

Trajectories of Informality: Street Food Vending in a Delhi Neighbourhood

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Certificate of Examination

This is to certify that the dissertation titled “Trajectories of Informality: Street Food Vending in a Delhi neighbourhood” submitted by Mr. Ashish Ranjan (Reg. No. MS12129) for the partial fulfilment of BS-MS dual degree programme of the Institute, has been examined by the thesis committee duly appointed by the Institute. The committee finds the work done by the candidate satisfactory and recommends that the report be accepted.

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Declaration

The work presented in this dissertation has been carried out by me under the guidance of Dr.Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay at the Indian Institute of Science Education and Research Mohali.

This work has not been submitted in part or in full for a degree, a diploma, or a fellowship to any other university or institute. Whenever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions. This thesis is a bonafide record of original work done by me and all sources listed within have been detailed in the bibliography.

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In my capacity as the supervisor of the candidate's project work, I certify that the above statements by the candidate are true to the best of my knowledge.

Dr.Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay

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To my parents
and my brothers specially
my elder brother Dr. Aman Kumar for his endless love, support and
encouragement
and
To the hope that one day this world will be free of
poverty and starvation

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Contents

1	Prelude	15
1.1	Introduction	15
1.2	Historical Context of Informal Sector	16
1.3	Defining Informal Sector	18
1.4	Problems in Indian Economy	19
1.5	Research Objectives and Goals	20
2	An analysis on the Definition of Informal Sector	23
2.1	Introduction	23
2.1.1	Concept of Dualism	24
2.1.2	Fragmented Economy and its Sectoral Linkages	26
2.1.3	Informal Sector as Viewed by Developed Countries, Concept of “Flexibility”	27
2.1.4	Regulation by Institution, a Defining Characteristic of Informal Sector	28
2.2	Some Recent Trends in Informal Sector	29
2.3	A Marxist Understanding of Different Forms of Production Economy	31
3	A Survey on Street Food Vendors of Laxmi Nagar (Delhi)	35
3.1	Introduction	35
3.2	Size and Demographics of Street Vendors	36
3.3	Street Food Vending in India	36
3.4	Methodology Followed During the Collection of Data and Facts in the Survey	39
3.5	Some Important Observations During the Survey	40

4 Conclusion	43
A Appendix	47
A.1 Age structure within the Street Vendors	48
A.2 Education Level of the workers	49

Abstract

The number of people employed in the “informal sector” is estimated to be more than 70 percent of the total work force of India, and yet its role in the growth of Indian economy has not been fully realized. This thesis first investigates the available knowledge and understanding of the informal sector, and how this sector can play an important role in the development and growth of a country’s economy. This study then includes a socio-cultural survey of street food vending in Laxmi Nagar (Delhi). Laxmi Nagar has a well connected metro station and also a dense population of street vendors. The survey highlights some recent dynamics of the street vending and overall food culture in Laxmi Nagar. They offer a range of services to the city dwellers at a remarkably low cost and thereby enable the city to renew its own conditions of living. The dissertation makes an attempt to initiate a “social audit” of sort to understand the contribution of the street food vendors in keeping the city still affordable to many. The observation from the survey leads to some crucial conclusions about institutional mismanagement of informal sector and also to the understanding of its underlying functional structure.

Chapter 1

Prelude

1.1 Introduction

In our everyday life, we commonly encounter people employed in the so-called informal sector. Starting from early in the morning a Paperwala (newspaper vendor) appears and helps us catch up with what is happening around the globe. Then comes the domestic aid and helps us get ready for our offices. The moment we come out, we frantically look for the rickshaw, the auto-rickshaw or the bus. We reach our offices where security personnel are there to secure our working spaces. Again, during office hour when we feel hungry we go the street food vendors who cook delicious and nutritious food. Paperwala, domestic aid, Bus driver, rickshaw puller, watchman, office boy, and the street food vendor — all of them, we are told, share a common element of informality in their employment, making the very concept of informality internally heterogeneous, conceptually imprecise, and empirically ambiguous. This dissertation is about a particular segment of the informal economy—the street food vendors of Delhi. It traces how the vendors have navigated a changing world, and what these everyday experiences and negotiations tell us about the changing histories of market and state.

Arguably, street hawkers in India are one of the numerous, increasingly more organized, and more militant sectors within the informal economy (Bandyopadhyay 2009)[1]. They offer a range of services to the city dwellers at a remarkably low cost and thereby enable the city to renew its own conditions of living. The dissertation makes an attempt to initiate a “social audit” of sort to understand the contribution of

the street food vendors in keeping the city still affordable to many. I embark on this study at a moment when the urban life in India is undergoing certain structural and infrastructural reforms, giving birth to new forms of struggles and solidarities at the grass roots level. The informal sector provides a people's infrastructure to sustain life and labour of the city. Yet, the state as an institution, more often than not, tends to have very little concern about this sector. The market forces on the other hand, tends to support this sector as much as they require for the everyday social reproduction of labour at a low cost. The majority of India's population is engaged in this sector which draws the attention of scholars to study it.

1.2 Historical Context of Informal Sector

Informal Sector has two basic and important characteristics “(1) hidden from the official record and (2) nature of employment provides a positive income effect” (Renooy, 1990)[2]. Most of the firms in this sector are owned and run by families. It was a common belief that with right policies and resources informal sector can be transformed into modern economy (Preston, 1996)[3]. In the process of modernization, this traditional sector will be absorbed by the modern capitalist mode of production. This understanding was reinforced by the successful rebuilding of Europe after World War II. But the optimism about traditional sector being absorbed into mainstream sector was shattered way back during early 1960s. The main reason of undying informal sector was increasing unemployment. Realizing this concern international labour organization(ILO)went on to multi sectoral employment missions to various developing countries. The first mission of this kind was a mission to Kenya in 1972. The Kenya employment mission recognized that this traditional sector is not only self-subsistent but also earn profit (ILO, 1972)[4]. The traditional sector was being called as “Informal Sector” a term which was coined one year earlier by Keith Hart in the study of economic activities in Ghana (Hart, 1972)[5].

Although both Keith Hart and Kenya team had a positive response looking at self sufficiency and marginal profit of this sector, scholars in general, received mixed understanding both in positive and negative way. Many scholars believed that informal sector is a residue or marginal sector of economy and it does not have a link with

the formal sector (Tokman, 1978)[6]. Some argued that once a developing country achieves certain level of economic prosperity this sector will witness erosion (Lillian, 1985)[7]. Others (Peattie, 1987)[8] argued that informal sector will continue to grow in developing countries.

By 1990s it was clear that the informal sector is only going to grow in developing countries. With the advent of globalization in India, elements of informality became ubiquitous even at the heart of the so-called formal-industrial sector. In addition, with the acceleration of urbanization, informal sector received a new fillip in hitherto untouched areas of economy. Even within the rural economy, the growing non-agricultural diversification did not result in the decline of informality. Further, as land acquisition for new technology and service intensive industries began to dominate the country's economy in the context of a growing decline of the agricultural sector resulted in spectacular estrangement of the workforce in agricultural and artisanal sectors from their means of production. In this context, informal sector emerged as the only available area of the economy that could absorb the "shock" of what Marx in Capital famously called "primitive accumulation of capital" (Sanyal 2007, Chatterjee 2008)[9]. Scholars began to realize that the informal economy was not a vestige of India's pre-capitalist past, but, indeed the continuing and in some cases invigorated presence of the informal economy displayed how modernity and capital are irreducible to a particular theory of historical development. As Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay comments[10], the "bazaar beneath the mall does not pertain to the moment of transition from pre-capital to capital. Nor is it an initial condition which capital transforms. Rather, post-colonial capitalism is a world of difference and heterogeneity in which the corporate economy lives in harmonious relation with other forms of capital" (Bandyopadhyay, 2012)[10]. With the economic crisis occurring in a large part of developing economies in 1980s, the informal sector only started to grow in Latin America (Tokman, 1992)[11]. Similar trend was being followed in India during that period as a result of people losing jobs. In other words, during transitions of economy informal sector grew, and in some cases, it became the sphere where the effects of primitive accumulation of capital was reversed (Chatterjee 2008)[9]. Therefore, since the inception of the concept of the informal sector in 1970, it has only grown in its shape and size. According to a very conservative estimate, employment in the infor-

mal sector in 2011-12 in India was around 75 percent in rural areas, and 69 percent of the total workforce in urban areas (Chandrasekhar 2014)[12]. Such developments as mentioned above forced academics to rethink and re-conceptualize the structure and importance of this sector. So a depth study of so called “informal sector” sector is required.

1.3 Defining Informal Sector

As already hinted at, defining informal sector is very difficult due to its own structural and dynamical problem. It has as many definitions as there are people studying it. The term and concept of “informal sector” was first coined and understood by a British anthropologist Keith Hart when he was on an employment study in Ghana (Jha, 2014)[13]. Later in 1970s International Labour Organization (ILO) added the element of “decent work” (ilo.org)[14] into this category of employment. By saying decent work they mean right to work, social security, right to form an organization etc. The concept of the informal sector was introduced into international usage in 1972 by the ILO in its Kenya Mission Report, which defined informality as a “way of doing things” characterized by

1. Ease of entry
2. Reliance on indigenous resources
3. Family ownership
4. scale operations
5. Labor intensive and adaptive technology
6. Skills acquired outside of the formal sector
7. Unregulated and competitive markets
8. The economic activities that are not taxed, monitored, or regulated by the government.
9. Informal sector jobs are generally low-wage and low-productivity work.

Each of the elements listed above is subject to enquiry because a lot has changed since 1972. informal sector include a wide range of economic activities, from street hawkers to small firms that produces finished goods. In spite of having a voluminous literature on this topic a lot has to be done in order to find a practical and workable

definition of this sector which in turn will help policy makers to make right policies to help people employed in this sector. ILO has tried to define this sector on the basis of its characteristic. This definition has been recognized and executed by the nations. It is a common belief that this sector is there into existence due to the less availability of formal jobs. Therefore, we need a definition which is applicable to all kind of economic activities which are treated as informal activities. In the attempt to define “informal sector” different definitions have been written. Different aspects of state regulation provide the key to identify informal sector (Swaminathan, 1991)[15]. Informal sector and formal sector existing together in an economy was given a name called “dualistic economy”. The concept of dualism relates to the asymmetry in the state institutions and production mode which is a key characteristic of a developing country like India. Development is seen as a shift from informal economy to more formal economy. In general this model of dualism assumes that the asymmetry in state institutions and the coming of more formal sector will have diminishing effect on informal economy and in turn it will end dualism in an economy. A more detailed analysis of definition is presented in the next chapter. Recently many scholars have argued that just looking at this sector in the sphere of economy will not do justice to the people who are employed in this sector, a broader sense of looking at them is required which includes social, cultural, economic and anthropological understanding of them. People employed in informal sector not only contribute economically to the nation but they also contribute politically, socially and culturally. They are the people who generate their employment on their own by not being dependent on the state. Especially in urban areas informal sector provides a source of livelihood to the rural migrant and low income household.

1.4 Problems in Indian Economy

India is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. In spite of impressive progress in economy as well in policies India is facing a continuous problem of encircling people employed in informal sector into social benefits. According to recent survey done by India Human development Survey (IHDS) India has as high as 1% of population owning 53% of the nation’s wealth. This inequality is increasing in every

sphere of economic activities.

Informal sector is not just the residual part of a country's formal economy; it has its autonomous existence conditioned by the formal/corporate sector. People believed that with coming of more and more industrial economy the informal economy will be erased but looking at the recent trend in case of India, population employed in this sector is increasing. According to NSSO report 2016 more than 70% of people are employed in this sector in urban areas [16]. A country having 70% of its population employed in informal sector cannot afford to ignore them. Ignoring them would mean that they will not have decent work as defined by ILO. Developing economies like ours express its daily economic activities through informality. India has as high as 63% of its population in working age group which is estimated to further increase to 68% by 2025. This makes India skill capital of the world. Having this huge population in the working age group is going to create a huge challenge of unemployment which is only going to trigger informal sector. How a state can play an active role in institutionalizing and creating an environment favourable to the growth of informal sector in India? Therefore it is very important to realize the importance of informal sector as a possible alternative of growth along with formal sector. But to materialize this realization more and more research is needed in order to incorporate state intervention in formulating the policies which in turn can improve the working condition of people working in this sector. So its the demand of the hour to protect the informal sector and make this sector to offer a decent work environment.

1.5 Research Objectives and Goals

As evident from above discussion the existence of informal sector in a developing country like ours provides both opportunities as well as challenges for various state institutions and policy-makers. So, I am trying to make an attempt to come up with some sort of possible ways to address this sector. For that first we have to understand what precisely this sector is? In this investigation on Informal sector first thing is to come up with a practical and workable definition of informal sector. Definition of the informal sector has been revised many times in the past. There are evident difficulties which makes it hard to precisely define this sector. What is the boundary that

divide formal and informal sector? Or should we not talk in terms of boundary, since boundary between the two is very blurry and thin to exist. This question might be delicate and multi-interpretable but it is very important to talk in terms of boundary because this puts informal sector in the centre of discussion about urbanization. So my research goal is to understand the structure and dynamics of this sector and to revise vocabularies used to describe this sector. How the surplus flows between formal and informal sector? In our country—as in “most of the world”—formal/ accumulation, and informal/subsistence sectors co-exist, which tells us that there must be some kind of linkages and interactions between these two sectors. Their coexistence suggests that the accumulation sector needs a quarantined low-end informal sector to “continuously provide for itself the conditions of its hegemony” (Bandyopadhyay 2012, Sanyal 2007)[9][10]. Hence, it appears that the informal sector and the formal sector are analytically inseparable, with the latter setting the terms under which the former must operate. Hence, understanding these linkages is very important for understanding the practicality of informal sector. In what follows, in this thesis I wish to understand this interaction. I will also investigate through a micro-field survey the role of state police and micro-finance firms in shaping the informal sector of India’s Economy. In this thesis based upon the evidence collected I will argue that there is an active role of the state to deal with the problems of people employed in this sector which will create a good atmosphere for the this sector.

Chapter 2

An analysis on the Definition of Informal Sector

2.1 Introduction

The term informal sector is overwhelmingly used in both first world countries as well as third world countries. It is used to refer to the kind of economic activities which is not in any government official's document and hence does not pay tax. The International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted this term and went on to study the developing countries in response to the unemployment problems. Rapid growth and urbanization created a void in which many people could not be observed into mainstream economic activities of the country. The distinction between formal and informal sector came into consciousness of scholars while trying to incorporate the dualistic model to the economy of developing countries. The concept of "informal economy" was able to incorporate economic activities that were earlier ignored from the theoretical framework to explain an economy. In spite of voluminous literature produced by the scholars to explain the informal sector there has always been disagreement on what should be the precise definition of informal sector. There are four set of definition which is available among scholarly community (Swaminathan, 1991)[15].

(1). This definition is based on the characteristic of economic activities which relate to the sphere of organization, production and technology used. This form of definition puts dualism at the centre in defining informal sector. This approach has been applied to the economy of the developing country (subsection 2.1.1).

(2). Another set of definitions are broadly based on the consideration that the informal sector is a system of production which is closely related to and dependent on the capitalist mode of production. Through this definition they try to argue that the economy is fragmented into different sectors having many interconnections and linkages rather than being divided into two categories which is formal and informal sector. The wage and labour-owner relationship is considered to be centre to this definition (subsection 2.1.2).

(3). Third set of definition is in relation to the developed country, where small scale firms and enterprises are given flexibility in organization and technology and also flexibility in labour use. This definition is termed as “flexible specialization approach” (subsection 2.1.3).

(4). And the last one is fundamentally based on the state regulation and state recognition. The argument in this approach is that the absence of state regulation and state recognition is the defining characteristic of informal sector. This approach has been applied to both developed as well as developing countries (subsection 2.1.4).

These above four sets of view about informal sector have many overlapping and inter-connection but each of the above differs by the focus on the different factors associated with this sector. When we try to make a distinction between this two sector many confusions get cleared. Going through literature three elements of informal sector is clearly being iterated time and again. These Three elements are a) absence of regulation and protection by state b) the form of ownership c) the nature of employment. In later section, I will try to revise these three elements especially in case of India.

2.1.1 Concept of Dualism

Dualism and ILO’s approach to informal sector First set of approaches which is based on dualism of an economy was adopted by International Labour Organization in defining informal sector. This was a product of studies conducted by ILO on Ghana employment mission where problem of employment was huge. A key result of this study was that people were having self employment as a result of being independent from the state. ILO’s approach was based on scale of production, mode of ownership, technology deficient, and unavailability of state regulation. I have already mentioned the definition of informal sector given by ILO in chapter 1.2. ILO’s definition of infor-

mal sector is not based on the characteristic of products, technology and production process because it is evident that same kind of goods that formal sector produces are also produced by informal sector. Therefore, the emphasis is on organizational operation rather than technology used (Choudhari, 1989)[17]. While it has been recognized that most of the informal sector's economic activities are not regulated by the government but this is not true in the case of India. India passed a street vending act in 2014 which is an attempt to regulate the street vendors who comes under the informal sector (THE STREET VENDORS (PROTECTION OF LIVELIHOOD AND REGULATION OF STREET VENDING) ACT, 2014).

A similar but more elaborative characteristic that distinguishes formal sector from informal sector is give by (Santos, 1979)[18]. He called formal and informal sector as upper and lower circuit of an economy. The characteristic that he recognized in defining informal sector was organization, technology, relations of firm with the state and other institutions such as banks and nature of product and market factor. ILO has also included the characteristic in defining informal sector that tells us that it is easier of an individual to open up a firm in informal sector but Gerry shows that opening a firm in informal market can be quite competitive and selective (Gerry, 1974)[19]. Many scholars have defined it using characteristic like "enterprises operating out of a temporary physical structure" (House, 1984)[20], and also defined as a sector of "small scale enterprises whose labour input is predominantly provided by relatives of the owner" (International Labour Organization(ILO), 1976) but according to my survey that I did in Laxmi Nagar which I will be presenting in third chapter shows that there can be labour input who does not belong to the family of the owner. Distinguishing informal sector from formal sector on the basis of small scale can be misleading because a firm can be scaled as large or small on the basis of number of workers, amount of capital invested and energy consumption but sometimes the small firms are directly or indirectly owned by big industries.

The characteristic element of dualistic model of the economy is that the informal sector is just a residue of formal sector, which can be erased by attaining a certain level of prosperity in formal sector of economy. But looking at the recent trend it has been observed that the percentage of people employed in informal economy is only increasing in India. Every sector seems to have an increment except few. The data

that shows the increment in the population engaged in informal sector is presented below.

Table 2: Growth in Employment and GVA in Unorganised Manufacturing: 2005-06 through 2010-11						
Industry	OAME		Establishment		All	
	Workers	GVA in Rs. Crore (in 2004-05 prices)	Workers	GVA in Rs. Crore (in 2004-05 prices)	Workers	GVA in Rs. Crore (in 2004-05 prices)
Food Products, Bev. and Tobacco	-6.77	2.12	-3.39	-1.29	-5.94	0.35
Textiles and Leather	2.48	15.14	0.46	9.84	1.79	12.07
Paper & Products	-13.35	-4.04	15.53	23.45	-0.64	17.29
Chemical and Chemical Products	-17.36	-4.70	-2.04	4.59	-10.99	2.95
Non-metallic Mineral Products	-4.91	2.01	11.27	9.03	3.97	7.67
Basic Metals	13.34	19.06	-2.30	-12.92	2.52	-9.10
Metal Products	-3.69	9.65	4.77	1.47	1.82	2.54
Machinery and Equipment	-26.19	-14.44	-8.65	-5.70	-12.64	-6.60
Transport Equipment	-5.64	15.63	-7.70	4.20	-7.52	4.70
Other Manufacturing incl. Wood	-1.32	12.79	4.43	7.77	0.89	9.47
All Industries	-2.45	9.58	1.85	5.25	-0.86	6.72

Source: Computed from National Sample Survey data on unorganised manufacturing enterprises, 2005-06 and 2010-11. OAME stands for own account manufacturing enterprises (household enterprises).

ILO has been successful in drawing the attention of the world towards the betterment of people employed in informal sector but there is no consensus of scholarly community on any of the definition presented above. Every scholarly article seems to have arbitrariness in selecting features that define informal sector.

2.1.2 Fragmented Economy and its Sectoral Linkages

Abandoning ILO's approach some scholars showed that an economy of a developing country instead of being divided into two contrasting sectors named formal and informal it is divided into fragments which has internal linkages. Labour market should be viewed as "fragmented", and the distinctions between formal and informal can only be noticed at the pole or extreme (Breman, 1976)[21]. According to this approach informal sector should be viewed as a sector that depend on the capitalist or formal sector and formal sector exploit the people of informal sector for accumulation of profit through acquiring cheap labour and cheap raw materials from informal sector. According to Breman, informal sector has a strong linkage with formal sector and is directly or indirectly regulated by the so called "formal sector". Breman did a survey in Colombo in which he has shown that a majority of people working in informal sector fall under "potentially exploitative working relationship with large enterprises".

He also argues that self-employment is a term which hides the linkages between formal and informal sector for example sub-contracted workers.

Other researcher who shares this approach is Moser. He also believes in the continuum of economic activities rather than distinction called formal and informal sector. His study focuses on petty commodity producers who happen to fall under “informal sector”. He argues that these petty commodity producers have direct linkage with capitalist form of production (Moser, 1978)[22]. The wage labour relationship is considered to be an important characteristic of the distinction between the different sector of an economy yet they are very interconnected.

Through this discussion it is evident that inter-sectoral linkages especially dependence of the informal sector on formal sector sets a constraint on the potential growth of small scale enterprises. It is also shown in this discussion that looking at “informal sector” in isolation would not do justice to the people employed in “informal sector”. We have taken into account the linkages between the small and big enterprises to understand the whole concept.

2.1.3 Informal Sector as Viewed by Developed Countries, Concept of “Flexibility”

Flexible specialization refers to the growth of small scale firms of developed country where flexibility in terms of labour wage is given in the mode of production relative to big scale industries where thousands of workers work. Flexibility in technology and specialized production is granted in developed countries like Italy, Germany and Japan (Sabel, 1984)[23]. This growth in small scale firms has occurred due to economic crisis in 1970s and in 1980s. This very specialized small scale firms are seen as the response of changing market conditions and fluctuations in demand of goods. In this small scale firms the hire and fire of workers are quickly done dependent on the market behaviour. This aspect of flexibility in labour use is common in both small scale firms in developed country and “informal sector” in developing country. However this specialized small scale firm requires high level of regulation in microeconomic level. This high level of regulation is found in some part of Italy. Absence of this regulation can lead to stagnation in technology and can give rise to conflict between

labour and owner.

This regulation is possible by different forms of institutional cooperation between state and small scale firms. However studies have shown that these small scale firms are very important in absorbing economic shock, high level of growth and absorbing unemployed workers having less or wide range of skills. This sector also has a framework of accumulation of surplus or profit. This sector has many advantages, but it also has many disadvantages. Often, these small-scale firms look for cheap migrant labour and work environment is not that decent as compared to the formal sector. Increasing inequality in earnings has also added growth dynamics to this sector. To summarize this small scale firms have some features like organization and labour use in common with informal sector of developing countries.

2.1.4 Regulation by Institution, a Defining Characteristic of Informal Sector

The fact that informal sector is not regulated and protected by institutions in both developing and developed countries have gained considerable concern in the community of scholars. According to weeks, whether or not the firms are officially recognized and regulated by government is the defining characteristic of informal sector (Weeks, 1975)[24]. Most of the findings done by scholars have found the absence of government regulation, but this was not taken into account in any of the earlier discussion in defining the informal sector. According to Deepak Majumdar, the distinction between formal and informal sector is primarily based on the presence or absence of labour legislation. He pointed out that the formal sector is “protected” sector where workers are protected by the government laws or trade unions (Majumdar, 1976)[25].

Informal sector is defined as “a specific form of income generating production...unregulated by the institutions of society in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated” (Portes, 1989)[26]. Here regulation does not mean regulation by state only it means regulation at the level of society. Regulation can be done at different level of governments like provincial government regulation or central government regulation. The growth of informal sector can be a result of evading taxes or can be a result of market fluctuations. But whatever be the case, regulation by institutions is required in order to protect the employees from exploitation both from state and

the owners.

But excessive bureaucratization also leads to many problems for people engaged in this informal sector. They often have to pay bribe to the officials and to the organizational leads for setting up a vending stall or opening up of small scale industries. A case study done by me has highlighted this problem which I will be discussing in the 3rd chapter.

2.2 Some Recent Trends in Informal Sector

All of the definition discussed above takes different features into account in defining informal sector. But all of the features can be summarized into three elements existence of casual labour contract, Paraligality and lack of organization. Considering the casual labour force, it has been observed that the more sense of permanent employment is being seen in informal sector rather than in formal sector. For example, Call centres offer job which is a formal economic activity but the kind of job that is being offered has less sense of permanency in their form of employment. People employed in call centres always work in a fear of losing jobs. They do often lose jobs as compared to people employed in informal sector. So the notion of casual labour force is being challenged.

Second element is “paraligality”. Street Vendors whose economic activities are treated as informal economic activity used to come under the sense of paraligality. They sell foods or goods which are legal in the eyes of law but they sell it on street which is a public place. They encroach pedestrian which was considered to be illegal. But with the coming of street vending act 2014 street vendors have been granted the right to vend on the street (THE STREET VENDORS (PROTECTION OF LIVELIHOOD AND REGULATION OF STREET VENDING) ACT, 2014). So the sense of Paraligality is also being challenged. Now street vendors have right to sell their product on the street which guaranteed by the constitution of India.

Third one is the lack of organization which is considered to be one of the defining features of informal sector. This aspect of informal sector is also being challenged. Informal workers are observed to form unions outside the fold of the existing legal trade union complex (Bandyopadhyay, 2016)[1]. Now, People employed in informal

sector are also pro-actively participating in forming organization. People are becoming aware of their right and hence to protect themselves from different institutions they form organization for example National Hawker Federation (NHF). Organizations like this work to improve the working condition of workers employed in informal sector.

It has been reported many times by scholars that the quality of goods produced by informal sector are often compromised but recently observed trend tells us that to survive in this globally competitive market the quality of goods are of good quality (Kundu, 2010)[27] (Bandyopadhyay, 2016[1]). So the quality of products is also increasing due to competitive market. So the time is gone when people used to look at informal sector with thinking in their mind that products are of sub-standard quality. People are now gaining trust on the products produced by informal sector.

So the every sphere of informal sector is being challenged now days. The concept of informal sector is not what it used to be. It is dynamic field whose meaning is changing with the changing behaviour of market. So the nature of informal sector is changing rapidly therefore a new set of policies is needed to protect this sector. The informal sector helps the economy to absorb certain fluctuations of market which is very important to make economy robust. So the importance of informal sector is increasing and we need this sector to play a crucial role in the development of Indian economy.

To summarize, we can say that beginning in 1970s, the category called informal economy with all its incoherence and ambiguity, became a “doxic commonsense” of sort around which questions regarding rural-urban migration, labour and the urban condition in the developing world started to be framed. Soon, it became a conceptual paradigm ordering data into information on poverty, unemployment and entrepreneurship. Already by the late 1990s some of the influential terms such as “low circuit economy”, “service sector” etc., in this literature seeped into the language of popular activism and became registers along which the archives on informality were framed (Bandyopadhyay 2016)[1].

2.3 A Marxist Understanding of Different Forms of Production Economy

Marx has tried to explain different form of production through money and commodity chain. He has taken underlying structure of how money and commodities are linked, how surplus is generated in each of the mode of production, how labour power is used to generate the finished product, and also how by exploiting the socially necessary labour time (it is the amount of time a labour work with an average skill and also with an average machine to produce a commodity) a surplus is generated in the capitalist mode of production. He has categorized economic activities into following four categories (Marx, 1885).

(1). Petty Commodity Production:-

$$C - M - C$$

C-Commodity

M - Money

In this mode of economic activity people produce some commodity and then they sell it to earn money again they use this money to buy some other product necessary for their livelihood. It is an economic activity in which people “sell in order to buy”. This kind of economic activity used to exist before the inception of modern economy. But in today’s world also this commodity - money chain exist in fragmented manner around the globe. Here it is important to note that no surplus is generated in this chain of money and commodity.

(2). Accumulation of Merchant’s Capital:

$$M - C - M'$$

$$M' - M > 0$$

For merchant to earn profit In this mode of economic activity spend some amount of money to buy some products and again they sell it on the higher rate. They “buy in order to sell”. For example, a person buys a product in 10 rupees and then he or she sells it at 15 rupees to his customer. He or she has accumulated a net surplus of 5 rupees through this chain of economic activity. The key element here is that they

do not produce these products that they sell. This is exactly what retail shop keepers do in order to earn his or her subsistence. This mode of accumulation of profit is prevalent in every society throughout the world though the net surplus accumulated is low which is not expanding in nature.

(3). Accumulation of Industrial Capital:

$$M - C - C' - M' - C'' - C''' - M'' - \dots$$

$$M' - M \gg 0, M'' - M' \gg 0$$

This is a capitalist mode of production where a certain amount of money is invested in the form of capital represented as M to buy raw materials represented as C and then this raw material is converted into finished goods represented as C' using labour force, now this finished goods are sold in market at a price M'. In this chain of production a capitalist accumulate huge surplus in expanding manner. Here by expanding I mean after each cycle of production their accumulation of surplus increases. In this mode of production goods are produced in huge bulk.

In contemporary world this model is followed in almost 90 percent of countries which make economies of different countries interconnected and also, governments are increasingly seen to have been removed from this mechanics of the market. This characteristic of capitalist mode of production gives rise to what is called “free market competition”. Now in order for a capitalist to survive in this free market competitive economy, he or she has to maximize his or her profit. Looking closer in to the money-commodity chain there is only one way to maximize the profit and that is in the process of converting raw material in to a finished good where labour force is taken into use. So capitalist exploits the socially necessary labour time to maximize their profit.

(4). Informal Sector:

$$M - C - C' - M'(M' - M, M) - M - C - C' - M' - \dots$$

$$M' - M > 0$$

This, according to Kalyan Sanyal (2007), is a typical structure of informal sector in the money-commodity chain. In this mode of economic activity a person invested certain

amount of money as capital represented as M to buy raw materials represented as C and then he or she convert this raw material into finished goods represented as C' by himself/ herself or using a small labour force which sometimes belongs to his/her family member, now this finished products are sold into market at a price M' . Here $M'-M$ is greater than zero but unlike capitalist mode of production the accumulation of capital is not huge. The money-commodity chain of this sector looks like capitalist mode of production but here the accumulation of capital is not expanding in nature that means after each cycle of production the surplus generated is more or less same. The accumulation of surplus in this sector is very less but it is sustainable and self-sufficient. It is also to be noted that in this mode of production the goods are not produced in bulk as compared to capitalist mode of production.

Chapter 3

A Survey on Street Food Vendors of Laxmi Nagar (Delhi)

3.1 Introduction

Street vendors are an important and integral part of informal sector around the globe and it adds vibrancy to the urban life. Of late, as Jonathan Anjaria (2008)^[28] mentions, there has been a shift in the analysis of street vending from a political economy angle to the politics of street vending under neoliberal conditions (Graff and Ha 2015). In this dissertation, I attempt to make a case study of street food vending in one of the neighbourhoods of East Delhi to arrive at a conciliation between the two existing paradigms of analysing street vending. Street vendors make available wide variety of finished goods, fresh vegetables, cooked food etc. In some places it also represents cultural and historical heritage. For example, vendors vending near Lal Kila, sell a variety of products that directly or indirectly are connected to our cultural and historical heritage. It is an important source of employment for urban migrants because it needs a low cost to open up a vending stall. With the increase in urbanization, more and more people are looking towards hawking as an option to earn their livelihood. Vending is not only a source of employment but it also makes available a wide range of goods and services at a very cheap rate. It also helps low waged workers to reproduce themselves for the next day work. The kind of role that these street vendors perform in eliminating unemployment problem is deserves credit but instead they are considered unlawful entities and are continuously harassed by the

government institutions and police. Even after the Street Vendors Act 2014, vendors are continued to be harassed and extorted.

A person is a street vendor who sells a diverse range of goods and services to the people without having permanent structure of the shop and generally this structure is mobile or temporary. They vend in public areas like pedestrian, near historical sites, nears colleges and hospitals etc. The size and significance of street vendors have become very crucial in today's economy. Street vending is widely believed to be a representative vocation under the informal sector. In India this particular segment of informal sector is partially unionized.

3.2 Size and Demographics of Street Vendors

Precise and accurate estimates of demographic attributes and socio-economic realms of street vending are not available. However, several hawkers' unions do have a certain estimate on this count. No attempt has so far been undertaken to aggregate data that the unions have on street vending. According to the union figures, the population of street vendors in India is significant. Mumbai, for instance, has the highest number of street vendors numbering around 250,000 in India. Delhi has around 200,000 and Calcutta has around 150,000 (Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation, 2016)[29]. According to the same study the total population of street vendors is approximately 1 crore. It is very tough to estimate the size of street vendors also because of its dynamical nature. The way street vendors (especially those are regulated make their presence on the street very temporary.

3.3 Street Food Vending in India

In 1990s a survey on the street food sector in Calcutta by All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health revealed that a total of 911 consumers were interviewed from various important commercial areas and transit points, of whom a staggering 80 percent were male and rest female earning between 250 rupees and rupees 1000 (at the point, USD 1 = Rs 30). The survey further revealed that in some of the prominent business districts of central Calcutta about 75 percent office goers obtained at least

part of their mid-day meal from food vendors.

In 2008, a survey on the street food sector in Calcutta by Dr. Ritajyoti Bandyopadhyay revealed that the hawkers make available a variety of cooked food priced between Rs 10 and Rs 50 (at the point when USD 1 = Rs 45).

In 2017, a survey on the street food sector in Delhi by me estimated that the street hawkers make available a variety of cooked food priced between Rs 30 to Rs 100 (at the point, USD 1 = Rs 64).

Street food vendors are generally found in office areas, business districts, busy transit points, in the vicinity of educational institutes and hospitals—areas that attract a floating “day” population as well as the workers who run those establishments. Their routine is tied to the active working hours of these establishments. The regular eaters in these stalls have a specific lunch hour when they come out and have food on the streets. The regular visitors tend to have strong “brand loyalty”, if we may call it, to particular stalls. In summer, many of them do not prefer to carry “tiffin”, as they call it, from faraway places for the sake of freshness. The transport sector workers like those who drive buses, trucks, rickshaws and auto-rickshaws tend to depend fully on street vendors. Cooking the meal before the eyes of the customer and serving it from the frying pan have been a time-worn practice. Many a times, the city Corporation officials and cops run after the street vendors to stop this custom to maintain the hygienic state of the public space. Court orders often go against food vendors for “causing nuisance” in open public spaces by cooking meals. However, such prohibitions largely remain unimplemented precisely because the customers insist the vendors to keep on producing the sensory evidence of freshness for food items they are supposed to eat. Thus, the street food vendor appears to operate between two conflicting registers of hygiene and public health—if one demands that they should not pollute the air by converting the entire street into a massive kitchen, the other urges on her/him to keep food hygienic by making it ready at the beck and call.

The street food vendor is also the vehicle to turn the street into a cosmopolitan sensory world. Consider a neighbourhood like the Jawaharlal Nehru Road in Kolkata or Rajiv Chawk in Delhi. The food vendors in these areas sell a diverse range of dishes mixing regions and culinary creeds. It is through her/his mediation that Dosa, Idli and Vada became popular in North Indian cities, Dhokla travelled from Gujarat to

Delhi and Kolkata, Vada Pao of Bombay became popular near the South City Mall in Kolkata, and North-Eastern, Tibetan and Chinese cuisine acquired a distinct Punjabi smell in Delhi. Tastes travel with street vendors. Arguably, this is one sector that appears to have played a significant role in weakening the institution of untouchability in food habit and eating practices in many parts of urban India. At times, the vendor's dress, language, appearance and the food she/he sells make her communal/caste/ethnic identities amply clear to the potential customer. However, in many cases, such identities also remain largely anonymous to the customer. Still, exchange takes place. In India, this is not a small thing. Thus, the vendor plays a significant role in making the city distinctive from other human settlements through silent propagation of anonymity. Thus, she/he becomes an unconscious agent of modernity and capital. The food vendor juxtaposes cultures and unifies production, circulation and service with minimal initial investment. All such things compelled me to work on street food vendors. If as modern subjects, we valorize equality, we have to recognize this agent of equality who makes streets distinct from other public spaces. The case study, I have done for this dissertation is an attempt to self-reflexively learn to confer recognition to this practice.

Location of Case Study Site:

Laxmi Nagar is situated in the east Delhi district of Delhi with the coordinate 16°38' E and it has an elevation of 239 meters from sea level. East Delhi is bounded by the border of Uttar Pradesh comprising of Noida and Ghaziabad. Laxmi Nagar has a well-connected metro station.

Objective of the Survey:

The motive of this survey is to understand demographic and socio-economic life of street vendors of Laxmi Nagar near the metro station. This survey tries to focus on following objectives.

- (1). To study the condition of street vendors after the passage of the Street Vendors Act, 2014. There are some fundamental questions regarding the execution of this act such as has the life of street vendors improved after the act or it has remained same?
- (2). To study the role of micro-credit institutions and how it can play a major role in the street vending economy.
- (3). To study the effect of demonetization in the social and economic life of street

vendors.

(4). To identify the problems that the vendors are facing.

3.4 Methodology Followed During the Collection of Data and Facts in the Survey

I have tried to collect data in the most objective manner possible in the best of my capacity. A sample size of 100 vendors out of a total estimate of around 500 vendors was chosen for the survey. Random Sampling was performed to collect the data. A set of questions was used to interview 100 vendors in order to collect the data. An analysis has been made on the basis of percentage, maps, charts and diagrams.

Why Laxmi Nagar:

I have chosen Laxmi Nagar for my survey because it is near to Chandigarh and also Delhi is well connected to Chandigarh by bus and train. Laxmi Nagar is a very densely populated area in terms of street vendors. It has a well-connected metro station which makes it an important transit hub in the east Delhi. More than 500 vendors vend near the metro station. I have targeted food sector because it is the most vibrant sector of all. Almost all type of people comes and eats from the street vendors. It unifies production with trade and circulation of commodities. Food sector of street vending plays a crucial role in maintaining and reproducing low income workforce of a city. It helps to sustain informal economy and also subsidizes the accumulation economy. The capital required to invest in order to kick-off the business in food sector is very low. Therefore, the role of micro-finance in this sector is assumed to be comparatively lower though not insignificant.

Observations and Discussion:

Metropolitan cities provide a space within the economic activity for street food sector. Sample of 100 workers constituted 6 female and rest of them that is 94 were male vendors. So asymmetry in gender among the street vendors is directly observed. Migration is one of the most important element among street vendors. Almost the entire sample was found to be constituted by the migrants. Migrants are generally classified into two broad categories namely [1] Seasonal migrant, [2] permanent migrant.

Raw data of the survey is presented in appendix section.

3.5 Some Important Observations During the Survey

There are more than 500 hawkers hawking on the pedestrian in the surroundings of laxminagar metro station. A vast majority of them sell food materials like fruits, juices, momos rolls etc and also the electronic items. A common fact amongst them is that, all of them are migrants. These migrants have migrated from neighbouring states in search of food and shelter. There is not much opportunity in their native places so; they migrate to big cities like Delhi. Delhi is a metropolitan city and also a capital of India. So the kind of economy and population Delhi has attracts these migrants to engage themselves in "informal sector". These hawkers generally live in slum areas. They always vend in the fear of being thrown away by police from their vending sites. So they pay some money to these police in return police avoid disturbing them. Now there is a deep rooted corruption in this already black money that the police collect. In every locality of vending zone vendors select a leader, now this leader collects money from vendors and on monthly or sometimes weekly basis pay to police. The leader, majority of times collects money from vendors and pay lesser amount than what he or she has collected and whatever is left he/she keeps it with himself/herself. In my survey, I observed it almost everywhere. For example; a locality has 20 vendors and a leader who represent them. Now police demand that leader to give him 20 thousand from that locality per week. To collect total of 20 thousand rupees he/she has to collect at least 1000 from each vendor. But he collects like 1300 rupees. So the leader keeps this extra 6 thousand per week in his pocket after paying 20 thousand rupees to police. This is not it, offices of MCD also collect money from them on the monthly basis to ensure them cleanliness. So this way a vendor has to pay minimum of 1300 to 1500 rupees per week to police and another 100 to 200 to MCD. This way in spite of having a vending right protected by the constitution, these vendors are compelled to pay extra 1500 per week to the so called police and MCD office. A survey done by National Hawker Federation on the hawkers

of Delhi shows that approximately 3000 crore rupees are being collected from these poor hawkers every year. This turnover is more than many big company's annual turnover. This is not it, even the retail shops extract money from the people who vend near their shop. Retail shopkeeper collects money on the monthly basis.

Another factor that I tried to know from them is the effect of demonetization. I talked to more than 100 vendors about the effect of demonetization. More than 90% of vendors expressed a great loss in their business. There was one vendor who claimed that he had to suffer a loss of minimum 1 lakh rupees in the month of January and February. this vendor sell rolls. There was another vendor who admitted that many of his fellow vendors who used to vend earlier had to leave Delhi because they were hit so badly by demonetization that they could not revive themselves. About 10 percent of vendors told me that they did not face any loss because they gave the items to costumers on the loan basis. Therefore, demonetization really did not hit these vendors very badly.

Another aspect of informal sector, that is very crucial to the development of this sector is the credit facilities or micro finances. A person who wants to open a vending shop would need some amount of capital but most of the times they don't have that capital. So they look for institutions who can give them loan. Now, we all know the procedure of getting a loan from bank. paperwork make their life miserable and even if somehow they are able to finish this unending paperwork they do not get the money directly in their hand. Money is given to the wholesaler from whom this vending shopkeeper is going to purchase the material in order to sell it on the street. Now once again vendors have to face difficulties in acquiring the materials from wholesaler because now this wholesaler does this which creates hurdles in the path of vendors. Sometimes wholesaler increases the price of the goods and sometimes they keep a percentage of this loan. To avoid these hurdles vendors take loan from again so called informal lenders who provide loan but on a very high interest rate. I think illustrating this situation with an example can shed more light on this process of procuring loan from the informal means for example - I talked to a vendor who sells vegetables. He told me that setting up his vending shop costed him 8000 rupees. He took loan of 8000 rupees from the informal means and he had to pay 100 rupees everyday as an interest.

Vendors face difficulties at the time of opening a vending shop and even after having being opened the shop they have to pay extra money to police and mcd offices to retain their vending site. Streets on which they vend on generally are filthy and does not have proper sanitation. There is a common structure of the vending shop comprising of a table on which they put the products for sell and a big piece of plastic or cloth which they use as a tent to cover themselves from rain and sun. This area of laxmi nagar has a very dense network of vending shops. Putting up a tent is very rear because it needs more space and there is always a scarcity of space on the street. Therefore they vend in open under the sun and at the time of rain they close their vending shops and take shelter in the nearby shops. There is a little chance of finding enough space between two vending shops unless there is an entry gate of some formal shops in between the two vending shops. So, the competition and linkages both were found. Also the distinction between consumer base of street vendors and formal shops was found.

This area is little more prosperous for the vendors because there are many coaching institute of Chartered accountant. So students after the class buy many food materials like juice, tea, cigarette, rolls, and many more. Availability of these coaching institute helps to keep these vendors alive in their business.

Even if they earn some profit they always feel insecure about their vending shops. The condition of these vendors are miserable, they have to give money to all kind of people who are there in the system or outside, which cost them more than what they could have given to the government in the form of tax.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

In many ways, street food vendors in Laxmi Nagar represent many of the well documented features of the population groups working in the urban informal economy. As one can see from the appendix attached with this dissertation, my respondents are predominantly male migrant workers with an average education level of class 8th standard. A significant majority of vendors are permanent migrants as opposed to seasonal migrants, which means, they offer their service throughout the year. Only a minority of street vendors are women (6 out of 100). The demographic mismatch at the fault line of gender, although not remarkable, provoked me to inquire into the availability of certain infrastructures in the area available to both men and women. Women street vendors from across the country report a critical absence of enclosed toilets in most of the streets in neighbourhood. Cases of urinary tract dysfunction are significantly high among women as a consequence. In Laxmi Nagar, I found similar issues at work, though my "male" gender identity as male created a block to investigate this issue at length in the short duration of my stay in Laxmi Nagar.

One significant thing about street food vending in Laxmi Nagar is that the vendors generally do not offer principal diets comprising of daal, chawal and sabji in a typical north Indian set-up. Instead they offer items like various kinds of roll, chhola bhatura, paani puri, momos, fried rice, chilly chicken, noodles etc. The established eateries in this area, on the other hand sell principal diet and fruit juice. This means, in Laxmi Nagar, the street vendors and the established eateries have their well recognized areas of expertise. This also means that a direct competition between the eateries and street food vendors is not a matter of serious consideration. Rather, it appears, they come to

complement each other in relationship of mutual reciprocity. I observed, a number of street food vendors use the nearby shops including the eateries to store their wares at the end of a business day. A number of street vendors reported to me that at the time of excessive sunburn and torrential rain they rush to these shops to keep their things in good order. As various works on street vending tell us, the dynamics of connection between the hawkers and the shopkeepers determine the nature of police action and government intervention on street vending. Bandyopadhyay(2016)[1] in his historical and ethnographic mapping of anti-hawker right in Calcutta over the last four decades has unravelled how, in certain places, eviction operations actually thin out competition between the established retailers and street vendors. And in some other places how established shop owners come to extend their political support to street vendors and protect them from the governments and anti-hawker drives. Places where an established credit network is in operation in which shopkeepers either make credits available to street vendors or sell through street vendors and thereby annex a bit of public space in their favour, anti-hawker drives are seen to be less effective. Street food vendors are generally vulnerable in places where high-end restaurant culture is in place. Those restaurants usually find street food vendors as causing unnecessary obstructions to their potential costumers-costumers who prefer high end restaurants over the street food. In Laxmi Nagar, the existence of such cleanly demarcated population does not exist. Those who eat in eateries, also eat on the street. They just make a choice between the principal diet and what is largely deemed to be subsidiary fast food. Places where student population concentrate, there is a high probability that fast food sector would flourish, as younger generations generally choose fast food over principle food diet at least once or twice in a day. It appears to me that in Laxmi Nagar an equilibrium exists between demand and supply, and in this, street vendors compliment the eateries in offering a diverse basket to costumers. With the establishment of numerous boarding houses for students in this area and a flourishing multi-model transport system after the inauguration of the metro services, there has been a steady consumer base for both the eateries and the vendors.

Generally, auto drivers and rickshaw pullers prefer to eat from the frontally located shops along the service road beneath the metro station. A sizeable section of street food vendors concentrate along this road. The eateries, on the other hand, are situ-

ated in a mesh of lanes inside the neighbourhood. The reason why transport sector workers prefer hawkers over eateries is also the proximity between the auto-stand and the hawkers' stalls. They say that they can attend a potential passenger if they are physically closer to the stand. In what follows from this is that the street food vendors enjoy the privilege of proximity to the nodes of traffic circulation which the established eateries do not. I anticipate a potential rental conflict between street vendors and eateries if there is a sudden decline in the demand for cooked food in this area, or if the street vendors decide to sell principal diets in the area and thereby encroach upon the steady consumer base of the eateries. Typically, a student living with friends in a boarding house does not like to set up a well-functioning kitchen in the boarding house because of the following factors: a) they might move to the another place very soon, in which case the distribution of kitchen materials would create a problem within the group, b) Often, the perceived costs involved in cooking for one's own consumption in the absence of a refrigerator exceeds that of purchasing cooked food from outside. In addition, the owners of boarding houses do not allow the installation of such consumer durables using the same source of electricity. In such prevailing conditions in Laxmi Nagar, which is typical of a migrant's hub in an urban metropolitan set-up, the co-existence of various segments of a low circuit economy becomes possible.

In a sense, then street food vending in Laxmi Nagar provides a crucial subsidy to the social reproduction of a lower middle class section of migrants in a city like Delhi which could otherwise have been unlivable for the lower middle class and poorer social classes. The activities of street food vendors hide a huge social cost involved in the reproduction of this system of subsidy. The street food vendors expose themselves not just to the vagaries of extremities of Delhi weather, but also to huge vehicle pollution which significantly reduce their vitality as human beings. One thing that kept on haunting me is the fact that I always failed to predict my respondents' age. I always thought them much older than what they were. Therefore the only recommendation that I wish to make through this study is that when we think of the hawker's compensation in terms of Provident Fund and ESI, We need to reflect on the impact of environmental degradation, pollution, and climate change. On the life and labour of our urban working poor a mere quantitative analysis of their contribution to the

making of the city does not and cannot fully recognize the unpaid component of their socially necessary labour time that has historically gone into the commodification of the urban space. A social audit of this short is still awaiting its scholar.

Appendix A

Appendix

Migration	Migrant Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Total	100	94	6
Seasonal	15	13	2
Permanent	85	81	4

Figure A.1: Table 1: share of permanent and temporary worker in my sample of 100 workers gender wise (Source: My survey).

The above table tells us the distribution of migrant workers into seasonal and permanent, gender wise. This table shows us that the migration of male workers are more than female workers by a very large degree and also the seasonal migration is very low compared to permanent migration. The male migration is more because of the fact that male leave their family in their home town and migrate to metro cities in search of a job or the opportunity of earning. There is also one possibility that the male can take his family to the metro city where he is earning but then the cost of living in these cities are very high. so, the general trend is that the working class

people leave their families at home. The number of seasonal migrants is less and they are generally the people who sell seasonal vegetable on the mobile “thela”. In Laxmi Nagar most of the migrants were found to have come from Bihar, UP, Haryana and Bengal. All of the seasonal migrants were from the neighbouring district of UP and Haryana.

A.1 Age structure within the Street Vendors

Age Sex Structure	Population Size of 100		
	Total	Males	Females
0-4	0	0	0
5-09	2	2	0
10-14	3	3	0
15-19	7	7	0
20-24	19	18	1
25-29	22	22	4
30-34	31	32	1
35-39	12	12	0
40-44	3	3	0
45-49	0	0	0
50-54	0	0	0
55-59	0	0	0
60 and above	0	0	0

Figure A.2: Table 2: Frequency of different age group employed in the street food vending in sample of 100 (Source : My survey).

Age structure is one of the most important characteristic of a composition of pop-

ulation. Age distribution data is required to make age specific policies and planning. Age group having age between 30-34 are found the most. This is because people belonging to this age group have families to support.

A.2 Education Level of the workers

Level of education	Total	Male	Female
Illiterate	27	23	4
Less than 5 th	42	42	2
Between class 5 to 8 th	19	19	0
Between class 8 to 10 th	10	10	0
Between class 10 to 12 th	2	2	0

Figure A.3: Table 3: need to be filed (Source : My survey).

Education level among Street vendors is generally low which is evident from above table. They are the people who have not been able to take education at some level in their life. Education is the most important thing that can help to improve the social and economic condition of a people and the community.

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