Analysis and Action for Sustainable Development of Hyderabad

Hyderabad as a Megacity of Tomorrow: Sustainable Urban Food and Health Security and Environmental Resource Management

Project funded by Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), Germany:
"Research for the Sustainable Development of the Megacities of Tomorrow"

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Research Reports are outcomes of the Pilot Projects implemented jointly in Hyderabad by the Pilot Project Groups of the Megacity Project of Hyderabad. These reports for analysis and action focus on *knowledge generation and application* as well as on *institutions and governance structures* concerning the core issues of poverty, food, nutrition, health, transport, environment and resource degradation. This has been made possible through joint research efforts, involving institutions of urban governance, communication with civic organisations, participation, co-operation and network linking. Views and opinions expressed in the reports do not necessarily represent those of the Project Consortium.

Street Food Vendors in the Food Provisioning System of Hyderabad

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Abstract
This preparatory case study provides an overview of the issue of the street food vending system in the South Indian emerging megacity of Hyderabad. It analyses the organisational structure and changing institutional arrangements of the urban roadside food vending system, looks at important livelihood aspects of the street vendors and examines the role street food plays in the urban food provisioning system. Primary research was carried out to collect empirical data on these issues. Embedded in a literature review, major problems and challenges of the street food vending system of Hyderabad are discussed. The findings point to the necessity for further action-research.

KEY WORDS: urban food system, street food vending, Hyderabad

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Foreword

India represents one major region of worldwide mega-urbanisation worldwide. Presently, the country has forty large cities/urban areas with a population of more than one million people. A total of some 130 million Indians, or 12 % of the national population, live in these cities. The Indian ranking of cities by size is headed by Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata; each of these megacities counting more than 15 million residents. According to UN estimates, Mumbai will cross the 20 million mark by 2010, Delhi about five years later. The "big three" are followed by the emerging mega-cities Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad, which are rapidly moving towards the 10 million mark with annual growth rates of 3 to 4 % annually (UN 2006).

As the Indian economy opened up to the world market, these large cities became the hub of industrial and economic activities and attractive destinations for foreign direct investments. They strongly emerged as the prime engines of India's booming economy and as generators of national wealth. Projections state that their contribution to the national economy has increased from 20% in 1951 to approximately 50% in 2001 (Dittrich 2004). In the context of globalisation and economic liberalisation processes India's large cities are also being faced with profound urban restructuring. They are growing much faster than their infrastructures, and their uncontrolled urban sprawl fosters large traffic volumes, high pollution levels, ecological overload, unregulated and disparate land and property markets, insufficient housing development and the disparity of extreme poverty and wealth living side by side. In present-day urban India, lavish skyscrapers and super-malls jostling with slums for space reflect an increasing social-economic polarisation and spatial fragmentation.

Recent studies show that city dwellers in India are particularly exposed to food insecurity and malnutrition. Yet, research on urban food systems is still scanty. A food system is defined here as the spatial, functional, institutional and environmental integration of four types of sub-systems: production, exchange, provisioning and consumption of food (Cannon 1991: 298). The present study focuses on one important part of the urban food provisioning system: the street food vending system. According to Bhowmik (2005: 2256), a street vendor is broadly defined as a person who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell. Street vendors may be stationary, in the sense that they occupy space on the pavements or other public/private spaces, or they may be mobile, in the sense that they move from place to place by carrying their products on pushcarts or in baskets.

In this study, the terms "street vendor" and "hawker" have the same meaning. For the urban poor, street vending (hawking) is one of the major means of earning their livelihoods, as it requires minor financial input and the skills involved are low.

Street vending has been an integral part of India's urban history and culture. During the last decade, the major Indian cities have seen a substantial increase in the number of street vendors, especially after the introduction of policies relating to structural adjustment and liberalisation. The main reasons for this are the increasing influx of rural labour, informalisation processes and downsizing of production units in the so-called formal economy, and the insufficient capacity of formal economic sectors to create adequate numbers of new jobs for persons with low educational background. The actual total number of street vendors nationwide is estimated at more than 10 million, about 25 to 30 % of them selling food products. Up to three hundred different types of edible goods sold by urban hawkers were counted in different surveys (Singh 2000).

Studies on street food vendors in India are rare and focus mainly on a few cities. In 2000, the National Alliance of Street Vendors in India (NASVI) organised a comprehensive study on hawkers in seven large cities, which included Bangalore, Mumbai and Kolkata. In Delhi, the feminist journal Manushi conducted a study on street vendors which showed how these people are exploited and harassed by the authorities. Other significant findings of the studies highlight both the role of street vendors in providing cheap food to urban dwellers and the employment potential of the street-vending system (Bhowmik 2000). In the emerging megacity of Hyderabad, no such detailed studies on the street-vending system have been conducted until now. There, street vendors are increasingly feeling the strain of urban renewal practises due to globalisation and economic liberalisation. Recently, the municipal authorities introduced for the first time a policy exclusively on street vendors, but without getting in touch with the persons concerned. This top-down approach already has had several negative implications on the livelihoods of the vendors. This study aims to provide information on the conflict-ridden governance structures of the street food vending system in Hyderabad and gives insight into livelihood-related issues of the vendors.

1 Introduction

Street vendors are part and parcel of life in an Indian city. Street vending serves as a livelihood basis and major source of income for many people who do not fit into the formal economic sector. As one major group of street vendors, street food vendors make up an important part of the urban food provisioning system of India's big cities. Aside from the vendors themselves, this sub-system includes actors involved in the production, cooking and transport of the food, as well as owners of pushcarts. The literature suggests that street food vending not only serves as an important income source for many people in the business, but it also contributes to the food security of the poor and lower middle-class strata of Indian urban society (FAO 1995): even more so as the demand for street foods, being convenient and low priced, is likely to increase in the future (Bharathi 1995; Bhat 2000). Possible reasons for this are the rise in urban populations through migration of rural job seekers to urban centres; poor economic conditions, including low wages and high unemployment; travel requirements for workers who live far away; and an increasing number of women being employed, who, as a result, have little time left for cooking (Bhat 2000; Foods & Nutrition News 2004). At the same time, street vendors are constantly struggling to secure their living and to justify their co-existence with the formal part of the urban economy.

As part of the globalisation and economic liberalisation process, India's big cities have been increasingly exposed to profound urban restructuring. They are growing much faster than their infrastructures, and their uncontrolled urban sprawl fosters high traffic volumes, high concentration of industrial production, ecological overload, unregulated and disparate land and property markets, insufficient housing development and extremes of poverty and wealth living side by side. In present urban India, lavish skyscrapers and super-malls jostling with slums for space reflect deepening socio-economic polarisation and increasing spatial fragmentation. Under these rapidly-changing circumstances, urban governmental priorities shift and policies change. To do justice to all those concerned is a great challenge for the authorities and seems to be almost impossible. These changes and new policies also affect the urban roadside food vending system and the people involved in it.

This study intends to provide an overview of the roadside food vending system in Hyderabad (vendors, food stalls), how it is organised, who is involved, and what problems exist. The study also looks at the importance of roadside food vending for the livelihoods of the people involved as well as at the role street food plays in the urban food provisioning

system. Another important aspect focuses on the changing legal and socio-economic context at local, state and national levels and its effect on the street food vendors.

This paper provides the basis for further research; it does not aim to investigate all facets of the issue in detail, but rather to give recommendations for further action-oriented research.

Studies to determine the significance of street vendors as well as studies that point out problems and possible improvements, have been carried out in several Indian cities such as Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Kolkata, Imphal, Patna, Bhubaneshwar and Bangalore (Bhowmik 2005). In Hyderabad, however, no such detailed study has been conducted until now. Limited research on specific elements of the street food vending system has been done, focusing on safety and hygienic aspects (Bharathi 1995; Naga Lakshmi 1995; Waghray & Bhat 1994). This study aims to close the gap, at least to some extent, and provides the basis for further research.

The report is organised as follows: In section one the conceptual framework of the study is presented. Section two focuses on the fieldwork and research methodology. The detailed results of the study are presented in section three, which first illustrates the dimensions and main problems of the roadside food vending system and then looks at laws, regulations and institutions governing it. Thereafter, occupational activities, distribution chains, and livelihood-related issues are illustrated. In section four, the results of the empirical study are discussed, conclusions are drawn, and recommendations for further applied research are given. The appendix includes contact details of people involved in the field and experts who were interviewed. In addition, questionnaires and photos taken during the research are attached.

2 Conceptual Framework

This study is embedded in the framework of urban food system research (Bohle 1990; Bohle & Adhikari 2002; Cannon 1991; Crang 2000). Urban food systems are complex networks of production, distribution and consumption. One part of the urban food distribution system is the street food vending system, which is the focus of this study. The role of street food vending within the food provisioning system in Hyderabad, its co-existence with the "formal" economy, and its role in the food security of the urban poor was benn the focus of our analysis. Food security is achieved when "all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO 1996). Key factors that contribute to a functioning food system are availability, accessibility, acceptability and adequacy:

Availability – provision of a sufficient supply of food for all people at all times. This has always been a major challenge. Although technical and scientific innovations have made important contributions focused on quality and economies of scale, little attention has been paid to the sustainability of such practices.

Accessibility – equality of access to food for everyone. Within and between societies, inequities have resulted in serious entitlement problems, reflecting class, gender, ethnic, racial, and age differentials, as well as national and regional gaps in development.

Acceptability – food and food practices of cultures and societies have to be considered in order to provide food security.

Adequacy – sustainability of production, distribution and consumption.

Moreover, the role of street food vending for the vendors themselves is an important aspect of the whole network. Only if they can secure their livelihoods by engaging in the urban food system can the system be sustainable.

3 Field Work and Research Methodology

Establishing connections with people and organisations familiar with the street food vending system of Hyderabad was a first important step in this research project. Interviews with experts from different institutions, governmental and non-governmental, were carried out, namely with representatives from the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, the Traffic Police, the National Institute of Nutrition (NIN) and different NGOs.

The interviews offered insight into different perspectives on the subject. Aside from other interesting and helpful aspects/inputs regarding policies, structures and existing issues concerning street food vending, suggestions about relevant locations for interviews with street food vendors were put forward. Interviews with street food vendors were conducted with the help of standardised questionnaires. In total, fifty street food vendors were interviewed (n = 50 in all graphs concerning street food vendors, if not indicated otherwise). Different areas within the city were selected: low-income areas, middle-class areas and city quarters where both of these income-groups live. The areas included Charminar, Koti, Abids, the main street in front of Kottapet Fruit Market, Himayatnagar, Patancheru and Chandanagar, Mozamjahi Market, Ameerped (Panjagutha Road), Adarsh Nagar/Basheerbagh, Nampalli Railway Station, and Lumbini Park. Interviews were conducted at a bus stand, in front of a railway station, in residential areas, along main and minor streets, and in front of business complexes. Four out of the fifty interviews were conducted in Mehdipatnam at Rythu Bazar in order to see the different circumstances of food vendors that (apparently) sell under government-regulated conditions (figure 1).
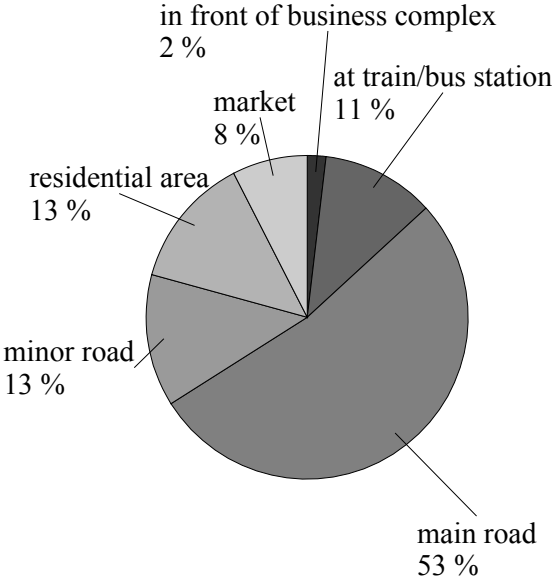
Figure 1: Vending Location

Out of these fifty interviewed vendors, nineteen sold fruit and/or vegetables (eleven sold only fruit, seven only vegetables), twenty vendors sold all kinds of vegetarian snacks, and eleven sold beverages and sweets (figure 2). Table 1 shows the specification of items sold in each category.
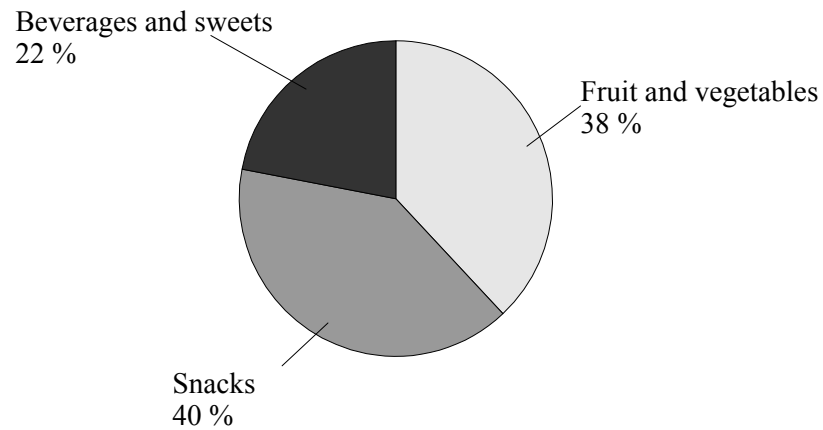

Figure 2: Type of Food Sold by Vendors

Table 1: Items Sold in Each Category

Fruit and vegetables

Fruits:	Apples, bananas, grapes, pineapples, pomegranates, figs, dried dates, lemons, limes, watermelons, avocados (in the dry season also mangoes)
Vegetables:	Onions, tomatoes, eggplants, ladyfingers, etc.

Vegetarian snacks

Chat:	Whole chickpea/Bengal gram cooked with spices, potatoes and tomatoes
Tiffin:	Breakfast preparations like different kinds of dosa and bajji
Dosa:	Pancake made with fermented black gram and rice (masala dosa: dosa filled with potatoes, onion, spices; plain dosa: no filling, etc.)
Bonda:	Deep fried snack prepared with balls of mashed potato and chickpea/Bengal gram flour
Bajji:	Deep-fried snack made with chickpea flour and vegetables
Puri:	Deep-fried snack made of wheat flour
Pani Puri:	Puri eaten with "masala pani" (water containing tamarind juice, rock salt, black pepper, coriander and cumin-seed powder, red chillies and salt) and sprouted chickpea/Bengal gram
Samosa:	Fried snack made of refined wheat flour, potatoes, peas or mixed vegetables
Mixed masala:	Mixture of puffed rice, fried lentils, chopped onions, selected spices, chutney and puri
Fried corn	

Sweets and beverages

Tea	
Fruitjuices:	Pineapple, mozambee, sugarcane, grape
Lime soda:	Carbonated water with limes
Ice-cream	
Kulfi:	Ice-cream made with milk, "khoa" (mildly evaporated to remove moisture), sugar and dried fruits
Waffles, cookies	

Source: Waghray & Bhat (1994) and own research, 2006.

In addition, twenty consumers (n = 20 in all graphs concerning consumers, if not indicated otherwise) were interviewed with questionnaires in different locations, namely Charminar,

Koti, Himayatnagar, Mozamjahi, Nampalli R.S., Adarsh Nagar, Basheerbagh, Mehdipatnam, Rythu Bazar, Ameerped-Panjagutha Road, Hussain Sagar, and Lumbini Park.

Observation, literature reasearch, and photographic documentation were further methods employed during field research.

4 Results of the Empirical Case Study

4.1 Dimensions and Main Problems of the Street Food Vending System

According to Sri. N. Narasima Reddy[1], there are about 10,000 to 15,000 street food vendors in Hyderabad, out of which 10 to 15 % are women. In Hyderabad, the total number of street vendors amounts to 40,000 to 50,000 and is still increasing, as street vending is an adequate source of income for non-educated people. Moreover, no prior knowledge and little money is needed to start such a business. Furthermore, as the number of working women rises, the time they have for cooking becomes limited. Instead of cooking, they buy food packed in little plastic bags from the vendors on their way home from work. These women are the so-called "plastic bag housewives" (Bhat 2006)[2]. In addition, the floating population in Hyderabad is increasing, due to higher mobility and high unemployment, so that people have to travel long distances to get to work. For commuters, the vendors on the roadside are major sources for food (Dr. Reddy's Foundation 2006). Hence the demand for street food increases.

In recent years, Andhra Pradesh's capital has developed into one of India's hottest business destinations. The city has emerged as the capital of Indian life sciences and as one of the country's leading centres of information and communication technologies. Urban renewal and increasing purchasing power of the urban middle-classes have led to a tremendous growth in vehicular traffic. The traffic police and city planning institutions now look on street vendors as a major obstruction. No wonder that, when it comes to keeping the streets, footpaths and places of public utilities clear of obstruction or encroachments, policemen and other enforcement personnel treat vendors as a nuisance to be gotten rid of. For the vendors, however, it is precisely these sites where they can best make their living. As a consequence of this, the already existing conflicts between different street users are growing more acute.

City growth and increases in traffic volume are taking place much faster than the development of an adequate infrastructure. Currently, there are about 1.6 million registered vehicles in the twin-cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad (table 2), and the transport department registers about 300 new vehicles (two- as well as four-wheelers) daily. There are almost 70,000 auto-rickshaws alone registered. These high and still increasing numbers create

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[1] Interview with Sri. N. Narasima Reddy, former Minister, A.P. State Government and leader of the union of vendors and hawkers (since 1962).

[2] Interview with R.V. Bhat, National Institute of Nutrition (NIN).

many problems and challenges for city planning. During rush hour, for example, the main streets in the centre of the old city (Charminar area) are completely blocked, and people tend to avoid taking Panjagutha Road, as traffic jams occur on a regular basis. There seems to be hardly any way forward for road users neither for busses, cars or auto-rickshaws nor for street vendors or pedestrians.

Table 2: Number and Type of Registered Vehicles

Type of vehicle	Number registered (as of 12/2006)
Motor cars / Jeeps	219,959
Motor cycles / Scooters	1,234,772
Goods vehicles	71,368
Taxis	21,654
Buses / Lorries	14,891
Auto-rickshaws	68,469
Tractors	927
Others	5,700
Total in 2006	1,637,740
Total in 2005	1,527,470

Source: Unpublished documents of the Traffic Police Department, Hyderabad

One of the municipality's strategies for limiting the enormous traffic increase has been to limit the increase of the number of auto-rickshaws. For the past two years, no permission has been given to register new auto-rickshaws, only the replacement of old ones has been possible. The eleven surrounding municipalities, however, still issue new titles (for auto-rikshaws), which are then taken to Hyderabad city. Therefore, the idea of limiting the number the auto-rickshaws has failed.[3] Other strategies of the Municipal Corporation for solving the problem of limited space include road widening, removal of houses, and restrictions on street vending (for further details, see section 3.2).

Another concern is the sanitary and hygienic conditions. A number of studies on street food safety have been carried out across India, some of them in Hyderabad (Bharathi 1995; Naga Lakshmi 1995; Waghray & Bhat 1994). The studies point out that street foods raise

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[3] Interview with Anil Kumar, Deputy Commissioner of Traffic Police, Hyderabad.

concerns with respect to their potential for serious food poisoning outbreaks, due to microbiological contamination, improper use of additives and the presence of adulterants and environmental contaminants, as food is often not covered, as well as to the poor personal hygiene of vendors and improper handling of food. There is also a lack of both clean water and facilities for garbage disposal. The literature also suggests how these problems could be solved, for example, by allowing the establishment of stalls only in clean and well-kept surroundings - away from garbage, public urinals and open sewers - arranging adequate facilities for providing drinking water and waste disposal, maintaining close scrutiny over food safety, and providing sanitary-hygienic education for food vendors, who should be healthy and free from communicable diseases, wear clean clothes, use clean plates/leaves for serving food, etc. However, these suggested improvements are far from being realised. The project "Aarogya – safe food, safe water", initiated by Dr. Reddy's Foundation (DRF) in the city of Karimabad, about 100 km north of Hyderabad, is one promising example of how an improvement on such matters could be achieved, at least on a small scale.

Figure 3 shows the major problems street food vendors have to face according to their own and their consumers' statements.
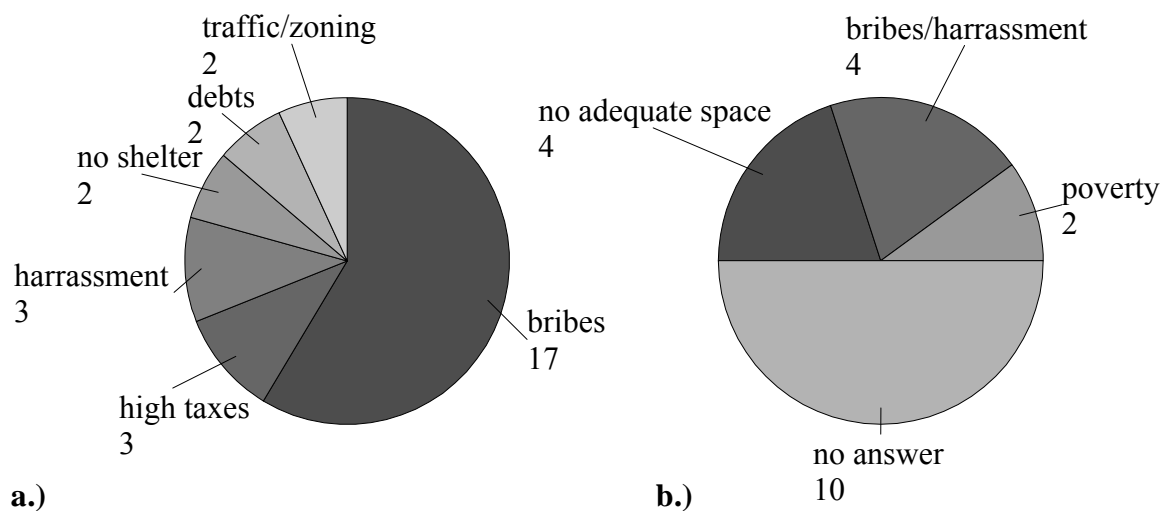
Figure 3: Major Problems of Vendors According to a) Their Own Statements, b) Consumers' Statements

Bribe money had to be paid regularly by one third of the vendors, and those seventeen vendors named paying bribes as their major problem. Those who did not talk about bribery as a problem said they did not have to pay any. It is, however, unclear, why some vendors are made to pay and others, selling in the same area, are not. Having to pay bribes is connected

with the problem of zoning and traffic, as vendors often have to pay bribes to traffic police in order to be allowed to stay on a road or sidewalk where they are not supposed to sell, because they are said to obstruct traffic. Bribery is also closely linked to harassment, as making vendors pay is one form of harassing them. According to vendors, it is also common for traffic police or local criminals to consume without paying. Vending children seem to be the most likely victims of this form of persecution.

Even though by law children under the age of 14 are not allowed to work, it is common practice for children to be exposed to hard labour in India. Poverty and a high unemployment rate force parents to send their children to work. The street food vending sector is no exception in this respect. As already mentioned, little money and no special skills are required to get involved in street food vending. There are quite a few children either working together with their parents or working alone to earn a living for their family. They may be taken out of school, or may even never have attended school. Some are sent from the countryside to the city on their own; the money they earn is to be sent back home to support the family. In the survey, only one under age person was interviewed, as others asked did not want to give any information. The impression also emerged that very young vendors often did not reveal their real age. Other problems mentioned by vendors were debts, high taxation, homelessness and the already discussed traffic congestion, which for them has brought with it the recently introduced zoning system (see 3.2). Another issue mentioned was the lack of shelter. Not only is the food not protected from weather and dust, but most vendors themselves are also exposed to rain and heat.

Fifty percent of consumers who were interviewed stated that they were not aware of any problems vendors had to face. Four saw the biggest problem in the unavailability of proper locations from which to vend.. Street food vendors are not wanted on the streets or sidewalks because they are said cause obstruction yet. There are no other centrally located areas nearby with appropriate infrastructure available either. Four others said harassment by traffic police and bribery were the biggest issues. Furthermore, poverty was seen as a problem, as most vendors earn little, do not have any other chance to earn their living, and would therefore be poor if they were not involved in the street vending business.

4.2 Laws, Regulations and the Institutional Context

City authorities are confronted with the difficult task of solving these problems and defining the conditions under which street food vendors should be allowed to operate. According to the

FAO, this decision should depend upon an evaluation of the positive socio-economic and cultural factors in favour of street foods and the potential negative factors, including traffic congestion, blocking of pavements, accumulation of filth and garbage, and the illegal use of water and electricity (FAO 1995).

In India there is no special law regulating street food vending. But, as it is part of street vending, it falls under the laws and policies of street vending in general. In 2004, the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors was passed by India's government. It states that the role played by vendors in society and the economy needs to be given due credit; however, in reality they are still considered as unlawful entities and are subject to continuous harassment by police and other civic authorities. This still continues even after the Supreme Court ruled that,

> "if properly regulated according to the exigency of the circumstances, the small traders on the sidewalks can considerably add to the comfort and convenience of the general public, by making ordinary articles of everyday use for a comparatively lesser price available. An ordinary person, not very affluent, while hurrying towards his home after a day's work can pick up these articles without going out of his way to find a regular market. The right to carry on trade or business mentioned in Article 19(1)g of the Constitution, on street pavements, if properly regulated cannot be denied on the ground that the streets are meant exclusively for passing or re-passing and no other use."

Articles 39 (a) and (b) of the Constitution mention that the state shall in particular direct its policy in a way that

" (a) the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good."

Street food vendors provide important services to the urban population while trying to earn a living. By law, the state is required to protect the right of this section of the population to earn their livelihood. Therefore, the question in India is not whether street food vending should be allowed, but rather in what way vendors should be able to operate their business in a growing and changing Indian metropolis.

Based on the National Policy on Street Vendors, the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH) has introduced a policy on street vendors. It recognises that, for the urban poor, street vending is a source gainful employment. Self-employment of this section of society has to be

encouraged. Nevertheless, concerns have been expressed about an exploding number of street vendors causing street congestion, the lack of sanitation facilities and hygiene in the food items sold by the street vendors, and deterioration of law, order and security. Furthermore, simplifying the regulatory process of hawkers has been another aim. The national policy was developed around these considerations. It includes issuing ID-cards for mobile vendors using pushcarts, cycles, cycle- and autorickshaws, portable baskets and the like. Vendors selling their items on the ground and those that use permanent constructions are not included in the policy. Many street food vendors sit on sidewalks selling fruit or vegetables, however; they have no right to apply for licenses, are still considered to be illegal, and are not considered in any other policy. Those who fall under the policy – this includes anyone who wants to start a mobile vending business – can apply for an ID-card, which should then be issued for free. Mr. Yadav Laxman, president of EKTHA – Footpath Vendors Association Hyderabad – revealed, however, that some vendors are asked to pay for their ID-cards. EKTHA supports vendors and tries to prevent such illegal payments. "The sole purpose of registration," the policy explicitly states, "is to provide reliable identification […], it is not a permit to engage in any trade as no such permit is needed because right to livelihood is a fundamental right" said Mr. Y. Laxman. Moreover, the policy contains a demarcation of the seven districts within Hyderabad into three different zones (green, amber and red zones):

- Free/Green vending areas: areas where street vending is allowed without restrictions;

- Restricted/Amber vending areas: areas where vending is permitted on specific days and/or at specific times;

- No/Red vending areas: areas where no street vending is permitted.

The policy adds:

- The division into green, amber and red zones may vary with time of day or day of the week and is to be revised periodically.

- The division shall be worked out by each of the Urban Local Bodies through formal consultation of elected representatives, local Chambers of Commerce/residents associations, vendors' associations, NGOs, etc.

This aspect will be discussed in more detail below. Many vendors do not agree with the new policy, as they see it putting their livelihoods in danger. This is why demonstrations have been taking place against its implementation.

Nonetheless, the policy is already in the process of being enforced. Coloured signs marking the different areas have been put up, which clearly demarcate the specific vending areas and note special restrictions (for amber areas). Violations of these rules are penalised with fees. If a vendor refuses to pay or is not able to pay, his "bandi" (pushcart) is taken away. It is possible to get it back the next day by paying a higher fee. Only the push cart itself is allowed to be taken away; however, street food vendors have criticised that sometimes the food is taken as well, hence the day's income is lost.

A further issue is the fact that most hotspots for vendors on busy streets are now marked as red or amber zones. Consequently, street food vendors are no longer allowed to pursue their business in these areas or, in the case of the amber zones, only at certain times, which are mostly restricted to midday. The busiest times in the evenings are often considered to be no-vending times, as not only sales are the highest at that time of day, but also traffic congestion is at its peak. Understandably, this leads to aggravation amongst the vendors, as traffic receives priority over their business. The contentious point is whether being restricted to doing business at certain times only in certain locations endangers the livelihoods of the vendors. According to municipality officials this is not the case, and vendors may continue their business in other, less busy streets nearby. Roadside vendors argue that there is a reason for selling on busy streets, as customers tend to buy when passing, and convenience is one of the main reasons for people to buy their food from street food vendors.

The effects of implementing the new policy will only become obvious soon. Questions like those as to whether incomes will be reduced due to relocation of the vendors, or whether customers will go out of their way in order to purchase street foods, cannot be answered until that time.

Issues concerning food safety, nutrition, and sanitary-hygienic conditions are not considered in the policy. As publications suggest, however, further plans are being made to provide adequate locations where street foods can be prepared and sold, where drinking water, garbage disposal services, toilets and the like are accessible (FAO 1995; Bhat 2000). One such government-established market is Rythu Market in Mehdipatnam. The fruit and vegetable vendors there have never been street food vendors before, but are mainly farmers from the surrounding villages of Hyderabad that were given the opportunity to sell their own crops at the market. It is questionable whether this can be a suitable solution for street food vendors as a marketplace arrangement is a completely different concept from roadside vending.

4.3 Occupational Activities and Distribution Chains

The occupational activities of street food vendors fall under three main categories: buying, preparing, and selling the food. These activities and their distribution chains are considered more closely in this section.

Forty-five out of fifty street food vendors sold their items in the same place every day. Only five moved through the streets to sell in various places. Street food vendors used pushcarts, portable vending plates on wooden stands, baskets, stable temporary constructions, or the ground as their vending place. Interestingly, there were hardly any women with pushcarts. At the time of research for this study, only two women vendors with a pushcart were working together with other family members. Women tend rather to sit on the floor, their items spread on a cloth or piled in a basket in front of them, which they can carry on their heads. Vendors' working hours ranged from five to eighteen hours a day, twelve hours on average. The majority was occupied with their business seven days a week, while only a few worked six days, for example at Rythu Bazaar which is closed once a week. The number of people involved in the business varied from one to ten. With 40 % (twenty vendors), two-person businesses were most common. Many worked together with their husband or wife. However, in some of the businesses a child, another family member or someone else not related were also involved in the two-person businesses. Vendors operating by themselves made up 38 % of those interviewed. Running a snack business always included a minimum of two people; fruit, vegetables or some kinds of juices did not require the work of more than one person. Other than, however, that the number of people involved was not dependent on the kind of food provided. In 12 % of the businesses three people were involved, and in the remaining 12 % four or more persons.
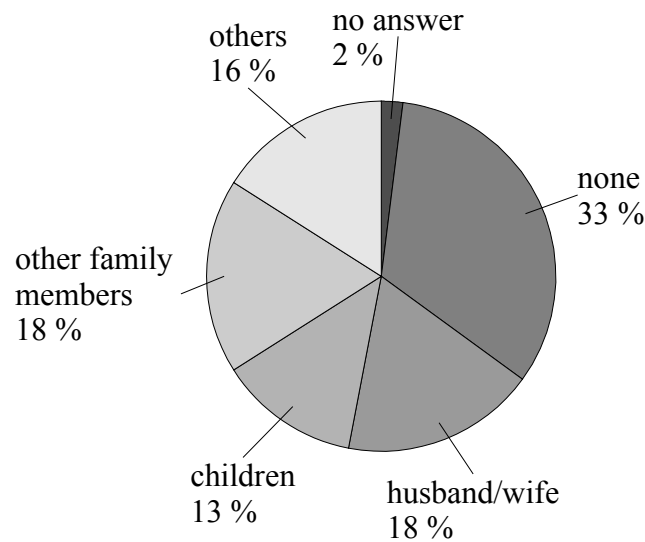
Figure 4: Involvement of Other People in the Street Food Vending Business

According to vendors and Mr. Narasima Reddy, head of the hawkers' union, hierarchies between the street food vendors do not exist, and they decide between each other who takes which spot. This, however, can only be a temporary result as hierarchies very probably do exist. The question arises as to why the vendors would give false information. Is the subject taboo, are they afraid to talk about it, or do they not experience it in that way? This question could be a subject for further research. The daily routine differs between different types of vendors (snack vendors, fruit or vegetable vendors, and beverage and sweets vendors), different locations, and also between individuals or businesses. However, the overall business structure is similar. A few common examples will be described here. Most street food vendors sell their items close to their home, if possible in the same neighbourhood or close by. For them, it is very convenient not having to travel too far to work, as many push their carts or carry their baskets to the vending spot every day. As figure 5 shows, for 21 % the distance from home to work is less than one kilometre. At Adarsh Nagar/Basheerbagh for example people set up their bandis right in front of their houses or just down the road. Interviewed vendors at Charminar were all from the old town area, and lived within a distance of three kilometres. The range from one to three kilometres was the most common for 50 % of vendors. Thirteen percent had to travel between four to six kilometres daily to get to work. The category "more than six kilometres" includes distances of up to sixty kilometres; this category exclusively depicts the situation of fruit and vegetable vendors on Rythu market. As mentioned before, these vendors often have their own fields and grow the sold items

themselves, outside or in the outskirts of the city; hence they have long distances to travel in order to earn their living.
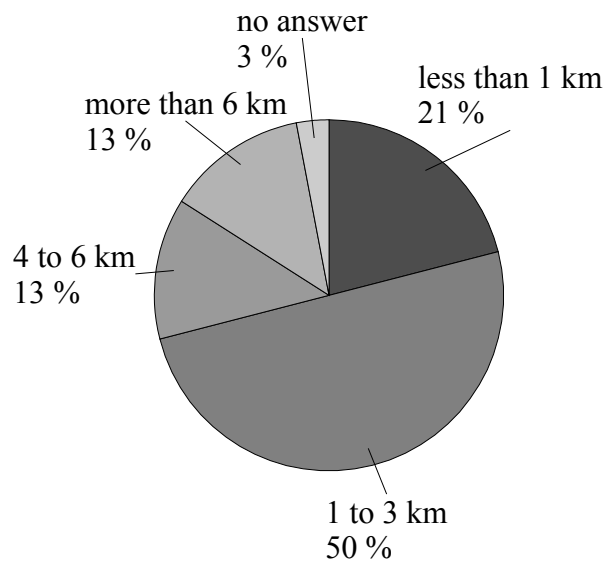

Figure 5: Distance from Home to Work

The roadsides around the Charminar monument in the old city are clustered with many different kinds of vendors. At the south-western side, a natural market of street fruit vendors has been established. The same vendors come here regularly, seven days a week. The location is considered a prime spot as it is very busy. Commuters pass by, Charminar bus station is close, people stop by when going shopping at Laad Bazaar across the street and, as Charminar is the main tourist attraction in Hyderabad, tourists make up an important part of the customers. Here, there are exclusively male fruit vendors with pushcarts, the majority being one-man businesses working independently. Only a few vendors are members of a hawkers' union and have someone who delivers the fruit. The fruit is bought at Kottapet Fruit Market, a wholesale and retaile market south-west of the Charminar area. Transportation of the items is achieved via a rented motorised trolley, as the distance is too far to walk with the pushcart. Prices of food items at the fruit and vegetable stands vary, as price is supply and demand driven. Sometimes quarrels about prices occur if neighbouring vendors sell for too little and give in too much when consumers are bargaining. According to vendors, this is not a real issue, though, and is considered to be part of the business.

Often, whole families were involved in the business of vending snacks, like tiffin or chat. In these cases, it was very common that wives and/or mothers started preparing the vended food early in the morning (some vendors also bought the food and one man claimed to

prepare it himself). However, in the street food business, cooking still seems to be – as it is traditionally – a woman's business. In family businesses, men are mainly responsible for taking the food and kitchen utensils to the vending spot and for selling. Children's duties include helping to sell or prepare food at the stand or washing the dishes.
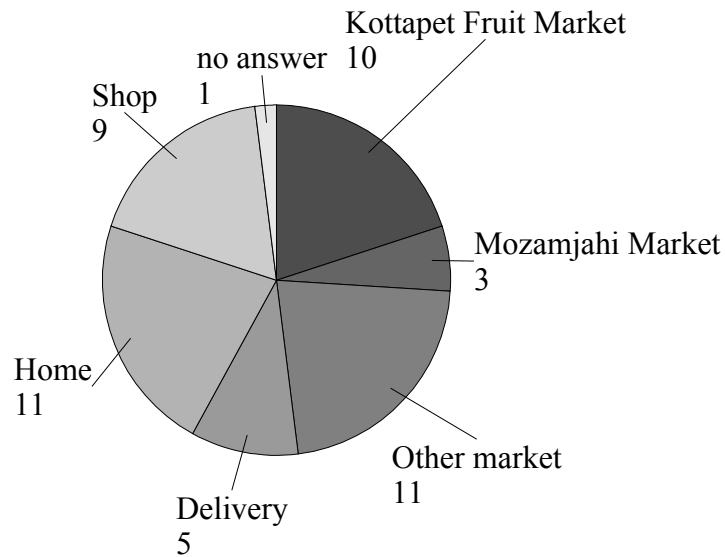

Figure 6: Origin of Food

Customers certainly make up one important element of the street vending system. Therefore, some customers were interviewed in order to understand their profile and the importance of street foods for society and to get an idea about their perception of street food vendors and vending. As figures 7 to 9 show, customers of street food vendors come from all socio-economic classes. The percentage given in the graphs does not necessarily reflect the real fraction of customers from each income-class, however, as better educated and higher income-classes were more willing to give information and are, therefore, probably overrepresented. It shows, though, that not only poor but also well-off people purchase street foods. Ten percent of the interviewed customers had a master's degree, 40 % had a university degree, 25 % had finished college, 10 % had completed primary education (SSC), and another 15 % had never attended school. The educational backgrounds correlates fairly well with the total income of the households, as figure 7 shows. A distinction must be made between cooked foods and fruit and vegetables. Most people buy fruit and vegetables from street food vendors without hesitation. The rules for some castes not to eat outside the home are not followed as strictly as they used to be. For those castes, it is becoming more and more acceptable to also eat snacks from street vendors. They are more careful, however, because they are concerned about health issues.
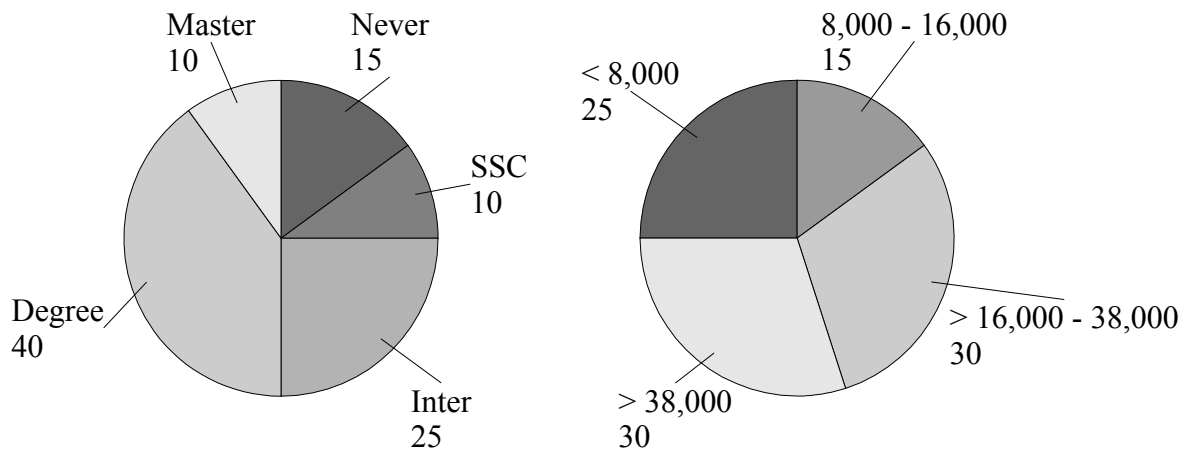
Figure 7: Educational Background of Customers (left)

Figure 8: Income Level in Rs. (right)
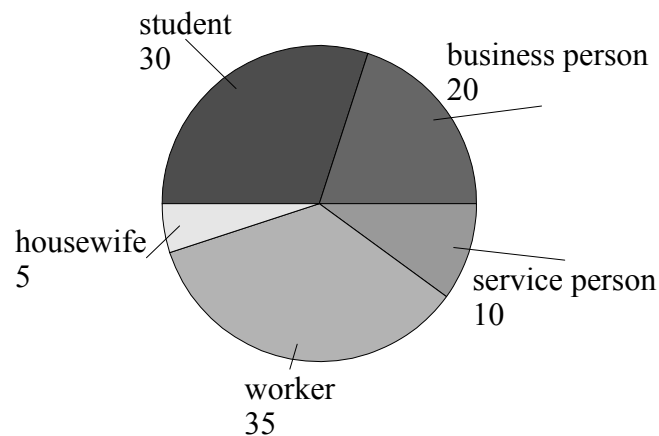
Figure 9: Occupation of Customers

The study found that 50 % of the customers purchase from street food vendors when passing by on the way to another destination. Fifteen percent take a special trip in order to mainly purchase fruits and vegetables. Thirty-five percent said it differed: sometimes they merely stopped by, sometimes they went specifically to buy food. In general, snacks or beverages were consumed when passing by, while special trips were more common for fruits or vegetables. Almost two thirds had no particular time of the day when they purchased food on the streets, 30 % said they bought in the evenings, and only 5 % in the morning.

Figure 10: When is Street Food Purchased

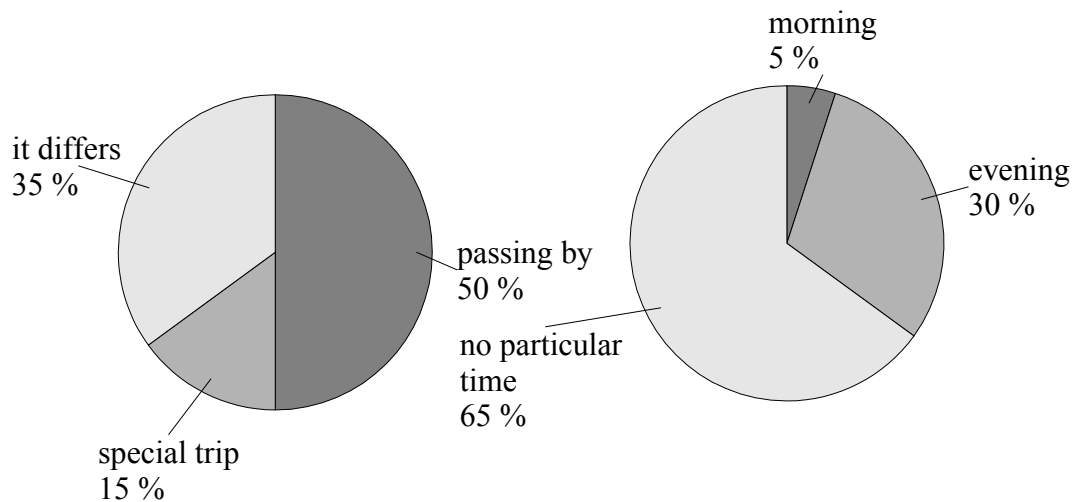A number of factors that influence the consumer's choice play an important role. These include cost, convenience and type of food available, the individual's taste and the appearance of the food. Availability of food at convenient times and locations for the consumer are other very important factors.
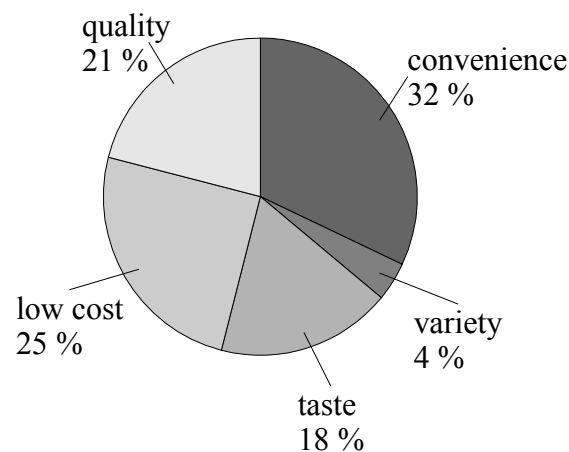
Figure 11: Reasons to Buy from Street Food Vendors

The perception of street food vending and street food among customers varied. More than half of the responding customers, however, said that they would like to see the hygienic conditions of street food improved. Many said that, if improvements were implemented, they would purchase even more from vendors. These people are very careful about what they eat. This opinion was mainly shared by financially better-off people; people with a lower income did not seem too worried or did not have an opinion on the subject. Also, ideas concerning

location of street vendors differed. Ten customers approved of the zoning system; they shared the opinion that vendors should be provided with a conveniently set aside area in which to carry out their business and that they should no longer be allowed on the streets where they obstruct traffic. Two people were against the new regulation, saying that street food vendors should not be regulated in this way, as it would endanger their livelihoods. Eight of the questioned customers did not have an opinion on this subject.

4.4 Livelihood-Related Issues

4.4.1 Human Resources

The FAO recognised, that in general, setting up a street food vending business involves a low-cost investment. Furthermore, it requires no education or special training; hence it is a good source of income for the urban poor. The findings of this study have shown that this is true for Hyderabad as well. Even though the educational level of the vendors varied, most have little or no school education. Fifty-eight percent of vendors interviewed have never attended school, 28 % have an elementary education, and only 14 % have a higher-level education.
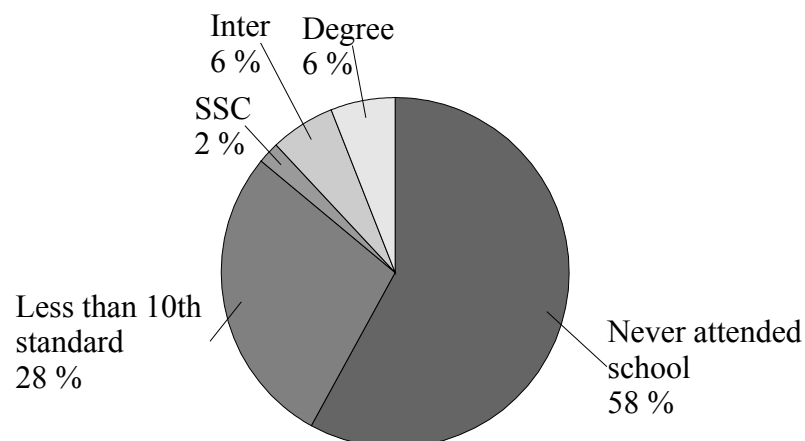
Figure 12: Education of Street Food Vendors

Most vendors were between 21 and 40 years old. Twenty percent were under 20 years old, 16 % between 41 and 50, and only a minority of 8 % older than that (figure 13).
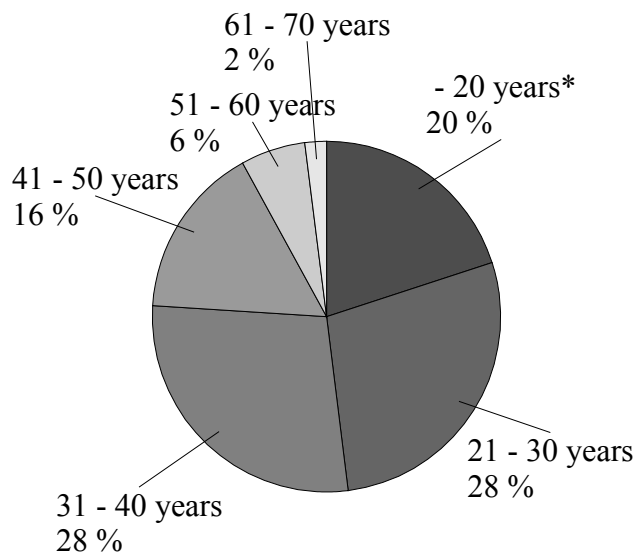
* one vendor under the age of 14

Figure 13: Age of Street Food Vendors

Street food operations often involved the work of entire families in the procurement of raw materials, preparation and cooking of meals, and their sale. Fifty-two percent of the food vendors started their business because it is a family tradition. Most started helping out as young children and continued their parents' or other family members' business. Forty-four percent claimed it was their own idea to start a business in order to earn some money and secure their livelihoods. Four percent got started by applying, and now they work as employees for owners of pushcarts.

Figure 14: Start of Business

It seems that there were people that own multiple food bandis, normally all selling the same food; for example one person, owned six push carts, all rented out to sell fruit-juices. The

owner provided the pushcart and necessary kitchen equipment and delivered fruit, ice and water. The employees earned a fixed amount of money each day, regardless of how much they sold. The rest went to the employer. These employees were a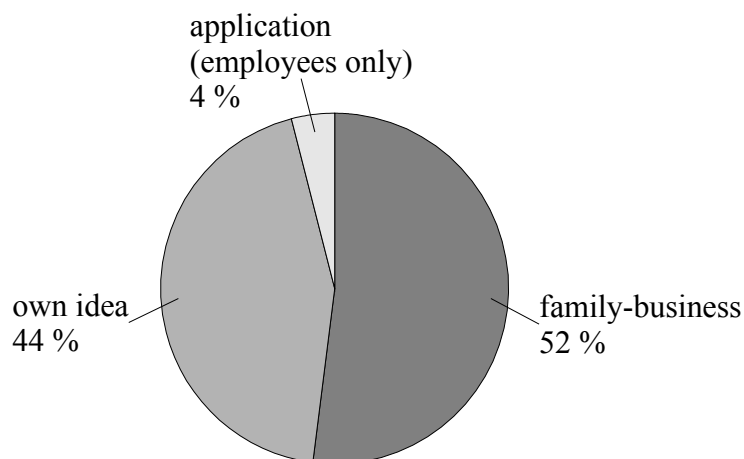ll under the age of twenty. They were sent to Hyderabad by their parents, who lived in villages around Hyderabad, in order to earn some money for the family. They were provided food and lodging by their employers and received a fixed payment. All said they were hoping to be able to be independent and own their own business one day; for them it was a way of entering the business. However, they also lived away from their families and they did not really have an alternative. One said he had been made to leave school; he would like to go back, but he knows his family is highly dependent on him.

Being considered illegal, food vendors do not have any social security. In case of illness, they do not have any insurance that covers the costs of treatment. They are very vulnerable to illnesses, as many cannot afford medication or hospitalisation.

4.4.2 Social Resources

Most vendors (86 %) work independently, only a few (4 %) seek the support of a union, and a small percentage are employed or are self-organised together with other vendors. Narasima Reddy, former Minister of A.P. and member of the Legislative Assembly, is the leader of the union of vendors and hawkers. The members of the union are not only street food vendors, but also vendors of all kinds of different items, like kitchenware, jewellery, etc. In total, there are 3,500 members, which, considering the total number of 40,000 to 50,000 hawkers, is only a small fraction. Another organisation working with vendors is EKTHA – Footpath Vendors Association Hyderabad - which stands up for vendors' rights. Doing the research period, no organisation working particularly with street food vendors was found. In order to get better insight into other possibly existing networks for food vendors, further research would be necessary.

4.4.3 Physical and Natural Resources

For the food bandis, there is no or only insufficient infrastructure available. For example, vendors are dependent on nearby shops, hotels or public taps for water supply. Most vendors claimed to get water for free, others said they had to purchase water, as no clean drinking water for preparing food was available nearby. Most vendors do not have any shelter at their food stand. They are exposed to sun and rain. Hence, in both the wet and dry seasons the weather causes health problems for the vendors. Many do not have garbage bins at their

stands, waste is just disposed of on the sidewalks or in drains. A further issue is the lack of hygienic public toilets, which the vendors could use. For women, using the existing toilets is not an option.

At home, most vendors have electricity supply, toilets and public taps; they live in rented houses in slum or other low-income areas.

4.4.4 Financial Resources

The difference in daily incomes is enormous, ranging from less than 50 Rs., which is less than 1 US dollar, to 800 Rs., equivalent to 14.50 US dollars. The vendors using pushcarts seem to be better off than those selling their items on the ground or in baskets. The distribution of daily income is shown in figure 14; the total income of the whole family is mostly about 2,500 to 3,000 Rs. a month. For many street food vendors, this business is their only source of family income. This shows the high dependency of whole families on this type of business. Hence, there is a need for a regular daily income. The majority work seven days a week, not being able to afford one day off. In case of illness (fever, etc.), the street food vendors still do their business or, if possible, send another family member instead. The risk of infecting others by handling the food while ill does not seem to be taken into consideration. Also, the consumers do not seem to be influenced by a vendor being ill.
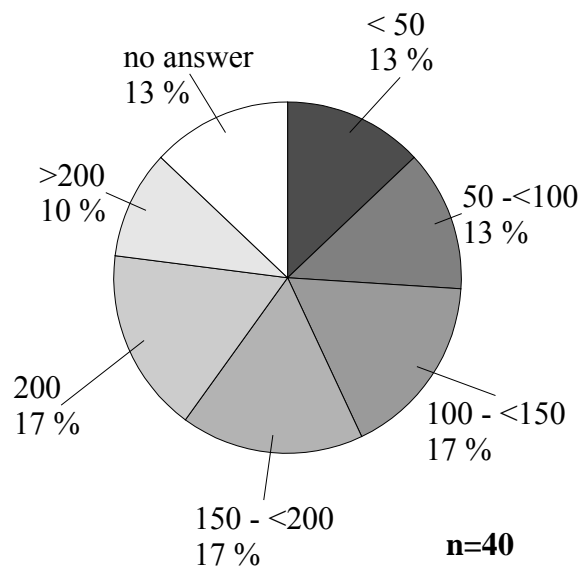

Figure 15: Daily Income of Street Food Vendors

Only 20 % of the street food vendors have savings. Street vendors do not have any social security, nor any other financial support from the government. As a consequence, in an

emergency they have to borrow money from someone else. Therefore, they cannot afford medical treatment in case of illness. This is also true for their families.

About two thirds of the interviewees have debts. Out of those, almost all vendors take loans from local moneylenders, 7% borrow from family members. The total of debts varies, but for many it is hard to imagine how to pay back the outstanding amount. Their daily income is often just enough to survive.

4.4.5 Political Resources

First of all, street food vending is not considered a legal business, although the state increasingly regulates the vendors. One step is issuing ID-cards and relocating vendors. Many vendors said that they were not aware of the political situation, the administrative plans, and the newly introduced policy. They seem to be busy securing their daily income, not having the knowledge, information and free time to participate in political decisions. Speaking from a vendor's point of view, the relocations are neither necessary nor justified, as they believe they should be allowed to carry on their business in the traditional way. Many vendors who are aware of the situation do not feel they have the opportunity to make their opinion heard. The lack of a platform to express their opinion keeps many vendors silent. To an extent, however, demonstrations against the zoning did take place during the time when the study was being conducted, the initiators being opposing parties of the political party in charge. Information on participation of street food vendors was not available.

4.4.6 Livelihood Strategies

Interviewed street food vendors did not explicitly mention any strategies for improving their situation; claiming that one is like the next, many are resigned to the fact that nothing will improve. One important point is that many do not seem to see a necessity for change, as their situation is good enough to secure a living. Reading between the lines reveals, however, that becoming a vendor in the first place was a often the only available way to secure a livelihood.

When asked what strategy the vendors employ in order to avoid confrontation with the police authorities, they shrug and say that they do not have any other option than paying bribes. Otherwise their pushcart or even their food will be taken away. Vendors' shortness of money is solved by taking loans from local money lenders. For some vendors, a way of earning some extra money is to start more than one bandi. Different family members have stands and sell the same foods in different places. Part of the strategy is to choose the best spot for selling the offered food items. The most popular spots are along main roads, making

up more than 50 % of all vending locations. In order to identify additional and more detailed livelihood strategies, further research is needed.

5 Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Research

This pilot project aimed at providing an insight into the street food vending system of Hyderabad as one part of the city's food distribution system. Livelihood-related issues of the street food vendors were focused on as well. The study was based mainly on personal interviews with city authorities, vendors and their customers. The chosen research methodology proved to be adequate, as it was able to answer many questions concerning the street food vending system and the vendors. However, further research is still needed.

The study confirmed that street food vendors make up an important part of the city's food provisioning system as had been assumed beforehand. Not only does street vending significantly contribute to the food security of the urban poor, but higher-income classes also increasingly buy food on the streets. For the vendors themselves, the street food vending business serves as an easily accessible income source. There are great differences in the level of income between the vendors. For example, those vendors sitting on the ground earn a lot less than vendors with more established equipment using pushcarts. Looking at the total population of about six million people of the twin cities Hyderabad and Secunderabad, the total number of street food vendors of 10,000 to 15,000 seems marginal. However, considering that it serves as a source of livelihood for the entire families of most vendors and, at the same time, contributes to the food security of whole sections of urban society, street food vending is an important social and economic sector. However, as the city's population and traffic is growing much faster than its infrastructure, street food vending also poses serious problems.

The number of registered vehicles increased in the year 2006 by about 110,000 which equals approximately a 7 % growth. City authorities address this issue with new regulations, mainly zoning and street widening. As the zoning regulations are not yet fully enforced, vendors do not obey them. They still sell their products in their usual spots. Therefore, for the time being, the potential consequences of this new policies for the street vending system cannot be evaluated. It turned out, however, that the new regulations have made the street vending business more vulnerable to bribery and harassment. With respect to the new regulations, it was also observed that there is very little political awareness and participation of street food vendors. Although there are unions which stand up for the vendors' rights, it seems that this opportunity is not widely appreciated. Reasons for this could be lack of

political education. Many street food vendors in Hyderabad are not aware of the political situation, nor do many of them take part in political decisions.

Educational programmes are needed in order to teach vendors about the hygienic aspects of their business. The study showed that the consumer profile has also changed in recent years. The percentage of better-educated, well-off people seems to have increased, some of the reasons being the changing economy and the fact that the rule of some higher castes not to eat outside the home does not seem to be followed as strictly anymore as it used to. This "new group" of consumers is more aware of the hygienic problems and health risks that street foods can create. Hence, they demand better hygiene at the food stands, including waste disposal, covers on food, clean clothing for vendors, fresh food, etc. Looking at the state of the whole city in terms of cleanliness – public toilets on the sidewalks, piles of trash, and roaming animals, to name just a few examples – it seems ironic to start with the vendors. It is undoubtedly the case, however, that sanitation and hygiene must be improved. It is clear that this must be a long-term process, as street food vendors would need time to adjust, rather than an enforced, sudden change. In other cities, in Kolkata for example, such educational programmes and improvements have already been successful, and street food vendors as well as consumers have profited (NASVI 2006). Taking such positive experiences as an example and starting such training in Hyderabad might be a step in the right direction. If changes are made, the personal advantages for vendors must be made clear. Additionally, investments in improvements must not cause an increase in prices, as the urban poor would not be able to afford the products sold by street vendors anymore. A change of vending locations is inevitable, as politicians aim in a clear-cut direction. The consequences of such relocation for street food vendors' livelihoods can only be assessed estimated in the coming months or even years. The same is true for the effects of the issued ID-cards.

Further research is needed in order to document the changes in the street food vending system resulting from the new regulations. What is more, a deeper insight into the complex livelihood systems of vendors as well as into existing health issues would be necessary in order to start actor-oriented programmes. In order to gain deeper insight into the whole subject, a longer period of research would be required. Furthermore, partners in India would have to be involved in the co-ordination of any further studies.

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Questionnaire for Street Food Vendors

Date:
Location:
Code:

I. Profile of the business

1. Type of cart/stand:

   □ push cart   □ bicycle   □ motorised vehicle   □ fixed stand □ on ground

2. Who owns the cart you are using?

   □ myself   □ another family member   □ someone else

   If it is not your own, do you have to pay rent? How much? To whom?

   □ No rent   □Yes _____ (Rupees per month)

3. How many years have you been in the business already?

4. How did you start the business? (Idea, Knowledge, Money, Family)

5. How far do you have to travel daily to get to work?

6. How many hours a day do you spend working? How many days a week?

7. Who and how many people are involved in the business?

   Number of people involved:_____

   □ no other people involved □ husband/wife   □children
   □ other family members □ others

   If there are other people involved, what are their responsibilities? (preparation/cooking, transportation, selling):

8. Where do you sell your food?

   □ Same place every day   □ Every day in a different place
   □ Various places on same day

   □ In front of schools/universities   □ In front of business complexes
   □ Train station or bus stand   □ Main road   □ Minor road □ Residential Areas □ Other

9. Are you working independently or are you a member of an organization or trade union?

   □ independent □ self-organization with other vendors □ trade union

   If you are in an organization, what do you think are the advantages of being a member? What are the goals of the organization?

10. Problems and coping strategies:

    What are the major problems you are facing in your business? (debts, seasonality, bribe money, etc.)

    What are your strategies to deal with these problems? (loans, second job, organization, etc.)
    Are there quarrels between street vendors? (about space, particular spots, etc.)

When looking at the past few years: Has the situation improved or did it get worse? Have the problems you are facing changed? Do you think the upcoming supermarket chains are a threat to your business?

Do you have ideas on how to improve your situation?

11. Are you aware of the political discussions about street vending? (street widening, removal, zoning, social security, licensing etc.)

II. Food for sale

1. Type of food sold

   □ Fruits _____

   □ Vegetables_____

   Cooked Food: □ Tiffin   □ Chat

   □ Fruit Juice_____

   □ Tea or Coffee

2. Does it vary with the seasons what you sell?

   □ Yes (specify)_____
   □ No

3. On average, how many items/kilos do you sell in a day?

4. Where do you buy the raw materials? How? Do you buy it yourself or does anyone deliver it to you? With pushcart, with little trolley, etc.?

5. If you sell cooked food, where is the food prepared? Who prepares the food?

6. How often do you buy fresh food?

   □ daily   □ every 2nd day   □ weekly   □ other_____

7. Where do you get your drinking water from?

8. On average, how many clients do you have a day?

9. What kind of people mainly buy their food from you?

   □ Students   □Business people   □Service men   □Workers □ Housewives   □ All

10. Which is the busiest time for you in a day?

III. Financial aspects

1. What is the total income of all your family members (monthly)?

    □ less than 8,000 Rs   □ >8,000-16,000 Rs   □ >16,000-38,000 Rs
    □ more than 38,000 Rs   □ other _____

2. Do you have to pay bribe money?

    □ No   □ Yes _____

    If yes, to whom and how much?

3. What is your potential source of credit?

    □ Bank   □ local moneylender □ Micro-finance □ NGOs
    □ Family members

4. In case of indebtedness, whom do you owe the money?

    □ Bank   □ local moneylender □ Micro-finance □ NGOs
    □ Family members

5. What is the total amount of your debts?

6. Do you have any savings?

    □ Yes □ No

IV. Personal/socio-economic background

1. Age:

2. Gender:

    □ male □ female

3. What is your family status?

    □ married   □ unmarried   □ divorced   □ widow
    □ separated

4. How many people permanently live in your household?

5. How many adult earners live in your household?

6. Which religion do you belong to?

    □ Hindu
    □ Muslim
    □ Other: _____

7. What is your mother tongue?

8. For how many years have you been living in Hyderabad?

9. In which area do you live?

10. How many years did you attend school?
    □ none   □ less than 10th standard   □SSC □ Inter□ Degree □ Master

Questionnaire for Customers

Date:
Location:
Code:

1. How often do you buy food from street vendors?

   □ more than once a day   □ once a day   □ 2-3 times a week   □ once a week
   □ less than once a week

2. What kind of food do you buy from street vendors? Please give order 1, 2, 3, etc.

   □ Fruits   □ Vegetables   Cooked Food: □ Tiffin   □ Chat
   □ Fruit Juice   □ Tea or Coffee

3. Is there any kind of food you exclusively buy from street vendors? If yes, why?

   □ Yes_____   □ No

4. Is there any kind of food you would never buy from street vendors? If yes, why not?

   □ Yes_____   □ No

5. Where do you buy from street food vendors?

   □ in front of my own house/residential area   □ in front of university/work
   □ at bus stand   □ major road
   □ minor road   □ other _____

6. When do you purchase from street food vendors?

   □ when passing by   □ special trip   □ it differs
   □ morning   □ during the day   □ evening
   □ no particular time of the day

7. Do you purchase from the same vendors regularly?

   □ yes □ no   □ sometimes

8. On average, what percent of your food do you purchase from street vendors?

   a. Fruits: _____
   b. Vegetables: _____
   c. Cooked Food: _____

9. What is the average amount of money you spend on street food (daily/weekly)?

10. Why do you purchase from street food vendors?

    □ Convenience □ Variety □ Taste   □ Low Cost   □ Quality
    □ Other_____

11. a. Do you have any suggestions of how to improve street food vending?

    □ Greater Variety   □ Hygiene   □ Quality □   Other _____

    b. If those suggestions were implemented, would you purchase from street food vendors more often?

□ yes   □ no   □ I don't know

12. a. Are you aware of the problems street vendors are facing? (road widening, zoning, etc.)

□ yes □ no

b. If yes, what do you think is their major problem?

c. What is your opinion on those issues?

13. Age:

14. Gender:

□ male□ female

15. What is your family status?

□ married □ unmarried □ divorced   □ widow □ separated

16. Which religion do you belong to?

□ Hindu, Caste:_____ □ Muslim   □ Other: _____

17. How many years did you attend school?

□ none   □ less than 10th standard   □SSC   □ Inter
□ Degree   □ Master

18. What is your occupation?

□ Student □ Business person   □ Service person   □ Worker   □ Housewife   □ Other

19. Where do you live?

20. How many people permanently live in your household?

21. What is the total income of all earners in your household?

□ less than 8,000 Rs   □ 8,000-16,000 Rs   □ 16,000-38,000 Rs
□ more than 38,000 Rs

Pictures

Picture 1:   Fruit vendors at Charminar in front of a restricted zone sign.

**Picture 2:   Restricted Zone Sign at Charminar: "Vending only permitted
between 10am and 5pm, rule will be implemented after
Ramzan 2006"**

Picture 3: **Hawker Identity Card (front), Charminar area. Hawker Identity Cards will be issued to all mobile vendors in 7 selected areas of the city.**
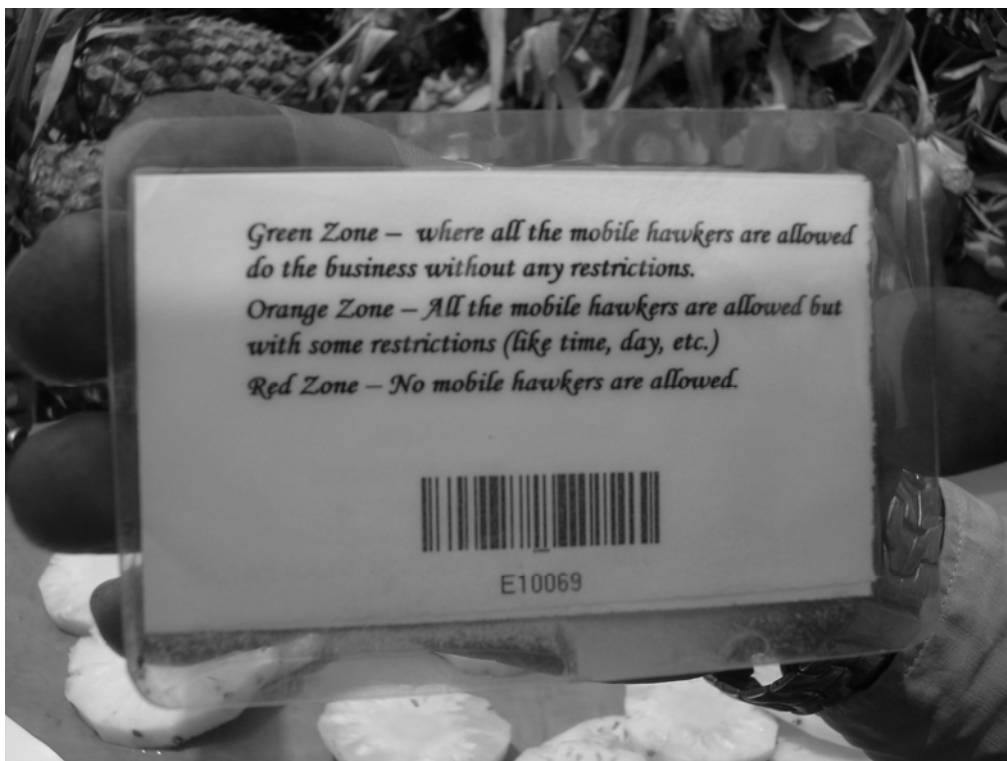
Picture 4: **Hawker Identity Card (back)**

Picture 5: Banana street vendor at Kottaped Fruit Market. He comes here daily to buy fruits to sell at Entiarnagar.

Picture 6: Street Food Vendors in front of Kottaped Fruit Market. Some of them not only sell but also live here on the pavement.

Picture 7:   Egg baji vendor at Nampalli R.S.

Picture 8: Ten-year-old lemon juice vendor at Hussain Sagar, Lumbini Park. Often, children have to quit school in order to work as street vendors to support their families financially.

Picture 9: Chat vendor at Koti suffering from fever; he cannot afford to lose a day's income.

Picture 10: The poor hygienic situation is one of the major problems of street foods that have to be addressed.

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