri wala who makes his puris at home or the Chinese stall guy who prepares his manchurian at home. This shows that the stall is not an entity by itself. The workspace is extended till the house. This not only helps the vendor to optimise his resources at home and work but also save up on a lot of money and effort. However, it could also create problems like disturbed study environment for their kids at home or involvement of their kids in manual labour to supplement their work.



THE POT SELLER

## The Cost of Eviction

Eviction of street vendors is a part of the lives of street vendors. Each time we ask them about it, they say with a sigh of resignation that there is nothing that can

be done. The perception of illegality runs a lot deeper than in the minds of the ULB's and the police, the street vendors themselves consider illegal occupants of the government's land, and hence, seldom raise voice against the injustice. But the cost of eviction is a lot more than in just the economic sense, the social and mental costs, which cannot be measured in monetary terms, is far greater. Often, these evictions are for reasons unrelated to the actions of the street vendors, and their livelihood comes to a halt without an explanation.

The most potential cost of eviction is economic. However, makeshift the structures of street vendors are, a sudden eviction can cause significant damage to them. Since street vending is the only source of livelihood for most of them, an eviction results in the loss of livelihood for the number of days they are kept off the street. Further, when their stalls or carts are ruthlessly lifted by authorities it causes monetary losses which are huge for them and then putting up the stalls again costs them several thousands. One of the vendors interviewed, said that the cost of resetting the stall went up to Rs.16,000. Due to the fear of eviction, these vendors often do not want to expand their business further or invest.

Loyal customers are a very decisive factor in the business of street vendors on the periphery. When these vendors are absent for several days due to eviction they lose their customers and hence face further loss. Each time the vendor has to set up his stall, he in a sense has to redo the whole set up. Right from getting the raw material supplier to work for him

again to figuring out other facilities like water. Another important cost of eviction which is not apparent is psychological. The illegality of street vendors, keeps them at the edge all the time. This not only hinders their aspirations but also creates a fear psychosis in them which in turn affects their mental health.

## Migrants

Over the years, the number of migrants coming into Bhuj has increased. This holds good for street vending as well. People from Nepal, Jharkhand, UP, Tamil Nadu, Bihar etc have migrated here. This is mainly because of increasing job opportunities, educational institutions and most importantly the accommodative nature of the people of Bhuj. Migrant street vendors are comparatively a new concept in Bhuj. They mostly sell items that are not indigenous to Bhuj but their own places. The surprising part is that they do well and sometimes better than the natives themselves.

## Caste, Communities and religion

*"bhuj mein jati ka bhed bhaav nahin hota"*

The caste centric occupations that were handed down generations by force and lack of choice was something that was not expected in 2015. But on ground, in the activities of the street vendors, the team came across numerous examples where people were still caught in their caste-based occupations.

On our first day, we came across an old man working as a barber on the street, as

we spoke to him, we got to know that he was a BA Economics graduate and after an unfortunate series of events, he fell back to being what his ancestors were, a cobbler. He happened to be from the chamar caste, and despite his degree, he ended up in a trade he learn because of his caste.

The barber on the Bhuj Mandvi Highway, along with his brother, runs the shop. He is from the Nai community (caste of barbers) and this is the only skill he knows. The Rabari caste woman, with other women in her community, still work on Rabari cloth.

None of these castes are beneficiaries of government schemes, reservations and policies for the Scheduled Castes.

If one was to reason then it can be safely said that every job is dignified and respectable. But there is something wrong if a person, even if not forced, is left with no option but that of his caste occupation. Did they have a choice? If yes, would they have opted for some other career? There is something fundamentally wrong if occupation is still decided by birth despite having education and opportunities.

The caste factor extends to communities, where people of the same caste live together in the same localities. Some of the communities claim to have support, monetary and social, in times of crisis while others lack it.

Religion was another factor that street vendors live with and it influences their livelihood activities. We came across two distinct cases. One was of a Muslim chai wallah who owned a small tapri near the



the Hanuman Mandir in New Ravalwadi. He expressed through various examples how he has faced discrimination from local authorities and the police. He has been treated with disdain, made to wait, and is ignored in government offices. While other street vendors on the road were not evicted or displaced, his tapri alone was broken down under the pretext of a rule that said shops could not be within 15m of the highway. He realises and constantly feels like an outsider because of the way he is treated.

On the other hand, we came across a Hindu juice seller on the Bhuj Mandvi highway who was a staunch Hindu. He portrayed certain communal tendencies and blamed the Muslims for prospering and taking undue advantage of their political vote bank, even as Hindus in their land were neglected. *'Yeh Hinduon ka hindustan hai'*.

## Education

Most of the street vendors interviewed were either illiterate or have studied very little. They did not have the opportunity and resources to go to school. However, the irony is that, despite knowing the ill effects of being uneducated, they are not very keen on sending their kids to school. They don't seem to realise the importance of education, to at least the primary level. Critiques could argue that we cannot confine education to learning in a formal set up alone, it is beyond that. This does hold good, but given the present times, an illiterate person is more prone to being cheated or fooled.

## Governance

### Solid waste management

This is one of the pressing problems of Street Vending in Bhuj. It is inevitable to find piles of garbage around street vendors. This not only affects us humans but also animals like cows who chew away on plastic. In the periphery this might not seem like a problem that needs urgent attention. But, this is the most potential problem. Street vendors seldom have dustbins near their stalls. Many of them, even dispose of their waste onto the streets. The Bhuj Municipal Corporation collects Rs. 150 every month from the Street Vendors in the name of Safai Charge. This safai is as intermittent as a lot of other Government activities.



GARBAGE DUMPS

### Bureaucracy

However good a Government policy may be, the implementation lies with the bureaucracy. Right from collecting Safai charge from the vendors to evicting them, the bureaucracy plays a very important role in the life of the vendors. But, the irony is that very few Officers seem to be well acquainted with existing laws and provisions.

Even if few are, administrative inefficiency and corruption has marred the whole process. Further, political bosses worsen the situation for street vendors. The bureaucrats end up engaging in arbitrary evictions under the directions of their political bosses. The opaqueness of processes in the administration, further adds to the woes of the street vendors.

## Suggestions

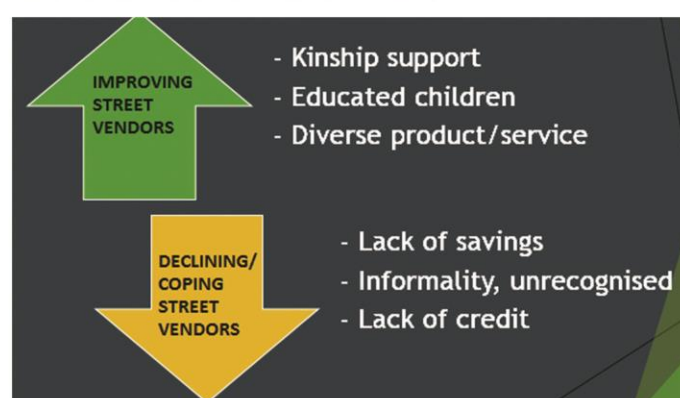
have managed to climb out of bare subsistence and have a retail business while others despite decades in the business have been unable to prosper from their occupation. This led the study to ask the question as to why some vendors are declining and why others improving. Understanding what an improving street vendor had is key to understanding what policies should be like to ensure the improvement in livelihoods of every street vendor.

	Declining SVs	Coping SVs	Improving SVs
<b>Characterised by</b>	Declining business Dependence on others Indebtedness Homelessness	Barely making ends meet Negligible savings Out of school children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Booming business</li> <li>Adequate savings</li> <li>Scope for expansion</li> </ul>
<b>Who</b>	Cobbler Older vendors Homeless pots vendor	Tea vendor Barber Cycle shop	Chikki wallah Chinese and South Indian food stalls
<b>Policies needed</b>	Security of livelihood Financial back up – calamity.	Skill development Small scale credit- without many security demands.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Demand driven policies</li> <li>Access to credit</li> <li>Skill development and business management programs</li> </ul>

TABLE 5.1: GRADING OF VENDORS AS PER THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

1. As shown in section 5.4 and 5.5, spatial analysis shows that the city growth is a reality. even in this nascent stage, conflicts are a reality too. Thus the study advocates the need for prospective planning in the wake of all the changes happening in the periphery. This would prevent the conflicts from reaching the heights it has in the city centre. Planning also becomes tough to carry out in retrospection as corrective action is more expensive and tedious.

2. In the study, various divergent cases emerged. There were street vendors who started from the same conditions, but had very different trajectories, some



It was found through this study by contrasting the case of a prospering and a poor street vendor that Skill. Educated children, kinship support and diversity in product/service sold were responsible for the growth, while lack of credit, savings, and informality caste and community factors prevented the growth of others.

Keeping this in mind, policies and benefits must be targeted rather than in the current form, where they tend to be dispersed in a blanket manner without considering the needs and requirements of the type of vendors and their conditions. Thus in the study, we propose the need for differentiated policies based on the economic and social status of the street vendors. In this way the Gap between policy and action can be bridges to a great extent.

## Group Reflections

In our study, the team came across some incredibly warm hearted vendors. They entertained the team in their homes, no matter how small or kaccha it was. The interviewers got to meet some amazing people with amazing stories and even learnt to look at street vending from the lens of the street vendors, how they perceive their occupation. The team learnt that though there may be no degrees, diplomas or certificates, the street vendors

# : Thematic Findings :



FLOWER VENDORS

The study of street vendors was conducted by 5 groups in different areas of Bhuj, but there were several themes that emerged, cutting across the groups. The spectrum of vendors were united by certain concerns and features despite being separated by location, income and product.

## Gender

One of the things that stood out most starkly in Bhuj was the scarce presence of women street vendors. Street vending seems to be an occupation dominated by men on the face of it, but even if women seldom sell the wares, they are part of the family labour and help in the business with no remuneration and returns. The women involved in vending are mostly in the food or clothes vending activity and not so much in the services vending activities.

Most women are seen to be playing supportive roles while at their vending site while men are still in charge of managing with stakeholders such as the police and Nagarpalika, and sourcing for items etc. If not in a supportive role, women take part in vending as a group mostly defined by caste.



MITHAI VENDOR

For instance, women belonging to Kevar community are generally seen vending fish in mutton market while those selling second hand clothes they belong to Satwara community. Contrary to the meager presence of women vendors in the city centre, the periphery and fringe areas of Bhuj show a near absence of them. One of the main reasons for this is the spatial isolation of vendors which makes women vendors feel unsafe. Along with this other factors like lack of toilet facilities, odd timings of work could be other reasons.

## Social Capital

The other theme uniting the entry and work of street vendors to the business is close relation of social ties to the occupation of street vending. Unlike the formal sector, for the street vendors social

The relations that they forge over time are the ones they can fall back on, in times of distress and uncertainty. Family ties, relatives network and kinship are crucial to entering the trade. As families grow, their hold over the space also expands leading to exclusionary practices as well. Most of the vendors still have relatives in their villages/ hometowns and this connection stays.

The vendors ties to their caste and community hugely influences their occupation. Even though it appears like caste based occupations are not much in vogue in recent times, they are very much present in an implicit manner. Despite being educated, there is a high tendency for people at the base of the caste hierarchy to take up hereditary occupations. Meat vendors in the mutton market belong to the communities of Khatajis, Pinjaras, Turiyas and Kevar. Only people belonging to these communities were allowed set up their business along with vendors who continued their family business for generations. They help each other during times of need and provide storage space to small vendors without demanding any rent. Even as it works as an opportunity, sometimes it constraints people to a profession as it was observed with a barbers son being a barber and a cobbler's son a cobbler.

Access to credit is also closely linked to social ties. Vendors are averse to formal credit due to the hassles and lack of information. When banks ask them for security before lending money, relatives and local money lenders do so without much of these restrictions.

## Migration

With the growth of Bhuj, especially in the post earthquake period, there has been a small but sizable influx of migrants to the city. They add interesting dynamics to street vending, simultaneously blending and subtly changing the fabric. While most of the migrants are from different parts of Gujarat, people from Delhi, Ludhiana, Bihar ,UP, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Nepal have found their way here. Bhuj's economy seems to attract migrants from all over and these migrants have been able to establish themselves rather well. When they move to new places in search of employment opportunities, street vending is one of the first options they think of because of the ease of entry and small investment needed. The biggest motivation factor was the presence of relatives in Bhuj. But also after the Town Planning , Bhuj has emerged as a potential place for small scale businesses. The diversity they bring into the business, especially in food makes them quite popular, right from Chinese noodles to Masala Dosa, they are making use of every opportunity that comes their way. However, they are also subject to exploitation and discrimination

## Temporality

In the daily, weekly, monthly and yearly cycles, the street vendors across the spectrum show extraordinary business acumen and entrepreneurship. Natural markets, true to their name, function as per the demands of the customers and

seasonally adapt themselves to it. A lot of the street vendors do not sell the same things throughout the year. If they are selling pots during summer, they may be selling blankets during winter.

Even if they are selling the same things, the proportions vary. For instance a chikkiwala sells more chikki during winters and more juice pulp during summers. There are also street vendors who vend only during a particular part of the year and get back to their villages to engage in cultivation. They also show significant variations in the daily cycle and operate only for certain hours acting as wholesale or specialised markets. The Sabzi mandi for instance, is time bound market - a temporary natural market that comes up and dissolves into a number of vendors all across the city and its villages. The mutton market, which is a specialised market, is operational only till 1pm. Sunday sees a rush in vending activities as more customers come to buy and market runs till 3PM. Similarly, the food vendors outside the Government Engineering College work from 10-3 pm when there are plenty of college kids whereas the stretch is empty in the evenings, weekends and vacations.

## Vending Trajectories

To make sense of the mass of information collected in the study, it is necessary to assess the vendors lives, livelihoods and economies with certain tools to understand the profitability and sustainability of street vending as a profession. To ascertain this, the trajectories of the street vendors over the years was studied.

There is no one set pattern of vending trajectory that has been observed across this occupation. In fact, significantly different trajectories have been observed by the various groups. In some cases, vendors have experienced an upward mobility. For instance, an itinerant chatpatti seller after a few years progresses to selling pani poori and then selling popcorn from a permanent cart. Or in another case, migrants get employed by a "Seth" first, then rent a cart from a better off vendor and finally purchase their own. However, this is not a set trajectory, it varies according to the social conditions and other facilitating factors like presence of friends and families. Sometimes, there are exclusionary practices that work too. At the same time, there have been vendors who have seen a gradual fall in their sales over the years. Various factors such as personal reasons, regional politics, competition, increase in the intensity of vendors and national governance issues have contributed to these trends in their business activities. Vendors have also been caught up in vending without having any other options. So it is difficult to determine a set trajectory for vendors across the spectrum.

## Governance

Across the 5 groups, presence of a formalized union was hardly observed. Union presence was not acknowledged by any of the vendors, although they do get together to resolve issues, if there are any. Unions or associations are crucial when upholding vendors' livelihoods rights and in dealing with the Nagarpalika

- which is responsible for regulating street vendors and licensing and the Traffic Police - which is responsible for maintaining the streets and the traffic.

For instance, sometimes vendors have change their vending location when asked by the traffic police, however due to a lack of formalised association - these group of vendors are unable to stake any claim on the road. Vendors in the peripheries of the city are seldom part of any union or associations. This in turn reduces their bargaining power. Even when arbitrary evictions are carried out, they cannot really protest, due to lack of support. This also limits their scope to get access to basic amenities like toilets, drinking water and electricity. The Nagarpalika collects the cleaning fee, which is actually a penalty for littering the surroundings but apart from that they are hardly involved in providing licenses to the vendors or supporting during loss of livelihood due to various reasons. Even this cleaning fee is not collected from some vendors and sometimes this amount varies. Even when cleaning fee is collected, vendors have complained that the municipal corporation has hardly provided any cleaning services leading them to question the point of this fee and whether this fee is a de-facto recognition of their legal status. On the other hand, informal governance structures of family, relatives, community relationships have been observed as ways of getting things done, managing spatial and economic conflicts with other vendors and so on.

## Planning and Land Use

The post earthquake Town Planning Scheme has completely changed the

land use pattern of Bhuj. This is especially true for the Hospital Road that witnessed the coming up of many hospitals and banks on the road. Earlier it was mostly under the green cover and there weren't as many vendors either. Unlike a lot of big cities, the street vendors in Bhuj haven't been threatened by large scale evictions for long periods. The traffic and space conflicts are still in nascent stages. But the fact that Bhuj is growing at a rapid rate, it will not be too late before it starts facing tremendous issues with regards to traffic, congestion, waste management etc. The Bhuj Municipal corporation will need to have a system in place to deal with these upcoming problems. Any further plans that will be made for the expansion or development of Bhuj should consider street vendors as an integral part of the urban fabric and provide them with sufficient space. Sometimes, the nature of the market for instance the Sabzi Mandi which has linkages across city, state and country need to be specifically accounted for in planning. These markets although natural to a certain extent are a part and parcel of the entire city's economy. However, the vendors face a daily conflict when they are buying and selling their products.

Areas have grown in population density as people started to migrate out as the aftermath of earthquake, so there are areas such as Sarpat Gate and Bhid Gate that are steadily getting congested. Therefore, there is a need for a comprehensive planning process to utilize the land in a way so that there is enough for all the different parties that are/maybe involved and livelihoods are not affected and the population is not inconvenienced in any way.

# :Implication for Policies:

The Street Vendors Act, 2014 is a step forward in protecting the street vendors from arbitrary evictions and strengthening their overall capacities. However, the informal nature of street vending and various other dynamics at play makes its policy formulation and implementation a special case. Although a drop in the ocean, the experiences in the process of this Research Project could throw some light on what policies have, need and should have.

- Enumeration or survey of street vendors is one of the first steps mandated by the act. It has associated problems like fake reporting, missing out on vendors due to seasonality or mobile nature of vending etc. A lot of the vendors who do not want to pay a fee to the Municipality might avoid getting themselves surveyed.
- Child vendors are not covered under the ambit of this act. Although the Government has banned child labour in hazardous occupations, the fact remains that children below 14yrs constitute a considerable portion of street vendors.
- Although, the act emphasises on retaining the concept of Natural Markets while relocating the street vendors, this is almost utopian. Any change in location, no matter how much care is taken, will disturb business.

- The act permits only one member of a family to be registered as a street vendor and carry on his/her activities. In a lot of cases multiple people from the same family engage in different vending activities or in the same one.
- A lot of the street vendors are seasonal and migratory in nature. It is difficult to track them and regulate their activities.
- Street vending in India has been around for really long and so have the various stakeholders associated with it. One of the main reasons for the continued delay in passing a substantial law to legalise street vendors is the existence of various lobbies and pressure groups. These include local goons who illegally extract money from the street vendors, the traffic police, the municipal officials etc. No matter what law comes into place, unless these underhand dealings are stopped, not much progress can be made.
- Concepts like the Street Vending Committee are indeed very participatory, but we should not forget that it most often the powerful and influential street vendors that get to have a say on important issues pertaining to them.
- The trickling down of the central law to the local level and to what effect is largely questionable.

The crux of the matter is that, if implemented in an efficient and transparent manner, this law could do what the previous policies have failed to do. This would in turn legalise and formalise that section of our economy which has long been deprived of its due.



## : Reflections :

Indian streets are probably one of the most robust in the world. Colour, noise, movement, hustle and bustle are characteristic of most streets in India. One of the vital contributors to this vibrancy is the thousands of street vendors, for whom the street itself is a workplace. They not only offer a variety of products at affordable prices but also act as parts of a natural surveillance system on streets that could otherwise be desolate. While most of us use their services on a day to day basis, what we seldom pay attention to is their life that extends far beyond their tiny carts. Like most other informal services, we realise their importance only when they are not around. So, the absence of a Doodwale Bhaiyya on the Nukkad may steal you from your most cherished morning Chai. They are one of the best representations of the informal

sector in India which despite being not perfectly organised, serves the needs of people in places and at times most required.

The Winter Institute has been a great experience for us, not just in terms of the research and its findings but also in that, it has been a personal learning experience. The process has been that of unlearning a lot of things. We now look at street vendors as not merely people selling things in makeshift arrangements but as small entrepreneurs with immense skills and abilities. Street vending is not just what it appears on face value, but much beyond that. It is a wide network of relations and collaborations, all of which function at a complex rate. The fact that street vendors suffer various vulnerabilities, yet manage to secure a livelihood for themselves has shown us how most people in the world just want to lead a dignified and secure life. Most of all, the street vendors of Bhuj have been extremely warm and hospitable despite their busy schedules, which in itself is a reflection of the essence of India and its bustling streets.



# :Meet the team:



STUDENTS OF MA/MSC IN URBAN POLICY AND GOVERNANCE (SEM II), 2015

ACCOMPANYING FACULTY MEMBERS  
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Not more than any of us, want to be !

