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INFORMALITY & INCLUSION

Street Vending in Mumbai

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Informality & Inclusion

Street Vending in Mumbai

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the following dissertation on the subject titled **”Informality and Inclusion: Street Vending in Mumbai”** is a bonafide record of independent research work of **Mr. Rohit Shinkre**, (PRN 2015017002563764), student of M.Arch. (Urban & Regional Planning) from **Rachana Sansad’s Institute of Urban & Regional Planning** affiliated to Yashwantrao Chavan Maharashtra Open University (YCMOU) in partial fulfilment for the award of the Master’s Degree of Urban & Regional Planning. This dissertation has been completed under my guidance and has not previously formed the basis for the award of any other degree, diploma, fellowship or any other title.

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UNDERTAKING

I, Rohit Shinkre, the author of the thesis titled “**Planning for Informality: Street Vendors in Mumbai**” hereby declare that this is an independent work of mine, carried out towards partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master’s Degree of Urban & Regional Planning, at the Rachana Sansad’s Institute of Urban & Regional Planning affiliated to Yashwantrao Chavan Maharashtra Open University (YCMOU). This work refers to and draws from earlier field research and my pre-dissertation term papers but has not been submitted to any other institution for the award of any Degree/Diploma.

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Abstract

Despite the formidable scale and significance of the informal sector it has largely remained out of the frame of conventional economic and urban planning in India. In consequence, cities have stayed away from regulating street vending, which is an important occupational group of the informal sector, despite its extensive presence and a pioneering National Act¹ in its support.

A more empathetic regulatory approach to the informal sector that recognizes its role in providing livelihood to the weakest sections of the society could have a transformative economic impact. This research looks at street vending in Mumbai as a case in point to demonstrate that design and planning can help effective regulation to support the informal sector and improve conditions for street vendors and the city.

In the Indian context can be the most effective strategy for creating inclusive cities

Keywords: Informal Sector, inclusive cities, urban poverty, street vendors / hawkers, Mumbai.

¹ The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014 <http://www.egazette.nic.in/WriteReadData/2014/158427.pdf>. This Act extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Introduction

Areas of Concern

Unlike in the developed economies, the informal sector is not a fringe but a mainstream phenomenon in developing ones. In India, it employs about 80% of non-agricultural workforce and represents 45% of the Gross Value Addition or GVA². Even in Mumbai, the acknowledged financial capital of India, about 68%³ of the workforce is engaged in the informal sector.

Street vendors are an important occupational group of the informal sector; about 17.7% of the workforce in the informal sector in India⁴. (Refer Table Street vending thus becomes amongst highest non-agricultural employment generator in India.

Conventional economic planning; and consequent urban planning; is almost entirely focused on the formal economy. This is quite appropriate in the developed economies but not in the developing ones. where the informal sector concerns large numbers of the workforce and represents a transformative economic potential.

In addition to the socio-economic aspect of street vending it is also clearly an integral part of the street-life and culture in India and Mumbai is a perfect exponent of that.

The discussion on street vending in Mumbai has always gets polarized in a '*for vs against*' position by various social groups. Street offers livelihood for some, convenience and value to their patrons and creates a nuisance for others. It epitomizes contesting claims on urban public space by different sections of the heterogenous society in Mumbai. Planning and design can be tools to mitigate this conflict and drive a workable consensus among all social groups.

Without regulation, the street vendors face exploitation, harassment and loss of earning. Despite the pioneering Street Vending Act (2012) makes making it mandatory for all Indian cities to make due provision for it, in the past 4 years, barring rare exceptions, like Bhubaneshwar and Ahmedabad, few cities have made a serious attempt to implement the Act.

Evaporation and percolation

The processes of evaporation and percolation in the water (hydraulic) cycle are a good metaphor for top down and bottom economic planning. Assuming 'water' represent essential input for economic growth. Conventional economics focused on 'organised' sectors promotes evaporation of the water i.e. creation of opportunities and the accumulation of wealth in the

² ILO (2013) Men and Women in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture. Geneva. Page. 11

³ Customer Profiles, Micro Housing Finance Corporation Ltd., Mumbai.

⁴ Chen & Raveendran (2014) Urban Employment in India: Recent Trends and Patterns. Wiego Working Paper No. 7, Cambridge, MA. Page 9

higher strata. What we have today is a top-heavy system that further enriches the rich. Grass-roots are dependent on the precipitation; i.e. expenditure of that accumulated wealth to access it. Policies should instead priorities percolation and infiltration to increase ground water that can empower the grass-roots i.e. support entrepreneurial initiatives.

The organised sector clearly cannot create decent jobs for all. It is already inextricably enmeshed with the informal sector. It is thus important that policies support initiatives of self-employment and entrepreneurship. The National Street Vending Act is a step in the right direction and a result of long standing attempts to legislate street vending⁵- but has not translated in effective results.

New (deep) economy & (tactical) urbanism

Ignoring the informal economy and the communities it represents is characteristics of a wider economic crisis of our era. Many ecological economist, like Bill McKibben⁶, are questioning the validity of the presumption that "more" equals "better" in economic growth; that unfettered growth is neither realistic nor sustainable. According to McKibben, "The current political assumption ignores both the problems of resource depletion and inequity, which leads to human unhappiness." We should instead focus on "deep economy", which includes, rather than constant growth, a consideration of human satisfaction.

Such an economy would require a different urbanism. This study argues for a new tactical urbanism that works for and learns from the communities it aims to serve.

With a focus on street vending in Mumbai it illustrates that a more empathetic regulation towards the informal sector can be a means to address urban poverty and create inclusive cities.

Scope and Limitations:

The study and proposal focuses on morphogenetic dynamics of the street vending. It does not extend to socio-political aspects of the eligibility for hawker's licences and allotment of space etc. which will be inextricably linked to any regulation of that activity.

⁵ Draft National Policy (DNP) 2002. Prior to which under the Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation Act, 1882, 1949 (BPMC Act), the Bombay Police Act, 1951 and under the Indian Penal Code hawkers could be evicted for creating disturbance and hindrance on the street. The 1989 Supreme court judgement in the Shodhan Singh vs NDMC considering 'if properly regulated, street vending could not be denied on streets' marked a change in approach which eventually lead to the Street vendors policy in 2014.

1. ⁶ <http://www.billmckibben.com/> Bill McKibben is an influential environmentalist who has worked towards building general public awareness about global warming and other ecological excesses of the modern era. His 2007 work *Deep Economy: The Wealth of Communities and the Durable Future* proposes a different

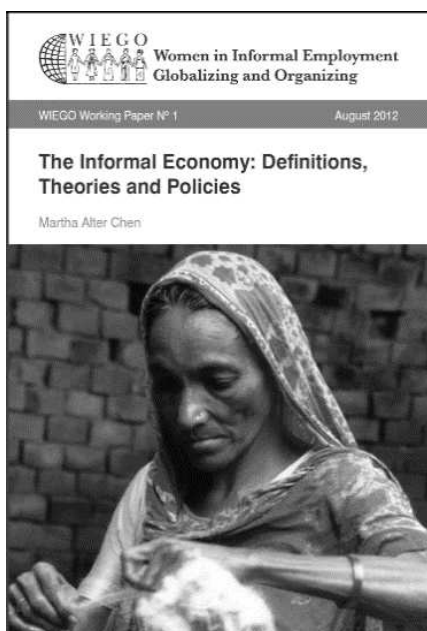
Hypothesis:

A tactical urbanism or evidence based design and planning can help regulate street vending to create more inclusive cities.

Literature Review

The Informal Economy: Definitions, Theories and Policies.

Martha Allen Chen, WIEGO, 2012.



The report offers the most exhaustive overview on informality with references to the most essential writing and studies on the subject across the globe. The rather lengthy review that follows not only pertains to the main text of the report but also connects to the rich references. This is an essential preamble to understand the informality in its historic contexts and theoretical readings associated with it prior to the focus on street vending thereafter.

The author initially discusses economic concepts⁷ and theories to explain the existence of the informal sector. Starting with the first use of the term ‘informal’ economy by Keith Hart⁸ whilst explaining the failure of WB and

IMF policies in Kenya in 1973.

The Dualist school based on Weber’s⁹ rationalist theory argues the existence of parallel ‘dual’ economies; distinguished by size (large-scale/small-scale), productivity (high/low), visibility (enumerated/ unenumerated), pattern of rewards (wages/self-employment), market conditions (monopoly/competitive), culture (traditional / modern) etc. The informal economy comprises marginal activities—distinct from and not related to the formal sector—that provide income for the poor and a safety net in times of crisis. It thrives in situations of abundant availability of labour with skill deficits to qualify for a secure formal employment or of scarcity of employment opportunities in the formal sector. The former conditions exist in developing nations and the latter in more developed ones. The dualists recommend that the state should create (the conditions for) adequate employment in the formal economy or provide credit and

⁷ Dualist, structuralist, legalist and voluntarist.

⁸ Keith Hart (1973) *Informal income opportunities and urban employment in Ghana*, Journal of Modern African Studies, 11.3, 61-89. Sethuraman, S V (1976) 'The Urban Informal Sector: Concept, Measurement and Policy', International Labour Review, 114 (1), 69-81. Tokman, V. (1978) 'An Exploration into the Nature of the Informal- Formal Sector Relationship', World Development, 6 (9/10), 1065-75.; *Keith Hart: Informal Economy* (weblink)

⁹ Max Weber (1864-1920) German philosopher, jurist and political economist often cited with Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx as the founders of Sociology

development opportunities to informal operators and welfare to their families. They also consider the informal sector as necessarily transitory which will eventually be absorbed by the formal sector that the state consolidates it, as was the case in post war Europe. This rather positivist approach resonated well with global institutions like the UN, World Bank & IMF who saw a role to play in assisting the state handle the informal economy.

*The Structuralist school*¹⁰ sees the informal and the formal economy to be naturally inter-linked where the former is as subordinated economic units (micro-enterprises) and workers of the former serve to reduce input and labour costs and, thereby, increase the competitiveness of large capitalist firms belonging to the latter. It allies theories of structural functionalism¹¹ (sociology) and the world-systems theory¹² (political economy) to explain the emergence of the informal sector as natural and necessary for (global) capitalism irrespective of contextual conditions of abundant labour or over-regulation by the state. The structuralist see a limited role for the state in the informal sector. The de-localisation of manufacturing to smaller units and off-shore / remote outsourcing or sub-contracting of processes that we see within a world-system to claim cost benefits or escape more stringent labour / environmental laws is an illustration of this theory. The informal sector is thus not distinct of the formal sector but a peripheral operator to it. This approach conceptually can apply at any scale e.g. global fashion brands and electronic producing in sweat shops amidst poor labour and environmental regulation in Bangladesh or China is also in some ways also a form informalisation. In the 1980's the production of large scale textile mills of Mumbai¹³ subject to unionised labour was taken over by smaller production units in Bhiwandi, Umbergaon.

*The Legalist school*¹⁴ argues that the informal sector develops *in response excessive regulation by a 'rigid mercantilist' state that brash micro-entrepreneurs find obstructive and onerous*. Simpler regulation will encourage informal operators to register their activity, at least partially, to claim the assets created and access financial services that can help growth of the

¹⁰ Moser, C. (1978) 'Informal Sector or Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Independence in Urban Development', *World Development*, 6, 1041-64. Portes, et al. (1989) 'The Informal Economy' John Hopkins University Press, Bromley 1994. Ref 4 Pages 628-629

¹¹ Derived from Emile Durkheim's (1895) 'Organic' metaphor for the complex modern society based on specialisation and interdependence of sub-sets.

¹² Immanuel Wallerstein (1987) ... not the system of the world, but a system that is a world and which can be, most often has been, located in an area less than the entire globe....A world-economy is a large axial division of labor with multiple political centers and multiple cultures.

¹³ Then Bombay

¹⁴ De Soto, Hernando. (1989) *The Other Path: the Economic Answer to Terrorism*. New York: Harper Collins.

enterprise. This theory recommends de-regulation and de-bureaucratisation to ease out any 'entry' barriers into the formal sector. This echoes the neo-liberal economic thought. Though it may be an effective approach to reduce informality it is at the cost of eroding social welfare of those employed in the formal sector.

*The Voluntarist school*¹⁵ argues that informality is a deliberate choice for self-employed, familial or micro-enterprises and not a response to state regulation. With very limited prospects for growth they prefer maximising immediate profits. They avoid any kind of registration / taxation and willingly forgo any allied benefits like access to credit, incentives etc. as seemingly unattractive. The voluntarists do not derive linkages between the formal and the informal economy but regard the latter as unfair competition as it operates out of the regulatory framework that adds to production cost. They recommend that the state should try and regularise the informal sector to expand tax base and address unfair competition. This approach concerns small and / or family owned enterprises operating in a survival (hand to mouth existence) widely practised in food confection, tailoring etc. in India. In many cases such enterprise adds to low remuneration from other employment.

It argues that these do not fully explain the recent growth and generalization of the informal sector in the developing economies and presents 3 recent and more Holistic frameworks for that¹⁶.

*World Bank Framework*¹⁷ published by a group of authors for the Latin American and Caribbean Studies division of the World Bank classifies the composition of the informal sector in 3 economic agents:

Labour:

- Individuals with inadequate skills for employment in the formal sector or in a demographic context of abundant availability of labour.
- Individuals who prefer the flexibility of self-employment.

Micro-firms:

- Small or family enterprises with limited scope / ambition for growth.
- Deterred by high entry barrier for formal establishment- registration procedures, labour and tax laws, urban regulation etc.

¹⁵ Maloney, William F. (2004) *Informality Revisited* World Development, Elsevier, vol. 32(7), pages 1159-1178,

¹⁶ World Bank Framework, Ravi Kanbur Framework & WIEGO framework

¹⁷ Perry Guillermo, William Maloney et al. (2007) *Informality Exit & Exclusion*. Washington DC, World Bank Latin American & Caribbean Studies.

Firms:

- Avoid taxation and other regulations pertaining to labour working conditions, minimum wages, paid leave, welfare and workplace regulation.
- Conceal the correct volume of operations and number of employees.

The causes for informality are either linked to **Exit**; opportunity for evading fiscal and social responsibility, defence against the bureaucracy, operating in a pre-modern (traditional) context where the state is irrelevant; and **Exclusion**; from formal jobs, cumbersome bureaucratic formalities, recruitment practices of firms.

Ravi Kanbur framework¹⁸: The eminent Indian economist and Professor at Cornell University argues proposes that formality and informality should be studied within a specific regulatory context following 4 conceptual categories:

- A. Regulation applicable and compliant.
- B. Regulation applicable and non-compliant.
- C. Regulation non-applicable after adjustment of activity.
- D. Regulation non-applicable to the activity.

The regulation could be pertaining to labour laws, taxation, urban development etc. and operators may have differing levels of compliance in different regulation. Since ‘regulation’ is at the core of this framework Kanbur also highlights the importance of ‘enforcement’. In developing countries where informality is more widespread the state often lacks the apparatus for effective enforcement of regulation. From the legalist point of view regulation can also be cumbersome to the extent that non-compliance is unavoidable giving rise to a corrupt enforcement machinery and rampant informality even in sectors such as manufacturing.

WIEGO¹⁹ **framework**²⁰: WIEGO proposed a framework based on feedback from its global network. It focused on **conditions of employment**; employer, employee, own account worker, unpaid contributing family worker, and member of producer cooperative and **causal theory**; characterised by the 4E’s **Exclusion, Exploitation, Entry (Barriers) and Exit** that broadly reflect the 4 schools; dualist, structuralist, legalist and voluntarist discussed earlier.

The report further elaborates on the main occupational groups that are involved in the informal sector; rag pickers, street vendors, domestic and homebased workers.

¹⁸ Ravi Kanbur (2007) *Conceptualising Informality: Regulation and Enforcement*. Indian Journal of Labour Economics, Vol. 52. No.1. Pages 33 to 42.

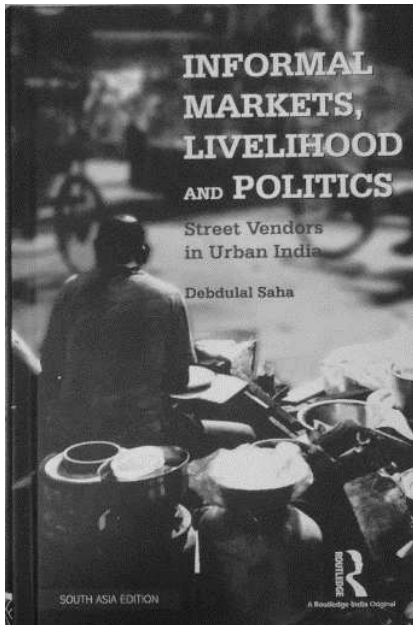
¹⁹ Women in Informal Employment Global Organisation (WIEGO) is an active global network of researchers and NGO’s working on the informal economy established in 1997. It has documented the informal sector to create empirical data for policy making.

²⁰ WIEGO Network Holistic Framework

The work draws from global studies and examines informality across continents, including in developed economies. Studies show that recent years have shown a growth of the latter 2 groups even in developed economies. There is a trend of 'informalization' of formal sectors and employment. Clearly the phenomenon of informality requires more attention and understanding.

Informal Markets, Livelihoods and Politics: Street Vendors in Urban India.

Debdulal Saha, Routledge, 2017



The book is based on the author's doctoral research at TISS, Mumbai. The foreword, by Sharit Bhowmik is itself is richly informative as an introduction to the subject. Presenting various recent approaches to street vending; from Hernando de Soto²¹ wanting street vending to be legalised so that they can operate without any pressures and harassment, to Cross considering it as unfair and illegal competition to the formal market. The 6 chapters building on experiences from Mumbai, Imphal, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Kolkata and Patna deal with:

1. Descriptive overview of street vending India: The author being an economist the book has comprehensive statistical data covering demographic, economic, social and organisational information.
2. An analysis of the structure and sustenance: This section describes the various types of vendors and their characteristics- goods traded, type of establishment, age of business. It also examines the financial dynamics of street vending- supply chain linkages, source and terms of credit. The section concludes with understanding who are the patrons (customers) of street vendors and their perspective.
3. The politics and conflicts that it represents with respect to the public space: This section explains the operational dynamics of street vendors on ground; the role of local administration, police and political representatives and also the conflicts and negotiations with local residents. There is valuable information on how street vendors manage access to water, sanitation and storage.

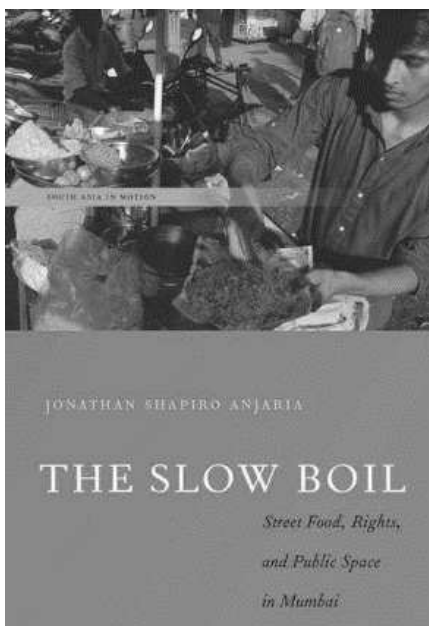
²¹ De Soto, Hernando. (1989) *The Other Path: the Economic Answer to Terrorism*. New York: Harper Collins. Pages 87-90

4. The reality of the ‘working’ conditions: This section deals with the accrued insecurity, uncertainty and vulnerabilities of street vending as compared to other forms of enterprise on account of constant risk of eviction and demands for bribes.
5. The organisation of street vendors for collective bargaining: This section examines the key role of unions and other membership based organisations (MBO) to facilitate better access to finance, negotiation with urban local bodies (ULB) and statutory authorities, deal with linked businesses like transportation, security etc. It also deals with the issues of representation and quality of leadership of hawkers unions and other MBOs.
6. The challenges in legislating street vending: This section argues for the need for legislation but also presents the difficulties that are posed. There is a detailed discussion on the National Act and its provisions.

Critical review:

This is the latest and most comprehensive work on the subject from a known expert on the subject and cannot be ignored by anyone interested in street vending in India. It offers exhaustive statistics and base data on street vending and vendors in several cities across India. However, it fails to present any new findings or a radically new perspective that differs from the many earlier articles by the author or by Dr. Sharit Bhowmick with whom the author has closely collaborated in the past, who has co-authored some key papers and also written the excellent foreword to this work. The book especially falls short of an incisive critical review of the National Act in the concluding section as it does not offer explanation to its ineffective implementation or the difficulties that cities may be facing in that endeavour.

The Slow Boil: Street food, rights and public space in Mumbai.



Jonathan Anjaria Shapiro, Stanford University Press, 2016.

This is a very broad anthropological study of street food as the basis for 3 theoretical conversations that cover the social, legal and political debate around street vending. Firstly, equality and citizenship; Secondly, on how streets and public space shape the city and lastly, on the how urban transformation must deal with incongruities and conflict.

The Unruly City

Referring to historic evidence the author tells us that the Mumbai’s municipal government has been grappling with the “hawker nuisance”, encroachment and

other illegalities at least since 1880s. And yet, also explains the evictions as the dispossession of the poor and elite-oriented development policies of neo-liberalism. The author thus argues that it is not the conflict or its negotiation that is new but awareness of the 'right to city'.

Occupied Streets

The chapter describes how street vendors inhabit the city and the public space facing the precarity of that situation whilst being deeply enmeshed in the everyday life of the neighbourhoods and communities. It is an act of exclusion or rebellion that offers a model of urban ethnography to study the political economic processes and affective experiences, without mutual exclusion, as generative tension that is constitutive of urban life

Managing illegality

The author explains how unlicensed hawkers, despite being illegal, are in close to, and in constant negotiation with, the state and its various components through multiple channels; counter surveillance, social interaction, bribe and protest. There are nuances in the illegality that creates potential for negotiation.

Estranged citizens

For the middle-class citizen activists, street vending is a clear manifestation of state inefficiencies and corruption and of their powerlessness in face of the illiberal rights of the poor that democratic politics cannot ignore. This epitomises their distance from the popular political process creating a class of 'estranged citizens'. The appropriation of public space remains an open ended political question.

Improvisational urbanism

Hawkers, slums and other illegalities that civic activist perceive as a problem since the 1990's is lately being celebrated as a virtue by architects, designers, academicians and students as a virtue. It is seen as a manifestation of ingenuity and small-scale entrepreneurialism. It signifies the emergence of everyday tactical urbanism opposed to a post-colonial one. Can informality be part of 'branding' of cities- especially those like Mumbai.

Critical review

Unlike Debdulal Saha, Jonathan Shapiro is a sociologist and anthropologist and the book builds an understanding of street vending based on affective experiences and observed patterns rather than only systematic data. The text has personal exchanges with various protagonists making it quite vivid and humane. The work examines socio-cultural, legal and political aspects to convey the complexity of the phenomenon in an historical and contemporary context. Most importantly it points to the need of an inclusive open-ended

political process for constant negotiation on the use of public space. It is a less assertive but more workable way forward that has greatly influenced this research ahead.

The National Street Vendors Policy & Act

In a parliamentary democracy, there can be no meaningful progress on any matter without a legal endorsement from the parliament. Following are the key clauses extract of the two policies that were discussed by the parliament;

1. The National policy on Urban Street Vendors of India, 2009 ²²
2. The Street Vendors (Protection of livelihood and regulation of Street vending) bill, 2014²³.

National Policy on Urban Street Vendors of India, 2009

In 2009, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation passed the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors of India, advised by NASVI (National Association of Street Vendors of India), other regional organisations and academicians.

Spatial Planning Norms

"There is need for the master / zonal / local layout development plans to be 'inclusive' and address the requirements of space for street vending as an important urban activity through norms for reservation of space for street vendors in accordance with their current population, projected growth of street vendors, based on the rate of growth in the previous five years and the average number of customers that generally visit informal markets in vending zones".

Demarcation of Vending Zones

"The demarcation of 'Restriction -free Vending Zones', 'Restricted Vending Zones' and 'No-Vending Zones' should be city/ town specific.

- a. Spatial planning should take into account the natural propensity of street vendors to locate in certain places at certain times in response to the patterns of demand for their goods/services.
- b. Municipal Authorities should frame necessary rules for regulating entry of street vendors on a timesharing basis in designated vending zones
- c. Municipal Authorities should allocate sufficient space for temporary 'Vendors' Markets' (e.g. Weekly Haats, Rehri Markets, Night Bazaars, Festival Bazaars, Food Streets / Street Food Marts etc.) whose use at other times may be different (e.g. public park, exhibition ground, parking lot etc.).

²² <http://vikaspedia.in/social-welfare/urban-poverty-alleviation-1/vendor-streetpolicy-2009>

²³ <http://www.egazette.nic.in/WriteReadData/2014/158427.pdf>.

- d. Mobile vending should be permitted in all areas even outside the 'Vendors Markets', unless designated as 'No-Vending Zone' in the zonal, local area or layout plans under the master / development plan of each city / town". However, the use of 'No-Vending Zones' should be minimised as conflicts can often be resolved through inclusive design rather than an outright ban.

Provision of Civic Facilities

"Municipal Authorities need to provide basic civic facilities in Vending Zones / Vendors' Markets which would include; solid waste disposal, public toilet, electricity, drinking water, storage facilities etc."

Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood & Regulation of Street Vending)

Bill, 2014

The proposed Bill is aimed at protecting the livelihood rights and social security of street vendors and regulation of urban street vending in the country and ensuring uniformity in the legal framework for street vending across States and Union territories.

Under Chapter II, Registration of Street Vendors:

3(1) Every person who has completed the age of fourteen years, or as the case may be, the age prescribed by the appropriate Government, and intends to do street vending, may make an application to the Town Vending Committee for registration as a street vendor.

(4) Every street vendor who has been issued certificate of vending under sub-section(1) shall be issued identity cards in such form and manner as may be specified in the scheme.

Section 9(1) Every certificate of vending shall be valid for such period as may be specified in the scheme.

Chapter III, Rights and Obligations of Street Vendors

Section 12.(1) Every street vendor shall have right to carry on the business of street vending activities in the vending zones allotted to him in accordance with the terms and conditions mentioned in the certificate of vending

Section 13. Every street vendor, who possesses a certificate of vending, shall, in case of his r location under section 18, be entitled for new site or area, as the case may be, for carrying out his vending activities as may be determined by the local authority.

Section 15. Every street vendor shall maintain cleanliness and public hygiene in the vending zones and the adjoining areas.

Chapter VI, Plan for Street Vending

Section 21. (1) Every local authority shall, in consultation with the Planning Authority, once in every five years, make out a plan to promote a supportive environment for the vast

mass of urban street vendors to carry out their vocation. The first schedule (street vending plan) states that

Paragraph (1) The plan shall:

- a. Ensure that urban street vending activities do not lead to overcrowding and unsanitary conditions of public spaces, areas and streets and not impede the movement of the general public;
- b. Ensure that the provision of space or area for street vending is reasonable and consistent with existing natural markets;
- c. Take into account the civic facilities for appropriate use of identified spaces or areas as vending zones;

Paragraph (2) The plan shall contain all of the following matters, namely:

- a. Determination of spatial planning norms for street vending;
- b. Earmarking of space or area for vending zones;
- c. Determination of vending zones as restriction-free-vending zones, restricted vending zones and no vending zones;
- d. Making of spatial plans conducive and adequate for the prevalent number of street vendors in that city or town and also for the future growth, by adopting such norms as maybe necessary.
- e. Consequential changes needed in the existing master plan, development plan, zonal plan, layout plan and any other plan for accommodating street vendors in the designated vending zones.

Under Chapter VII, Town Vending Committee

Section 27 (2) Every Town Vending Committee shall maintain up-to-date records of registered street vendors and street vendors to whom a certificate of vending has been issued containing name of such street vendor, stall allotted to him, nature of business carried out by him, category of street vending and such other particulars which may be relevant to the street vendors, in such manner as may be prescribed.

Section (3) Every Town Vending Committee shall carry out social audit of its activities under the Act or the rules or the schemes made thereunder in such form and manner as may be specified in the scheme.

Critical review

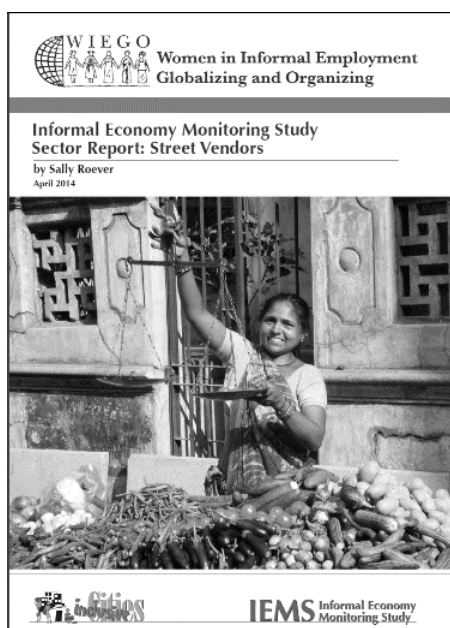
The Act is thorough in its assumptions and considerations. However, since its adoption in 2014 hardly any cities have succeeded in its implementation despite court orders to that effect. The rights based approach of the act is ambitious in intent but ineffective.

- The urban and spatial aspects cannot be ignored for any regulation of street vending.
- The act skirts the key question about ‘who is eligible for the hawking licence?’
- The act ignores the effective capacity of ULBs to implement such regulation.
- It doesn’t state any deadline for cities to make the necessary provision for the 2% population for street vending.
- The basis to arrive at the 2% figure remains unexplained. Though, considering there are about 2,54,000 hawkers here the figure seems acceptable for Mumbai²⁴, the situation may differ from city to city depending on the socio-economic context.

Parallel Research

IEMS Sector Report: Street Vendors.

Sally Roever, WIEGO 2014, Cambridge, MA



A global survey covering 5 cities; Accra, Ghana; Ahmedabad, India; Durban, South Africa; Lima, Peru; and Nakuru, Kenya was conducted in the Informal Economy Monitoring Study (IEMS) by WIEGO²⁵ and its Inclusive Cities²⁶ initiative as a collaborative effort between researchers and locally active membership based organisations of street vendors. It is a comprehensive overview on all aspects of street vending; causal, operational challenges, organisational patterns, acceptance and integration. The key findings of the study are:

Individual, household and enterprise:

The street vendors can be classified in three basic categories:

Buy & sell: fresh produce, toys, craft objects, household items, clothes, curios etc.

Buy, transform / produce and sell: mainly food & beverages, but also craft objects, furniture pieces etc.

²⁴ Sharit Bhowmick (2009) Mumbai Reader 10, UDRI, Mumbai. Page 241.

²⁵ **WIEGO** or Women in Informal Employment-Global Organisation is a research and advocacy organisation based in Boston, Massachusetts, that supports and connects NGOs, Unions and MBOs working with the informal sector.

²⁶ Initiative of WIEGO for research and advocacy on questions of urban poverty and planning.

Offer services: including dressmaking, masonry, hairdressing, knife sharpening, mending mattresses, carpentry, car guarding, computer repairs, accounting, shoe and watch repair, editing, and physical therapy.

48% haven't gone beyond primary education. 85% live in households where informal work is the main or only source of income; for 68 % street vending is the main income source and 17% rely on other informal work. Income from formal employment is the main source of income in less than 7% of households. Most; 95% of women and 97% of men; are own-account workers. Like in other groups of the informal sector there is more gender equality in street vending than in formal employment.

Driving Forces:

The negative driving forces behind street vending are **macro-economic** and those linked to **urban / city governance**. Refer Figures 1 and 2. Non-availability of formal waged employment, inflation, competition and non-access to formal financial institution are the key negative macro-economic drivers. Abuse; harassment, confiscation, bribes; Insecurity; eviction, re-location and poor (urban) infrastructure; transport, water, toilets etc. are the negative drivers linked to city governance.

The positive drivers were urban growth; increasing customers; familiarity and good relationship with officials and customers once established in a location; adequate income and access to credit from informal money-lenders. This can also be a negative as the rate of interests are usually very high.

That street vending is flourishing despite the very strong negative drivers is indicative of, either the fabulous economic opportunity or the distress. In larger towns the positive drivers clearly outweigh the negative and street vending is a choice but in smaller in many cases there is no other option of fruitful employment.

Need for Organisation

In all cases the need to have **mediating organisations** in form of Membership Based Organisations (MBO's), NGOs, Unions etc. was expressed to improve negotiation capability with local government, wholesalers and banks; which were generally perceived as unhelpful and address the negative drivers mentioned above. The situation of the street vendors in the cities where such organisation did exist was significantly better in many ways:

As a united community, the street vendors are in a better position to negotiate and engage other interlocutors in the long term:

- National government for legal and social protection

- City government for better infrastructure and support (street lights, public toilets, drinking water)
- Wholesalers and service providers for cost benefit

Linkages and Contributions

Street vendors do not operate in isolation there are established links with formal enterprises and other informal operators. 51% procure goods primarily from formal enterprises thus contributing all the indirect taxes. 27% from informal enterprises while the remaining 22% produce the goods they sell. 84% pay for support service like transport, porters, security and cleaners thus generating business for other informal and formal individual / enterprises. 65% pay licence fees wherever applicable and where not, like in most Indian cities, 20% of income is lost to bribes²⁷. All respondents agreed that there were extra efforts to maintain the streets cleaner and safer to attract more customers. The hawkers themselves contribute to the security by being the ‘eyes on the street’ quite literally.

Theoretical lessons

The study challenges many common assumptions about the nature of street vending and the difficulty to bring within some form regulation. A large part of their operation is within a regulatory framework and yet they lack effective legal rights and basic civic entitlements.

The study also reveals that vulnerability is higher for street vendors in markets than those on other streets. It is also higher for those dealing in fruits & vegetables than in other goods. The system exploits the perishable nature of the traded commodity.

In many ways, the street vendors face the same commercial risks as any formal enterprise; like price rise, sluggish demand, competition etc. but without other effective securities; legal rights, working condition, physical risks, fall-back mechanisms from savings etc. These insecurities finally obstruct growth and prosperity of the street vendors. A better deal with city governance will improve productivity and profitability for street vendors.

Policy Implications

The most important policy lesson from the study should be that urban planning and local economic boards should explicitly recognise the positive role of the street vendors in generating economy, employment and providing convenience to consumers. Though in a regulated operation it will be impossible to provide for all the vendors a thorough survey of the

²⁷ Street Vending in India: Rights, livelihoods and policy challenges. An interview with Dr. Sharit Bhowmick Page 7

number of vendors and of the market places and other location should be made to correctly estimate their carrying capacity.

Street vendors should be accommodated in the public space with appropriate licence / permit fee as most cannot afford cost of establishing a formal business. Regulation should take into account the activity of existing street vendors and combine innovative land allocation norms, designs and work processes to create a more supportive environment.

Legal protection for street vendors and other informal workers in the public space like rag-pickers is an urgent need. City authorities should work with representative organisations to ensure protection of their basic right to livelihood and property.

Improved urban infrastructure like street lighting, access to drinking water, public toilets will not only help street vendors but the whole city to be cleaner and safer. Additional facilities like power connection and storage space could increase productivity. Street vendors need infrastructure support like any business.

Lastly, Cities should encourage street vendors to organise themselves- join unions or MBOs so that they can be duly represented in the policy making and urban management forums.

Critical review

Like the 2012 WIEGO Report on the Informal Economy this Sector report is an excellent global overview on street vending covering all aspects of it. Though one can see differences, mainly cultural, in the data from city to city there are also very broad commonalities that emerge. Marginalised populations are being pushed towards the informal sector and street vending is one of the most accessible livelihoods in growing cities of the developing economies. It clearly advocates the need for greater regulatory support in form of legislation and urban planning guidelines and that finds an echo in the hypothesis of this research.

Regularisation of Street Vending in Bhubaneswar, India: A Policy Model

Randhir Kumar, WIEGO, 2012

This paper relates one of the most successful and pioneering examples of regulating street vending that was implemented in Bhubaneswar.

Building on a process that started in 2006 this tripartite partnership between the Public authorities (Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation & General Administration of the Government of Odisha), vendors representatives (8 local members of the National Association of Street Vendors of India) and other partners (local NGOs, residents and citizens groups, sponsors) drove the planning and design of the initiative with different partners taking

leadership in different stages of the project that concluded with the creation of 54 vending zones and 2600 kiosks.

Various locations for the vending zones were identified and temporary bamboo pitches were created. For 6 months, the stakeholders monitored the situation before finalising the locations agreeable to all. Where permanent kiosks with MS structure were erected. In most cases this infrastructure was financed by private companies in exchange of advertising space. The allotment of the kiosks was monitored by NASVI.

Author identifies 4 Critical success factors of this model:

1. Political will to recognise the legitimacy of the activity and to accommodate it.
2. Leadership of NASVI in organising a fragmented groups of street vendors and building capacity to negotiate on their behalf.
3. Social dialogue; broad based discussion and consensus building.
4. Partnership for joint survey of the potential vending zones and for financial support.

The paper presents the multiple direct and induced benefits (and costs) for the all partners. This confirms the prepositions of the previously discussed Sally Rovers IEMS Sector report that legitimacy and regulation will result in a significant improvement in the conditions and wages of the street vendor.

The paper concludes by discussing the sustainability of the initiative and to some extent its replicability for other cities in India and elsewhere with due consideration of local specificities.

The Ground reality

Street vending in the India: not just economics

Statistics clearly demonstrate the socio-economic importance of street vending. Beyond issues of employment, income and livelihood hawking is also a cultural fact in the Indian context. You will find street vendors in the smallest of towns offering a wide range of goods; from fresh produce, food confections, toys, curios, spices and condiments; and services; sharpening knives, mending footwear and cotton mattresses, buying *raddi* and *bhangra* (scrap) ... even give you a massage! The raw mango or tamarind slices after school, the *vada pav* at the *maidan*, the *bhel-puri* on the beach, the roasted *bhutta* in winter, the *adda* at *chai tapri*, the flowers for the ladies' hairdo or for pooja deity, the *dombari khel* or street acrobat show ... there is a street vendor associated with many life-events. A street vendor performs *Laxmi pooja* at

his place of business²⁸ like in any other enterprise expressing attachment and gratitude towards it. Apart from being an economic fact street vending is a live tradition; a cultural fact. The question should thus not be about whether our cities should have street vendors but how best they can be accommodated in a manner that respects all claims on the public space.

Comparing approaches

Mumbai

In Dadar, which is perhaps the final frontier as far as regulating street vending goes, the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) built a 'Hawkers Plaza' in 2001 at a cost of Rs. 30 Crores.²⁹ With 750 *galas* (units). This was a flagship project of Deputy Municipal Commissioner Chandrashekhar Rokade to respond to grievances from residents and was meant to be a pilot solution to be replicated elsewhere. The project was an abject failure as none of the hawkers moved in, which according to the DMC was due to threats from the unions and local goons. The unions complained that the structure was inappropriate for the intended purpose. Both could be right³⁰. Whatever the reason till date the building is mostly empty and partly used by garment wholesalers as back-up storage. The project is a good example of how not to approach the issue:

- Limited pre-project consultation with stakeholders and their representatives.
- Project details were not shared before construction for review and feedback from public.
- Design and planning are grossly insensitive to intended purpose ignoring the operational requirements of the hawkers and the behavioural patterns of their customers.

Though the absence of a participative process by the MCGM is unacceptable, so is the uncooperative stance of the hawker's organisation. Some of the hawkers could have shifted- at least those not dealing in daily commodities but in fashion and accessories. The whole exercise just went to show how high the stakes were and the extent of vested interest for the hawking to continue without regulation.

Bhubaneswar³¹

As discussed earlier, has pioneered a policy where street vendors are allotted permanent kiosks in planned vending zones following a collaborative partnership between public

²⁸ Refer Figure 1

²⁹ Refer Figure 20. [Times of India, 11.02.2009](#)

³⁰ Hawkers union argues that a G +5 structure is not workable. MCGM points out that even the ground floor space was not occupied.

³¹ Randhir Kumar (2012) The Regularisation of Street Vending in Bhubaneswar, India: A Policy Model. Refer review on page 26

agencies- private entrepreneurs and community stakeholders³². The phased implementation started with temporary bamboo structures in the proposed vending zones for a few months to test the commercial viability and general acceptance from the neighbourhood. Permanent kiosks replaced the temporary ones only after a consensus on the issue from all stakeholders³³. These provided safe storage, secure tenure and protection from any kind of harassment and exploitation. Vendors are licenced and can safely 'invest' in their venture. They can also avail finance to plan for growth and move up the retail chain.

New York ³⁴

A Manual that conveys all the rights and responsibilities to its licenced street vendors. This manual is multi-lingual English, Spanish, Bengali and Arabic to respond to the linguistic ethnicities of the vendors. It is a simple and effective way for the city to show empathy and inclusion and protecting the street vendors from abuse and exploitation while making them aware of responsibilities.

Vadodra

Has tried to include street vendors in the TP schemes in 2004³⁵. A total reconfiguration of the road sections was proposed. An ideal approach of this nature is practically impossible to implement due to the sheer disruption it would create in the city.

The 4 cities are not comparable but the cases do illustrate different approaches to the same problem. Clearly the problem is not as serious as in Mumbai for the other 3 cities.

Field Survey and Methodology

In 2013-14 field surveys were conducted in 3 municipal wards in Mumbai with a major hawking activity as suggested by the AMC (City) and DMC (RE) of the MCGM; **G (North), M (West) and K (East)**³⁶.

Reflecting Living patterns

'Adversity is the mother of invention'. The existing street vendors have already devised innovative solutions to conduct their business in the extremely challenging conditions they face. There is a lot to learn and adapt. The study generates a '*morphogenetic understanding*'³⁷ of

³² Refer Figure 17

³³ Refer Figure 18

³⁴ Refer Figure 19

³⁵ Shreya Dalwadi Integrating *Street vendors in city planning* 2004, CEPT, Ahmedabad Refer Figure 20

³⁶ Refer Figure 2

³⁷ Architect and urban theoretician Christopher Alexander. *The Nature of Order: An Essay on the Art of Building and the Nature of the Universe* (ISBN 0-9726529-0-6) 2003-2004

street vending in Mumbai to propose a regulatory approach that emulates the organic and adaptive patterns of the existing activity. A successful regulation should equitably formalise these existing patterns in negotiation with the other legitimate claims on the public space to create a 'liveable not ideal' built environment for the city. Urban planning and design should reflect the natural ability of the urban community to negotiate an acceptable consensus rather than an imposed deterministic ideal.

Methodology

The survey team exhaustively visited the territory of the 3 pilot wards to map the hawking and other activities in the streets.

The survey methodology was as follows:

1. Selecting representative wards in Mumbai
2. Driving through the ward for identifying main existing hawking zones.
3. Identifying all the major existing hawking locations.
4. Photo and time-lapse documentation of select areas to note space use patterns, density etc.
5. Street sections and plans of key areas to understand space usage.
6. Generating graphs and other visuals to present collected data.

The surveys conducted for the three selected wards. Following figures show the detailed documentation for the G (North) ward with a focus of the Dadar Station / market area. The survey included exhaustive observation of the 3 access streets to the station. This has been a traditional and natural hawking zone for at least 5 to 6 decades if not more, as most supply of local fresh produce; fruits, vegetables and flowers; used to come to Mumbai from Vasai via the Western local line. There is a whole sale fresh produce market here that distributes to all of South, Central and North Mumbai. The Plaza wholesale market and the *Veer Savarkar Mandai* spill on to the streets in the entire Dadar West from dawn to dusk- that has been happening for as long as I can remember. The Phool bazar or flower market , believed to be one of the oldest of Mumbai, does whole sale business from 4:00 to 09:00 and retail business from 11:00 onwards.³⁸

Mapping and observation

The survey maps the hawkers and their typologies but also other usages of the public space i.e. parking, traffic, delivery vehicles, land-use of buildings etc. The maps, charts and graphics from Figures 2 to 13 convey the survey information for G (North) and Dadar West in a synthesised manner. Other important observations are:

³⁸ Refer Figure 21

1. Since most of the hawkers are unlicensed³⁹ the set-up needs to be light enough to be able to fold-up and clear when the authorities come on their rounds.
2. Many of the hawkers are an extension of shop fronts. i.e. the vendors are not own account entrepreneurs as is expected but paid workers of established shops and businesses.
3. This highlights the need to draft clear criteria for eligibility of hawking licenses. The Street Vending Act is some human rights based legislation; to livelihood; which the eligibility criteria should strictly reflect. That is not the case with the current stipulation that any person of age 14 and above who applies for a permit should be allotted one.
4. It also confirms the natural tendency for formal businesses to use street vending as a proxy.
5. There are working arrangements between the hawkers and local shops and establishments to avail support in terms of storage space, access to water, sanitation etc. Ideally one would expect the city authorities to provide such support but Mumbai has its way of working things out.
6. The hawkers are often blamed for congestion and obstruction in station areas. The activity mapping clearly indicates that parked vehicles, especially 2 wheelers occupying street space uninterrupted from morning to evening are greater equal contributors to the problem⁴⁰.
7. The policy wants to standardise space allotment to each street vendor. There is no basis for this- quite the contrary. Like any other enterprise different hawkers have different ways of operation and will not be able to function in a one size-fits-all approach⁴¹.
8. All hawkers want to be near the activity hub. railway station, market etc. along the commuter route. This results in the overcrowding that residents complain about. Regulation can help organise this based on the commodity sold. Hawkers dealing with daily essentials like fruits etc. vegetables should be along the commuter route. Hawkers dealing with non-essential planned purchases fashion & accessories, miscellaneous etc. may be a little further away.

Template for classification and taxonomy:

The following 4 criteria emerge as essential to understand street vending:

³⁹ Estimated at about 2.5 lakhs in 2004-05. *The 2011 Census's provisional data shows that the population of the city is around 1.2 crores. In 2001 the population was nearly 1.2 crores. The 65th Round of the National Sample Survey (2004-5) shows that the total employment was 52, 93,940 of which 42,94,940 were in the informal/ unorganized sector. The data further shows that around 37% (20,01,012) were self-employed. Street vendors constitute 12.5% of the self-employed.* Sharit Bhowmick (2009) Mumbai Reader 10, UDRI, Mumbai. Page 241.

⁴⁰ Refer Figures 8,9, 10

⁴¹ Refer Figure 11, 12, 13

1. **Type** of hawker: How? 2 basic types; stationary and itinerant; with further typologies in each group.
2. **Location:** Where?
3. **Time:** When? What time of the day / week / year?
4. **Trade:** What good / service is being traded?

Type:

The basic classification between a stationary and itinerant vendor.

Stationary vendors operate from a compact basket, a gunny bag or a tarpaulin sheet laid on the floor with their good spread-out or more permanent establishment like a small booth or a canopy taking support of an existing structure like a bus stop etc.

Itinerant vendors could be a person standing with his goods or using portable contraptions to store and display, a bicycle or a cart. There are also examples of a few rare examples motor vehicles used.

The space footprint of these various kinds of hawkers varies from 0.35m² for a standing itinerant vendor to 3m² for a fixed booth or cart⁴². Obviously, the Street Vending Acts proposal of a fixed space allotment to each hawker does not respond to their needs.

Location:

The surveys show ⁴³ that the street vendors establish themselves mainly in the following locations:

1. **Markets:** Hawkers cluster along designated municipal markets, natural markets and traditional market places.
2. **Transit hubs:** Railway stations and bus depots in Mumbai offer a captive customer group of daily commuters.
3. **Public places:** Parks, *maidan*'s, beaches, promenades.
4. **Institutions:** Street vendors around Schools, hospitals, museums, places of worship etc.
5. **Generic areas:** Daily provision of fresh produce- fruits, vegetables, also newspapers, flowers etc. in residential areas, street food in commercial areas etc.

This is an important determinant of the scale and nature of street vending activity. The above listing is in descending density of numbers of street vendors. The first two locations being the most dense in an entire precinct and the last being characterised by sparse presence in strategic locations.

⁴² Refer Figures 11,12 & 13

⁴³ Refer Figures 3,15 & 16

Time:

The time-lapse photo documentation shows that the hawking activity is not static in time. Different hawkers may invest the same place at different times of the day, week or year responding to business prospects⁴⁴.

- There are **daily cycles**; The same spot may have a newspaper vendor early morning, a fruit / vegetable vendor late morning, a sandwich maker at lunch-time and a Chinese food stall in the evening.
- There are also **weekly cycles**; there are more retail flower vendors in Dadar on Tuesdays due to the Siddhivinayak temple and more street vendors in Mahim on Fridays and Wednesdays due to the Dargah and the St. Michaels Novena respectively.
- There are **yearly cycles** responding to demands created by festivals like Raksha bandhan, Holi, Diwali etc. More fruit stalls for a seasonal fruit- mango, water-melon, sugar-cane.

This is an important factor to optimise space use and respond to customer demand and accommodate more street vendors when needed.

Trade:

The street vendors trade the following:

Fresh produce: Fruits, vegetable, milk, flowers, garlands

Food & beverages: condiments, cooked food items (*vada pav*, *chats*, idli, dosa etc), ice-cream, lassi, fruit juices etc.

Fashion and accessories: clothes, shoes, imitation jewellery, purses, handkerchiefs etc.

Miscellaneous: newspapers and periodicals, electronic items, household accessories.

Services: knife sharpener, *bhangarwala* (waste collector), mattress maker, massage etc.

The choice of commodity /service is largely function of the location. However other aspects like skill levels and language proficiency also matter.

Some of the activities are cultural icons- the Mumbai *vada-pav* is now a culinary identity of this busy but gourmet city. A visit to the *chowpatty* beach is incomplete without a *bhel-puri* / *chat & kulfi*.

What, When, Where & How matrix:

The above 4 criteria provide a sound basis for creating a regulation for street vending that is based on the current dynamics of the activity. A ‘What, Where, When and How’ matrix⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Refer Figure 8 & 10

⁴⁵ Refer figure 14

shows how these 4 criteria are currently interlinked. It would be foolish to ignore this ‘native intelligence’.

Street vending regulation: tactical urbanism

The prescriptions of the National Act are quite clear about the administrative framework for creating and operating the vending zone. The proposed idea of town vending committees echoes the social dialogue and partnerships of the Bhubaneswar model. It should also allow ‘micro-regulation’ of the policy at the area level. Street signage will demarcate hawking zones and non-hawking zones.⁴⁶

Mirroring the findings of the study hawking zones can be identified in the 5 locations; markets, transit hubs, public spaces, institutions and others and the parameters of trade, time and type regulated accordingly.

City level plan and general strategies

The 5 locations identified indicate that formation of hawking clusters are function of localised determinants. However, the Act prescribes allotment for 2% of the cities population making that a figure to be tracked over the entire territory of the city. There is scope for an independent study to understand the distribution of the street vending across the city. A few general citywide strategies are proposed:

1. Itinerant hawkers could be allowed in all parts of the city except the non-hawking zones.
2. The main arteries that cater to city / region level traffic will be notified as non-hawking zones to reduce traffic congestion, improve safety and to facilitate movement of emergency vehicles such as ambulances, fire brigade and security forces. In the G (North) ward Veer Savarkar Marg (Cadell Road) between Prabhadevi and Mahim and Senapati Bapat Marg (Tulsi Pipe Road) are no-hawking zones⁴⁷.
3. Market area and transit hubs will see the highest density of hawkers; 1 vendor for every 2m of available pavement, covering an entire block of streets (eg. Dadar and Mahim Market and Stations, Agar Bazar, Gopi Tank Market etc.) Pavement width to be minimum 2.00m, clear all junctions for free pedestrian and vehicle traffic.
4. Followed by public places and institutional areas where they will gather punctually in clusters 1 vendor for every 3m of pavement (eg. Shivaji Park, Mahim Dargah, Dadar Chowpatty).

⁴⁶ Refer Figure 22

⁴⁷ Refer Figure 25

5. There will spots at road junctions for 1 vendor for every block, within generic residential / commercial areas.
6. Licenced Hawkers will be given uniforms ⁴⁸ that will provide a sense of dignity and become the eyes on the street for the city administration and law and order. The perception of street vendors can transform from nuisance to that of ‘community workers’.
7. The space under many flyovers is misused, encroached or derelict. It is quite easily possible to create pleasant public spaces there. Without making it into a hawker’s plaza there is certainly a good opportunity to accommodate a few vendors; tea stalls, snacks etc.; for the convenience and delight of the public⁴⁹.
8. Though there were none in any of the surveyed wards elevated skywalks are majorly underused in many parts of the city. In many cases their dis-use has made them to be unsafe for public. Authorised vending booths will increase footfalls and make them safer. Careful planning will also ensure that the intended purpose of pedestrian movement is not hindered⁵⁰.
9. Vending booths for tea / coffee, newspapers, snacks can be located next to bus stops⁵¹, in CBDs and other areas that are particularly deserted after at non-peak hours, with the obligation operating till the last service to improve safety and wellbeing of all.
10. Clear guidelines will ensure that the hawkers do not obstruct any access of residents and free movement of traffic, especially emergency vehicles⁵².

Ward level plan

1. Identification of the markets, transit hubs etc. and of vending zones including for the daily, weekly, monthly or annual cycle.
2. In station and market areas parked vehicles occupy about 25% of road space. If possible, paid parking lots should be created in proximity; about 250 to 300m away from the station. This will decongest the station and market areas. Eg Bal Govind Das Marg (Ruparel college lane) can accommodate a 2 wheeler pay and park facility.
3. Street vending cannot be regulated in isolation- other activities like parking, traffic, public transports etc. will have to work together to decongest the station & market areas.

⁴⁸ Refer Figure 23

⁴⁹ Refer Figure 24

⁵⁰ Refer Figure 26

⁵¹ Refer Figure 27

⁵² Refer Figure 31

Local Area Plan

Within the broad guidelines of the city and ward level planning directives the Town Vending Committees must formulate microlevel regulation that respond to existing practices and opportunities. Clear signages will indicate non-hawking and Hawking zones⁵³. The later can come with conditions specifying time, trade and type of vending Eg.

1. Javale street in Dadar Station precinct has flower vendors and newspaper distribution early morning, vegetables and miscellaneous through the day and almost exclusively food stalls from 19:00 onwards.
2. Places of worship of all faiths have a special day every week; Tuesday at Siddhivinayak and Shitladevi temple, Wednesday Novena at the St. Michael Church or Friday at the Mahim Dargah; that sees increased crowds and thus vendors to serve them.
3. Over the years the pavements around the Gopi Tank Market on LJ Road, Mahim have become a major market for *akash kandeels* (paper lanterns) and other festive accessories for a week or so before and during Diwali. The market is a magical place, especially after sundown, and a popular hang-out that has now attracted other food and beverage stalls. Several other festivals and events like holi, Urus at the Dargah, Christmas, Ambedkar Jayanti, etc. are opportunities for street vendors.
4. Every day a few vendors; fruits and vegetables in the morning, *gola, bhutta, channa chorgharam etc.* in evening etc. are stationed at the junction of Keluskar Road & Shivaji Park Road number 2. On Saturdays, the weekly Farmer's market is set there. The pavement and the roads are wide here and traffic and residents are not disturbed. That location can be formally notified
5. Regulation must respond to grievances of residents as well. Most residents in Dadar appreciate the convenience offered by the hawkers in the evening on the way back home, but are obstructed in the morning rush hour commute to the station. Survey also reveals low business for hawkers in the morning⁵⁴. Thus, timings for street vending on the approach roads to the station can be restricted from 11:00 to 21:00. One of the 3 approach roads could be notified as a non-hawking zone to maintain emergency access to the station.

⁵³ Refer Figure 22

⁵⁴ Refer Figures 8,9,10

Tactical Urbanism

This approach of urban regulation echoing existing practices and thus reflecting a living pattern rather than conceptualising one. It is a new ‘Tactical urbanism’ that is inspired by the ‘tactics’ used by citizens to negotiate their routine... most appropriate to the Mumbai reality.

Street Smart Furniture

The System

A modular, incremental system of street furniture is proposed that uses all the learnings of the study.

1. Optimise pavement space by creating vertical stacks. Minimise ‘obstruction’
2. Clear passage by moving to the edge of the pavement.
3. Support the diversity of hawking typology. Adapt to changing demand
4. Serve the city not just the hawkers- consensus building and partnership.
5. Change the perception of street vendors from a nuisance to an asset.

The design builds on the following key principles:

1. Simple: works with existing street profile. Light and non-disruptive.
2. Robust: made of SS framework and components.
3. Adaptable: to vending demand and street condition
4. Financial viability: cost effective and attractive for inviting concessioners.
5. Sustainable: workable for all- the city, its residents including street vendors.

The starts with a simple bollard placed at about 1200mm c/c on the pavement edge and evolves to support a full range of the usual components of a street furniture system from dustbins, planter boxes, pedestrian barriers, benches and street lights to what Mumbai needs i.e. display racks, umbrellas and even cupboard booths inspired from Mumbai’s shops in the wall. Figures 28, 29 and 30 present the STREET-SMART SYSTEM.

Financial viability

Private funding can create the infrastructure with a concession for sharing revenue generated from the multiple advertising opportunities that are created. Advertising rates are function of size, visibility and location. The system provides panels at street level, with high visibility to motorists and possibility for repetition. Going by current rate the revenue⁵⁵ could be anything from ₹20k to ₹350k per panel going from the suburbs to South Mumbai or other prominent areas like Bandra, Dadar, Worli etc.

⁵⁵ <http://www.themediaant.com/outdoor?mediaType=Hoarding&location=Mumbai>

Starting in Paris, France in the late 1970's JC Decaux⁵⁶ is operating a build, operate and share model for urban furniture in +150 cities in +50 countries- including India. Clearly, Street Smart will generate revenue for the MCGM while addressing the needs of its most vulnerable citizens. It will create a certain harmony in the outdoor advertising media and hopefully rid the city of ugly hoardings scattered all over the city.

Conclusion:

Implementation of a street vending regulation that emulates the existing condition in an ordered yet adaptive system is seen to be possible. A pilot implementation of this system would be required to confirm the assumption that this will:

1. Improve the income and working condition of the street vendors. They can conduct their business safely and with dignity and be an integral part of Mumbai.
2. Street vending can contribute positively to the city at many levels: safer streets, cleaner streets and added revenue.
3. Reinforce Mumbai branding as a truly inclusive city embracing its social-economic reality.
4. Improve quality of the public realm for all Mumbaikars.
5. Tactical urbanism is a realistic approach to urban planning in India and other developing economies.

⁵⁶ <http://www.jcdecaux.com/>

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Tables

| Industry Group | Male | | | Female | | | Total | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | Formal | Informal | Total | Formal | Informal | Total | Formal | Informal | Total |
| 2011-2012 | | | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 0.1 | 5.6 | 5.7 | 0.1 | 10.8 | 10.9 | 0.1 | 6.6 | 6.7 |
| Manufacturing | 4.0 | 18.4 | 22.4 | 1.7 | 26.8 | 28.4 | 3.6 | 20.0 | 23.6 |
| <i>Home-Based</i> | 2.3 | 19.2 | 16.2 | 8.9 | 72.0 | 68.3 | 2.9 | 33.3 | 28.7 |
| Construction | 0.8 | 10.0 | 10.8 | 0.1 | 3.9 | 4.0 | 0.7 | 8.8 | 9.4 |
| Trade | 0.9 | 22.5 | 23.4 | 0.4 | 10.0 | 10.4 | 0.8 | 20.0 | 20.8 |
| <i>Street Vending</i> | 1.1 | 17.8 | 17.2 | 0.0 | 22.6 | 21.7 | 1.0 | 18.3 | 17.7 |
| Non-Trade Services | 13.0 | 23.0 | 36.1 | 15.5 | 30.2 | 45.6 | 13.5 | 24.5 | 38.0 |
| <i>Transport</i> | 15.4 | 35.6 | 28.3 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 12.7 | 27.4 | 22.1 |
| <i>Domestic Workers</i> | 0.0 | 10.1 | 6.5 | 0.0 | 39.0 | 25.8 | 0.0 | 17.2 | 11.1 |
| <i>Waste pickers</i> | 0.0 | 2.0 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 1.9 |
| Total Urban Employed | 20.0 | 80.0 | 100.0 | 18.1 | 81.9 | 100.0 | 19.7 | 80.3 | 100.0 |
| 2004-2005 | | | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 0.3 | 5.8 | 6.1 | 0.5 | 17.5 | 18.1 | 0.4 | 8.2 | 8.6 |
| Manufacturing | 4.9 | 18.6 | 23.4 | 1.9 | 25.5 | 27.4 | 4.2 | 20.0 | 24.3 |
| <i>Home-Based</i> | 1.4 | 17.5 | 14.2 | 6.7 | 70.3 | 65.9 | 1.9 | 31.5 | 26.3 |
| Construction | 0.5 | 8.8 | 9.2 | 0.0 | 3.8 | 3.9 | 0.4 | 7.7 | 8.1 |
| Trade | 0.7 | 23.9 | 24.6 | 0.2 | 9.8 | 9.9 | 0.6 | 21.0 | 21.5 |
| <i>Street Vending</i> | 0.0 | 25.4 | 24.7 | 0.0 | 57.4 | 56.4 | 0.0 | 28.5 | 27.8 |
| Non-Trade Services | 13.5 | 21.4 | 34.9 | 12.7 | 27.6 | 40.3 | 13.3 | 22.7 | 36.0 |
| <i>Transport</i> | 18.0 | 38.6 | 30.6 | 5.1 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 15.5 | 29.5 | 24.3 |
| <i>Domestic Workers</i> | 0.2 | 5.4 | 3.4 | 0.2 | 39.0 | 26.8 | 0.2 | 13.9 | 8.8 |
| <i>Waste Pickers</i> | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| Total Urban Employed | 21.2 | 78.8 | 100.0 | 15.5 | 84.5 | 100.0 | 20.0 | 80.0 | 100.0 |

Table 1: Sector and Gender wise employment distribution 2004-05 and 2011-12 in India

| | Accra | Ahmedabad | Durban | Lima | Nakuru | Total |
|--|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| NEGATIVE | | | | | | |
| High/rising prices | 7 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 18 |
| Currency depreciation | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Bad economy /low demand / slow sales | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 8 |
| Increased competition | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| High interest rates | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| High taxes | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Unemployment | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Supply shortages | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Electricity blackouts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Strikes /demonstrations | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| POSITIVE | | | | | | |
| Good economy /demand / enough for livelihood | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Availability of loans | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Development projects | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Falling price of inputs | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 28 | 10 | 4 | 9 | 10 | 61 |

Table 2: Global Macro-economic driving forces of street vendors.

| | Accra | Ahmedabad | Durban | Lima | Nakuru | Total |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| NEGATIVE | | | | | | |
| Police abuse /harassment | 2 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 31 |
| No fixed /secure /adequate work space | 0 | 14 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 19 |
| Evictions and relocations | 1 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 13 |
| Lack of shelter /weather impact /bad roads, drains | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 10 |
| Licenses, fees, tolls | 1 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Regulatory restrictions | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 8 |
| Urban renewal projects | 0 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 8 |
| Poor relations with authorities | 2 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Lack of toilets / water / electricity / waste removal | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| Inadequate storage facilities | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Insecurity / crime | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Lack of or poor transport / high cost of transport | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Inadequate services | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| POSITIVE | | | | | | |
| Urban growth / infrastructure | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| Permits / ID cards / fixed work space | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 8 |
| Wholesale market location / proximity | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Current policy environment | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Safety | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 18 | 42 | 31 | 36 | 23 | 150 |

Source: IEMS focus group data (2012) (n=75 focus groups)
 Drawing from a listing and ranking exercise applied in all focus groups, the table shows the number of instances in which a focus group listed one of these city / government forces as a significant driver and then ranked it as one of the top three drivers overall. Negatives and positives were ranked separately, so the total number of top three ranks possible for each was 225 (15 focus groups x top 3 drivers x 5 cities) across all three categories of drivers. However, some focus groups identified fewer than three drivers (especially positives) and some drivers listed and ranked in focus groups were not systemic and thus were omitted from the tables.

Table 3: Global Urban governance related driving forces for street vendors

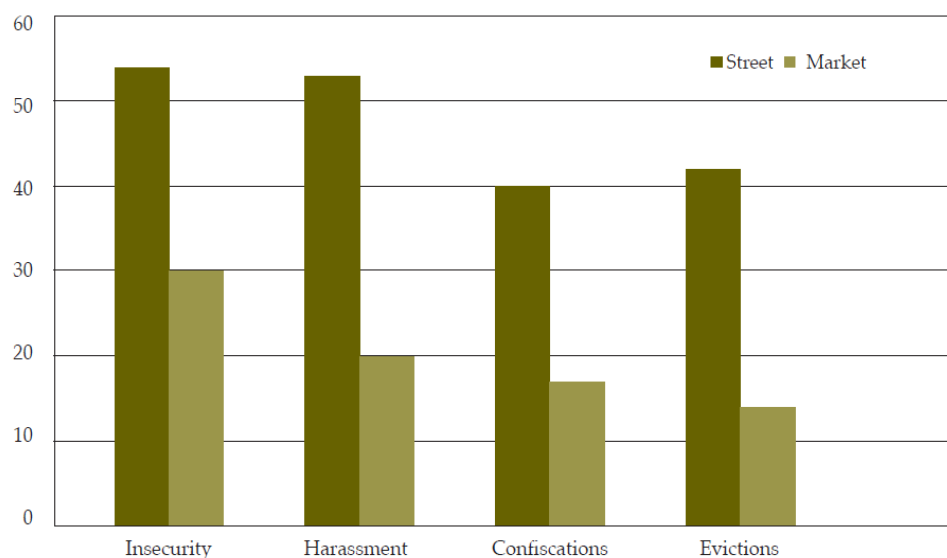


Table 4: Most cited risks / vulnerabilities. Global average.

Figures



Figure 1: Laxmi puja at workplace. Appropriation of public space

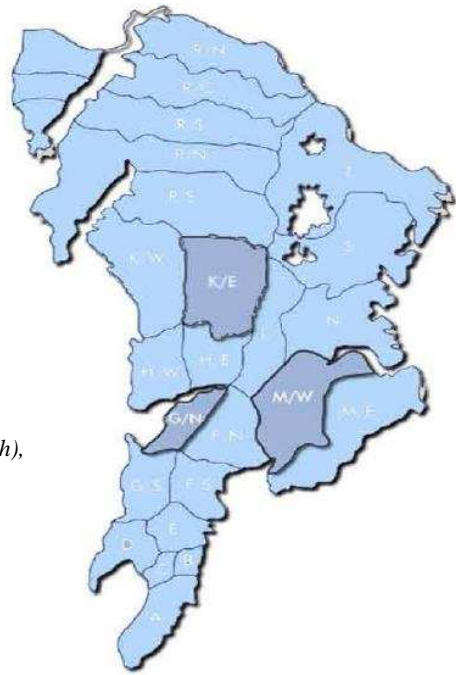


Figure 3: Selected wards for field study. G(North), M(West), K (East)

Figure 2: Existing hawking sites in G(North) ward

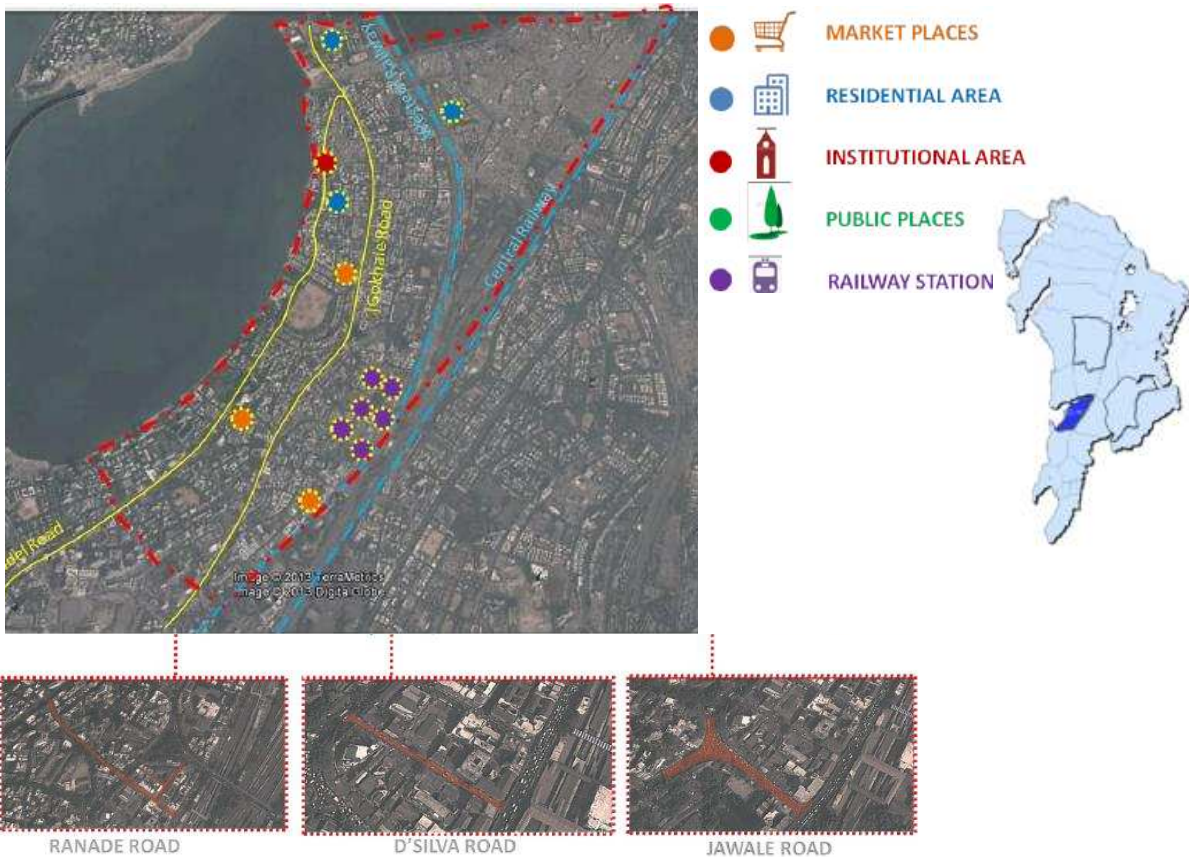




Figure 4: Activity and spatial Mapping. Jawale Street, Dadar (W)

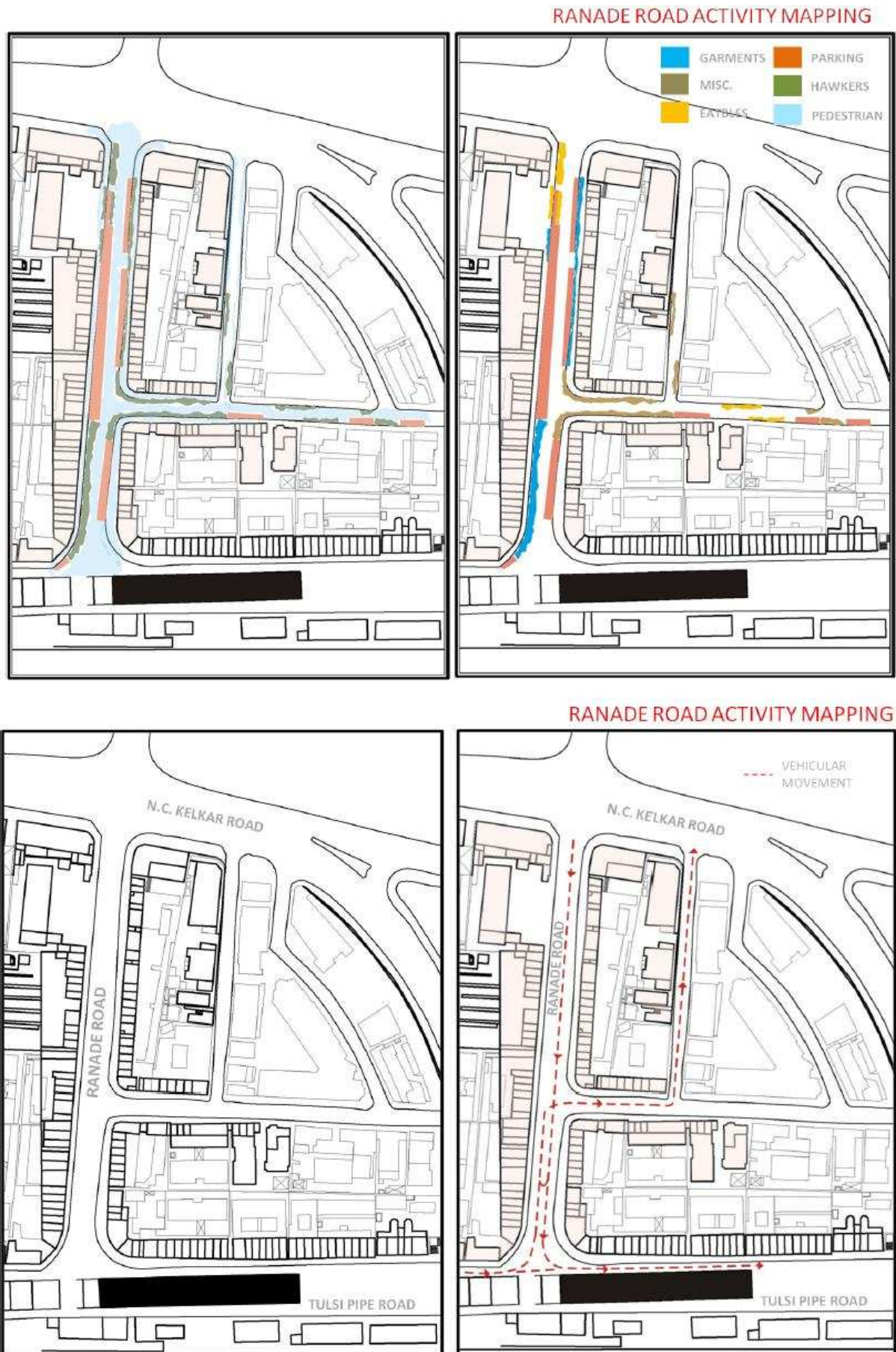


Figure 5: Activity and spatial mapping. Ranade Road, Dadar (W)

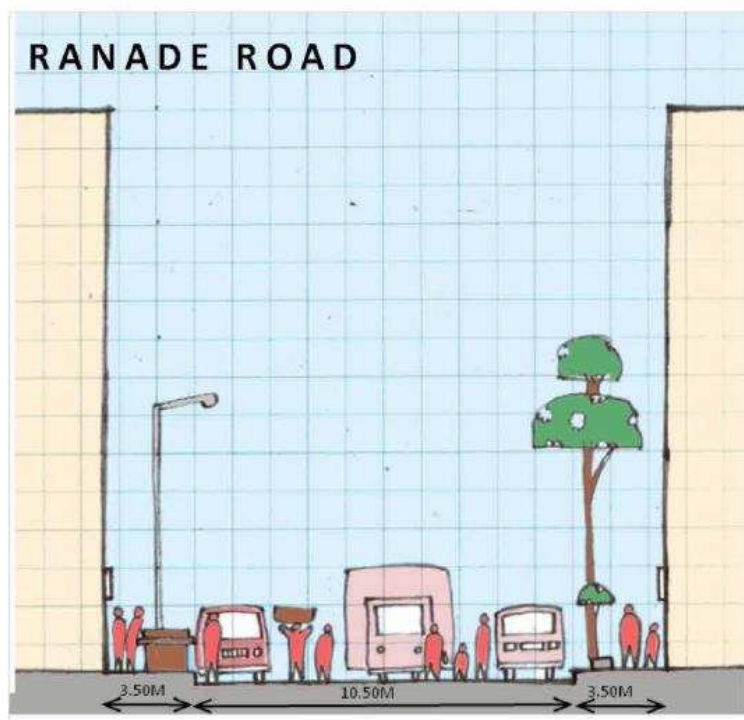
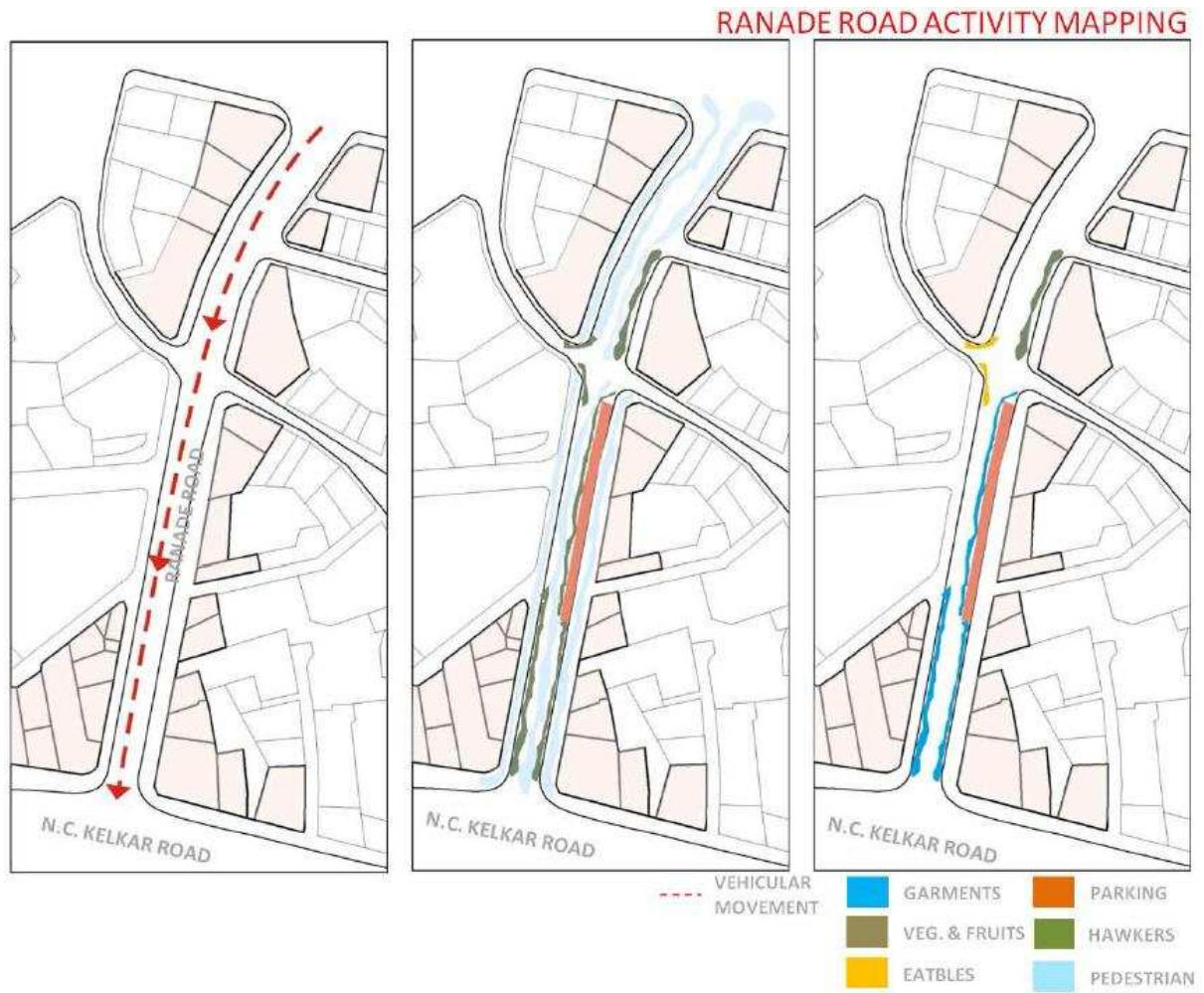


Figure 6: Activity and spatial mapping. Ranade Road, Dadar(W)

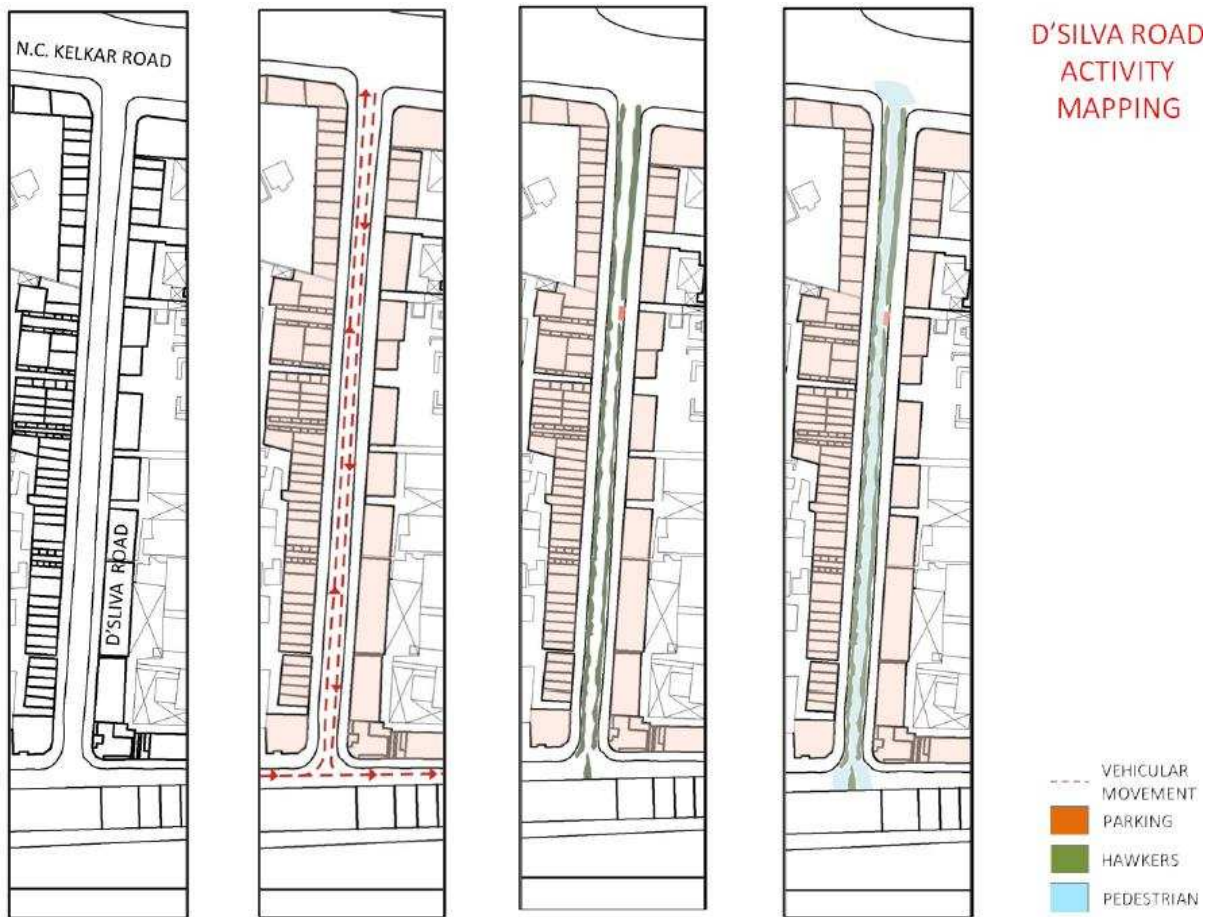


Figure 7:: Activity and spatial mapping. D'Silva Road, Dadar (W)



Figure 8:: Time-lapse of Jawale Road from 09:00 to 18:00

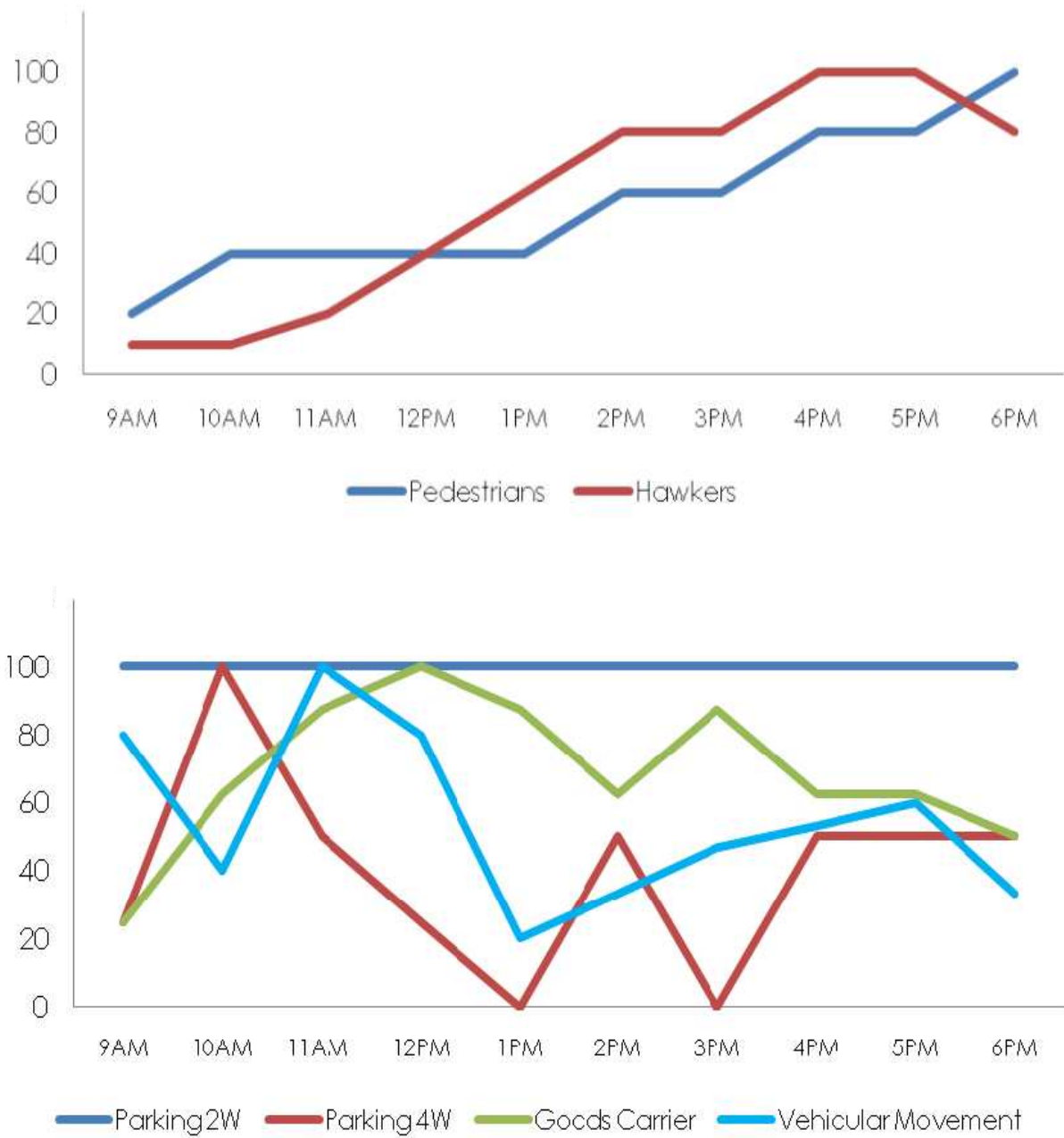


Figure 9:: Street space usage from 09:00 to 18:00



Figure 10: Low and peak hour usage of street space from 09:00 to 18:00



Figure 11: Types of hawkers

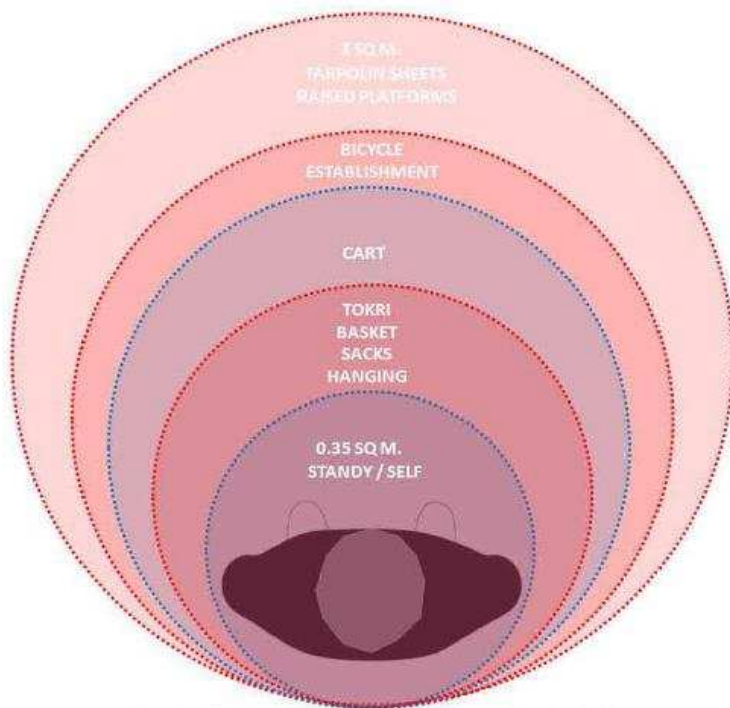
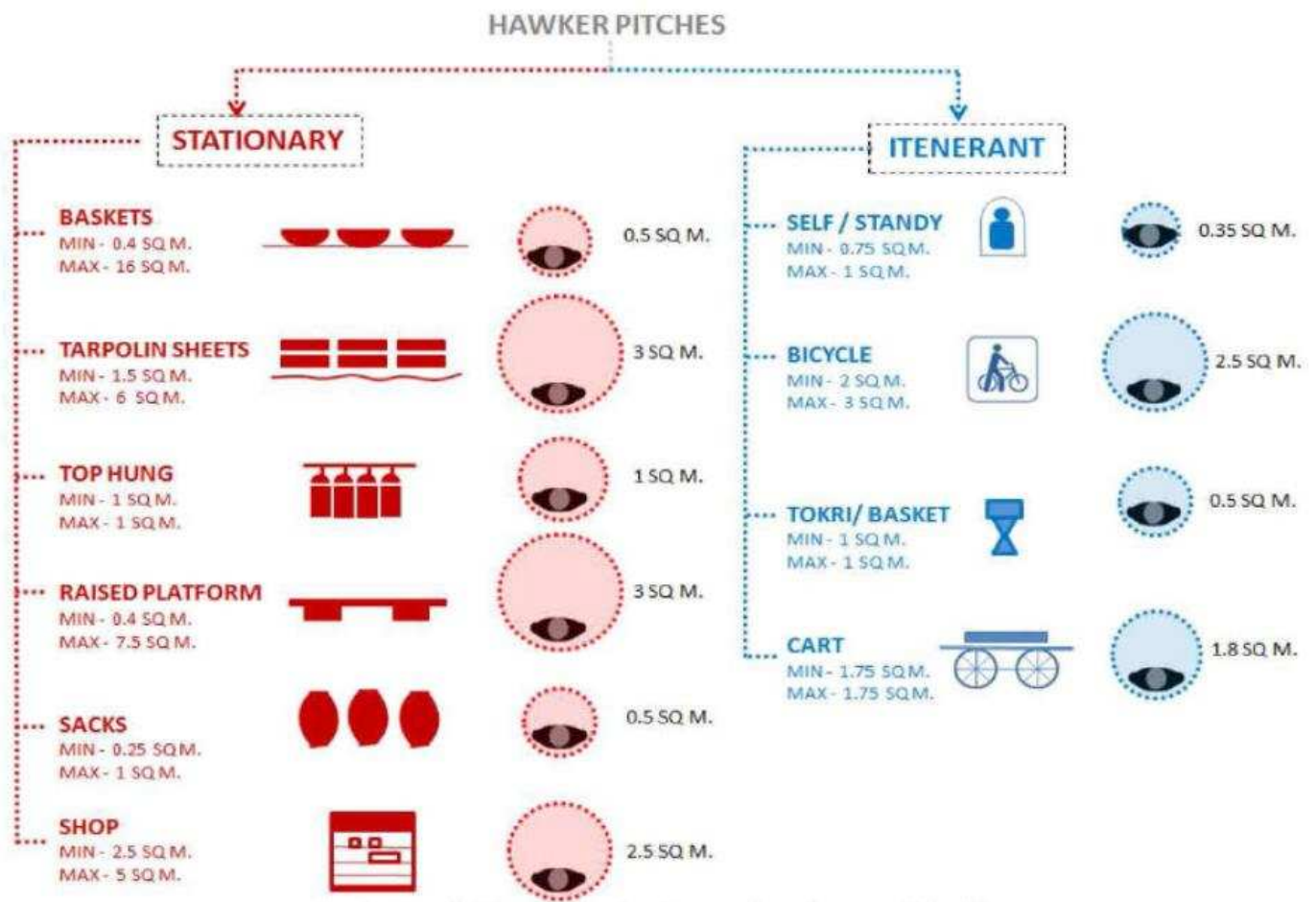


Figure 12: Type of pitches and footprints

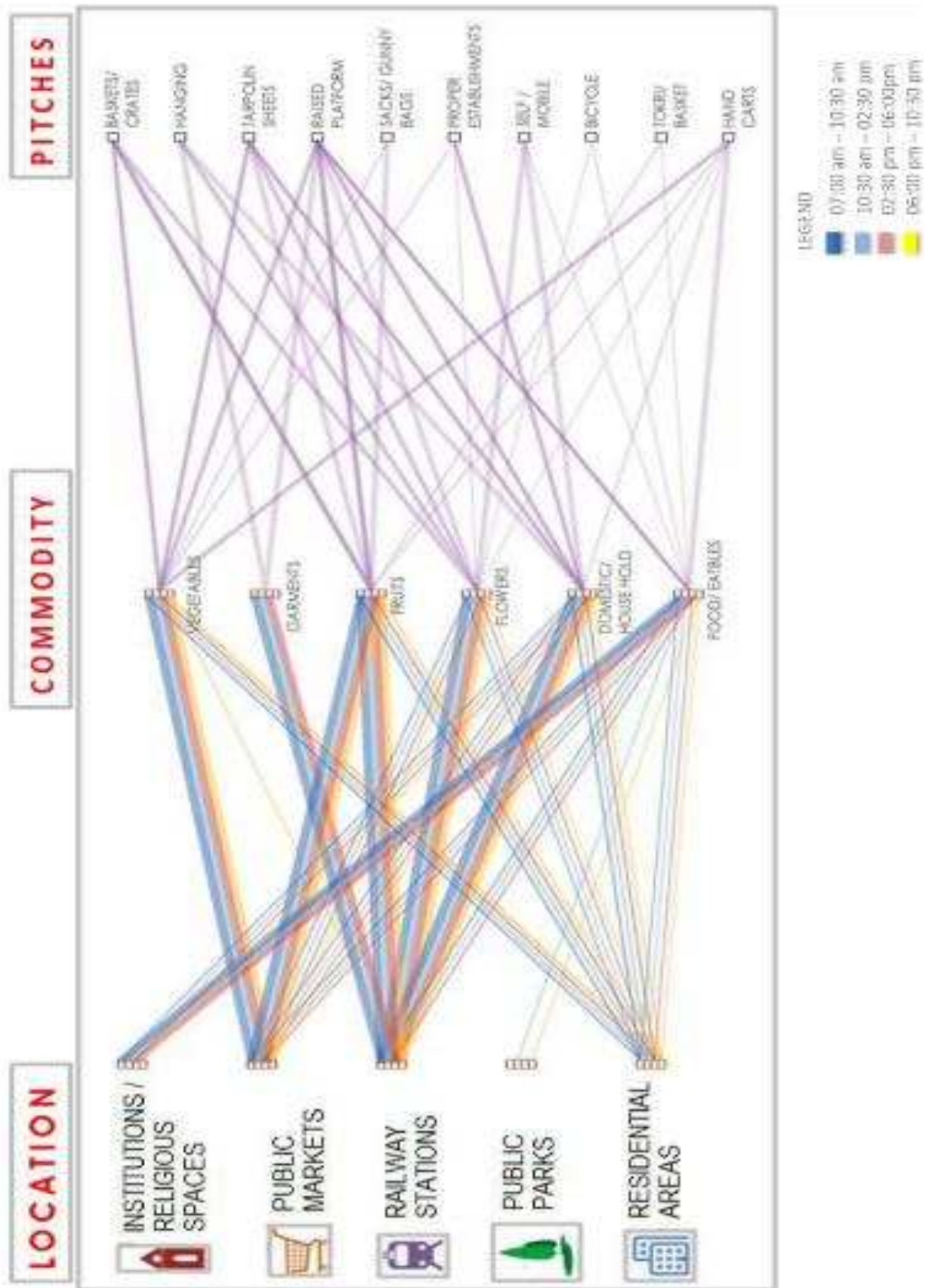


Figure 13:: Where, what, when and how matrix

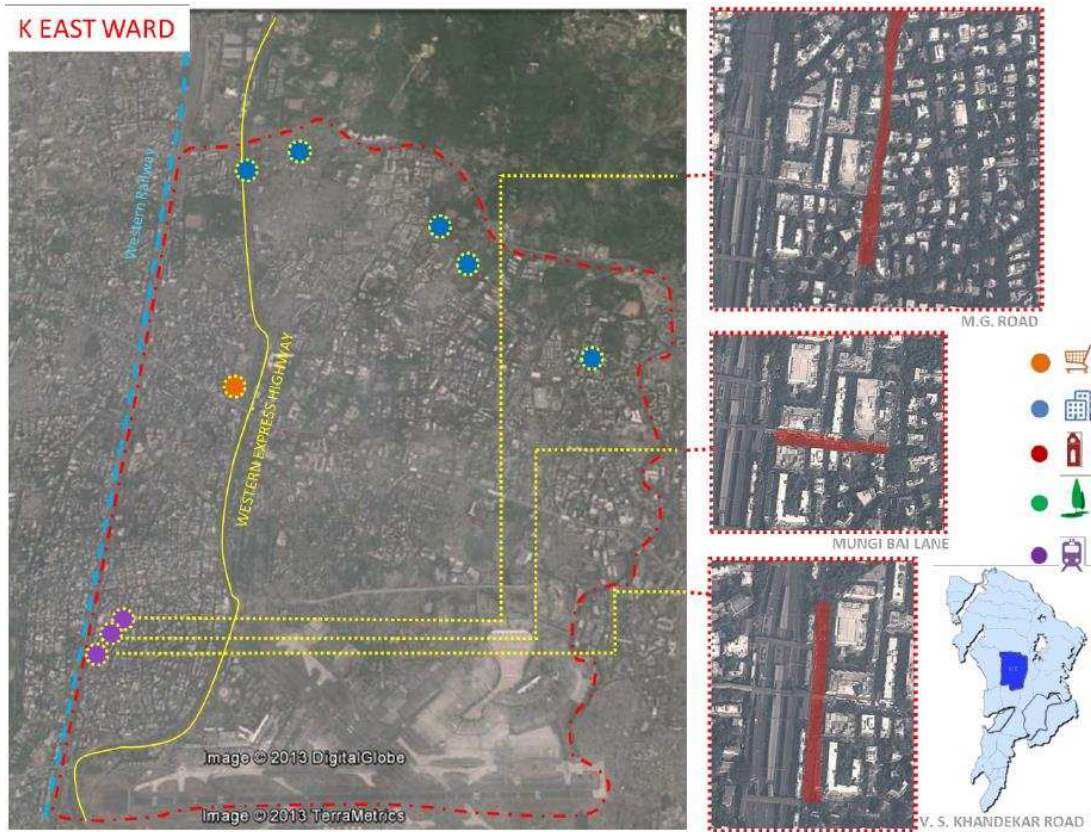


Figure 14: Existing hawking areas in K East ward

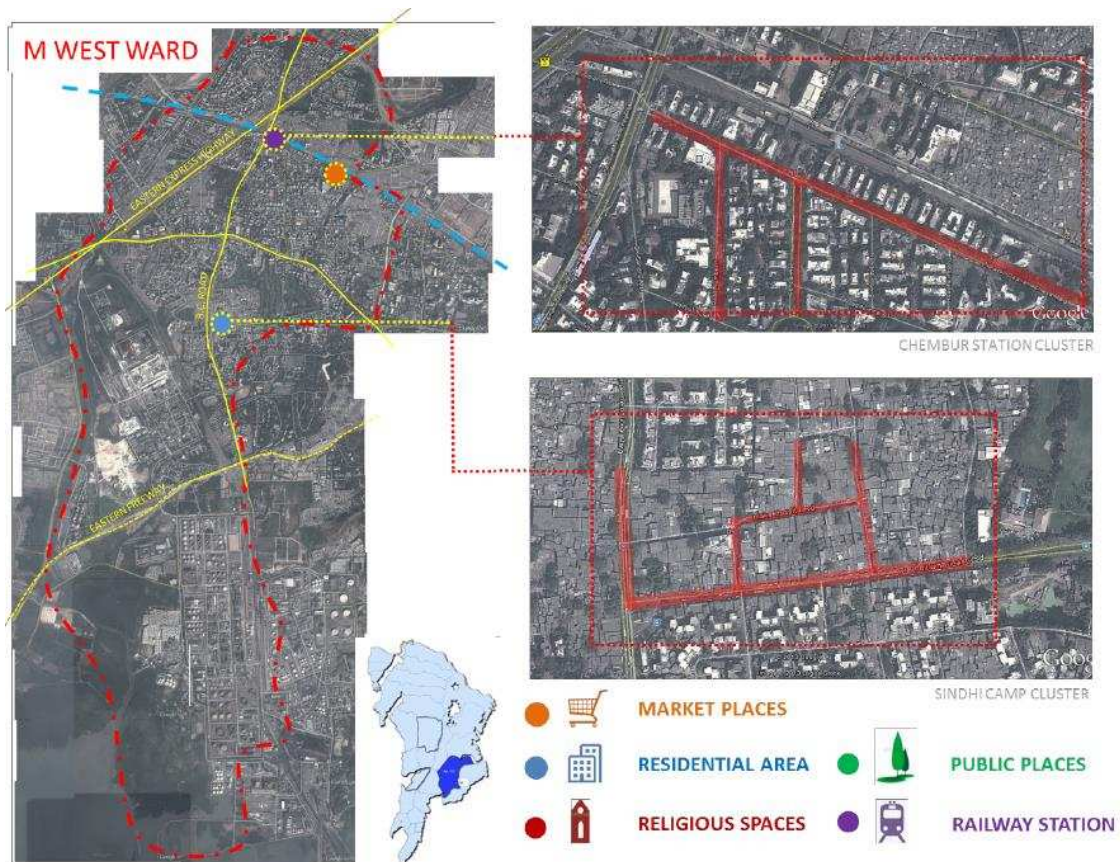


Figure 15: Existing Hawking areas in M West ward



Figure 16: Tripartite partnership model for creating vending zones in Bhubaneswar



Figure 17: Temporary bamboo pitches and permanent kiosks in Bhubaneswar

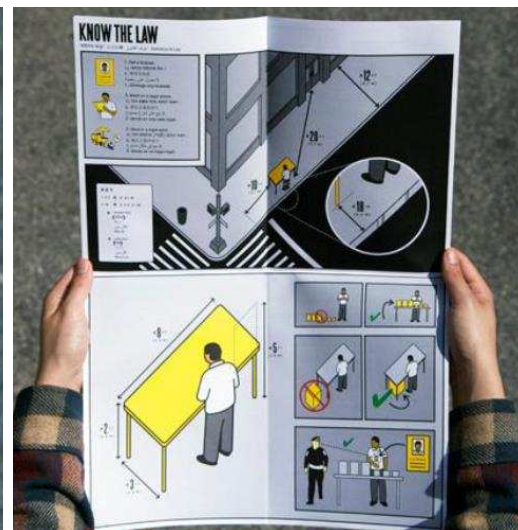
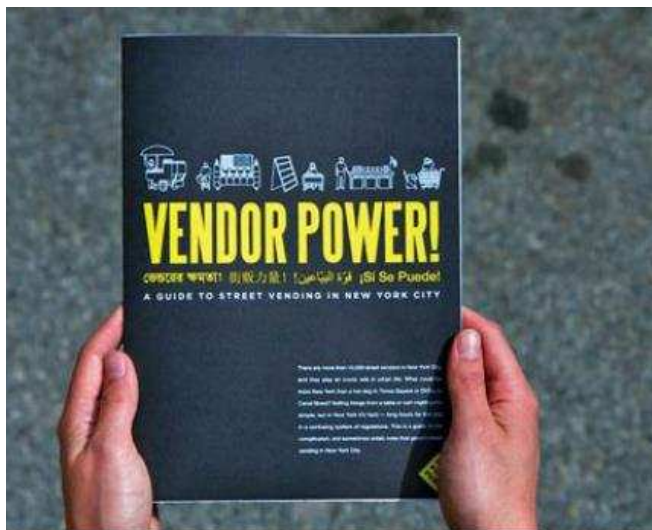


Figure 18: Multi-lingual 'Guide to street vending in New York'



Figure 19: Hawkers plaza in Dadar built in 2001- still mostly vacant.

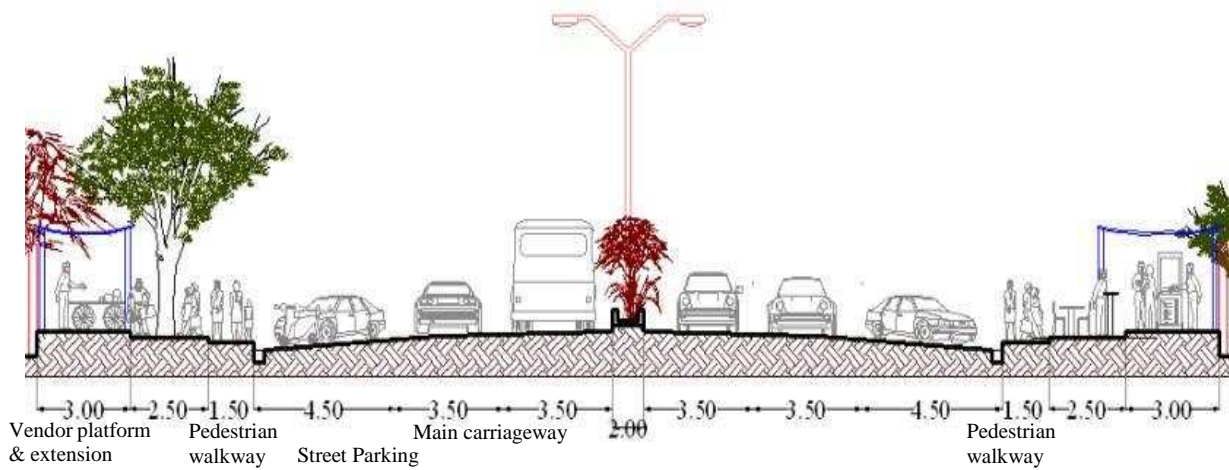


Figure 20: Proposed section for 40m wide Rd. integrating street vendors. Vadodra



Figure 21: Dadar Flower Market.

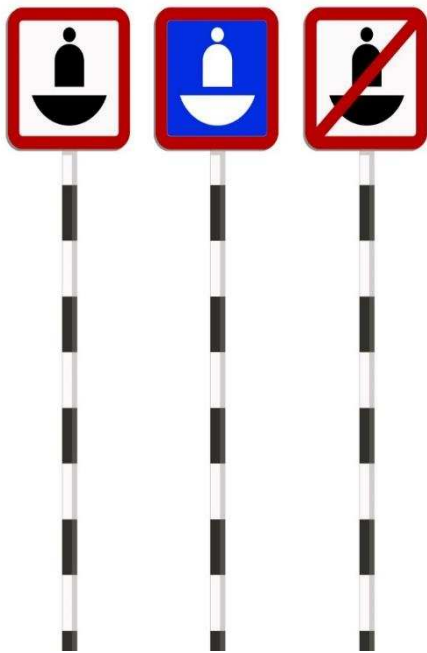


Figure 23: Street Signage for Hawkers zone



Figure 22: Uniforms for licensed hawkers

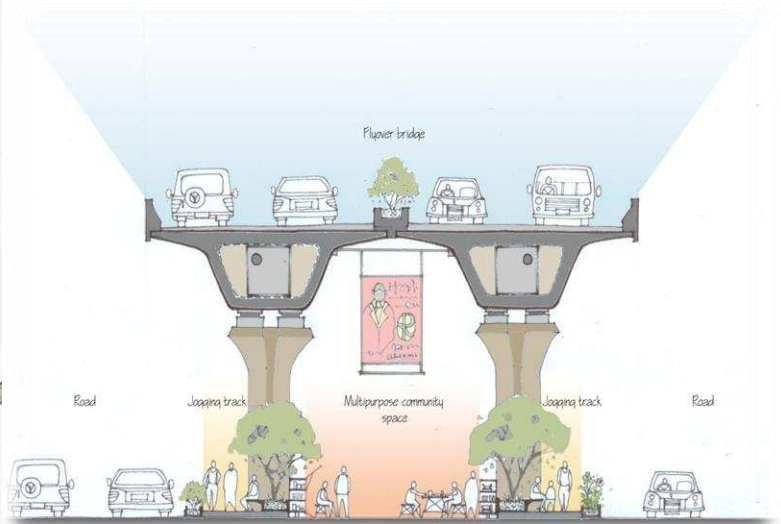
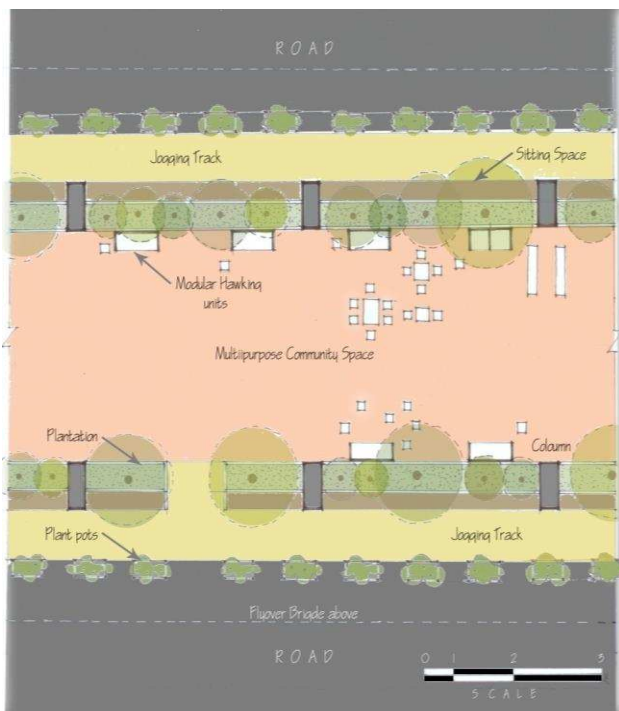


Figure 24: Creating public spaces under the flyovers. Ideal for F&B kiosks.

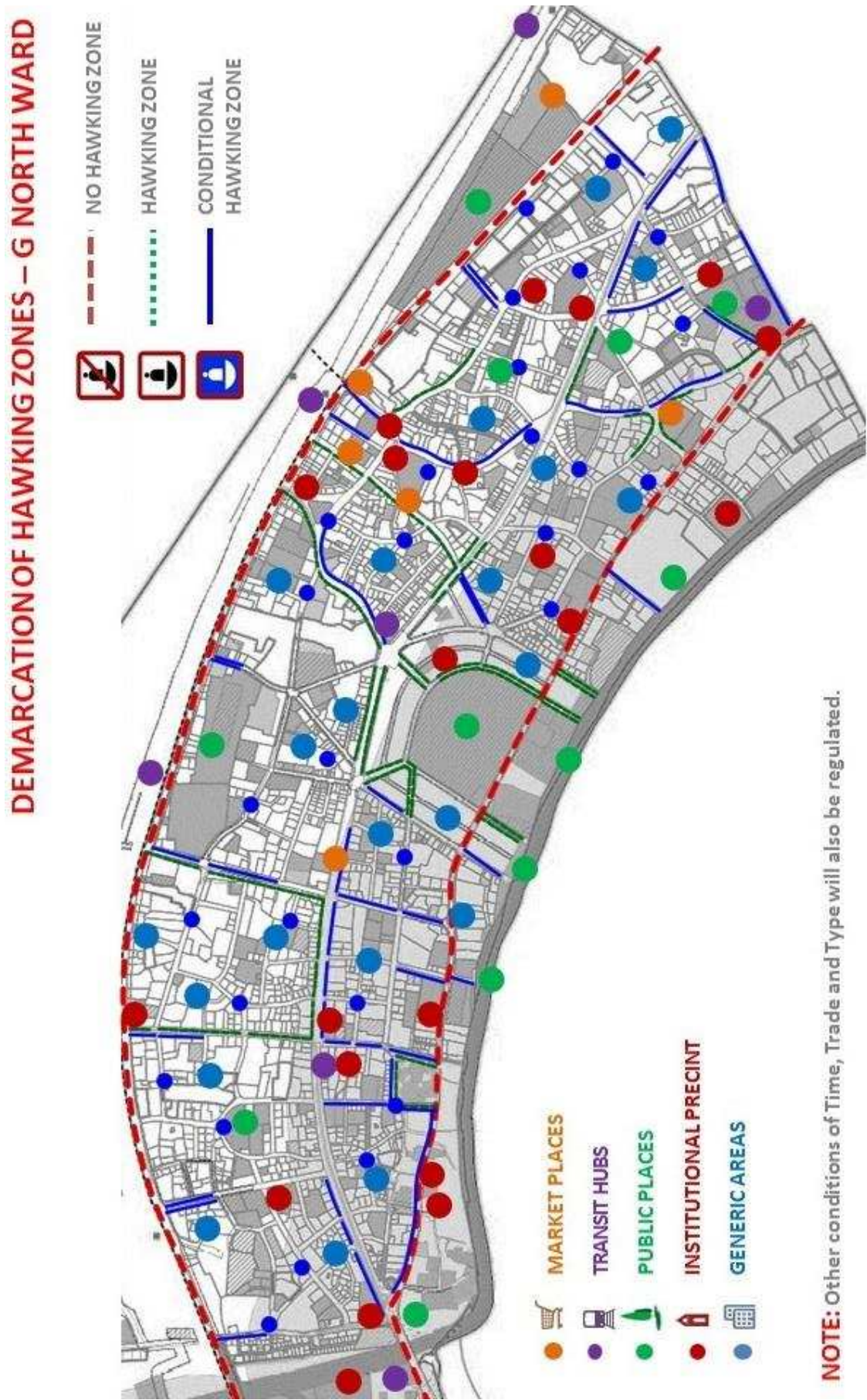


Figure 25: Hawking Plan for G (North) Ward

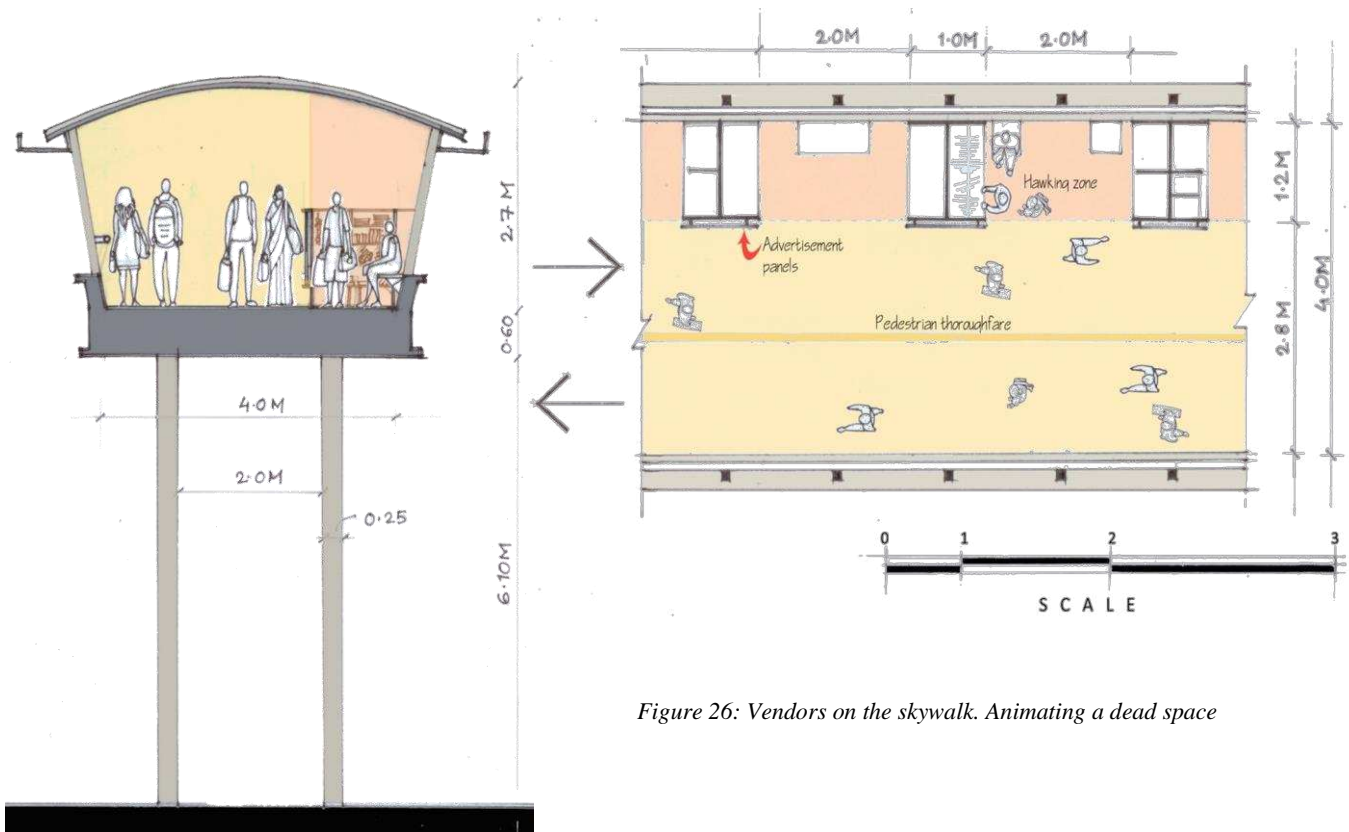


Figure 26: Vendors on the skywalk. Animating a dead space



Figure 27: Vending kiosk with the bus-stop

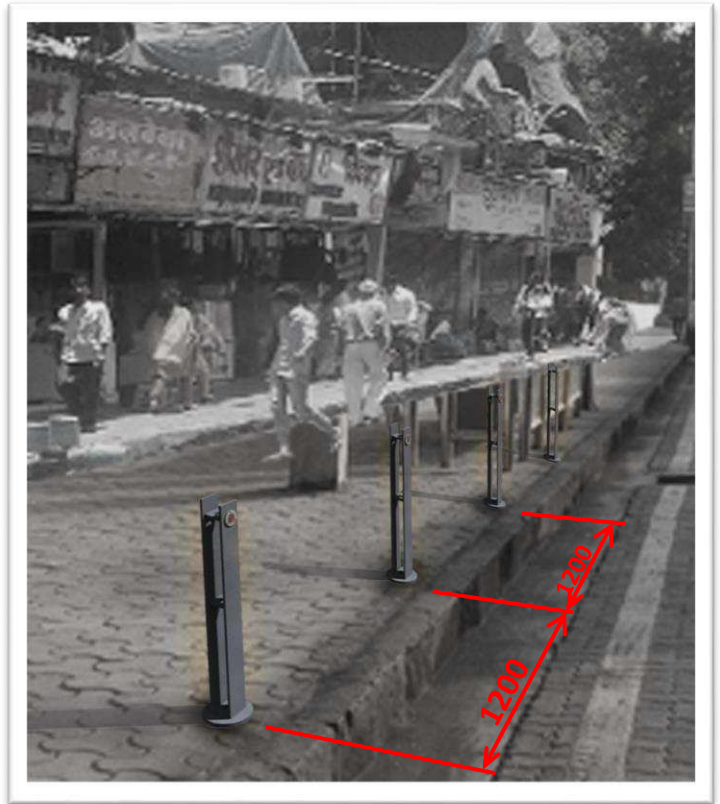


Figure 28: The Bollards and its deployment on the pavement edge

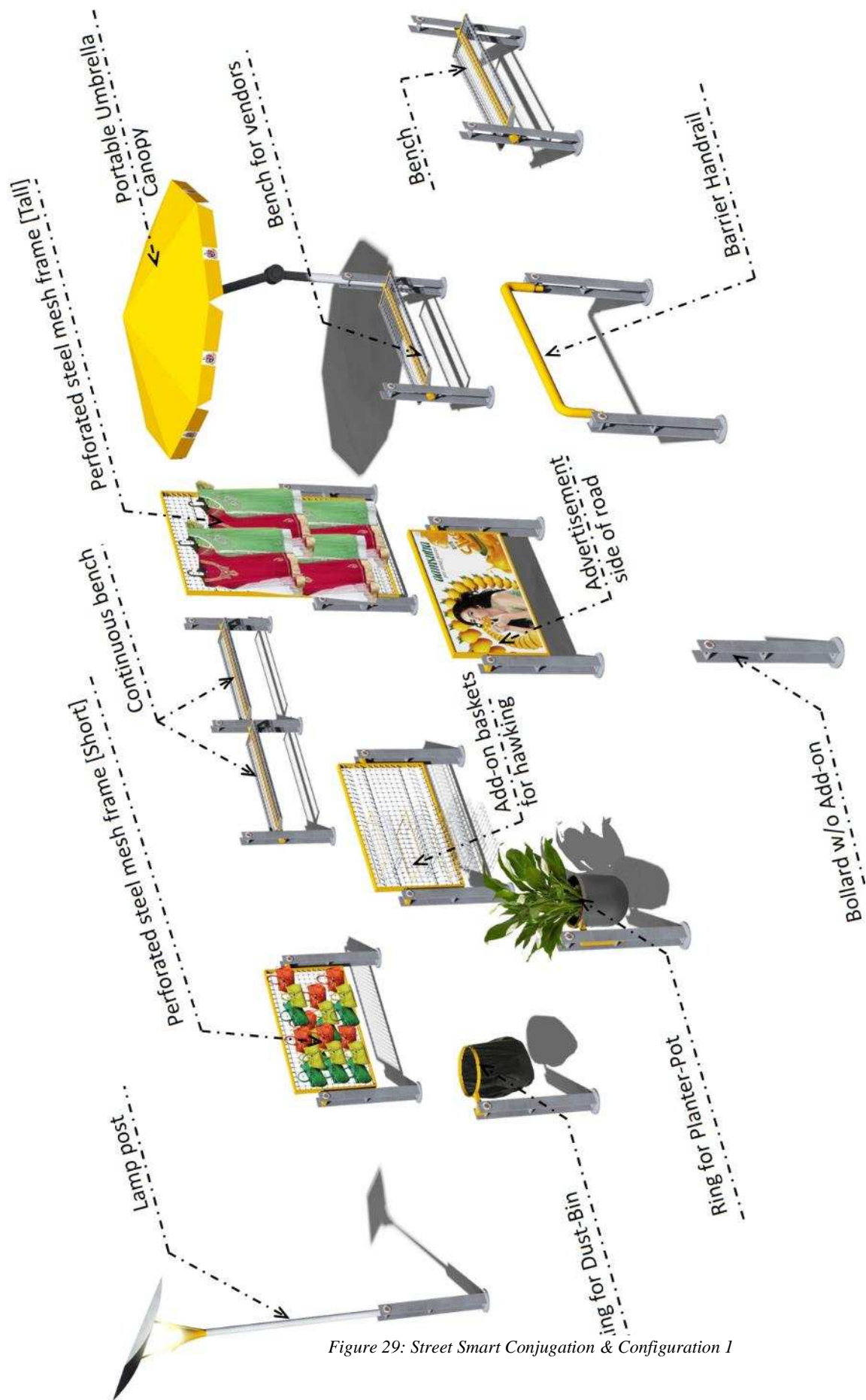


Figure 29: Street Smart Conjugation & Configuration I

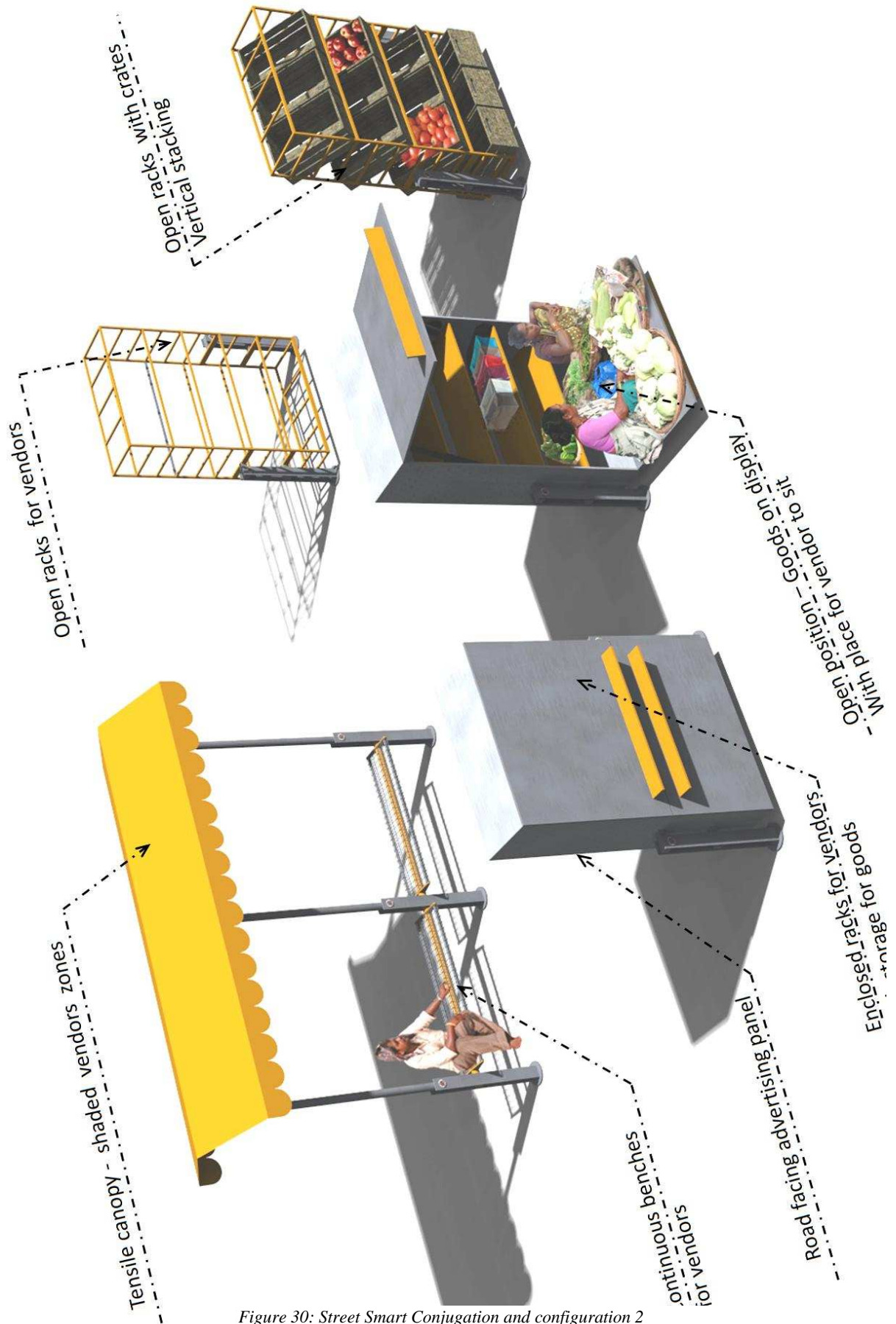


Figure 30: Street Smart Conjugation and configuration 2

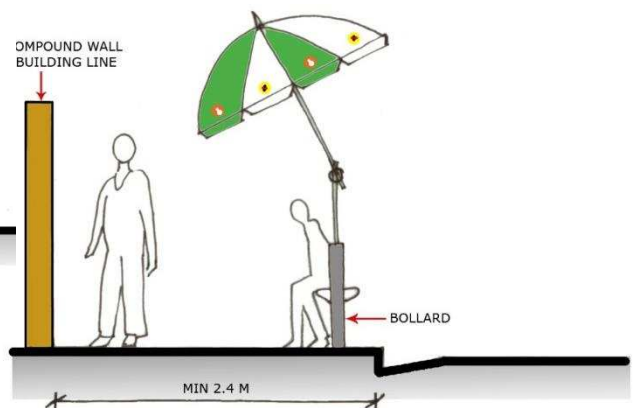
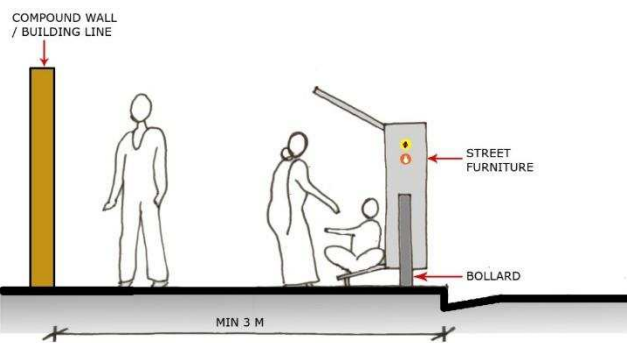
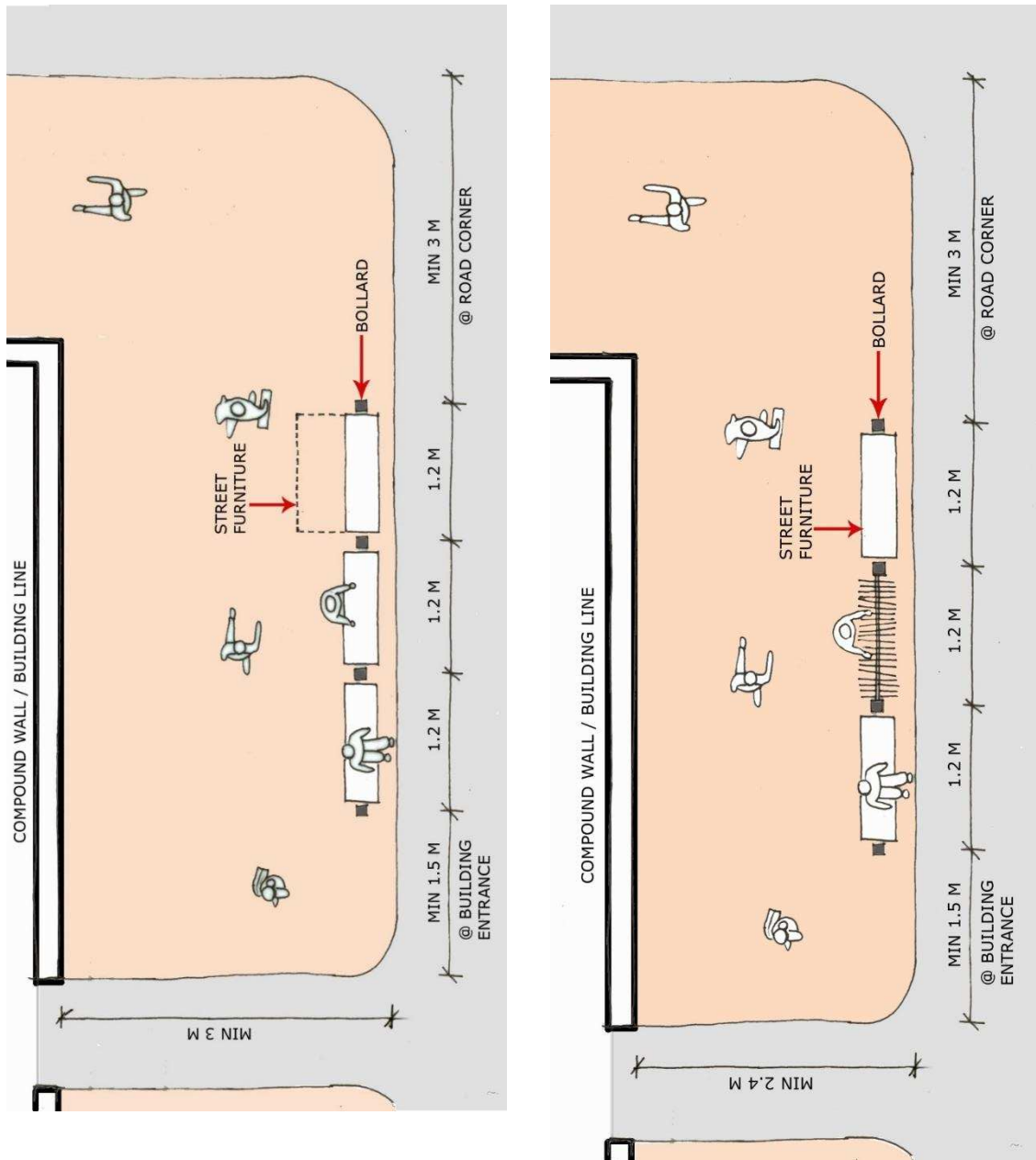


Figure 31: Occupation guidelines

