

Research Article

India's Retail Trade Revolution: Socio Religious Dimensions of Employment Loss and New Forms of Urban Exclusion

Sobin George

Assistant Professor, Centre for Study of Social Change and Development, Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Dr. VKRV Rao Road, Nagarabhavi, Bengaluru-560072, India.

Email id: sobing@gmail.com; sobin@isec.ac.in

ABSTRACT

The urban retail trade in India is undergoing a change with the arrival of large domestic and foreign investors. This paper by highlighting the case of consolidation of retail trade by the Indian and foreign firms, attempts to understand the possible exclusion in the traditional sectors, including small entrepreneurship and street vending and related activities and brings out further questions of urban exclusion. Drawing from available official data, the paper argues that while the new organised retailing has the potential to affect every socio religious group in the sector, it will affect Muslims in urban India followed by the scheduled castes (SCs) more intensely due to their higher worker population ratio in elementary occupations and traditional retailing if the new retail trade replaces the traditional retailing as happened in other countries. This brings a new dimension to the continuing exclusion of these already excluded groups. The paper also highlights that while eliminating them from the entrepreneurship landscape, organised retailing would also raise the risk of their falling back to exploitative caste centred agrarian sector and urban informal jobs from where they moved out once.

Keywords: Retail trade, Employment loss, Urban exclusion, Dalits, Muslims

INTRODUCTION

There is a wider consent in the Indian academia that Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the opening up of economy affected different sectors and population differently in the country. While some segments in the export and service sectors

benefited, there is evidence that it 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). Scholarships also showed that it rearranged the employment landscape by eroding some forms of traditional employment, which have been in the informal sector, especially in the urban India, usually performed by the migrant urban poor and brought about new forms of employment, mostly in service sectors (Nath, 1994; Gupta, 1995). However, irrespective of their ideological positions, there is a general agreement that with the processes of globalisation and trade policy reforms there has been shrinking of organised sector, which is also coupled with expansion of informal employment and breakdown in the rural and village economy. The latest one in the series of reforms is the expected retail reforms in India, which allowed 100 per cent FDI in single brand and the proposed 50 per cent in multi brand retailing, which could affect the less organised traditional retail sector in the country. 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 sector of the cities. Among others, one of the crucial questions is who are the poor and marginalised in this sector in terms of their economic and identity entitlements 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 get excluded or overthrown from their occupations, since they have always been on the margins like the street vendors 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 will compound for them when the members of these groups belong to certain excluded or isolated communities. The paper attempts to understand which are the communities and social groups that would seriously be affected in major Indian cities, if there will be loss of employment due to the arrival of new forms of trade in retail sector and whether it has the potential to further exclude the weak among them and weaken the new entrepreneurship groups emerged from the marginalised communities and if so what are the processes?

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The paper relies on National Sample Survey Organisation's (NSSO) 66th round data (unit level) on employment and unemployment, 2009–10 and the published report of NSSO 67th round on Operational Characteristics of Unincorporated Non-agricultural Enterprises, 2010–11 for data on traditional retail sector. Besides, the paper draws from available relevant social science literature on retail sector for understanding the effect on employment and urban re-organisation due to organised retailing in India and other parts of the world. It should be mentioned that this

paper does not discuss the impact of organised retail trade on farm sector and consumers and the scope is limited to entrepreneurs, workers in the traditional retail sector and street vendors only.

EMPLOYMENT AND OTHER QUESTIONS

It is important to understand the existing retail trade landscape in order to take a stock on 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 sector constitute 11.3 per cent of the total workforce in India. Their share in urban India where the organised retail sector is coming in a large way is nearly 23 per cent, which is significant in terms of employment.¹ 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 Chandrashekhar (2012) notes this sector is central to livelihood of a large section 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 traditional retail sector in particular due to the arrival of organised multi brand retailers with foreign collaboration. She notes that one retail shop of Walmart in an Indian city can displace up to 1400 small stores and nearly 5000 jobs. Chandrashekhar (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. A study conducted in cities of Bengaluru, Ahmedabad and Chandigarh in 2011 revealed that more than 50 per cent of the traditional fruit and retailers reported 10–30 per cent decline in sales and nearly 25 per cent decline in income (Singh, 2011). 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 are on the verge of closure (Kalhan, 2007). Also in several cases the likelihood of new retail firms absorbing workers who lost employment is less since the skill and other requirements are entirely different in organised technology based retailing. For

¹ Author's estimations from the unit level data of NSSO 66th round on employment and unemployment, 2009–10

instance, the retail revolution of United States of America 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 (Kasarda, 1989). Experiences of other countries which underwent retail revolution in full scale and size also showed the decline of the traditional street sector (Voyce, 2007) and capturing of complete market share by large super market and subsequent elimination of small producers (Ghosh, 2012). In short, the available literature on the effect of employment shows that the potential employment loss in the traditional sector would far exceed the projected employment generation due to organised retailing and large super markets.

SOCIO RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS OF EMPLOYMENT LOSS

Who are the losers in terms of their socio religious identities due to the arrival of large organised retailers? It is 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. The paper therefore takes an analytical 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 *Dalits*, *Adivasis* and religious and ethnic minorities, which are their defining markers of subordination, exclusion, isolation and discrimination. Such analytical categories are important 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 kinships. 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 these identities. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe that the market would level up the existing structures of power of caste and religion and make equal environments for all groups. As several studies noted prejudices based on such identities seem to increase the disparities among social and religious groups in several sectors (Thorat and Newman, 2007; Attewal and Madheswaran, 2007; Nambissan, 2009). Official data also 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, in occupational categories such as legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals and technicians, Scheduled Tribes (ST), SC and Other Backward Castes (OBC) are notably under-represented with regard to their share of population

India's Retail Trade Revolution: Socio Religious Dimensions of Employment
Loss and New Forms of Urban Exclusion

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 and 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
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: NSSO 66th round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009–10

and also the share of these occupational groups to the total (Table 1). On the other hand STs and SCs are considerably over-represented in elementary occupations, which include casual labourers, agriculture workers, street vendors, garbage collectors, domestic help, etc.

The community effect of job losses 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 66th round data on employment and unemployment. One must also take the fact into account 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 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; Chandrashekhhar, 2011) such firms are most likely to be eliminated from the retail landscape with the arrival and establishments 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 profoundly due to their higher proportionate share of population working in the sector. Data show that the proportion of workers

Table 2: Worker population ratio by religion in retail sector 2009–10, selected cities

No.	City (urban only)	Hindu	Muslim	Sikhs	All
1	Ahmedabad	12.85	19.16	-	14.92
2	Bengaluru (urban)	9.67	16.03		11.34
3	Bhopal	12.58	30.11		14.57
4	Chennai	17.45	44.5	-	19.57
5	New 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
	All India (urban)	15.63	21.24	14.56	16.36

Source: NSSO 66th round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009–10

Note: Retail sector here includes NIC 2004 five digit codes from 52110 to 52609

from Muslim communities is higher in retail sector than for any other groups.² For instance, while 21.24 per cent of Muslims in urban India are working in the retail it is 15.63 per cent from Hindu communities and an average of 9 per cent from all other minorities (Table 2). In simple words, if there is loss in employment, it would impinge worse on Muslims as a community and affect directly as much as 21.24 per cent of the urban Muslim population. The community dimension of the retail sector will be clearer if we look at the major urban city centres where the retail sector is coming up in a large way³. Except the cities of New Delhi, Ludhiana and Lucknow (urban), the worker population ratio of Muslims community 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.

Another important question is the possible further marginalisation of the weaker castes due to the replacement of small and medium unorganised retail shops by

²The 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.

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

India's Retail Trade Revolution: Socio Religious Dimensions of Employment
Loss and New Forms of Urban Exclusion

Table 3: Worker population ratio by social group in retail sector 2009–10, selected cities

No.	City	SC	OBC	OTH	Total
1	Ahmedabad	11.75	9.45	18.07	14.92
2	Bengaluru (urban)	-	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	New Delhi	8.07	32.56	24.23	23.64
6	Hyderabad	20.39	22.06	15.65	17.85
7	Jaipur (urban)	-	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	-	24.57	3.02	16.32
	All India (urban)	10.93	16.51	18.51	16.36

Source: NSSO 66th round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009–10

large foreign and domestic organised 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. The worker population ratio of STs, SCs and OBCs in the works related to retail sector in urban India is 9.42 per cent, 10.93 per cent and 16.51 per cent, respectively (Table 3). 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 OBCs constitute the major share of workforce in the traditional retail sector in most of the major cities. Their share is notably higher in cities including Kolkata (34.51 per cent), New Delhi (32.56 per cent), Patna (24.57 per cent), Ludhiana (23.44 per cent), Chennai (23.31 per cent) and Hyderabad (22 per cent). The worker population ratio of SCs is found to be considerably higher in cities including Bhopal (26.39 per cent), Ludhiana (21.46 per cent), Hyderabad (20.39 per cent) and Kolkata (18.37 per cent). It must also be noted that in some cities including Lucknow, Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Ludhiana and New Delhi, the work participation rate of upper/middle caste groups in the traditional retail sector is more or less equal to SCs and OBCs.

Street vendors also constitute a major category in the traditional retailing in urban India. It is estimated that there are around 11 million workers in India belonging

Table 4: Worker population ratio by religion in street vending and related activities, 2009–10, major cities

No.	City (urban only)	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Total
1	Ahmedabad	4.95	15.13	0	5.46
2	Bengaluru (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	New 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
	All India (urban)	1.79	3.47	1.48	2.01

Source: NSSO 66th round on employment and unemployment, unit level data, 2009–10

to this occupational group, which constitute around 1.1 per cent of the total population of the country and out of them around 53 per cent are in urban India.⁴ They are considered as casual or elementary workers in terms of the larger occupational categorisation and form a higher 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 compositions. If we look at absolute numbers and percentages, nearly 67 per cent of them belong to Hindu community and remaining to various minority groups. However, if we look at their worker population ratio, it is found that Muslims constitute the predominant group (Table 4). Around 3.5 per cent of Muslim population in urban India are engaged in occupations related to street vending, which is much higher than other religious groups. The over representation of Muslims in street vending and related activities is more evident in the cities. In the major cities, except Chennai, Kolkata and Ludhiana, it is the Muslims who are mostly engaged in street vending activities. For instance, as Table 5 shows, around 19 per cent of Muslims in the city of Bhopal, 15 per cent in Ahmedabad and 10 per cent in Patna

⁴Author's estimations from the unit level data of NSS 66th round on employment and unemployment, 2009–10

India's Retail Trade Revolution: Socio Religious Dimensions of Employment
Loss and New Forms of Urban Exclusion

Table 5: Worker population ratio by social groups in street vending and related activities, 2009-10, major cities

No.	City (urban only)	SC	OBC	OTH	Total
1	Ahmedabad	2.29	11.15	3.53	5.46
2	Bengaluru (urban)	-	1.89	2.18	1.75
3	Bhopal	-	0.1	9.44	4.52
4	Chennai	2.47	-	-	0.59
5	New Delhi	3.15	2.75	0.92	2.1
6	Hyderabad	4.22	1.69	0.86	1.48
7	Jaipur (urban)	-	0.49	2	1.12
8	Kolkata	6.29	2.84	1.36	2.16
9	Lucknow (urban)	-	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	-	6.2	-	3.82
	All India (urban)	2.12	2.65	1.41	2.01

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

are in this occupational category, which is giving a definite religious dimension to this occupation in these cities. The effect of job losses hence will have a considerable community effect at least in these cities. 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, OBCs, SCs and others have the highest population share in activities related to street vending. 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, New Delhi and Chennai, their share proportionate to population is higher than that of OBCs and others (Table 5). Bhopal and Lucknow were 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.

Entrepreneurs in the unorganised sector are another major occupational group, which will be affected by the retail revolution. This sector is primarily dominated by the OBC and upper and middle caste groups. However, as several scholars identified, the post liberalised India witnessed an emergence of dalit entrepreneurship at least in some parts of the country, especially in the states like Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Rajasthan (Jodhka, 2010; Prasad and Kumble, 2012). It should also be mentioned that there is another view that dalits and adivasis are

Table 6: 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 67th round Report on Operational Characteristics of Unincorporated Non-agricultural Enterprises (excluding construction), in India, 2010–11

significantly underrepresented in the ownership of enterprises in India (Iyer *et al.* 2011; Teltumbde, 2013). These views apart, taking evidences from the 2010 data of NSSO on Operational Characteristics of Unincorporated Non-agricultural Enterprises, it can be argued that there is a trend of emerging dalit entrepreneurship in some parts of India, even though its pace is slow. Data show 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 6). This trend of dalit entrepreneurship is to be seen as a changing nature of caste 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. If we specifically examine entrepreneurs in the retail sector, there is a notable presence of SCs and OBCs in both rural and urban India. 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. 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 can be counterproductive to this new wave of entrepreneurship at least in the retail sector. By eliminating weaker sections from the entrepreneurship landscape, it would raise 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.

CHANGING SPACES: EMERGING NEW FORMS OF URBAN EXCLUSION

Emergence of retail trade in a big way can also transform cities spatially, its industrial landscapes and social organisation of work and life. It is important then to understand whether such processes structurate the urban public spaces as Goss (1993) noted, construct new urban middle class identities based specific consumption patterns and how the other, who is alienated or excluded spatially, economically and culturally, perceives such identities. Studies in other countries showed that retail private agencies capture huge amount of public spaces and in the process, it reorganises the entire public interactions and landscapes (Voyce, 2007). Some scholars viewed 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 their local space. Some other scholars viewed it in the context of changing nature of capital investments and modes of production and its conflicts with the issue of right to cities (Harvey, 1990, 2010). As a result, the poor and vulnerable will be excluded from urban spaces for former being powerful. Studies also 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 could construct 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 could also perceive excluded since such places are an exhibition of some other cultures, which they find alien.

CONCLUSION

The over optimism on organised retail sector for employment generation in India is in question due to the socio religious and cultural dimensions of possible job loss by it. Official data proves that it is the minorities and marginalised groups who/which will be affected most due to their higher worker population share in the affected sectors of small retailing and street vending. This would also 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 understood. The capture of public space by retail private agencies, which could spatially reorganise cities along with a significant loss of public land, is one of such questions. 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. The processes and dynamics of such spatial reorganisation of

cities, identity construction and newer forms of exclusion in India due to such trade practices need to be studied further with primary investigations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Seminar on Opening up, Cooperation and Economic Growth, organised by Sichuan Academy of Social Science (SASS) & ISEC, Bengaluru at Chengdu, China, 25–26, October 2013. The author would like to thank K. S. James and Gobind C. Pal for their useful comments. However, the content is solely the responsibility of the author.

REFERENCES

- Attewal P and Madheswaran S (2007).** Caste discrimination in the Indian urban labour market: Evidence from the National Sample Survey. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 41, pp. 4146–4154.
- Baskaran K (2012).** FDI in India's multi brand retail-boon or bane. *Universal Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1–16.
- Blaire P (2000).** Development, Post-, Anti-, and Populist. *Environment and Planning*, Vol. 32, No.6, pp. 1033–1050.
- Chandrashekhkar CP (2011).** Lessons from abroad. Viewed on 12 June 2013 (http://www.networkideas.org/news/dec2011/print/prnt26122011_Lessons.htm)
- Chandrashekhkar CP (2012).** The role of the small retailer. *The Hindu*, 5 October 2012.
- Despande KL and Despande S (1998).** Impact of liberalisation on labour market in India: What do facts from NSSO's 50th round show. *Economic and Political Weekly*, May, Vol. 30, pp. L-31–39.
- Ghosh J (2012).** India's supermarket move shows its tired government has run out of ideas. *The Guardian*, 20 September 2012.
- Goss J (1993).** Magic of the mall, an analysis of form, function and meaning in the contemporary retail built environment. *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 83, No.1, pp.18–47.
- Gupta SP (1995).** Economic reforms and its impacts on poor. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol-30, No.22, pp. 1295–1311.
- Guruswamy M, Sharma K, Mohanty JP and Korah TJ (2005).** FDI in India's Retail sector: More Bad than Good?, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 7, pp. 619–623.
- Jodhka SS (2010).** Dalits in business: Self employed scheduled castes in North West India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 45, No.11, pp. 41–48.
- Harris-White B (2009).** Globalisation, the financial crisis and petty production in India's socially regulated informal economy. *Global Labour Journal*, Vol. 1, No.1, pp. 152–177.
- Harvey D (1990).** Between space and time: Reflections on geographical imagination. *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 418–434.
- Harvey D (2010).** Right to city: From capital surplus to accumulation by dispossession. In: Guha-Bannerjee, ed. *Accumulation by Dispossession: Transformative Cities in the New Global Order*, Sage, New Delhi, pp. 17–32.
- Iyer L, Khanna T and Varshney A (2011).** Caste and entrepreneurship in India. Harvard Business School, Working paper 12-028 October.

India's Retail Trade Revolution: Socio Religious Dimensions of Employment
Loss and New Forms of Urban Exclusion

- Kalhan A (2007).** Impact of malls on small shops and hawkers. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 22, pp. 2063–2066.
- Kasarda DJ (1989).** Urban industrial transition and the underclass. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 501, No. 1, pp. 26–47.
- Nath GB (1994).** Flexibility of labour market: Theoretical approaches and empirical evidences from India. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 513–521.
- Nambissan GB (2009).** Exclusion and discrimination in schools: Experiences of dalit children. IIDS UNICEF Working Paper Series, Vol. 1, No.1.
- NCEUS (2007).** *Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganised Sector*, National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, August 2007, New Delhi.
- NSSO (2009–10).** Employment and unemployment. 66th Round, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, New Delhi, July 2009–June 2010.
- NSSO (2010–11).** Operational characteristics of unincorporated non-agricultural enterprises (excluding construction), in India. 67th Round, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, New Delhi, July 2010–June 2011.
- Prasad CB and Kumble M (2012).** To empower Dalits, do away with India's antiquated retail trading system. *The Times of India*, 5 December 2012.
- Reardon T, Timmer CP, Barrett CB and Berdegue J (2003).** The rise of supermarkets in Africa, Asia and Latin America. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. 85, No. 5, pp. 1140–1146.
- Sankaran K, Sinha S and Madhav R (2008).** Street vendors in India, Viewed on 17 June 2013 (http://wiego.org/sites/wiego.org/files/resources/files/sv_background_note.pdf)
- Sarkar A (2013).** Understanding FDI in retail. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 12–17.
- Singh S (2011).** FDI in retail: Misplaced expectations and half truths. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 51, pp. 13–16.
- Teltumbde A (2013).** FDI in retail and dalit entrepreneurs. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 10–11.
- Thorat S and Newman K (2007).** Caste and economic discrimination: causes, consequences and remedies. *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 13, 2007, pp. 4121–4124.
- Voyce M (2007).** Shopping malls in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 22, pp. 2055–2062.