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**New Forms of Retail Trade  
and the Trajectories of  
Urban Exclusion in India:  
A Review**

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# NEW FORMS OF RETAIL TRADE AND THE TRAJECTORIES OF URBAN EXCLUSION IN INDIA: A REVIEW

Sobin George<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*This review paper attempts to understand the possible exclusion of people and communities who/which are engaged in small entrepreneurship and petty trading activities in Indian cities in the context of the new wave of retail revolution. Drawing from available official data and social science literature, the paper argues that while the new organised retailing has the potential to affect every socio religious group in the traditional sector, it would affect Muslims in urban India followed by the Scheduled Castes more intensely due to their higher worker population ratio in elementary occupations and traditional retailing, which brings a new dimension to the continuing exclusion of these already excluded groups. The paper also highlights that while eliminating them from the retail landscape, organised retailing would raise the risk of their falling back to exploitative caste centred agrarian sector and more exploitative urban informal jobs. This could also be counterproductive to the new wave of entrepreneurship by Dalits emerged in the recent times, which was noted by several scholars as a strong means of young Dalits moving out of caste and local power relations. New questions that the paper brings out are the spatial reorganisation of cities where the public spaces once used for local interactions are captured by private interests, creation of new identities around such constructed city spaces and the whole question of right to cities.*

## Introduction

The impact of trade on growth and development is a continuing question in the academic and policy debates. Substantial literature is also available on aspects such as the effect of international trade on poverty, economic growth, employment and technology transfer, which examined mostly the actual or possible redistributive effects of trade on income, employment and the overall economic growth of the country. These debates around cross border trade and investment in developing countries like India, are grounded predominantly on two opposite views. One view is that the growth of trade has a large positive effect on employment and wages in developing countries which emerged as important exporters to developed countries (Ghose 2000) and increases the efficiency of the sector with the transfer of nuanced technologies (Reardon et al 2003). For the proponents of this view, trade induced expansion brings large employment opportunities in general and in particular for unskilled workers and women. Another view is that international trade and foreign investments in productive sectors could possibly lead to the disintegration of domestic firms, (Feenstra 1998) increase inequality, a new social divide by marginalisation of certain already disadvantaged groups (Voyce 2007) and in that process it could even weaken democratic institutions (Scholte 2013). Scholars holding to this position also argue that though trade and investments generate employment in some sectors to a certain extent, it is linked with low wages and poor conditions of work and therefore adversely affect the working and living conditions of labourers primarily due to the precariousness associated with such jobs. These divergent views apart, there is a wider consent that opening up of the economy affected different sectors and

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population differently in India. While some segments in the export and service sectors were benefited, it indisputably increased informalisation of labour due to various flexibilities in regulation and led to further expansion of the informal sector (Despande and Despande 1998, NCEUS 2007). It also rearranged the employment landscape by eroding some forms of traditional employment, which have been in the informal sector, especially in the urban India and bringing about new forms of employment, mostly in service sectors (Nath 1994, Papola 1994, Gupta 1995). The processes and impacts are diverse and hence difficult to comprehend easily.

Irrespective of their ideological positions, there is a general agreement in the Indian academia that with the processes of globalisation, particularly trade policy reforms, there has been a shrinking of organised sector that is also coupled with expansion of informal employment. It is therefore important to keep the centre of the debate around the informal economy and the poor and vulnerable within it while we examine trade and investment policies and its possible effects on employment. One of the crucial questions then is who are the poor and marginalised in the informal economy and whether such policies of trade would strengthen them or further weaken their already inferior positions. Several studies, with its macro level scope, do not capture the effects of the larger policies of trade on certain sections of people who could possibly be pushed out from their occupations, since they have always been on the margins and the possible effects of their income loss is lower enough to be lost in the larger estimations of the effect. Impacts of such effects would compound when members of these groups belong to certain excluded or isolated communities. This paper hence, begins with a position that while poor and marginalised are occupationally categorised as casual labourers, self employed, agriculture labourers etc. in the economic sense of the term, their compounding effect of vulnerability should also be understood with the socio cultural identities attached with them as Dalitis, Adivasis and religious and ethnic minorities, which are their defining markers of subordination, exclusion, isolation and discrimination. Such analytical categories are important in the Indian context due to several reasons. Firstly, India has a long tradition of religion and caste based occupations and practice of occupational or entrepreneurial networking based on family and kinship. Secondly, education or skill levels of an individual are not the only factors, which make one's occupational choices possible, but their socio cultural identities too play an important role. Moreover, at several instances even educational and skill entitlements are determined by such attributes. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe in the Indian context that market forces would level up the existing structures of power of caste relations and religious prejudices and make equal environments for all groups. As several studies noted prejudices based on such identities seem to increase disparities among social groups in several sectors (Thorat and Newman 2007, Jodhka 2010, Nambissan 2009, Madheswaran and Attewal 2010).

The present paper in this backdrop looks at the changing dynamics of the retail trade landscape in India due to the recent arrival of both domestic and foreign retail players. India has very recently opened up the retail sector (both single and multi brand) for Foreign Direct Investment, which allowed 100 per cent FDI in single brand and the proposed 50 per cent in multi brand retailing. Considering its huge size and scale of operations, the new forms of retail trade in urban India has the potential to rearrange the employment pattern in the retail landscape of the cities. Who will gain and who will be excluded is the larger question. Among others, questions that the paper addresses are

whether the arrival of new forms of trade in retail would lead to employment loss for certain occupational groups in the existing retail and petty trade sectors?, if there will be loss of employment in such sectors, which are communities and social groups that would be seriously affected?, whether such processes would further exclude the weak among them and weaken the new entrepreneurship emerged from the marginalised communities and if so what are the processes? And finally what are the new possible forms of urban exclusion triggered by the reorganisation of new organised retail trade? The paper addresses these questions mainly drawing from available data on trade in retail sector in India and published literature. Main sources of data are NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, 2009-10 and the published report of NSSO 67<sup>th</sup> round on Operational Characteristics of Unincorporated non-agricultural enterprises, 2010-11. It should be mentioned that this paper does not discuss the impact on farm sector and consumers and the scope is limited to entrepreneurs, workers in the traditional retail sector and street vendors only, who largely compose the traditional retail sector.

The paper is organised into five sections. First section places the question of exclusion induced by trade with special reference to the retail revolution, which is coming up in a large way in India. Second section, by reviewing available literature from India and abroad, looks at the impact of organised retail on employment and ways in which the other is excluded. Third section, drawing from recent NSSO data looks at the socio religious profile of workers in retail sector, small entrepreneurs and street vendors to understand the effect of employment loss on communities, especially weaker ones. Fourth section initiates a discussion on how the urban spaces are constructed and reconstructed by the emergence of huge retail sector and its positioning and how low skilled workforce and poor people get alienated and excluded in the process. Fifth section concludes the paper with further research questions.

## **Employment and Other Questions**

It is important to understand the existing Indian retail landscape while probing who are the possible losers and gainers in the retail revolution of the country. As per the latest NSSO (2009-10) round on employment and unemployment, wholesale and retail sectors constitute 11.3 per cent of the total workforce in India. Their share in urban India where organised retailing is coming in a large way is nearly 23 per cent, which is significant in terms of employment. It is also important to note that traditional retailing in India is largely in the unorganised sector and it is estimated that unorganised retailing constitutes around 98 per cent of all retailing (Guruswamy et al 2005). As Chandrasekhar (2012) notes this sector is also central to livelihood of a large chunk of population since there has been a reduction in employment in agriculture and manufacturing. However, with the arrival of organised retailing there is an apprehension of considerable loss of employment in this sector. Ghosh (2012), for instance, argues that there will be a decline in employment in the country in general and in traditional retail sector in particular due to the arrival of organised multi brand retailers with foreign collaboration. She notes that one retail shop of Wal-Mart in an Indian city can displace up to 1400 small stores and nearly 5000 jobs. Chandrasekhar (2012) argues that it will not only displace the retail and wholesale sectors, street vendors and *kirana* stores, but the small producers in the farm sector will also be progressively displaced due to the organised supply chain of retailers and their ability to source products

from any part of the world. Sarkar (2013) also holds a similar view with regard to the possible pushing out of small traders. Displacement of small traders occurs mainly due to the exclusive contracts that big organised retailing firms would establish with farmers (Ibid: 14). A study conducted in cities of Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Chandigarh in 2011 revealed that more than 50 per cent of the traditional fruit and retailers reported a decline of 10-30 per cent in sales and nearly 25 per cent in income (Singh 2011:15). Similarly, studies from cities like Mumbai inform that small shops and hawkers experienced a sharp decline in sales and nearly 50 per cent of them in the study area were on the verge of closure (Kalhan 2007). The available literature on the effect of employment leads one to assume that the potential employment loss in the traditional sector would possibly far exceed the projected employment generation due to organised retailing and large super markets. Also the likelihood of new retail firms absorbing workers who lost employment could be less since the skill and other requirements are entirely different in organised technology based retailing. For instance, the retail revolution of United States not only wiped out small scale retailing but also was followed by a sharp decline in the demand for poorly educated labour who mainly consisted of urban black (Kasard1989). As Voyce (2007) noted western countries witnessed large scale replacement and decline of the traditional street sector after the retail revolution. Drawing experiences from foreign countries including developed ones, Ghosh (2012) also highlighted that the large super markets with its greater market power enable them to capture nearly full market share and in the process they eliminate small producers.

### **Socio Cultural Dimensions of Employment and Job Loss**

Who are the losers in terms of their socio religious and cultural identities due to the arrival of organised large retailers? It is true that any policy on trade and employment in India has its impacts on the socio religious categories since most parts of the sub-continent show certain socio-religious based occupational patterns. It is also true that occupational division in the Indian society (outside the formal sectors) derives largely from the hierarchical social segregations based on caste, gender and ethnicity. For instance, data informs that certain social and religious groups still have been under-represented or over represented in a number of top level occupational categories in comparison with their share in the total population, mostly due to the cumulative effect of the discriminatory caste system and its perpetuation in one form or the other. For instance, Scheduled Tribes (ST), Scheduled Castes (SC) and Other Backward Castes (OBC) are notably under-represented in occupational categories such as legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals and technicians (see table 1 below). On the other hand these social groups, especially STs and SCs are considerably over-represented in low level elementary occupations, which include casual labourers, agriculture workers, street vendors, garbage collectors, domestic help and so on. Out of total SCs, more than 50 per cent are still in the category of such elementary occupations, which throw light in to the perpetuation of the age-old social organisation of caste based occupation in the country. Similarly, over representation of STs are visible in the industry group of traditional occupations such as agriculture, hunting and forestry followed by OBCs and SCs (see table 2). There are no visible reflections of religion based concentration in this broad category of occupational groups except for Jains and Zoroastrian who have considerable over representation in administrative, technical and other professional jobs as well as the marginal over representation of

Muslims and Jains in the occupational group of service workers and shops & Market sale workers (see table A1, annexed).

**Table 1: Occupational Groups within Social Group, 2009-10**

Occupation	Social Group				Total
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	
Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers	2.3	2.9	6.5	10.2	6.5
Professionals	1.3	1.9	3.1	7.4	4
Technicians and associate professionals	1.8	2.2	2.5	4.5	3
Clerks	1.2	1.5	1.7	3.9	2.3
Service workers and shops & Market sale workers	3.5	5.2	8.1	9.3	7.5
Skilled agriculture and fisheries workers	40.5	15.8	30.7	28.8	28
Craft and related trades workers	5.9	12.9	12.1	10.1	11.1
Plant and Machine operators and assemblers	2.6	4	5	5.1	4.6
Elementary occupations	39	50.9	26.6	15.7	29.2
Workers not classified by occupations	2	2.7	3.8	5	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 2: Distribution of Workers by Industry Group and Social Group, 2009-10**

Industry Group	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
Agriculture, Hunting and Forestry	70.96	45.97	48.14	39.11	47.07
Fishing	0.25	0.49	0.47	0.27	0.40
Mining and Quarrying	1.58	1.30	0.69	0.68	0.89
Manufacturing	4.06	8.41	11.63	12.37	10.53
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	0.36	0.39	0.38	0.50	0.42
Construction	9.67	18.75	10.08	6.53	10.74
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	3.81	7.02	11.46	16.19	11.28
Hotels and Restaurants	0.49	0.78	1.61	1.73	1.38
Transport, Storage and Communications	3.08	6.87	6.13	6.41	6.09
Financial Intermediation	0.34	0.54	0.61	2.04	0.99
Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities	0.16	0.80	1.23	2.37	1.38
Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security	2.69	3.52	2.21	4.43	3.17
Education, Health and Social Work	1.89	2.43	2.87	4.99	3.32
Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities	0.46	1.94	2.15	1.69	1.82
Other	0.22	0.79	0.33	0.69	0.52
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

However, religion comes to picture for certain occupations if we examine the distribution of workers by industry group. It should be noted that among workers from all religious groups, Islam and Jainism have considerable over representation in wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods (see table 3 below). This industry group employs 18.2

per cent of the working Muslim and 44 percent (though population share is less) Jain populations as compared with nearly 10 per cent of Hindu and 8.5 per cent of Christians and Sikhs. Any job lose, if at all occurs due to the arrival of foreign players in the wholesale and retail sector, hence will be more pronounced for Muslim and Jain communities. It is also due to the fact that their share in such occupations is considerably higher in urban India, where the foreign and big domestic retailers would possibly replace the workers and small entrepreneurs at large (See table A2, Annexed)

**Table 3: Distribution of Workers by Industry Group by Religion, 2009-10**

Industry Group	Hindu	Islam	Christian	Sikh	Jain	Buddhist	Other	All India
Agriculture, Hunting and Forestry	49.3	34.0	38.7	51.2	6.2	39.7	63.8	47.1
Fishing	0.4	0.5	2.1	0.1		0.0		0.4
Mining and Quarrying	0.9	0.7	1.4	0.3		0.4	1.1	0.9
Manufacturing	9.8	16.0	9.1	8.2	17.2	10.4	4.8	10.5
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	0.4	0.3	0.7	1.1	1.7	1.7	0.1	0.4
Construction	10.6	11.2	10.8	12.4	2.3	14.7	8.9	10.7
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	10.3	18.2	8.6	8.5	44.3	5.3	4.5	11.3
Hotels and Restaurants	1.4	1.5	1.4	0.6	2.0	0.9	0.6	1.4
Transport , Storage and Communications	5.5	9.3	8.1	6.7	2.3	9.4	5.1	6.1
Financial Intermediation	1.0	0.4	1.7	1.5	5.5	1.0	0.4	1.0
Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities	1.4	1.2	2.3	1.0	12.4	2.3	0.3	1.4
Public Administration and Defence: Compulsory Social Security	3.2	1.9	6.5	3.8	2.7	8.2	7.1	3.2
Education, Health and Social Work	3.4	2.2	6.2	2.9	3.2	4.5	1.6	3.3
Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities	1.9	1.7	1.9	1.5		1.3	1.0	1.8
Other	0.4	1.0	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

The community effect of job loss due to arrival of large retailers is notably visible if one examines retail sector separately. India has around 46 million workers in the whole sale and retail sectors as per the NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round data on employment and unemployment. One must also take into account the fact that most of traditional retail enterprises in India are small and medium in size, and mostly are own account enterprises, operating without any market information and intelligence systems or a well connected supply system as other big domestic and international organised retailers have. In most of the cases employees of such enterprises are also from within the family and kinship, which have been a traditional pattern of the Indian small entrepreneurship. Their operation is also small in size and scale and therefore it is less likely to interest the big retailers to integrate into its supply chain or systems. Therefore as witnessed in other countries (Reardon et al 2003, Chandrasekhar 2011) such firms are most likely to be eliminated from the retail landscape with the arrival of big domestic and foreign retail



firms. While it has the potential to affect every group in the sector, it will affect certain religious groups more intensely due to their higher worker-population ratio in the sector. Data show that the proportion of workers from Muslim communities is higher in retail sector than for any other groups (table 4)<sup>2</sup>. For instance, while 21.24 per cent of the Muslims in urban India are working in the retail sector, it is 15.63 per cent from Hindu communities and an average of 9 from all other minorities. In simple words, if there is loss in employment, it will impinge worse on Muslims as a community and will affect as much as 21.24 per cent of the urban Muslim population. This will not merely have an individual effect, but possibly will extent to family and community levels since these are also family enterprises.

The community dimension of the retail sector will be clearer if we look at states and major cities. Data show that among the states selected, other than Rajasthan and West Bengal, Muslims as a group have the highest worker-population ratio in the retail sector in urban India. Their share is markedly higher than Hindus and other minority groups in states like Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra. In states like Rajasthan and West Bengal, the proportionate share of both Hindus and Muslims is almost equal. Though less in number, the proportion of working population from Christians is found notable in Gujarat and Sikhs in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Most of the major urban city centres where the retail sector is coming up in a large way<sup>3</sup>, also have a similar and definite religious distribution (see table 6). Except cities of Delhi, Ludhiana and Lucknow (urban), the worker-population ratio of Muslims is notably higher than other groups. For instance in cities of Chennai, Patna and Bhopal, as much as 44.5 per cent, 34.48 per cent and 30.11 per cent of the Muslims respectively are in retail sector. Sikhs also constituted a major category in cities like Ludhiana, Mumbai suburban and Ahmedabad, as proportionate to their population.

**Table 4: Worker Population Ratio by Religion in Retail Sector 2009-10**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>All India</b>
Hindu	5.63	15.63	8.24
Islam	9.35	21.24	13.33
Christian	5.51	8.60	6.52
Sikh	3.20	14.56	5.89
Buddhist	1.53	7.68	4.07
Others	1.35	11.85	3.08
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.98</b>	<b>16.36</b>	<b>8.82</b>

**Note:** It includes NIC 2004 five digit code from 52110 to 52609

**Source:** NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

<sup>2</sup> The paper considered NIC codes from 52110 to 52609 from 2004 five digit classifications, which include retail trade except of motor vehicles and motor cycles; repair of personal and household goods. It ranges from non-specialised retail trade in stores to repair of personal and household goods.

<sup>3</sup> FDI in multi-brand retail at present is considered in those cities which have more than 1 million population

**Table 5: Worker Population Ratio by Religion in Retail Sector 2009-10, Selected States**

States	Hindu		Muslim		Christian		Sikh		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Rajasthan	5.55	17.91	13.52	13.39				9.02	5.86	17.18
Uttar Pradesh	5.41	19.7	9.81	19.06	7.03	10.63	7.04	68.76	6.04	19.74
Bihar	8.86	19.48	5.3	26.53	21.93			100	8.35	20.78
West Bengal	7.53	19.42	6.67	16.8	2.64				7.21	19.06
Gujarat	2.78	13.76	9.06	23.5		58.85		71.15	3.26	15.38
Maharashtra	3.76	12.12	12.6	21.71	1.4	2.84		28.57	3.97	13.51
Andhra Pradesh	5.68	13.53	10.78	25.09	5.28	5.89			6.01	15.03
Karnataka	4.35	9.86	7.71	17.65	1.63	3.17			4.67	11.57
Tamil Nadu	4.01	11.43	25.72	34.27	5.05	8.95		100	4.65	13.21

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 6: Worker Population Ratio by Religion in Retail Sector 2009-10, Selected Cities**

No	City (urban only)	Hindu	Muslim	Sikhs	Total
1	Ahmadabad	12.85	19.16	-	14.92
2	Bangalore (urban)	9.67	16.03		11.34
3	Bhopal	12.58	30.11		14.57
4	Chennai	17.45	44.5	-	19.57
5	Delhi	24.38	17.8	25.62	23.64
6	Hyderabad	16.72	21.57		17.85
7	Jaipur (Urban)	2.85	11.87	22.24	15.79
8	Kolkata	17.78	18.95		17.99
9	Lucknow (Urban)	22.83	6.89	100	21.31
10	Ludhiana (Urban)	24.72	0.53	18.19	21.86
11	Mumbai (suburban)	9.78	15.63	67.95	10.01
12	Patna	13.19	34.48		16.32

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

Another important question that the present paper addresses is the possible further marginalisation of the weaker castes due to the replacement of small and medium unorganised retail shops by large foreign and organised domestic retailers. Though not very pronounced as in the case of primary sector, the Indian retail sector has a visible share of workers belonging to marginalised groups including ST, SC and OBCs (see table 7). The participation rate of STs, SCs and OBCs (as against their population) in the works related to retailing in urban India is 9.42 percent, 10.93 percent and 16.51 percent respectively. It must be noted that others, mostly considered as upper and middle level caste groups, also have a sizable share of workforce in the retail sector. However, SCs, STs and OBCs together form the majority of workers in the sector. The social group wise workforce participation in the

retail sector in the major states also shows similar trends in general. However, states, including Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh have higher work participation rate of SCs in the urban areas than that of their share at the all India level (see table 8). In the urban areas of West Bengal, their proportion is more than the upper and middle caste groups. The question of who would possibly be pushed out from job from the traditional retail sector due to new forms of retail trade will be clearer when we look at the social group composition of workforce in major Indian cities where the organised retail sector is coming in a large way. Data indicate that workforce in the traditional retail sector consists largely of SCs and OBCs (see table 9). Other Backward Castes (OBCs) constitute the major share of workforce in the traditional retail sector in most of the major cities. Their share in work participation is notably higher in cities including Kolkata (34.51%), Delhi (32.56), Patna (24.57%), Ludhiana (23.44%), Chennai (23.31%) and Hyderabad (22%). The workforce participation rate of SCs is found considerably higher in cities including Bhopal (26.39%), Ludhiana (21.46%), Hyderabad (20.39%) and Kolkata (18.37%). It must also be noted that in some cities including Lucknow, Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Ludhiana and Delhi, the work participation rate of upper/middle caste groups in the traditional retail sector is more or less equal to SCs and OBCs.

**Table 7: Worker Population Ratio by Social Group in Retail Sector 2009-10**

Social group	Rural	Urban	All India
ST	2.54	9.42	3.15
SC	4.32	10.93	5.64
OBC	6.91	16.51	9.39
OTHERS	7.35	18.51	11.78
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.98</b>	<b>16.36</b>	<b>8.81</b>

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 8: Worker Population Ratio by Social Group in Retail Sector 2009-10, Selected States**

State	ST		SC		OBC		OTH		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Rajasthan	0.93	8.31	3.33	6.15	7.04	16.03	11.4	24.1	5.86	17.21
Uttar Pradesh	-	23.75	4.86	12.18	6.91	19.5	5.43	22.62	6.04	19.74
Bihar	12.64	-	3.81	4.09	10.18	26.96	7.48	13.83	8.3	20.78
West Bengal	2.88	4.68	7.58	18.74	5.42	24.86	7.75	19.08	7.21	19.06
Gujarat	1.75	4.65	2.42	8.53	3.81	14.86	4.36	17.22	3.26	15.38
Maharashtra	1.37	6.38	2.1	8.87	4.86	13.99	4.81	14.85	3.97	13.51
Andhra Pradesh	0.61	8.95	3.42	12.8	4.98	14.02	12.6	17.2	6.01	15.03
Karnataka	3.59	4.42	2.4	3	5.84	12.26	4.83	14.11	4.67	11.57
Tamil Nadu	1.72	34.85	2.49	8.3	5.34	14.04	8.79	10.14	4.65	13.21

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 9: Worker Population Ratio by Social Group in Retail Sector 2009-10, Selected Cities**

No	City (urban only)	SC	OBC	Others	Total
1	Ahmadabad	11.75	9.45	18.07	14.92
2	Bangalore (urban)	0	10.98	14.81	11.34
3	Bhopal	26.39	14.78	11.89	14.84
4	Chennai	17.03	23.31	1.3	19.57
5	Delhi	8.07	32.56	24.23	23.64
6	Hyderabad	20.39	22.06	15.65	17.85
7	Jaipur (Urban)	0	12.86	24.37	15.97
8	Kolkata	18.37	34.51	16.46	17.99
9	Lucknow (Urban)	11.03	10.04	41.71	21.31
10	Ludhiana (Urban)	21.47	23.44	21.57	21.86
11	Mumbai (suburban)	3.14	12.72	10.78	10.01
12	Patna	0	24.57	3.02	16.32

**Source:** NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

Entrepreneurs in the unorganised sector are another major occupational group, which would be affected by the retail revolution. As it is evident from the tables 10 and 11, this sector is primarily dominated by OBC and upper and middle caste groups. However, as several scholars identified, the post liberalised India witnessed an emergence of dalit entrepreneurship in some parts of the country (Jodhka 2010, Prasad and Kumble 2012). It should also be mentioned that there is another view that dalits and adivasis are significantly under-represented in the ownership of enterprises in India (Iyer et al 2011, Teltumbde 2013). These views apart, taking evidences from the 2010 data from the tables below, it can be argued that there is at least a slow trend of emerging dalit entrepreneurship in some parts of India. For instance, data shows that there is an increase in the share of entrepreneurship owned by dalits and adivasis from 9.8 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively in 2005 (Iyer et al 2011) to 11.8 per cent and 4.2 per cent respectively in 2010 (table 10). Their presence is more visible in states like Rajasthan, Utter Pradesh and Delhi (table 12). It must also be noted that a significant share of entrepreneurs are from OBC category, and a majority within this group belong to religious minorities or weaker sections. This development in fact is to be seen as a changing nature of caste system and agrarian relations since to a greater extent younger people from backward communities also find entrepreneurship as a means to come out of the traditional caste system as Jodhka (2010) argues. Now the question here is whether the new organised retail revolution, which has the potential to eliminate such enterprises in the unorganised sector would be counterproductive to this sign of changing caste relations and the new wave of entrepreneurship by SCs and other backward communities, which possibly would otherwise have contributed to the rise of an articulate middle class from the weaker sections. It should also be noted that the small enterprises have very less capacity to survive such eventualities and "transformation of environments" (Harris-White 2009). Taking clue from literature in India and elsewhere it is possible to argue that it will be counterproductive to this new wave of entrepreneurship

at least in the retail sector. By eliminating weaker sections from the entrepreneurship landscape, it also raises the risk of pushing them back to the traditional caste centred agrarian sector (due to the possible vertical integration of farm production with the direct supply link between retailers and big farmers) or to exploitative informal sector jobs.

**Table 10: Percentage Distribution of Proprietary and Partnership Trading Enterprises by Social Group of their Owner/Managing Partner Separately for Each Sector and Enterprise Type, All-India**

Social Group of Owner/Partner	Percentage of Enterprises								
	Rural			Urban			Rural + Urban		
	OAE	Estt	All	OAE	Estt	All	OAE	Estt	All
ST	7.2	3.3	7.0	1.6	0.5	1.3	4.7	1.1	4.2
SC	14.9	7.0	14.5	10.8	3.2	9.1	13.1	4.0	11.8
OBC	46.3	42.4	46.1	40.6	30.9	38.4	43.8	33.3	42.3
Others	30.9	46.6	31.9	46.4	64.5	50.5	37.8	60.8	41.0
Not known	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.6
All-India	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Source:** NSSO 67<sup>th</sup> round Report on Operational Characteristics of Unincorporated non-agricultural enterprises (excluding construction), in India, 2010-11

**Table 11: Per 1000 Distribution of Enterprises by Social Group of Owner/ Managing Partner, 2010-11**

TRADE	OAE					Establishments					All				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Not Known	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Not Known	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Not Known
<b>Rural</b>															
Whole sale	44	176	436	344	1	50	59	400	485	6	45	156	430	368	1
Retail	74	149	463	308	6	32	76	402	483	6	73	146	460	316	6
Trading activities	72	149	463	309	6	33	70	424	466	7	70	145	461	319	6
<b>Urban</b>															
Whole sale	43	113	315	522	6	1	24	233	732	9	22	69	275	626	8
Retail	15	111	409	459	6	6	35	299	653	8	13	98	389	493	7
Trading activities	16	108	406	464	7	5	32	309	645	8	13	91	384	505	7

**Source:** NSSO 67<sup>th</sup> round Report on Operational Characteristics of Unincorporated non-agricultural enterprises (excluding construction), in India, 2010-11

**Table 12: Per 1000 Distribution of Enterprises by Social Group of Owner/ Managing Partner by State (Urban), 2010-11**

TRADE	OAE					Establishments					All				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Not Known	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Not Known	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Not Known
Andhra Pradesh	16	64	458	460	2	1	13	308	678	1	13	52	422	512	1
Bihar	1	36	668	290	6	0	10	606	379	6	1	32	658	303	6
Delhi	21	144	156	661	17	6	29	85	877	4	15	98	128	748	12
Gujarat	11	77	337	563	12	7	29	149	795	21	10	69	305	603	13
Karnataka	27	60	472	440	1	7	12	439	538	3	21	46	462	469	2
Maharashtra	29	91	344	528	9	5	25	198	762	10	24	77	313	577	9
Rajasthan	9	159	307	520	5	4	24	232	727	14	8	132	292	561	7
Tamil Nadu	1	82	872	43	2	0	24	897	78	1	1	66	879	53	2
Uttar Pradesh	4	132	500	354	11	0	17	317	658	7	4	116	474	396	10
West Bengal	6	155	113	722	4	2	105	77	804	12	5	143	104	742	6

**Source:** NSSO 67<sup>th</sup> round Report on Operational Characteristics of Unincorporated non-agricultural enterprises (excluding construction), in India, 2010-11

Another category of workers who would possibly be affected by the upcoming retail revolution is street vendors and related workers in the urban India (Kalhan 2007). It is estimated that there are around 11 million street vendors in India, which constitute around 1.1 per cent of the total population of the country (see table A3 annexed). Out of them around 53 per cent are in urban areas. In several states women constitute an equal part of workforce participating in street vending and related activities, especially in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal (see table A4, annexed). They are considered as casual or elementary workers in terms of the larger occupational categorisation and constitute a major share of the working poor in urban India. As Sankaran et al (2008) notes the average daily earnings of street vendors range between Rs. 40 and 80. What makes the occupational category of street vendors more relevant in this context is their religious and social group compositions. If we look at absolute numbers and percentages, as it is clear from table 13 that nearly 67 per cent of them belong to Hindu community and remaining to various minority groups. However, if we look at worker-population ratio it is found that Muslims constitute the predominant group. Around 2.5 per cent of Muslim population in India are engaged in occupations related to street vending and their share is around 3.5 per cent in urban India, which is notably higher as compared to other religious groups (table 13). Among minorities, as it is evident from data, Buddhists and Sikhs also have a considerable share of population working in this sector, especially in urban India. The proportionate share of minorities is higher than the national level in some states. For instance, 4.27 per cent of the Muslim population in Andhra Pradesh, 3.83 in Gujarat, 3.78 in Uttar Pradesh and 3.48 per cent in Rajasthan are engaged in activities related to street vending (table 14). Christians also have a notable share in some states like Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The picture of over representation of Muslims in street vending and related activities becomes clearer when we look at their worker-population share in major cities. In most of the major cities, except Chennai, Kolkata and Ludhiana, it is Muslims who are mostly engaged in street vending activities. For instance, as table 15 shows, around 19 per cent of Muslims in the city of Bhopal, 15 per cent in Ahmadabad and 10 per cent in Patna are in this occupational category, which is giving a religious dimension to this occupation in these cities. The effect of job loss hence will have a huge community effect at least in these cities.

**Table 13: Religious Composition of Street Vendors in India**

Religion	Percentage to Total Population		
	Total	Urban	Rural
Hindu	0.86	1.79	0.54
Islam	2.44	3.47	1.92
Christian	0.68	0.88	0.59
Sikh	0.78	1.48	0.56
Buddhist	0.88	2.12	0
others	0.13	0.28	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.05</b>	<b>2.01</b>	<b>0.69</b>

**Source:** NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 14: Worker Population Ratio by Religion in Street Vending and Related Activities, 2009-10, (selected states)**

State	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Buddhist	% to total population
Rajasthan	0.57	3.48			0.83
Uttar Pradesh	1.35	3.78	6.39		1.76
Bihar	0.69	0.49			0.66
West Bengal	1.25	2.11	2.83		1.49
Gujarat	1.32	3.83			1.57
Maharashtra	0.39	2.04	1.57	0.99	0.59
Andhra Pradesh	1.06	4.27	2.8		1.4
Karnataka	0.38	1.59			0.53
Tamil Nadu	0.73	1.69	0.39		0.76

**Source:** NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 15: Worker Population Ratio by Religion in Street Vending and Related Activities, 2009-10 (Major cities)**

No	City (urban only)	Hindu	Muslim	Sikhs	Total
1	Ahmadabad	4.95	15.13	0	5.46
2	Bangalore (urban)	1.38	3.66	0	1.75
3	Bhopal	1.73	19.22	0	4.52
4	Chennai	0.68	0	0	0.59
5	Delhi	1.93	3.45	0	2.1
6	Hyderabad	1.62	1.45	0	1.48
7	Jaipur (Urban)	1.21	0.87	0	1.12
8	Kolkata	2.67	0	0	2.16
9	Lucknow (Urban)	0.06	5.23	0	0.65
10	Ludhiana (Urban)	0.92	0	1.14	0.94
11	Mumbai (suburban)	0.41	0.2	0	0.32
12	Patna	3.13	10.14	0	3.82

**Source:** NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

The social group composition of street vendors shows that STs, SCs and OBCs constitute nearly 73 per cent of the street vendors in India. Within social groups, OBC, SCs and others have the highest population share in activities related to street vending. As it is clear from table 16 below, 1.3 per cent of the total OBCs and nearly 1 per cent of SCs in India are engaged such activities. If we look at urban India 2.65 per cent of OBCs and 2.12 per cent of SCs work as street vendors. Most of the states also show a similar trend. West Bengal and Tamil Nadu are the states where the worker-population share of SCs is more than other social groups (table 17). In states like Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bihar and Karnataka work participation rate of OBCs is higher than other social groups. Similarly, in states like



Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Gujarat, participation of workers belonging to other middle and upper caste group in street vending activities is more than the national level figures.

As mentioned elsewhere in the paper, more than 50 per cent of the street vendors are from urban India and most of them are either migrants or everyday commuters from nearing suburbs or villages. Social group composition of street vendors in major Indian cities shows that it is mostly SCs and OBCs who are engaged in such occupations. For instance, in cities including Kolkata, Hyderabad, Ludhiana, Delhi and Chennai, their worker-population ratio is higher than that of other groups (table 18). In Ahmadabad city, 11.5 per cent of OBC population is engaged in street vending and related activities while it is 2.84 per in Kolkata and 2.75 per cent in Delhi. Bhopal and Lucknow where the two cities where the middle and upper caste groups have a comparable share of population engaged in street vending activities with SCs and OBCs.

**Table 16: Social Group Composition of Street Vendors in India**

Social Group	No of Street vendors and related workers	Total population	Percentage to total		
			Total	Rural	Urban
ST	373328	88493037	0.42	0.30	1.65
SC	1982946	202718408	0.98	0.69	2.12
OBC	5523264	425586807	1.30	0.83	2.65
OTHERS	2868218	303193719	0.95	0.64	1.41
<b>Total</b>	<b>10747755</b>	<b>1019991971</b>	<b>1.05</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>2.01</b>

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 17: Worker Population Ratio by Social Groups in Street Vending and Related Activities, 2009-10, (selected states)**

State	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
Rajasthan	-	0.43	1.22	0.78	0.83
Uttar Pradesh	-	1.19	2.5	0.72	1.76
Bihar	1.94	0.1	0.98	0.16	0.66
West Bengal	0.64	1.8	1.26	1.45	1.49
Gujarat	0.25	0.54	2.31	1.63	1.55
Maharashtra	0.38	0.63	0.64	0.58	0.59
Andhra Pradesh	0.23	1.42	1.24	1.91	1.4
Karnataka	0.04	0.23	0.73	0.53	0.53
Tamil Nadu	-	1.11	0.68		0.79

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table 18: Worker Population Ratio by Social Groups in Street Vending and Related Activities, 2009-10, (Major cities)**

No	City (urban only)	SC	OBC	Others	Total
1	Ahmadabad	2.29	11.15	3.53	5.46
2	Bangalore (urban)	0	1.89	2.18	1.75
3	Bhopal	0	0.1	9.44	4.52
4	Chennai	2.47	0	0	0.59
5	Delhi	3.15	2.75	0.92	2.1
6	Hyderabad	4.22	1.69	0.86	1.48
7	Jaipur (Urban)	0	0.49	2	1.12
8	Kolkata	6.29	2.84	1.36	2.16
9	Lucknow (Urban)	0	0.09	1.72	0.65
10	Ludhiana (Urban)	3.65	0.56	0.38	0.94
11	Mumbai (suburban)	0.16	0.15	0.39	0.32
12	Patna	0	6.2	0	3.82

**Source:** NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

### **Changing Urban Spaces: New Forms of Exclusion**

Emergence of retail trade in a big way can also transform cities spatially, more importantly its industrial landscapes and social organisation of work and life. It is essential then to understand whether such processes structure the urban public spaces (Goss 1993), construct new urban middle class identities based on specific consumption patterns and how the other, who is alienated or excluded spatially, economically and culturally, perceives such identities. Studies show that private retail agencies capture huge amount of public spaces and in the process, it reorganises the entire public interactions and landscapes along with significant losses of public land (Voyce 2007:2056). Some scholars view the development of organised retailing as a force that totalises knowledge, information and choices leaving no role for the uniqueness of the local and community opinion (Blaike 2000). According to them such privatised spaces detach the individual from the local space. This in fact adds an additional dimension to the processes of possible exclusion in the Indian context along with employment erosion in the traditional sectors. Some scholars view it in the context of changing nature of capital investments, modes of production and its conflicts with the issue of right to cities (Harvey 1990 & 2010). As a result as these scholars argue the poor and vulnerable will be excluded from urban spaces for former being powerful. There were also studies that showed that industrial transformation of cities from manufacturing to trade and services declined the demand for poorly educated labour (Kasarda 1989). Apart from alienating a particular group of people from the urban spaces, emergence of huge retail sector in the forms of shopping malls also leads to constructing new urban identities due to its power of space/place, which are positioned as 'distinct' from other urban identities. In some other situations people themselves perceive excluded since such malls are an exhibition of some other culture, which they find 'alien'.

## Concluding Remarks

The over optimism of projecting organised retail sector as engine of growth and employment generation is in question due to the socio religious and cultural dimensions of possible job loss by it. Job loss in the retail sector will hit the workers in urban India worst and more importantly, it will affect certain communities more profoundly due to their higher share in it. Data showed that this group consists largely of minority Muslims, Dalits and the OBCs. Available literature showed that the potential employment loss at the traditional sector would far exceed the projected employment generation due to organised retailing and large super markets. Also the likelihood of new retail firms absorbing workers who lost employment is less since the skill requirements are entirely different in organised technology based retailing. Another dimension with regard to exclusion that the study brings about is the new entrepreneurship from weaker sections. New forms of organised trade could weaken the empowered position of those who have become small entrepreneurs from these groups and moved socially and economically upward. Along with that the new retail trade regime also raises new questions of urban exclusion, which are to be properly understood. It includes the capturing of public space by retail private agencies, which reorganises the entire public interactions and landscapes along with a significant loss of public land, newer forms of spatial organisation of cities, emergence of newer forms of urban identities and formation of the new excluded class in urban India. The processes and dynamics of such spatial reorganisation of cities, identity construction and newer forms of exclusion due to such trade practices need to be studied further with primary investigations.

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## Annexure

**Table A1: Occupational Groups within Religious Groups**

Occupation	Religion								Total
	Hindu	Islam	Christian	Sikh	Jain	Buddhist	Zoroastrian	Others	
Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers	6.3	7.2	6	6.9	47.6	1.3	15.5	2.6	6.5
Professionals	3.9	4.1	5.6	2.9	15.5	2.9	30	3	4
Technicians and associate professionals	3	1.9	5	2.7	6.1	4.2	13.1	2.4	2.9
Clerks	2.4	1.2	3.5	1.5	3.7	7.7	14	0.8	2.3
Service workers and shops & Market sale workers	7.1	10	8.3	4.8	14.5	9.2	-	6	7.5
Skilled agriculture and fisheries workers	29.6	18.3	25.4	34.1	5.7	11.6	-	52.6	28
Craft and related trades workers	10.2	17.2	13.1	11	1.9	12.3	8	4.2	11.1
Plant and Machine operators and assemblers	4.3	6.4	5.4	5.1	0.4	4.7	-	5.5	4.6
Elementary occupations	29.7	28.4	21.5	25.9	1.1	44.9	-	17.3	29.2
Workers not classified by occupations	3.5	5.4	6.1	5	3.5	1.2	19.4	5.7	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table A2: Distribution of Workers by Industry Group by Select Religion by Sector, 2009-10**

Industry Group	Hindu		Muslim		Christian		All India	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Agriculture, Hunting and Forestry	64.07	6.05	49.22	3.98	53.52	6.98	62.20	5.77
Fishing	0.38	0.28	0.55	0.31	2.37	1.50	0.43	0.30
Mining and Quarrying	0.90	1.00	0.87	0.31	1.34	1.43	0.88	0.90
Manufacturing	6.45	19.63	10.63	26.48	5.66	16.31	6.92	20.38
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	0.24	0.90	0.09	0.60	0.50	1.10	0.25	0.88
Construction	10.63	10.62	11.91	9.93	8.91	14.89	10.74	10.72
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	6.50	21.60	12.32	29.68	6.88	12.30	7.09	22.71
Hotels and Restaurants	0.82	2.99	1.14	2.33	1.33	1.44	0.85	2.81
Transport, Storage and Communications	3.89	10.33	6.86	14.04	6.48	11.56	4.31	10.96
Financial Intermediation	0.39	2.95	0.24	0.76	0.64	4.04	0.37	2.68
Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities	0.34	4.34	0.53	2.44	0.72	5.54	0.37	4.15
Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security	1.49	8.22	1.06	3.57	5.25	9.25	1.55	7.58
Education, Health and Social Work	2.25	6.86	1.90	2.69	4.37	10.20	2.26	6.22
Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities	1.42	3.13	1.41	2.35	1.74	2.19	1.41	2.94
Other	0.23	1.10	1.28	0.53	0.31	1.27	0.35	0.99
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10

**Table A3: Population Engaged in Elementary Occupations, 2009-10**

Occupation	Frequency	Percent within elementary occupations	% to all occupational groups
Street Vendors and Related Workers	10747755.38	3.60	1.1
Shoe Cleaning and Other Street Services Elementary Occupations	539386.96	0.18	0.1
Domestic and Related Helpers, Cleaners and Launderers	5651630.66	1.89	0.6
Building Caretakers, Window and Related Cleaners	869095.505	0.29	0.1
Messengers, Porters, Door Keepers and Related Workers	5224823.005	1.75	0.5
Garbage Collectors and Related Labourers	4209236.525	1.41	0.4
Agricultural, Fishery and Related Labourers	185746533	62.24	18.2
Mining and Construction Labourers	54728944.62	18.34	5.4
Manufacturing Labourers	11635184.68	3.90	1.1
Transport Labourers and Freight Handlers	19095589.54	6.40	1.9

Source: NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data

**Table A4: Worker Population Ratio in Street Vending and Related Activities (selected states)**

<b>State</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>% to total population</b>
Rajasthan	0.95	0.65	0.81
Uttar Pradesh	1.87	1.63	1.75
Bihar	0.63	0.69	0.66
West Bengal	1.57	1.39	1.49
Gujarat	1.67	1.4	1.54
Maharashtra	0.63	0.54	0.59
Andhra Pradesh	1.4	1.4	1.4
Karnataka	0.57	0.49	0.53
Tamil Nadu	0.8	0.73	0.76

**Source:** NSSO 66<sup>th</sup> round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009-10



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