Institute of Social Studies Trust





Insights from Women Street Vendors' Lives in Delhi

Abstract/Key Findings

By using a mixed-method approach, the study aims to understand the socio-economic impact of the lockdown and post-lockdown on the lives of women street vendors in Delhi. The results indicated that although restrictions have been eased in the post-lockdown phase, many women street vendors have lost the means to work and witnessed a significant fall in income/earnings. Despite the loss in employment opportunities, many of them were not able to shift to alternative employment opportunities and continued with the same street-vending activities. The closure of market or vending areas and fear over the spread of COVID-19 have kept many customers away and thereby their income decreased significantly over the past six months. They also suffered an increase in inside household domestic work like cooking, cleaning and child care, in which they were helped mainly by female members of the house, particularly daughters or daughters-in-law. Among the other challenges were procuring essential food items in times of shortages, increased prices and rent payments. Many of them resorted to negative coping strategies such as taking out loans from moneylenders at a high-interest rate, which led them into a debt trap. Almost all the street vendors replied that the credit facility announced both by the central and state governments to achieve self-reliance is hardly beneficial because they are not in a position to repay the loan unless and until they can restart the business. So, it is highly recommended that the government should convert the credit facility into a direct income benefit as livelihood support. The government should also acknowledge the role played by street vending in alleviating urban poverty and malnutrition and ensure their right to vending with dignity and prevent them from falling prey to large-scale retail capitalism and penetration of the online market.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

A street vendor is broadly defined as "a person who offers goods or services for sale, without having a permanent built-up structure but with a temporary static structure by occupying space on the streets or other public/private areas or maybe mobile by moving from one place to other carrying their merchandises on pushcarts or in cycles or baskets on their head". According to the Periodic Labour Force Survey, in 2017-18 there were around 11.9 million street vendors in the country, of whom around 1.2 million were women. In Delhi, they comprised 2.7—1.3 per cent of all women and 3 per cent of all men workers are street vendors. For both men and women, own-account work (self-employed with no employees) is the predominant status of employment among the street vendors and approximately more than two-third of these street vendors were own-account workers in India and also in Delhi during 2017-18. A key informant informed us that in Delhi street vendors can be divided into three broad categories:

weekly market vendors

mobile market
vendors
(more men are
employed in this)

static or stationary vendors:

This could be location-wise or item-wise like fruits/vegetables and other items like toys, etc. (women are mainly found in this category)



The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on street vendors in Delhi started even before the imposition of lockdown because weekly markets were closed one week before the lockdown and vendors were not allowed to operate. Women street vendors suffered most because they lack access to assets and savings. Moreover, during the qualitative interviews, it came out that the pandemic came down harshly on women street vendors because the work requires excessive mobility and continuous dealing with the customers and mobility was restricted during the lockdown. Further, women street vendors with small children found it difficult to reach their vending locations without any transportation and the eviction drives during the lockout period. Additionally, the street as a workspace is insecure for women since there is a constant threat of sexual harassment, and inadequate access to water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) facilities also pose a workspace challenge for them.

The Rapid Assessment Survey of women street vendors in Delhi, carried out by the Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST) in April/May 2020 highlighted that 97 per cent of women vendors have completely lost their livelihoods and more than half of them have taken a loan to survive during the lockdown. Additionally, they suffered from an increased burden of unpaid work and also had to bear

the burden of collecting essential resources such as food, water and fuel from different sources. The study also highlighted that these families faced huge problems in accessing health centres, medicines and in recharging their phones and many of them reported that reduced income and an increase in expenses has led to a debt trap.

Now that several months have passed since the survey was conducted and the unlock period has crossed a few months, it is important to understand and assess the situation of women street vendors during the post-lockdown period and to highlight their coping mechanisms and significant changes in their immediate social and economic situation. Against the backdrop, this study attempts to assess:

- the impact of the COVID-19 imposed lockdown and the subsequent easing on their jobs and earnings
- the ways they manage the unpaid work and whether the weeks of lockdowns and reopening have led to any change in attitudes and practices towards unpaid work
- the difficulties in accessing public essential services such as water, food rations, health and transport, etc.
- coping mechanisms adopted by them during the unlocking phases
- women's perspectives about the safety measures during the unlocking phases in response to the COVID-19 pandemic

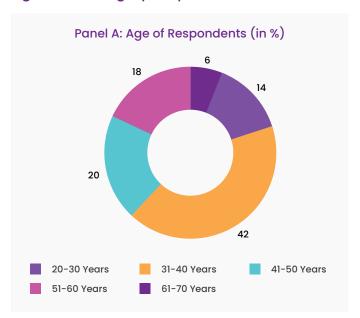
Survey Methodology

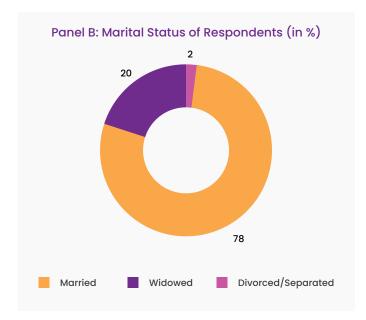
ISST partnered with Janpahal and Self-Employed Women Association (SEWA) Delhi to understand the impact of the pandemic and the initiation of the lockdown and unlocking phases on the livelihoods of women street vendors. The quantitative survey was conducted at the beginning of the study and the qualitative survey tool was designed to address the gaps identified during the quantitative survey. The quantitative data for this study was collected through a telephone survey with 65 women street vendors using Google forms and all data collecting tools were translated into Hindi. The sample of respondents was selected in a purposive way and the results are not representative of the states or the country. ISST researchers conducted nine telephone interviews (five were with women street vendors and four were with the stakeholders) based on access. The study has maintained strict anonymity of all respondents who agreed to be part of this study. Both the quantitative and qualitative surveys were started only after clear information regarding the purpose was provided to the respondents and their consent was obtained. Participation in this study was voluntary and, during the data collection process, respondents were under no obligation to complete the survey/ interview if they had any hesitation or reluctance at any point in the data collection. The survey team took care to schedule a call at a time that was convenient for the woman worker for a conversation and all precautions were taken during data collection to avoid undue distress to the respondents and her family. No questions were asked that may hurt the sentiments or discriminate against any person based on caste, class, religion, race, gender, or sexual preferences.

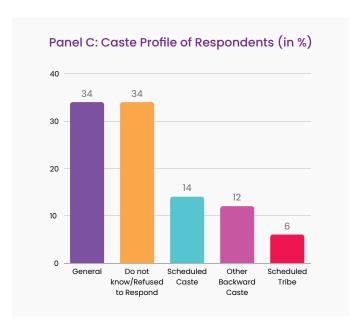
Demographic Profile

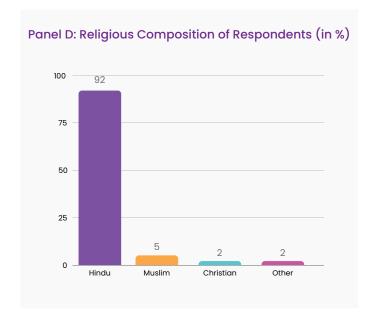
Figure 1 shows the demographic profile of those surveyed across age groups, marital status, caste and religious profile, household size and expenditure class. Of those surveyed, 34 per cent belonged to the general caste while 92 per cent of the respondents were Hindu. The average household size was 5, and 26 per cent of households reported spending more than Rs. 20,000 per month on food, medicine, education, utility and durable goods, transport and other.

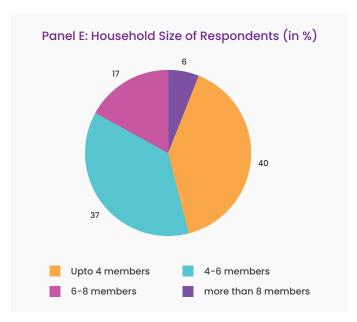
Figure 1: Demographic profile of women street vendors in Delhi

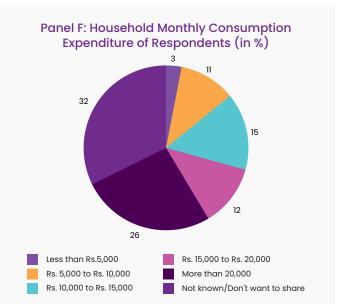












Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

Impact on Paid Work/Employment

During the lockdown period of the COVID-19 pandemic, enforced social distancing and stay-at-home conditions not only restricted the employment opportunities of street vendors but also increased the cost of doing business significantly. Many of the street vendors did not have access to wholesale markets and suppliers during the lockdown period and they had to spend more on travel due to travel restrictions imposed on the city. Now that India has eased most lockdown restrictions and reopened its battered economy, some limitations on street trade remain and the number of buyers has gone down as have earnings. The study indicates that although restrictions have been eased in the post-lockdown phase, it is still a struggle for women vendors to go out and work as usual. Figure 2 shows the overall impact of the pandemic on the employment status of women street vendors in Delhi and 52 per cent of the respondents claimed to have lost the means to work, while 34 per cent reported a significant fall in income/ earnings even in the post-lockdown period.

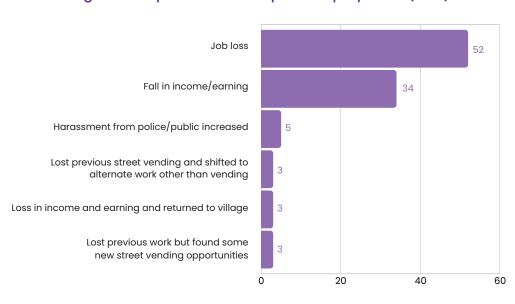


Figure 2: Impact on overall paid employment (in %)

Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

During interviews, many of these women street vendors voiced that they often have to bribe the police during an eviction drive ordered by officials. Such incidents had increased during the lockdown with numerous cases of baton-wielding police beating workers for going out and this has continued even after the curbs were lifted. Of those surveyed, 5 per cent of women also mentioned facing harassment by the police and civic authorities. Though many of them were reluctant to mention it for fear of future harassment, during the interview with stakeholders, 'police harassment and brutality' came up as a huge concern for street vendors. On several occasions, authorities seized products, and the vendors had to keep visiting the police station and pay a fine to get back their products. This keeps happening and the fine is huge, so they usually get tired and give up after a while. Some of them who received the products after paying the fine complained of missing goods or pieces from their products. (Telephone interview with Lata Ben, SEWA Delhi, November 2020).

On being asked whether the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic is different on men and women street vendors, 65 per cent of women respondents mentioned that there is no difference, the impact is the same on both genders, while only 23 per cent of women responded that the impact of the pandemic on jobs was higher for women. The reason is that in Delhi, women are mainly stationary/static vendors who sell fruits and vegetables from a fixed place on the road. Since *mandis* have been closed, women were affected, whereas men can move their carts from one location to another. (Telephone interview with Dharmendra Kumar, Janpahal, November 2020).

Despite the job loss, only 14 per cent started selling other products/ services. Some of them partially changed their products and at the same time continued to sell their original products/services during the last six months, while as

many as 86 per cent were not able to shift to selling some other products/services or alternative employment opportunities and continued with the same street vending activities. Unlike men, women street vendors could not move their selling carts and look for new vending locations and they also did not have enough capital. Moreover, for women there is an urgent need to shift occupations, to but the present study highlights that it is extremely difficult/challenging for a woman even to change the selling product or move her cart to a new vending location. During the qualitative interviews, one of the respondents revealed that she tried to search for other work but could not find any.

"After the lockdown was lifted, I tried to look for alternate work like domestic work and homebased work but could not get any. Domestic workers and home-based workers are also looking for work, so how will I get? I have no money left to restart my snacks stall and if the situation prevails, we will surely die of hunger if not COVID-19." (Telephone interview with Seema, Pragati Maidan, November 2020).

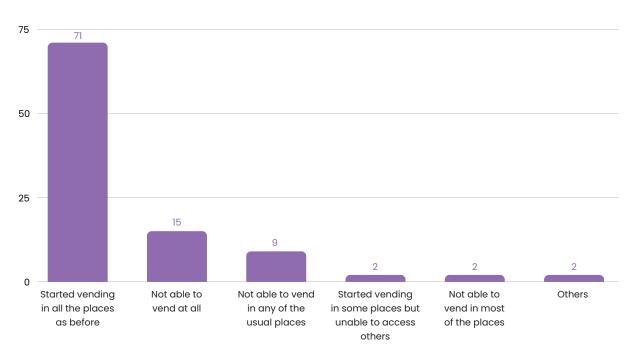


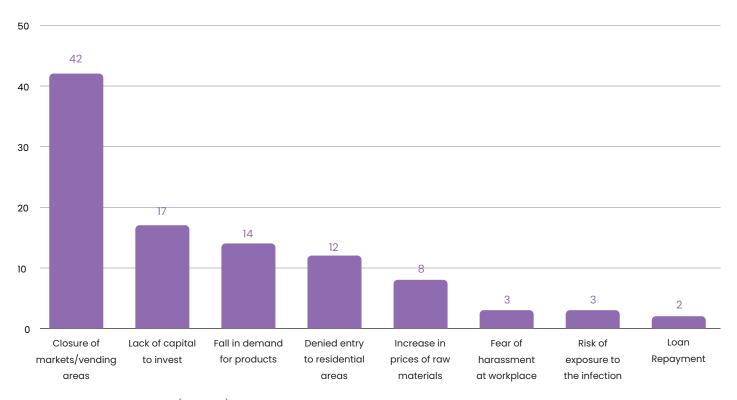
Figure 3: Ability to access all the previous vending places (in%)

Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

Dharmendra Kumar from Janpahal stated that according to official figures, there were 272 weekly markets and of these only two weekly markets per zone are presently allowed to function on a pilot basis. Delhi has 12 vending zones and only 24 markets are allowed now, which implies that 80 to 90 per cent official weekly markets are still shut. Women street vendors were also asked whether they have been able to access all the places where they used to vend before the pandemic and the results are presented in Figure 3. About 71 per cent of them reported no restriction on movement in their vending locations, but 15 per cent of the respondents were not able to sell from their usual locations even after the lockdown was over. Many of these women respondents who are unable to sell their products used to vend in places adjacent to the National Zoological Park which remained closed at the time of the survey and so there were no tourists. Some of them also mentioned that fear over the spread of COVID-19 has kept many customers away and thereby their income was decimated over the past six months.

Figure 4 shows the types of challenges faced by women street vendors while selling during the post-lockdown period and 42 per cent of them stated that closure of market or vending areas is a major work-related challenge for them.

Figure 4: Work-related challenges faced during unlocking phases (in %)



Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

Among those surveyed, 17 per cent of the women street vendors complained of lack of capital to invest and 14 per cent also faced a fall in demand for their products. Other work-related challenges were an increase in the prices of raw materials and denial of entry to gated residential societies even after the lockdown was over. In a nutshell, the survey findings indicate that the pandemic is taking a heavy toll on these women street vendors who sell everything from snacks and cups of tea to toys, stationery items, clothes and vegetables on pavements or from carts in Raghubir Nagar, Sunder Nagar, Kalkaji, Lodhi Colony and many more areas in Delhi.



Further, since physical shopping has a perceived risk and induces fears of being in proximity to others, consumer buying patterns have rapidly shifted to online shopping. Nowadays, a section of the population is buying their daily essentials starting from vegetables, fruits and milk to fashionable clothes through online platforms like Bigbasket, Grofers, Amazon, Myntra, and Ajio and the penetration of the online market have also increased in terms of ordering foods via Swiggy, Zomato and others. This change in consumption patterns and greater reliance on e-shopping is a real threat to street vendors. It would be challenging to revive the culture of physical buying and selling when consumers are shifting to the online mode. One of the stakeholders said that since people like fast food and because snacks are easily available, the physical mode will be rejuvenated in the post-lockdown period when people will look for opportunities to go out and shop. (Telephone interview with Dharmendra Kumar, Janpahal, November 2020).

Impact on Unpaid Work

While women were already doing most of the world's unpaid work before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, emerging research suggests that the crisis and subsequent lockout have further increased the unpaid work burden of women. The recently released Time Use Survey (2019) by pointed out that even before the onset of the pandemic, in India almost all women (94 per cent) were involved in unpaid caregiving and domestic activities while only around half of the men were engaged in unpaid activities. The wide gender gap in the unpaid workforce participation rate is also reflected in spending less time in such activities by men compared to women in India during 2019. On average, women spent six and a half hours every day on these unpaid activities whereas men spent only two and a half hours a day. The previous ISST study also indicated that out of 176 women respondents, 66 per cent reported an increase in inside household domestic chores and 36 per cent stated an increase in child and elderly care burden during the lockdown period.*

Figure 5: Increase in domestic work post-lockdown (in %)

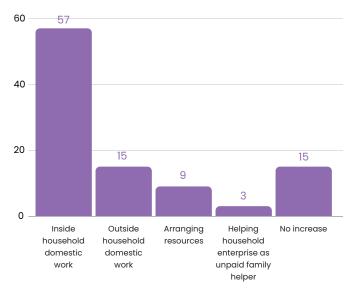
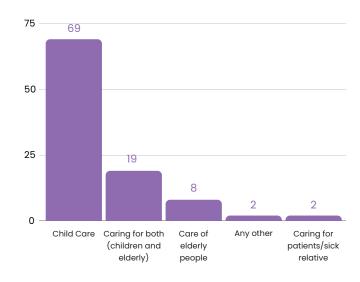


Figure 6: Increase in care work post-lockdown (in %)



Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

The study showed that more than half (57 per cent) of the respondents reported an increase in inside household domestic work like cooking and cleaning, while 15 per cent reported an increase in outside household domestic work like fetching water and collecting firewood and fuel over the last six months (Figure 5). But surprisingly, 15 per cent of all respondents stated that there was no increase in unpaid household chores and during the qualitative interview many of them shared that women are primarily responsible for household work and so whatever the circumstances they have to perform the same. One of the respondents stated:

"I am a woman and it is my responsibility to cook food for all and look after my children and if I don't do this then who will do it? There is nothing new in this. Everybody does the same and it is the responsibility of all women. Otherwise, what is the difference between men and women?" (Telephone interview with Vimala, Raghubir Nagar, November 2020).

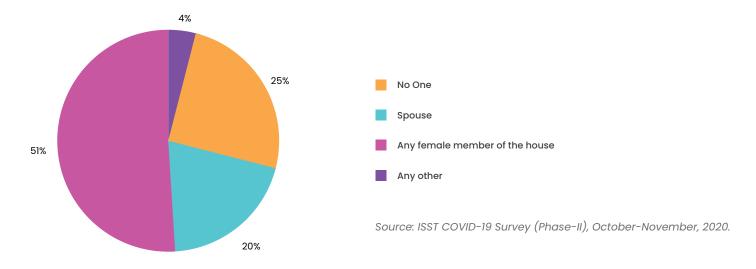
This indicates that household work is so ingrained in women that they do not consider it as additional work and refuse to see any increase in the same during the lockdown and post-lockdown period. Of the 65 women street vendors, 19 per cent revealed that time spent in caring for both young children and the elderly has increased significantly for them, while 8 per cent specifically stated that they need to spend more time in caring for elderly people of the household. In terms of caring for children, 69 per cent of women street vendors mentioned that since the schools and Anganwadi centres are still closed, they have to spend more time with children (Figure 6); this has been exacerbated by the need to help their children with online classes. During the qualitative interviews, many women respondents reported that they were barely able to afford one smartphone and they had to spend Rs. 200 per month to recharge the data pack so that children could use the phone to study. In households that have more than one child but only one smartphone, children had to take turns to attend classes and hence missed some classes, which has serious implications on their learning outcomes. One of the stakeholders also acknowledged the same and shared:

"Children of these poor families often cannot afford to go to school and the lockdown has made it worse. There is a fear of drop outs and it is highly likely that the negative impacts of this online education for these poor families will last for years." (Telephone interview with Lata Ben, SEWA Delhi, November 2020).



The women street vendors were also asked whether family members have helped them in managing household chores and unpaid care activities during the past six months. Figure 7 shows that a little above half of them replied that mainly female members of the house (either daughter or daughter-in-law) helped them while 25 per cent stated that nobody helps them. But it is also important to note that 20 per cent of the women respondents received help from their spouse in managing domestic chores.

Figure 7: Who helps with household chores and unpaid care activities



Challenges in Accessing Essential Services during the Pandemic and beyond

The survey results indicated that 52 per cent of the women street vendors did not face any significant challenges in terms of accessing health or medical facilities (Table 1). Because of the fear of getting infected from the virus, many women respondents avoided visiting hospitals. During the qualitative interview, one of the stakeholders mentioned lack of awareness and superstitions as reasons for not accessing institutional health care facilities and ignoring symptoms when they fall sick.

"Women street vendors in Raghubir Nagar are mainly from Gujarat and they refute the fact that they can be infected by COVID-19 virus. Many of them have shown symptoms of cough and high fever, but they did not go for check-up or even testing. Rather they treated it like small pox, where they worshipped a goddess and kept Neem leaves at their doorstep and after 14 days, they did a small pooja. As a result, three people in their community lost their lives as they did not get proper medical treatment because of their own superstition." (Telephone interview with Usha Ben, SEWA Delhi, November 2020).

Table 1: Challenges in Accessing Health Facilities in the past six months

Types of Challenges	Percentage of Women Respondents
Challenges related to reproductive health	18
Challenges related to COVID-19	4
Challenges related to other diseases	38
No challenges	52

Note: Percentage values are based on multiple responses.

Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

However, 38 percent reported that the availability of essential medicines was a huge concern and there was little to no access to treatment for chronic ailments in government hospitals. Many women highlighted the fact that since doctors were busy treating COVID patients, there was hardly anyone to attend to them and they did not even get essential medicines for chronic ailments like diabetes and thyroid problems. In the case of labour and delivery, they had to approach private hospitals and incur additional expenses. One respondent stated that when her husband injured his leg in an accident, they struggled to get health care facilities at government hospitals and then opted for homecare remedies.

"We could not get any medicine from the hospital and we used warm water and dipped a cloth in it to get some relief." (Ratna, Raghubir Nagar, November 2020.)

Apart from these health challenges, Table 2 shows that 75 per cent of women faced significant challenges in procuring essential food items in the face of price-gouging and stockpiling by the middle and upper classes over the past six months. At the time of the interviews, many women respondents stated that they were rationing the use of cylinders by cooking one-pot meals and preparing vegetables with more water to last longer, which affects their diet. 54 per cent of women street vendors stated that rent is another challenge given the drastic fall in income even after the lockdown ended. Some women respondents said that when they were unable to pay the rent during the lockdown period, they vacated their houses and went back to the village. With the opening up of the economy, some of them have come back and cannot find rented accommodation at the earlier price. Other major concerns voiced were recharging phones and managing the education of children, alongside procuring water and fuel for daily household needs.

Table 2: Significant challenges in the past six months

Types of Challenges	Percentage of Women Respondents
Procuring essential food items	75
Payment of rent	54
Phone recharge	28
Managing children's education	26
Procuring water and fuel	25
Accessing transport	9
Any other	3

Note: Percentage values are based on multiple responses.

Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the loss in income and the decline in market demand for non-essential products has led to a sense of anxiety and fear of starvation among these women respondents. Almost all of them admitted that the COVID-19 pandemic has increased mental stress and tension in their family. Table 3 presents that out of those surveyed 80 per cent were worried about the impact of the pandemic on their work and livelihood, while 14 per cent feel stressed and tired because of the increased burden of domestic work. It is also frightening to note that the fear of lost livelihoods outweighed the fear of contracting the virus among many of these women, who have returned to the streets. They are now in the dilemma of whether they should try to minimise the risk of contracting the virus or they should try to earn for their day-to-day living.

Table 3: Mental Stress and Tension in the past six months

Reasons for Stress	Percentage of Women Respondents
Feel stressed, tired	14
Worried about Covid-19 and its impact	80
Stressed because of domestic fights	2
Stressed because of children	2
Husband is stressed because of no job	3

Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.

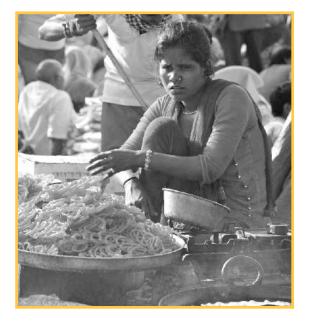
Coping Strategies Adopted during the Pandemic and beyond

The COVID-19 extended lockdown has affected the lives and livelihood of street vendors in myriad ways. They are the worst affected because their work requires physical presence at the workplace, in the absence of which wages cannot be earned. The luxury of working from home and maintaining physical distance are not available to street vendors. Moreover, within street vending there are binaries too; fruit, vegetable and other food vendors seem to have been able to reopen their stalls but non-food vendors are left with a pile of inventory for which the market has declined significantly. Many of these women street vendors resorted to negative coping strategies such as distress sale of assets and taking loans from moneylenders at an exorbitantly high interest rate (10 per cent per month). Table 4 shows that of those surveyed, 69 per cent have taken a loan to sustain and supplement the loss in income. Many of them stated that repayment is a major concern and the interest keeps piling up, which leads them into the vicious cycle of a debt trap. 26 per cent of respondents stated that they are either using existing savings or selling household assets and trying to manage without taking a loan. Some of them even had to beg for food.

Table 4: Coping with economic vulnerability

Strategies	Percentage of Women Respondents
Nothing, managing somehow	9
Taken loan from moneylender	31
Taken loan from relatives	31
Taken loan from employer	8
Using existing savings	11
Have sold household assets	6
Have taken up other work	2
Other	3

Source: ISST COVID-19 Survey (Phase-II), October-November, 2020.



To reduce the dependency of street vendors on private moneylenders and to boost their employment, the Prime Minister of India announced a special microcredit scheme on 2nd July 2020 under which vendors can avail of a loan up to Rs. 10,000 which is repayable in monthly instalments in the tenure of one year. On 10 August 2020, the Delhi Government also announced credit facilities up to Rs. 20,000 at low-interest rates to street vendors, including vegetable and fruit sellers. VI But there are no registered street vendors in Delhi who can avail of the facilities. The national capital has close to 5 lakh street vendors, but only 1.30 lakh registered with the Municipal Corporation of Delhi and the New Delhi Municipal Council in 2007 for temporary vending rights (tehbazaari) through red slips (lal parchi). vii However, no proper survey has been undertaken and the temporary vending right was never renewed and so it is not clear how the authority will implement the same in Delhi.

COVID, Socio-Political Issues and Street Vendors

Qualitative interviews with the stakeholders raised issues that were specific to street vendors. It was highlighted that because authorities ruled that elderly people are at a higher risk of COVID-19 infection due to their decreased immunity, many elderly vendors have still not been able to resume work. It was also highlighted that where the number of COVID infections increases, eviction has also gone up. In Sadar Bazaar, vending activities were stopped because of the growing number of infections and there are similar incidents in other places. The blame for not following social distancing falls exclusively on vendors as pointed out by one stakeholder. Moreover, after the February riots in Delhi, there is a fear of violence, which disproportionately hurt street vendors belonging to marginalised communities and one of the stakeholders reported:

"During the initial phase of the lockdown, because of the controversy around the Tablighi Jamaat incident, customer's behaviour towards Muslim street vendors changed." (Telephone interview with Dharmendra Kumar, Janpahal, November 2020).

Stakeholders informed us that street vendors from the minority community not only faced discriminatory attitudes from buyers but also from municipal officials, police personnel and members of resident welfare associations who viewed them as a nuisance and public health hazard and tried to evict them whenever the number of COVID-19 infections surged. (Telephone interview with Dharmendra Kumar, Janpahal, November 2020).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Street vending is not only a source of employment for people associated with it but provides affordable goods and services to a vast majority of urban population especially to lower-income households. It also supports a large section of farmers, manufacturers and producers by selling their products and thereby playing an important role in sustaining the livelihood of 20 crore people. We But as urban public spaces are regulated and configured to clear streets, competition for space grows from pedestrians and cars, and these poor people are often targeted for bribes and eviction drives. The Street Vendors' Act (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) was passed by Parliament in 2014 and the amended Rules and Schemes to the Act were further notified in 2016. But the provisions of the Act were diluted and until now no survey has been done and, as a result, there are no registered street vendors in Delhi. So, many of these street vendors are not able to apply for the credit facility announced both by the central and state governments to achieve self-reliance. Further, it is hardly advantageous for them since many of them are unable to restart the business and thereby will not be in a position to repay the loan. Moreover, women street vendors who are mostly migrants and relatively less educated with limited access to mobile phones, the scheme will not benefit them owing to an array of challenges like digital and language barrier in applying for the loans and lack of adequate documentation.

Under this indeterminate situation, the government should convert the credit/loan into direct income benefit as livelihood support and with a further reservation for women, benefitting a considerable percentage of women street vendors.

Infrastructure facilities like access to water, sanitation and hygiene should be provided free of cost by the government in vending areas and public places keeping in mind the needs of women. Additionally, safety precautions such as street lights and women police patrols should be taken in busy market areas to prevent sexual harassment.

The government should acknowledge the role played by street vending in alleviating urban poverty and malnutrition. So, the registration process should start at the earliest or they can be issued e-cards to ensure their right to vending with proper dignity and prevent them from falling prey to eviction drives by MCD officials and police personnel.

Designated vending zones should be created at the earliest and some sensitivity should be shown towards vendors since they are struggling to make ends meet and their sales have also plummeted.

Street vendors may not be able to face the competition and discounts offered by large capitalists and online platforms. They should be provided with some benefits either as subsidies or at least a minimum income support.

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