Eurasian Research Unit
Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka

Nile – Eurasian International Journal of Humanities (NEIJH)

# The Impact of Social Background on Women's Participation in Urban Street Vending: A Study Based on Colombo Fort

**Salgamuwage Dinuka**

*Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka.*

**ARTICLE INFO**

***Article History***

*Received : 15 September 2026*
*Revised : 07 October 2026*
*Published : 23 October 2026*

***Keywords:***

*Urban Street Vending, Women's Participation, Informal Economy, Social Background, Gender And Livelihoods*

***Corresponding Author**

*Email: dinusalgamuwa@gmail.com*

***DOI:*** *10.68283/neijh.v1.i2.a03*

***How to cite:*** *Salgamuwage Dinuka (2026) 'The Impact of Social Background on Women's Participation in Urban Street Vending: A Study Based on Colombo Fort', Nile - Eurasian International Journal of Humanities, 1(2), pp. 27 – 40. https://doi.org/10.68283/neijh.v1.i2.a03*

**ABSTRACT**

Women's participation in urban street vending is closely connected to their social and economic circumstances, particularly within the informal economy of developing urban settings. This study examines the impact of social background on women's participation in urban street vending, with particular reference to female street vendors operating along First Cross Street and Second Cross Street in Colombo Fort, Sri Lanka. The study employed a qualitative research approach and selected 25 female street vendors purposively. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews and field observations and were analyzed using thematic analysis. The findings indicate that women's entry into street vending is strongly influenced by family economic difficulties, household responsibilities, limited livelihood opportunities, and other aspects of their social background. The study further reveals that women experience gender-based disadvantages in accessing and maintaining favorable vending spaces, as male vendors often exercise greater control over valuable locations. Customer bargaining, harassment, institutional regulations, raids, and the insecurity of vending spaces also shape women's everyday working experiences. At the same time, women demonstrate agency through social networks, mutual support, customer trust, personal trading strategies, and the use of social media to sustain their livelihoods. The findings highlight that street vending is often not a freely chosen occupation but an important survival strategy shaped by structural and social constraints. The study recommends a more supportive and gender-sensitive approach to urban street vending through secure vending spaces, appropriate regulatory mechanisms, financial and welfare support, social protection, childcare facilities, and mechanisms addressing gender-based violence. However, the study is limited by its qualitative design, the small sample of 25 women, and its focus on only two streets in Colombo Fort, which limits the generalizability of the findings. The study contributes to understanding how social background and gender relations shape women's participation and everyday experiences within Sri Lanka's urban informal economy.

## 1. Introduction

### *1.1. Background of the Study*

Urbanization, which is considered a process of urban population growth and long-term social change, is closely connected with every aspect of a country's social, economic, political, and cultural life. In other words, it can be identified as the concentration of populations and human activities in urban areas, along with the collective changes occurring in lifestyles, occupational patterns, social relationships, and economic activities. As Gotham and King point out, urbanization is a process that includes not only the physical, demographic, and economic growth of cities, but also the concentration of people and social activities within urban spaces of higher density. Accordingly, urbanization can be considered a broad social process that transforms people's daily lives and social relationships, rather than just an increase in buildings and roads. This multidimensional transformation alters the very fabric of human existence, redefining how individuals interact, how communities are structured, and how economic survival is negotiated within modern territorial limits.

Louis Wirth, who presented a sociological interpretation of urbanization, defines the city as a place characterized by size, population density, and social heterogeneity. The core idea of Wirth's seminal work, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," is that the city is not merely a physical space, but an environment that creates a distinct social lifestyle. He points out that because a large population, high population density, and individuals coming from diverse social backgrounds live in the same space, urban social relationships often take on a diverse, specialized, and temporary nature. Traditional primary-group solidarities are frequently replaced by secondary, utilitarian, and segmented interactions, which profoundly shape the psychological and social framework of urban dwellers.

This foundational sociological perspective is critically important in understanding urban economic activities such as street vending. In a city, individuals from various social backgrounds meet each other daily, and the relationships formed among them are not always based on family or kinship ties. When diverse social actors—such as consumers, vendors, employees, police officers, urban authorities, and formal business operators use the same urban space, interactions occur among various needs, competing interests, and divergent expectations. Therefore, urban space can also be identified as a dynamic arena where diverse economic and social needs meet one another, frequently resulting in both collaboration and structural conflict.

Especially with the continuous growth of the urban population, the demand for goods and services also expands exponentially. Along with this macroeconomic shift, space is created for the growth of formal business institutions as well as informal economic activities. Formal economic activities include registered businesses, organized institutions, and legal employment structures, whereas, relative to them, informal economic activities mostly take place on a small scale, with limited capital, and within a highly fluid and changing regulatory environment. Martha Chen (2012) points out that the informal economy should not simply be regarded as a collection of activities existing "outside the formal economy," but as a complex, heterogeneous field encompassing various types of businesses, non-standard occupations, and intricate labor relations that are deeply intertwined with the broader capitalist system.

The informal economy has become an important livelihood path for individuals with limited access to formal employment opportunities. Particularly, informal economic activities provide a crucial lifeline and an opportunity to earn an income for low-income families, disadvantaged individuals in the labor market, and marginal groups who find it difficult to obtain secure, long-term employment. Among such activities, forms of street vending, small-scale trading, home-based production, urban transport services, domestic services, and other diverse forms of self-employment can be easily identified. Therefore, the informal economy should not be considered an extra, transient, or insignificant part of the urban economy, but as an essential sector deeply connected to the daily economic functioning, reproduction, and sustenance of the city.

Among these diverse informal economic activities, street vending holds a special and highly visible place. Street vending is the activity of selling goods and services using roadsides, pavements, public spaces, areas associated with transport centers, or other municipal locations without depending on a permanent store, registered shop, or large business establishment. Street vendors contribute significantly to the urban economy by providing easily accessible, affordable goods to consumers in the city, while at the same time sustaining their own precarious livelihoods. As Bhowmik (2005) points out, while street vending provides vital livelihood opportunities for a large number of urban workers and marginalized populations, complex problems related to the contested use of public space, municipal regulation, and urban planning also arise concurrently alongside it.

Accordingly, street vending cannot be limited to the simple economic action of "selling a product." It consists of a multitude of complex social activities such as negotiating with consumers, bargaining on fluctuating prices, competing with other vendors for prime space, finding a suitable location for oneself, dealing with restrictive urban laws and regulations, and managing daily socio-economic risks. For this reason, when studying street vending scientifically, it is vital to take into account not only its narrow economic aspect, but also the broader social relationships, cultural negotiations, and underlying power structures within which it takes place.

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

Here, the participation of women in street vending is a matter that needs special sociological attention. Women's employment participation is often connected with family economic conditions,

responsibilities regarding children and family care, educational opportunities, available opportunities in the labor market, and prevailing social expectations. Due to structural limitations faced in obtaining formal employment or the pressing need to balance employment with unpaid domestic family responsibilities, informal employment forms may present a more practical, flexible alternative for some women. However, this flexibility does not mean that such informal employment provides them with complete financial security, legal protection, or a stable, predictable income.

As Chen (2012) further points out, the informal economy is intrinsically connected with gender, poverty, vulnerability, economic security, and social protection. Therefore, the experiences a woman faces when engaging in street vending may not be completely identical to the experiences of a male vendor. Consequently, it is necessary to examine the manner in which women's social status, family responsibilities, patriarchal pressures, and gender social norms affect their daily economic activities and survival strategies.

Urban public space is not a neutral space experienced in the same way by every individual. According to Wirth's classical ideas regarding urban society, due to the size, density, and diversity of the city, relationships among individuals become complex, and situations where different groups compete for the same scarce space may also arise. For women, this spatial situation can be even more complex and fraught with tension. A woman engaged in street vending may have to deal not only with demanding consumers, but also maintain delicate relationships with other vendors, protect her vulnerable physical position in public space, face aggressive institutional regulation, and fulfill her demanding family and domestic responsibilities as well. Therefore, the economic activity of women in street vending cannot be explained merely by the immediate need to earn an income. It is a deeply embedded process connected with family dynamics, gender hierarchies, social class, economic condition, social networks, and urban power structures.

Within the urban environment of Sri Lanka as well, informal economic activities have become an integral part of daily city life. Especially, the city of Colombo is a major urban center where commercial, administrative, transport, and service activities are largely concentrated. Due to the daily movement of people and diverse economic activities therein, a massive market for goods and services is continuously created. Within that environment, small-scale and informal trading activities exist alongside formal corporate business establishments, often creating a landscape of coexistence and friction.

Colombo Fort is an urban space to which special attention can be directed in this regard. This historical and commercial area, where commercial institutions, offices, major transport centers, service locations, and various consumer groups connect with one another,

creates an environment characterized by immense daily human mobility. Along with the urbanization process, in this area which currently has a high population density, street vending connects with consumer demand while also being able to create intensely competitive situations regarding the use of limited physical space. Within the street-vending environment of Colombo Fort, matters such as bargaining with consumers, competition with other vendors, relationships with formal business establishments, municipal urban regulation, and the use of public space are deeply interconnected. Here, vendors are constantly required to adapt to the environment in order to maintain their trading activities. Within such continuous adaptation, women's social status, family background, and gender relations can also be crucially important.

Accordingly, in this study, the concept of "social background" is used in a comprehensive and broad sense. Here, social background refers to factors such as family condition, economic background, social networks, gender relations, previous occupational experiences, relationships with consumers and other vendors, and the institutional environment. Since an individual's agency and the social structure in which he or she lives cannot be separated from one another, the activity of women in street vending can also be investigated as an interaction between these two parties. Within this background, it is important to sociologically examine the reasons why women enter street vending, the social and economic factors that influence them to stay in it, how their relationships with male vendors and consumers are constructed, how urban institutional regulation affects their livelihood, and what strategies they use to maintain their trading activities amidst such structural limitations.

Therefore, this study investigates street vending not as a mere method of earning an income, but as a complex social process where urban social relations, gender power relations, economic needs, institutional regulation, and individual agency meet one another. Especially, through the daily experiences of female street vendors in the Colombo Fort area, identifying the manner in which the urban social background shapes their economic activity is the primary focus of this research.

Accordingly, the primary research question of this study is: "What is the impact of social background on the participation of women in urban street vending?" In seeking answers to this main question, it was required to identify the manner in which women experience their daily trading environment, social relationships with consumers and male vendors, challenges faced in using public space, the manner in which institutional regulation and interventions affect their livelihood, and the strategies they use to

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

maintain their trading activities amidst those challenges. Furthermore, through this, the position of women in the urban informal economy was explained sociologically.

### *1.2 Theoretical Framework: Social Capital and Gendered Urban Space*

To deepen the sociological interpretation of social background, this study can be understood through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social capital. Social capital refers to resources that individuals can access through durable social relationships, networks and group membership (Bourdieu, 1986). In an urban informal economy, such resources may include information, trust, customer connections, assistance, protection and access to useful contacts. Social capital is therefore not distributed equally; people with stronger or more advantageous networks may be better able to secure information, space and support. Applied to the Colombo Fort context, this perspective helps interpret the study's findings concerning women's relationships with neighboring vendors, customers and nearby shops. The reported warning systems during police or municipal raids, temporary storage of goods, mutual assistance and customer trust can be understood as practical forms of social capital. At the same time, the study's accounts of male vendors' stronger spatial positions and broader networks indicate that gendered power relations can affect who is able to convert social relationships into economic and spatial advantages. The framework therefore connects family background, gender, networks, urban space and livelihood strategies without treating women's participation as a purely individual economic choice.

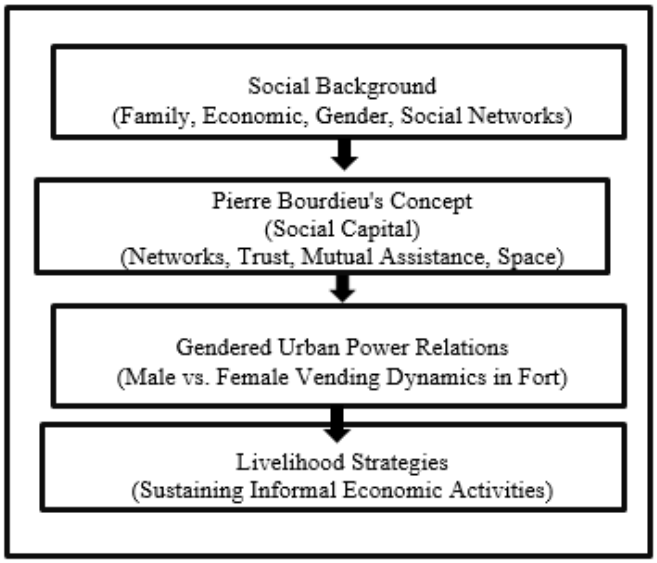



*Figure 1: Conceptual Framework illustrating the link between Social Background, Social Capital, and Gendered Urban Space in Street Vending*

### *1.3 Research Problem*

Gender has been interpreted in various ways within social discourse. In particular, society has established expected behaviors and activities for women and men, which have become socially accepted norms. However, amidst contemporary social transformation processes, due to existing changes, society has increasingly recognized the importance of providing women with opportunities equivalent to those available to men. As a result, a growing trend of women engaging in the economic process has been observed in contemporary society. A majority of women who have attained educational stability commonly tend to move towards new employment opportunities and integrate into the formal economic process. Nevertheless, the majority of women who are unable to properly access formal economic opportunities have turned towards informal economic activities, thereby building the necessary background to sustain their daily lives.

Informal economic activities can be simply understood as economic undertakings operated at an individual or small-scale level without being subjected to governmental legal regulations, taxation systems, and official statistical documentation. Hernando de Soto, who was engaged in a study in Peru, highlighted his experiences by pointing out that: *"The informal economy, on this definition, consists of enterprises which are 'outside of the law'. Because under Peruvian conditions the registration of a business enterprise is enormously time-consuming, costly and confusing, enterprises remain 'outside of the law'. Remaining 'outside of the law', in turn, results in considerable costs and inaccessibility to resources. Further, it also appears that there is a hostility to informal enterprises in Peru and that they are harassed"* (de Soto, 1989).

The city of Colombo, which covers a land area of 3,733 square kilometers, is administratively divided into 6 administrative districts and 47 divisions for administrative convenience (Census Statistics, 2001). Alongside urbanization, population growth, and the influx of people migrating to the city in search of employment opportunities in Colombo, informal economic activities have expanded parallel to the formal sector. Among these, street vending has become an important economic activity for the livelihoods of the urban population. Particularly, street vending in areas associated with Colombo Fort and Pettah is closely connected with the daily economic activities of the city. Street vendors in the Pettah area contribute to the urban economy while utilizing public spaces for their livelihoods (Nisansala & Bandusena, 2020).

However, street vending can be regarded not only as an economic activity for earning income, but also as a social process intertwined with individuals' social backgrounds, family relationships, educational levels, economic status, social networks, and gender social relationships. Particularly when women become involved in street vending, their social

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

background can exert significant influences on their entry into the business, the maintenance of the enterprise, the establishment of relationships with consumers, and the utilization of urban public space.

Furthermore, women engaged in street vending may have to confront conditions such as the absence of a stable vending location, instability of income, regulations imposed by urban authorities, the influence and dominance of male vendors,

interactions with customers, and heavy family responsibilities. Studies on street vendors in Sri Lanka have similarly identified problems related to location, infrastructure, financial facilities, and institutional support (Karunaratna & Tjandra, 2021). Accordingly, it appears that the participation and activity of women in street vending are determined not solely by their personal preferences, but also, to a certain extent, on the social environment in which they live and the social and economic resources at their disposal.

Particularly within a highly mobile urban space such as Colombo Fort, matters such as acquiring space for trade, attracting customers, dealing with male vendors, and conducting trading activities in accordance with urban laws and regulations may vary according to women's social backgrounds. Therefore, it is important to investigate whether the involvement of women in street vending is merely an economic necessity or a process shaped by their social background. Consequently, this study sociologically examines the research problem: **"What is the impact of social background on the participation of women in urban street vending?".**

### *1.4 Research Objectives*

**Main Objective**

To sociologically analyze the impact of the urban social background on the business survival and participation of female street vendors in the Colombo Fort area.

**Specific Objectives**

1. To identify the social and physical background of the street-vending environment in the Colombo Fort area.
2. To investigate the manner in which the urban social environment affects the daily street-vending activities of women.
3. To examine the interactions existing among female vendors, consumers, and male vendors.
4. To identify the primary challenges experienced by female street vendors.
5. To identify the strategies utilized by female vendors to sustain their economic activities.
6. To identify the measures that can be taken to strengthen women's participation in urban street vending.

### *1.5 Research Questions*

1. What is the impact of social background on the participation of women in urban street vending?
2. How do consumer interactions and bargaining processes affect female vendors?
3. How do police and municipal council regulations affect the livelihoods of female vendors?
4. What are the primary economic, social, and family-related challenges experienced by female vendors?
5. What strategies do female vendors utilize to sustain their businesses?

### *1.6 Research Methodology*

This study, titled "The Impact of Social Background on the Participation of Women in Urban Street Vending: A Study Based on Colombo Fort," employed a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research methodology is defined as the in-depth study of human experiences, behaviors, attitudes, and social phenomena without relying solely on statistics or quantitative data. Accordingly, in gathering data for this research under the qualitative research approach, the case study method was utilized as the research strategy. Data were collected through observation and semi-structured interviews from female vendors engaged in street vending and consumers who purchase goods within the study area of Colombo Fort.

To ensure methodological rigor and data reliability, interviews were conducted until **data saturation** was reached meaning the point at which no new substantive themes, information, or insights emerged from the participants. Each semi-structured interview lasted for an **average duration** of 45 to 60 minutes, allowing for an in-depth exploration of the participants lived experiences and socio-economic challenges. Furthermore, strict **ethical considerations** were maintained throughout the research process. Prior to conducting the interviews', informed consent was verbally and formally obtained from all participants, ensuring they understood the study's purpose and their right to withdraw at any time. To protect participant confidentiality and ensure strict anonymity, pseudonyms or generalized identifiers were used in place of the participants' real names when reporting empirical findings.

Furthermore, in collecting data for this research, it was necessary to organize the process in a formal and systematic manner. Consequently, to successfully complete the research, it was required to employ a data analysis method, for which the thematic analysis approach was utilized. The thematic analysis method is a process of identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within qualitative data. Through this analytical method,

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

a deep understanding of the scope of the study can be attained. Thus, thematic analysis was applied to analyze the data for the study on the impact of social background on the participation of women in urban street vending, with a specific focus on Colombo Fort.

### *1.7 Study Area and Sample*

Colombo Fort, recognized as a major city holding historical significance, serves as a central hub that plays a fundamental role in achieving commercial and financial stability in Sri Lanka (Central Bank, 2023, p. 45). As an area where street vending is prevalent, it makes a significant contribution to fulfilling the daily needs of the hundreds of thousands of people who commute to the city daily for employment at affordable prices (Wijesooriya, 2019, p. 112). Street vending is operated along railway stations, bus stands, and main roads, as well as side roads and cross streets, which consequently generates urban congestion and a multitude of issues.

Accordingly, it is evident that the Colombo Fort area is a location where street vending is extensively practiced. Among the entire population living and subsisting on street vending as their daily livelihood within this area, both male and female individuals are present. Therefore, for this research, street vendors operating in the Second Cross Street and First Cross Street areas of Colombo Fort were selected. Using a non-probability sampling technique, specifically purposive/judgmental sampling, 25 female vendors whose characteristics closely aligned with the objectives of the study were selected for the research.

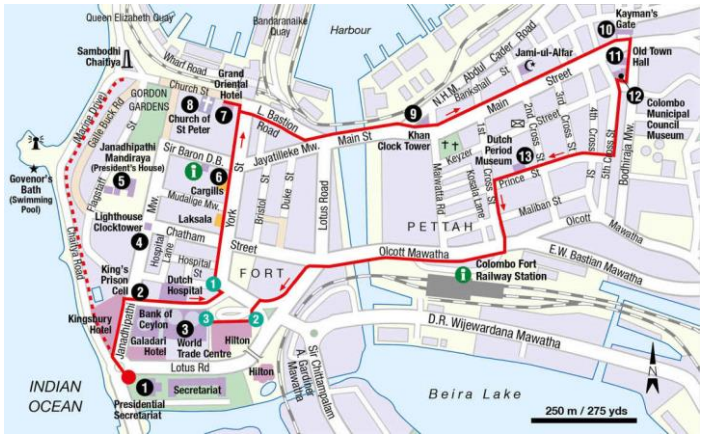



*Figure 2: Study Location - Colombo Fort (First and Second Cross Streets*

*Source : Lonely Planet Sri Lanka (Travel Guide) (2015) Colombo fort and Pettah*

## 2. Literature Review

Street vending within the urban informal economy is a distinctive and essential socio-economic phenomenon in developing countries. Existing literature broadly examines this sector through structural, spatial, and gendered dimensions, providing a foundation for understanding the complexities of informal livelihoods.

A prominent theme in contemporary scholarship centers on the relationship between street vending, urban public space, and institutional regulations. Scholars such as Bhowmik (2005), in a comprehensive review of Asian cities, emphasize that street vendors are vital economic actors who provide essential livelihoods for low-income populations, rather than mere disruptions to urban order. Expanding on this, Roever and Skinner (2016), drawing on multi-city survey data across five cities, highlight that job insecurity, public space contestation, municipal harassment, and goods confiscation heavily penalize vendors' assets and daily earnings. These studies collectively establish that urban policies and powerful institutional actors play a decisive role in shaping the operational environment of street vendors, often marginalizing their economic contributions in urban planning.

Intersecting with spatial and regulatory challenges, a growing body of literature underscores the profound gender dimensions embedded within informal market dynamics. Recent studies by Panicker and Sekher (2026) in Chennai and Hassan and Jafree (2025) in Pakistan reveal that female street vendors face heightened economic and social vulnerabilities compared to their male counterparts. These researchers demonstrate that patriarchal social structures, domestic responsibilities, and unequal power relations restrict women's access to prime vending locations, with male vendors frequently exercising greater spatial control due to larger capital and robust social networks. Furthermore, female vendors navigate compounded challenges, including financial instability, workplace harassment, safety concerns, and work-family conflicts, often operating within inadequate institutional and social protection frameworks (Hassan and Jafree, 2025; Panicker and Sekher, 2026).

At the local level, micro-dynamics of urban sociability and spatial interactions further shape the realities of street vending. Recent empirical insights from Sri Lanka by Wanigasinghe and Meetiyagoda (2026), focusing on Ragama town, demonstrate that street vendors are active contributors to the social fabric and spatial relationships of the city, whose interactions fluctuate across time and location through mutual support, conflict, and community attachment.

Despite the breadth of existing research addressing the economic nature of street vending, regulatory pressures, and general gender vulnerabilities, critical gaps remain. While prior studies offer macro-level perspectives on urban informal markets or broader gender inequalities, localized investigations focusing on how the specific **social background** of female street vendors shapes their daily livelihood activities, space appropriation, and coping strategies within an intensely competitive, high-density

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

urban commercial hub like **Colombo Fort** remains relatively limited.

Therefore, bridging these theoretical and contextual gaps, this study investigates how the intersection of social background, gender relations, and institutional constraints influences the participation and everyday lived experiences of female street vendors along First and Second Cross Streets in Colombo Fort.

## 3. Data Analysis and Findings

The following findings are based on qualitative interviews conducted with 25 women engaged in street vending in the areas surrounding First Cross Street and Second Cross Street in Colombo Fort, together with field observations. The collected data were analyzed using thematic analysis. The major findings are presented under the following themes.

### *3.1 Socio-Economic and Demographic Profile of Female Street Vendors*

To understand the background of the 25 female street vendors surveyed in Colombo Fort (First and Second Cross Streets), key demographic and economic variables were analyzed and summarized in **Table 1** below, presenting the frequency distribution of the respondents.

**Table 1: Socio-Economic and Vending Characteristics of the Respondents ($N = 25$)**

| Demographic / Economic Variable | Category / Range | Frequency (n) |
|---|---|---|
| **Age Group** | 20 – 30 years | 4 |
| | 31 – 45 years | 11 |
| | 46 – 60 years | 7 |
| | Above 60 years | 3 |
| **Daily Income (LKR)** | Below 1,500 LKR | 6 |
| | 1,500 – 3,000 LKR | 12 |
| | Above 3,000 LKR | 7 |
| **Type of Goods Sold** | Betel, Cigarettes, & Confectionery | 10 |
| | Fruits & Vegetables | 8 |
| | Clothes, Bags, & Fancy Items | 7 |
| **Duration of Vending Experience** | Less than 5 years | 5 |
| | 5 – 10 years | 12 |
| | More than 10 years | 8 |

*Source: study area,2026*

Regarding the **age distribution**, the majority of the vendors fall within the 31 to 45 age categories, indicating that middle-aged women predominantly shoulder family economic responsibilities through informal trading. Older women (above 60 years) account for a smaller portion, showing that economic pressures compel them to continue working even at an advanced age.

In terms of **daily income**, findings reveal a precarious financial condition. Nearly half of the respondents earn a daily income ranging between 1,500 LKR and 3,000 LKR, while a notable group earns below 1,500 LKR. This fluctuating and low income highlights the economic vulnerability emphasized in the theoretical framework.

Furthermore, regarding the **goods sold**, vendors are primarily engaged in selling fast-moving retail items such as betel leaves, cigarettes, snacks, fruits, vegetables, and clothing items. Most respondents have maintained their vending activities for 5 to 10 years, demonstrating long-term reliance on street vending despite spatial and municipal challenges in Colombo Fort.

### *3.2 Reasons for Women's Entry into Street Vending and the Influence of Family Background*

A significant proportion of the women who participated in the study had entered street vending due to severe economic difficulties and the responsibility of maintaining their families. Factors such as unstable income earned by husbands, abandonment by husbands, divorce, and long-term illness were identified as major family-related circumstances that pushed these women towards the informal economy.

One participant, a 45-year-old woman engaged in vending on Second Cross Street, explained her experience as follows:

***"After my husband became ill and was confined to bed, I had no other way to feed my three children. At first, I learned to make doormats. But because I did not have enough money, I could not properly buy the materials needed to make them. That was when I started this business. Initially, I bought hair clips at low prices and resold them. There was not much profit, and it was not enough to look after my three children and my husband. Later, I started selling earrings and necklaces, and now I also sell cosmetics. Although I started all of this without any proper foundation or capital, this is now the only resource that keeps our lives going."***

Two further case studies also confirm this situation. Case Study 03 concerns a 38-year-old woman selling clothing and fashion accessories on First Cross Street. After her husband abandoned her without providing financial support, she became the sole caretaker of her two children. Due to limited educational opportunities and the absence of stable employment, she initially worked as a domestic worker in a doctor's household. When the doctor migrated abroad, she lost her employment. She subsequently borrowed money at interest from an individual and, together with a friend who had sewing skills, began producing clothes and bringing them to the street market for sale.

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

She explained:

***"I have three children. One of them sat for the scholarship examination this year, my elder son is in Grade 10, and my younger daughter is in Grade 1. My husband left with another woman from his village. I was living in my husband's parents' house, but eventually they asked me to leave. I had no money to rent a place. Later, my elder aunt gave me a place to stay because she had nobody else. Now I need money to educate my children, and I do everything through this business. My friend is also a great support. She sews the clothes, I bring them here and sell them, and then we share the profit."***

Case Study 04 concerns a 52-year-old woman selling small bags and school supplies on Second Cross Street. Her husband suffered from heart disease and kidney disease, resulting in the complete collapse of the family's main source of income. She subsequently travelled from her village to the city and initially began selling incense sticks using the small amount of money she possessed. She later sold fruits and eventually purchased bags in bulk and started selling them on a small scale as a street vendor.

These cases demonstrate that women's entry into street vending was less a voluntary occupational choice than a **survival strategy** that emerged in response to disruptions in family economic structures. This finding is also consistent with Hassan and Jafree (2025), who found that women in Pakistan entered informal trading in response to poverty and family responsibilities.

### *3.3 Challenges of Spatial Appropriation and Gender Power Relations within the Urban Space of Colombo Fort*

First Cross Street and Second Cross Street in Colombo Fort constitute highly congested commercial spaces visited by a very large number of people every day. Obtaining a suitable location for vending within this physical environment is not an easy task. According to the research data, women vendors face greater difficulties than male vendors in obtaining favorable locations, particularly areas close to major intersections and locations with high pedestrian traffic.

A significant finding was that male vendors tend to control more favorable vending spaces because of their wider social networks, physical strength and relationships with organized groups operating in the area. Consequently, women vendors frequently occupy marginal locations, including corners and less commercially advantageous sections of pavements.

One participant explained:

***"We cannot properly do business in many places here because the men have already occupied those spaces. They come early in the morning, and even on days when they are not there, we cannot sell in those places. Business is better near the roadside, but we are usually further inside. Even getting these places is very difficult, and doing business here is also difficult. Some male vendors say all sorts of things even when we sell goods at lower prices. There is another vendor near me who sells the same products. Because he sells bedsheets at a higher price, many customers buy them from me at a lower price. Even then, he shouts at me and says that we are causing losses by selling at lower prices."***

This finding is consistent with Panicker and Sekher's (2026) study of Chennai, which found that patriarchal social relations influence the way public space is appropriated by street vendors and that women tend to experience more restricted and vulnerable access to urban space.

Thus, the findings of the present study demonstrate that urban space is not socially neutral. Gender relations, social networks and power relations influence who can occupy favorable vending locations and who must operate from marginal spaces.

### *3.4 Customer Interactions and the Dynamics of Price Bargaining*

Street vending is a space characterized by continuous social interaction. In their dealings with customers, women vendors gendered social identities and prevailing social norms influence their business activities. The study found that customers, particularly male customers, exert considerable pressure on women vendors during price negotiations.

A 46-year-old woman selling plastic goods on Second Cross Street stated:

***"Some customers come and ask for the goods at very low prices and then leave. Especially men come and say, 'Sister, I cannot pay that much for these things. Give it to me for less,' and they bargain a lot. Sometimes I have to sell things even at a loss. Some people also try to touch me when they are buying things and try to take advantage of me because I am a woman. They sometimes use inappropriate words. But there are also customers who come to buy from me whenever they come to Fort. I give those customers goods at a lower price."***

The findings therefore indicate that some customers attempt to use women vendors perceived softness or politeness to obtain goods at lower prices. In some cases, women also experience verbal harassment and uncomfortable behavior. At the same time, women vendors have developed loyal customer bases through trust, friendliness and sociability.

This demonstrates that customer interaction has a dual character. On the one hand, it can create vulnerability through bargaining, harassment and gender-based behavior; on the other hand,

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

positive interpersonal relationships can become an important resource for sustaining a business

### *3.5 Municipal Regulation, Police Intervention and Everyday Insecurity*

Urban regulation in Colombo Fort is experienced as strict and controlling by the women engaged in street vending. Public health inspectors, municipal authorities and police officers conduct raids and operations, often treating street vending as an illegal activity or as an obstruction to urban space. Although male vendors may also experience these forms of regulation, the difficulties and psychosocial pressures experienced by women vendors are particularly significant.

Urban space is also a field of gendered power struggles. Consequently, the implementation of state and institutional authority can have gendered consequences. When police officers or municipal officials arrive suddenly for inspections or raids, women vendors often lack the physical strength, speed and preparedness required to quickly remove or hide their goods. This is particularly difficult for women who are caring for young children and who depend on street vending as their only source of household income.

As a result, women face a significant risk of having their goods confiscated by municipal authorities. Roever and Skinner (2016) similarly demonstrate that harassment and confiscation can seriously undermine the limited capital and savings of street vendors.

One 47-year-old woman selling jewellery and fashion accessories on Second Cross Street stated:

***"Some days we do not even have time to breathe. Suddenly a police jeep arrives, or municipal trucks come. They shout that we have to take our goods away because the roads are being blocked. The young men can lift their bags and run away with them, but I cannot carry goods like that. I also have pain in my legs all the time. Sometimes the municipal officers come and behave aggressively towards us women, and we become helpless. I borrowed money from a neighbor with interest to buy my goods. I am afraid because if I do not sell, how am I going to repay the debt? When I think about how I will feed my children, I feel that life itself is unbearable. Sometimes what we are doing may be against the law, but we do not have the money to build shops. We are not selling stolen goods either. If that is the case, we should be given a permit. We cannot continue to sell like this forever. If we had the ability to conduct large-scale businesses, would we be selling in these poor conditions?"***

This case study clearly illustrates the everyday insecurity experienced by women street vendors under strict regulatory policies and frequent raids. Their experiences suggest that regulation intended to maintain urban order and cleanliness can further marginalize women working within the informal economy. It can also intensify gender-based economic inequality.

### *3.6 Conflict between Family Life and Occupational Life: Work–Family Conflict*

Another highly significant and complex challenge faced by women street vendors is the continuous conflict between domestic responsibilities and occupational activities. Within a patriarchal social structure, childcare, cooking, household maintenance and caring for other family members are often socially understood as primarily women's responsibilities. The necessity of engaging in street vending within a highly competitive urban environment such as Colombo Fort therefore creates a significant struggle for these women.

The women participating in the study reported completing household responsibilities such as preparing children for school and preparing breakfast before leaving home early in the morning. They then spend approximately 10 to 12 hours a day vending on pavements while being exposed to intense sunlight, dust and noise. After returning home in the evening, they receive little opportunity for rest and must again perform household responsibilities at night.

From a sociological perspective, this can be understood through the concept of the **"dual burden"**, whereby women simultaneously engage in productive labor and reproductive labor. This combination places considerable physical and psychological pressure on women. In addition to economic insecurity, fear of police raids and municipal harassment, women continue to carry the majority of domestic labor. The study associates these conditions with chronic health problems, joint pain, high blood pressure and serious psychological distress.

A 44-year-old woman selling small glassware, household items and accessories on First Cross Street explained:

***"My day starts at around 3.30 in the morning. I sweep the house, cook breakfast, help my small child with schoolwork and do everything at home before coming to Fort. By the time I arrive, it is past 8.30 in the morning. Then I stay in the sun and sell goods until night. When I return home in the evening, there is still endless work. My husband stays at home drinking, and I have to do everything. I have to educate the children and pay the house rent. My body is now in a lot of pain, and both my knees hurt. But I cannot stay at home because I am sick. If I do not get up and work, there is nobody to feed us."***

This case demonstrates the difficult lived realities of women involved in urban street vending. The combination of gender-based inequality in the division of labor within the family and

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

insecurity within the urban informal economy places women's human rights, health and well-being at considerable risk.

### *3.7 Impact of Domestic Violence and Alcohol Consumption on Household Economy*

Another major social problem affecting women street vendors is the excessive consumption of alcohol by husbands and the domestic violence that may result from it. Within patriarchal family structures, when male household members fail to fulfil their responsibilities and spend even their limited income on alcohol, women become the primary or sole providers for the family. After spending the day dealing with the difficulties of street vending, some women return home only to face verbal and physical violence associated with their husbands' alcohol consumption.

A 40-year-old woman working on First Cross Street stated:

***"I spend the whole day in the sun and work hard to earn money, but at night my husband drinks and demands half of the money while beating me. He takes away even the little money we have to feed the children and spends it on alcohol. If I object, I get beaten. I do not come onto the street and work hard because I want to live comfortably. I do it to prevent my child from going hungry. But the cruel treatment I receive when I go home has made me feel as though I am losing my mind."***

This case study demonstrates that women working within the urban informal economy may be exposed to psychosocial pressure and violence not only in the external social environment but also within their own households. From a sociological perspective, gender-based domestic violence restricts women's economic independence and becomes a major factor undermining their psychological well-being.

### *3.8 Occupational Health and Safety Hazards*

Street vending is a highly vulnerable form of labor in which workers generally lack formal occupational safety protections. Women vendors spend many hours on pavements in areas such as Colombo Fort, where traffic congestion and air pollution are significant. Consequently, they face a range of health-related difficulties. Exposure to vehicle emissions, dust, intense sunlight and rain can contribute to breathing difficulties, asthma, skin problems, frequent headaches and chronic joint pain. Remaining in the same posture for long periods, either standing or sitting on the ground, also affects their physical health.

A 42-year-old woman selling bags and toys on Second Cross Street stated:

***"We stay by the roadside all day, being burned by the sun and breathing in vehicle smoke. When it rains, there is nowhere for us to run, and our goods get wet and we suffer losses. The veins in my legs have become swollen, and my legs swell during the day. I do not even have money to go and get medicine. If I stop working for one day, there is nobody to feed us that day. We have no insurance. If we become sick, our lives become helpless."***

This case demonstrates that women working within the urban informal economy continue their livelihoods without adequate occupational health protection. The absence of state or institutional welfare mechanisms increases their vulnerability and creates long-term risks to their livelihoods and well-being.

### *3.9 Debt Trap and the Influence of Microfinance and Informal Credit*

Another serious challenge is women vendors' dependence on informal credit mechanisms to obtain initial business capital and meet daily household expenses. The absence of collateral and formal documentation required by banks and formal financial institutions often limits their access to formal credit. Consequently, some women depend on individuals who provide money at high daily or weekly interest rates and on informal microfinance networks.

When goods are confiscated during municipal raids or daily income declines, vendors may be unable to make their repayments on time. This can push them further into a **"debt trap."**

A 43-year-old woman selling clothing on First Cross Street explained:

***"I borrowed twenty thousand rupees from someone who lends money at daily interest to start my business. I have to pay 150 rupees in interest every day. Even when there is no business because of rain, I somehow have to make that payment. If I cannot pay for one day, the interest doubles. When I could no longer repay the loan, I borrowed money from another person to settle the first loan. Now I am living under a mountain of debt. I cannot even sleep at night because of these debt problems."***

This case study clearly demonstrates how financial insecurity and high-interest informal lending mechanisms expose women vendors to continuous economic and psychological pressure. A significant proportion of their limited income may consequently be absorbed by interest payments, making it difficult for them to escape persistent poverty.

### *3.10 Social Networks and Mutual Support*

Despite the various challenges, regulatory pressures and patriarchal influences experienced within street vending, strong

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

social networks and mutual support among women vendors were identified as important resources for survival.

Women operating in the same area or nearby locations assist one another during emergencies, provide financial or material support and share information about police or municipal raids. Wanigasinghe and Meetiyagoda (2026) similarly highlight the importance of sociability, social support and emotional connections among street vendors within urban spaces.

A 50-year-old woman vending on Second Cross Street stated:

***"Rich people do not help us. When the police come, it is the woman selling next to me who tells me first. If I do not have change, I get it from the person over there and continue my business. We help each other when we are in difficulty. Otherwise, we could not survive in Colombo."***

### *3.11 Customer Trust and Ethical Business Relationships*

This case demonstrates that, in the absence of sufficient state or institutional support, women vendors rely heavily on self-organized social networks and mutual assistance to maintain their livelihoods within the urban informal economy.

Despite operating within a highly competitive urban environment and lacking substantial capital or large retail establishments, women vendors have been able to maintain loyal customer bases through honesty, trust and friendly relationships with customers. Their daily interactions with office workers, teachers and members of the general public, together with their practice of offering goods at reasonable prices, encourage customers to return to them.

A 39-year-old woman selling cosmetics on First Cross Street stated:

***"The quality of my goods is good. I never lie to customers when selling my products. I speak to them very kindly. That is why many people who come to Fort do not go to other places; they come looking for me and buy from me. Some customers tell me, 'Sister, it is because of the way you talk to us that we always buy from you.' That trust is the strength of my business."***

This case demonstrates that even under economically marginal conditions, women vendors use interpersonal skills, honesty and ethical relationships with customers to establish an identity and a dignified position within the urban market.

### *3.12 Personal Trading Strategies of Women Street Vendors*

In response to the spatial advantages, physical strength and organizational networks often available to male vendors, women street vendors employ distinctive personal trading strategies to sustain their everyday businesses. Despite limited capital, municipal regulatory pressure and challenges posed by customers, women use strategies based on their social and gendered experiences.

One of the main strategies identified was the use of soft communication and interpersonal rapport to attract customers. By developing emotional and interpersonal relationships with customers, women vendors are able to convert some customers into regular customers.

Women also diversify the products they sell according to consumer demand rather than purchasing large quantities of a single product. They sell fashion accessories, cosmetics and every day-use items in small quantities and adapt their product range according to demand. They also demonstrate flexibility by temporarily changing locations to reach office workers and female customers. Mutual exchange of goods and cooperation with other women vendors were also identified as important strategies.

Furthermore, when police or municipal raids occur, women rely on informal warning systems established with neighboring vendors. They also maintain trusted relationships with nearby shops where goods can temporarily be stored during emergencies. These relationships become important survival strategies within the unstable urban vending environment.

A 41-year-old woman selling different types of footwear on First Cross Street explained:

***"We do not have large shops or financial power. Therefore, we have to run our business very intelligently. I come onto the street, speak properly to my customers and give them products that appeal to them at reasonable prices. Unlike men, we cannot shout loudly to sell our goods, so I use my smile and kind words to maintain a regular group of customers. When the police come, the woman next to me gives me a signal with her eyes. I quickly put my goods into a bag and keep them in the corner of a nearby shop. These are the secrets of our survival."***

This case demonstrates that despite the significant barriers and challenges within the urban informal economy, women vendors actively attempt to sustain their economic participation through social skills, flexibility and carefully developed personal strategies.

In addition, the study found that many women vendors use the internet and social media for business purposes. Some vendors post photographs and videos of the products they sell on social media platforms, thereby attracting customers.

A 32-year-old participant selling clothing explained:

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

***"I sell clothes and post online videos saying that I do my business near Aslam's. Many people watch those videos and come to buy clothes because my prices are affordable. They also comment that my products are good. Because my prices are reasonable, I have a group of regular customers."***

Overall, the qualitative study conducted in Colombo Fort demonstrates that women's participation in urban street vending is not merely motivated by the pursuit of economic profit. Rather, it functions primarily as a necessary survival strategy that emerges in response to family economic breakdown and poverty. Women face numerous challenges, including patriarchal power relations within public spaces, legal and regulatory pressures, sexual and verbal harassment, and the domestic "dual burden." Nevertheless, they continue to establish their identities and maintain a dignified livelihood within the urban informal economy through mutual social networks, customer trust, and carefully developed trading strategies.

## 4. Discussion

Taken together, the findings show that women's participation in street vending is shaped by the interaction of structural constraints and individual agency. The women described entry into vending in relation to family economic difficulties, limited formal employment opportunities and household responsibilities. Their participation should therefore be interpreted within the wider social conditions that structure available livelihood choices rather than as an isolated individual decision.

From the perspective of social capital, the findings demonstrate that relationships function as practical livelihood resources. Women rely on neighboring vendors for warnings about police or municipal interventions, exchange goods and small forms of assistance, and maintain relationships with nearby shops for temporary storage. Customer trust also becomes an economic resource. These networks do not remove structural inequality, but they help women manage insecurity and convert social relationships into everyday survival strategies (Bourdieu, 1986).
The findings also indicate that access to urban space is gendered. The experiences described in the manuscript suggest that male vendors can possess advantages through stronger networks, greater investment and more favorable spatial positions, while women may be pushed toward less advantageous locations. This supports the wider literature on gendered space appropriation and shows why social background must be examined together with gender and institutional power.

Vulnerability extends beyond the vending site. Work–family conflict, domestic violence, occupational hazards and high-interest debt overlap with the insecurity of informal work. The study therefore contributes to an understanding of informal livelihoods as embedded in family relations, gender norms, financial institutions and urban regulation.
The Colombo Fort setting is especially significant because transport flows, formal businesses, consumers, municipal authorities and informal vendors converge within a highly competitive urban environment. The contribution of this case study lies in showing how social background acquires practical meaning in such a setting: family resources influence entry into vending, networks provide information and support, gender relations shape access to space, and institutional regulation affects the security of livelihood resources.

These findings have direct policy implications. Urban authorities can strengthen livelihood security by creating transparent and accessible vending arrangements, reducing arbitrary confiscation, improving registration mechanisms, and providing appropriate support for women with childcare and occupational-health needs. Financial services and social-protection measures should also recognize the specific vulnerabilities of women working in informal urban economies.

## 5. Conclusions

This study sociologically examined how the urban social background impacts the participation of women engaged in street vending in the First and Second Cross Streets of Colombo Fort. The major conclusions of the study can be summarized as follows.

First, women's participation in street vending is less a voluntarily selected occupation than a **survival strategy** developed in response to family economic breakdown, poverty and limited access to formal employment.

Second, within a competitive urban space such as Colombo Fort, patriarchal social relations and the dominance of male vendors strongly influence women's ability to appropriate and maintain vending spaces. Consequently, women are often restricted to marginal and less advantageous locations.

Third, strict regulatory practices implemented by urban authorities and the police, together with the confiscation of goods, undermine women's already limited capital and place them in a condition of continuous insecurity.

Fourth, women experience a **dual burden** while attempting to balance domestic responsibilities with their occupational activities in the urban market. This produces considerable physical and psychological stress.

Fifth, verbal and sexual harassment from customers, husbands' alcohol consumption, domestic violence and the absence of occupational health protection significantly undermine the physical and psychological well-being of women vendors.

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

Sixth, because of limited access to formal financial facilities, many women depend on high-interest lenders and informal credit mechanisms, exposing them to severe **debt traps**.

Nevertheless, despite these social, economic and psychosocial challenges, women vendors have demonstrated significant agency. They rely on mutual social networks, customer trust and carefully developed personal trading strategies to maintain their livelihoods and establish an identity and dignified position within the urban informal economy.

## 6. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are proposed to reduce the challenges faced by women street vendors and strengthen their economic and social participation.

1) **Establishment of a Legal and Formal Framework;** Instead of completely criminalizing street vending, municipal authorities should establish an appropriate registration system through which vendors can obtain official licenses. Such a framework would provide women street vendors with greater legal protection and reduce their vulnerability to arbitrary harassment and confiscation.

2) **Allocation of Appropriate Vending Spaces;** Specific vending zones or dedicated vending spaces should be identified and allocated for women street vendors in areas such as Colombo Fort. These locations should be safe, accessible and sufficiently attractive to customers so that women can conduct their businesses without being forced into highly marginal spaces.

3) **Expansion of Financial and Welfare Facilities;** To reduce women vendors' dependence on high-interest informal lenders and debt traps, low-interest microfinance facilities and formal savings mechanisms should be introduced. Such financial support should be designed to meet the actual circumstances of informal workers.

4) **Social Protection, Health and Childcare Facilities;** Social protection mechanisms should be developed for women street vendors. Day-care centers for their children, health insurance schemes and occupational health and safety programs should be introduced to address the health and family-related vulnerabilities identified in the study.
5) **A Humanitarian Approach by Authorities and Police;** Municipal officials and police officers should receive awareness and training programs concerning the livelihood realities of street vendors. During inspections, raids and confiscations, humanitarian approaches should be adopted, and unnecessary harassment and intimidation should be minimized.
6) **Mechanisms to Address Gender-Based Violence;** Mechanisms should be established to provide legal advice and psychosocial support to women experiencing sexual and verbal harassment from customers and other external actors.
7) Support mechanisms should also be available for women experiencing domestic violence. Counselling and legal assistance can help women respond to gender-based violence while strengthening their economic and social security.

## 7. Limitation of the Study

Several limitations were encountered during the study.

1) The research was limited to 25 women engaged in street vending along First Cross Street and Second Cross Street in Colombo Fort. Therefore, the findings cannot be directly generalized to the entire urban street-vending community of Sri Lanka.
2) Street vending is a constantly changing, mobile and legally unstable environment. Some vendors appeared to experience a degree of uncertainty or fear when providing information during interviews, and this may have influenced the data-collection process.
3) Due to time and resource limitations, the study relied primarily on a qualitative research approach. It was therefore not possible to incorporate extensive quantitative data.

Finally, the study focused primarily on women's participation in street vending. Future research could conduct a comparative study of male and female street vendors to identify gender differences more systematically. Since urban regulations also change over time, future research could further investigate how changing regulatory practices influence the livelihoods and survival strategies of street vendors.

## References

1. Bhowmik, S.K. (2005) 'Street vendors in Asia: A review', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(22/23), pp. 2256–2264.

2. Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The forms of capital', in Richardson, J.G. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood, pp. 241–258.

3. Chen, M.A. (2012) *The Informal Economy: Definitions, Theories and Policies*. WIEGO Working Paper No. 1. Manchester: Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO).

4. Department of Census and Statistics (2001) *Census of Population and Housing – 2001*. Colombo: Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka.

© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved 

5. de Soto, H. (1989) *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*. New York: Harper & Row.

6. Hassan, R. and Jafree, S.R. (2025) 'Empowered by survival: Women street vendors in Pakistan's informal patriarchal economy', *Development in Practice*, 35(5), pp. 834–847. https://doi:10.1080/09614524.2025.2515217.

7. Karunaratna, A.C. and Tjandra, N.C. (2021a) 'A glance into the life of street vendors in Sri Lanka: An overview', *Sri Lanka Journal of Marketing*, 7(2), pp. 169–193.

8. Karunaratna, A.C. and Tjandra, N.C. (2021b) 'Empowerment of street vendors: An untapped resource in the informal economy', *Colombo Business Journal*, 12(1), pp. 187–207. https://doi:10.4038/cbj.v12i1.75.

9. Nisansala, S. and Bandusena, P. (2019) 'The mobile street vendors' contribution to the urban economy: The case of Pettah, Sri Lanka', *Sri Lankan Journal of Real Estate*, 14.

10. Panicker, R. and Sekher, M. (2026) 'Gender dynamics in space appropriation by street vendors – the case of Chennai city, India', *Development in Practice*, 36(3), pp. 400–415. https://doi:10.1080/09614524.2025.2573978.

11. Publicism (n.d.) *Sri Lanka map link*. Available at: https://publicism.info/travel/sri_lanka/8.html (Accessed: 6 October 2026).

12. Roever, S. and Skinner, C. (2016) 'Street vendors and cities', *Environment and Urbanization*, 28(2), pp. 359–374. https://doi:10.1177/0956247816653898.

13. Wanigasinghe, N. and Meetiyagoda, L. (2026) 'Spatio-temporal relationships between street vendors and city users: Insights from Ragama town, Sri Lanka', *Cities*, 178, 107382.

14. Wirth, L. (1938) 'Urbanism as a way of life', *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), pp. 1–24. https://doi:10.1086/217913.

*© Eurasian Campus - Sri Lanka 2026, All Rights Reserved* 