

INFORMAL SECTOR STREET FOOD VENDORS

A STUDY IN PUNE (INDIA)



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INFORMAL SECTOR STREET FOOD VENDORS

Introduction :

A large number of hawkers occupying pavements along busy roads, displaying a variety of ware - garments, cosmetics, books/magazines, toys, watches, audio cassettes, vying with each other for catching the attention of passers by, are seen in all cities in India. Food vendors are also among these hawkers competing for space at advantageous locations. Hawkers are regarded at once as offering a useful service and as a menace - a service to those who are interested in the bargains offered and a menace to city authorities for obstructing the traffic. The panic that sweeps among hawkers as word spreads that authorities are conducting a raid to confiscate their goods to clear the area, and the confusion that ensues as the hawkers scamper to make a getaway with their ware, is not an uncommon occurrence.

Hawking provides income to a growing number of people in cities. Hawkers operate in the "informal" sector of the urban economy. As such they are often not registered in any records. Conducting business without any authorization can carry risks of incurring fines and confiscation of goods. Street food vending is a special kind of hawking activity, since cooked and ready-to-eat food items are sold for immediate consumption and what is sold is mostly perishable. For city authorities, therefore, in addition to being an obstruction to the movement of traffic and pedestrians, it presents problems related to public health as questions of food safety and hygiene are involved. And yet, street food is a source of income and food to many. Not adequate attention, however, is being paid to this activity by city authorities.

The study of informal sector street food vendors in the city of Pune in west central India, attempts to uncover facets of this activity which help to understand its role in providing income as well as food. On the basis of its findings it outlines an appropriate policy response towards this activity.

I. THE INFORMAL SECTOR :

Until the concept of the informal sector of the urban economy was mooted in a study on Ghana in the early nineteen seventies \1, a large proportion of the labour force in Third World cities engaged in economic activities outside the industrial and modern establishment sectors was paid little attention to. The concept of the informal sector arose as an attempt to deal conceptually with the so-called 'underemployment' or 'disguised unemployment' that was continuing to grow in Third World cities. The Ghana study noted that "despite the constraints on entry to informal occupations, the range of opportunities available outside the organised market is so wide that few of the 'unemployed' are totally without some form of income, however irregular" \2. The informal sector was described as that part of the labour force which fell outside the organised labour market.

The study on Ghana identified a variety of income-generating activities, both legitimate and illegitimate, which are concentrated in the 'unorganised' sector of the urban economy and remain 'unenumerated' as they are not covered by the existing data collection machinery. The study made a distinction between formal and informal income opportunities that is based essentially on that between wage-earning and self-employment. It noted that "The possibility that the informal economy, with its emphasis on tertiary activities, may be developing at a rate faster than other sectors of the national economy, and thus taking up some of the slack created by inadequate rates of growth in the well-documented modern sector, cannot be dismissed on a priori grounds. When half of the urban labour force falls outside the organised labour market, how can we continue to be satisfied with indicators of economic performance which ignore their productive activities?" \3

The study raised several questions on why growing residual underemployment and unemployment in cities of developing countries be considered undersirable. "In what way does this phenomenon constitute a problem? Is it from the viewpoint of poverty (inadequate personal or family incomes), social disorganisation and public morality (the crime rate and

1. By Keith Hart at the conference on Urban Employment in Africa held at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, September 1971; cited in Hart, Keith - Informal income opportunities in urban employment in Ghana, The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 11, No.1, 1973

2. Ibid, p.81

3. Ibid, p.88

prostitution), overcrowding (pressure on social infrastructure in towns), political unrest (the danger to politicians of a concentration of frustrated slum-dwellers), rural depopulation (reduction in agricultural capacity)? Or, expressed in terms of the productivity of labour, is it an economist's problem (inefficient utilisation of manpower or reduced contribution to growth in national income)?" \4

The study attempted to restate the problem for employment policy in terms of formal and informal employment structures : "The question becomes not 'How can we create work for the jobless', but rather 'Do we want to shift the emphasis of income opportunities in the direction of formal employment for its own sake, or only to reduce participation in socially disapproved informal activities and in those informal occupations whose marginal productivity is too low?" \5

In conclusion the study notes "Socialists may argue that foreign capitalist dominance of these economies determines the scope for informal (and formal) development, and condemns the majority of the urban population to deprivation and exploitation. More optimistic liberals may see in informal activities, as described here, the possibility of a dramatic 'bootstrap' operation, lifting the underdeveloped economies through their own indigenous enterprise. Before either view - or a middle course stressing both external constraint and autonomous effort - may be espoused, much more empirical research is required." \6

The concept of the informal sector was refined by a mission of the International Labour Office (ILO) which studied the employment situation in Kenya within the framework of the World Employment Programme \7. The ILO report acknowledged that a long period of time was required for the trickling down of benefits of development to the poorest sections of the population. In order to promote employment and economic growth, the mission considered it necessary to focus strategies on a specific target group, and informal sector workers were seen to constitute such a group. The mission believed that, at least in the case of Kenya, such concentration of development efforts on the informal sector would lead to a more efficient allocation of resources.

4. Ibid, p.81

5. Ibid, p. 82

6. Ibid, p. 89

7. ILO - Employment, incomes and equality : a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya, Geneva, 1972.

The introduction of the concept of the informal sector drew attention to the nebulous complexity of activities, unorganised fragmented and divergent in character, which provides income to a significant proportion of the urban population. This shift in focus, which was also stressed by the ILO report, ended the firmly held perception that those who do not earn their income in a regular and standardised manner, as is customary in the modern economic sector, have to be regarded as under or unemployed \8. It also established that it is enterprises and not individuals in the urban economy that are classified into formal and informal sector \9.

The dualistic character of the urban economy described by the formal and informal sector model is a variant on the dualism theories used previously as a frame of analysis by several researchers \10. Various classifications such as organised and unorganised, modern and traditional, capitalist and subsistence sectors have been used for analysing the urban economy. A distinction between organised and unorganised, protected and unprotected, and regular and casual workers has been used for analysing the urban labour market. Despite the long use of the dichotomous classification of urban economic organisations, it is recognised that the distinction is not analytically clear in all situations, nor is it operationally always useful. It is pointed out that there is a continuum of production activities and a division of an urban economy into two parts is arbitrary. It has also been argued that unorganised sector enterprises may be in a process of transition and over time when they graduate to the other sector, discontinuities would disappear. Another view holds that the dichotomous classification is inadequate as there are more than two well distinguishable sectors (for example, the informal sector itself could be broken down into two sub-sectors, an irregular sector (legitimate fringe activities and illegal activities) and an informal sector proper).

In view of the limitations of the earlier classification, the formal-informal sector dichotomy was regarded by many as a meaningful and convenient method of analysing the structure of

8. Breman, Jan - A Dualistic Labour System ? : A critique of the 'Informal Sector' concept, The Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.11, No.48,49 & 50, 27 November,4 & 11 December 1976
9. Sethuraman, S.V. - The Urban informal sector : concept, measurement and policy, International Labour Review, Vol. 114, No.1, July-August 1976
10. Papola, T.S. - Urban Informal Sector in a Developing Economy, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1981.

Breman, Jan - op.cit.

Sethuraman, S.V. - op.cit.

the urban economy. The need for an adequate analytical method was felt, as expressed in the Ghana study, because of the concern of researchers and policy makers "for the small and unprotected producers in the urban economies, who on account of their disadvantaged position are unable to derive the benefits of development and contribute to the process of development to the full extent of their potential. Yet they are found to constitute a substantial part of the urban economic activities in towns and cities of developing countries and are engaged in the production of useful goods and services." \11

It is recognised that the rapid growth of the informal sector owes much to the slow rate of expansion in the industrial employment, particularly in relation to the growth of the urban labour force. A positive view of the growth in the informal sector asserts that activities in this sector can be efficient and profitable. "The emphasis is then less on actual labour performance and more on the context within which people work. This is an amplification of an urban dualism in which stress is placed not on the nature of the employment but on the mode of production. According to this more positive approach, the distinction formal-informal refers to two economic sectors, each with its own structural consistency and dynamics. Activity in the informal sector is characterised, for instance, by low capital intensity, a low level of productivity, a small and usually poor clientele, a low level of formal schooling, (the use of) intermediate technology, preponderance of family labour and ownership, ease of entrance (sic) and, last but not least, lack of support and recognition on the part of the government." \12 Other characteristics include competitive and unprotected product market and unprotected labour market \13.

Notwithstanding the recognition that the concept of the informal sector has helped focus attention on a large number of economic activities regarded as unproductive until then, the dichotomy of formal and informal has raised questions. This is due primarily due to an absence of a clear and precise definition of what is informal. It has been pointed out that "The informal sector cannot be demarketed as a separate economic compartment and/or labour situation. Any attempt to do so will give rise to numerous inconsistencies and difficulties (regarding for example social background, size and composition). Moreover, by interpreting the relationship to the formal sector in a dualistic framework and in focusing on the mutually exclusive characteristics, we lose sight of the unity and totality of the productive system." \14 What needs to be emphasised is the

11. Papola, T.S. - op.cit.

12. Breman, Jan - op. cit.

13. Papola, T.S. - op. cit.

fragmented nature of the entire labour market or the fact of stratification among the exploited. \15

There are divergent views also on the relationship between the informal and the formal sector. The existence and expansion of the informal sector is regarded by some as an inevitable phase in the process of development. The informal sector is seen to act as a buffer because it provides some employment and income, however meagre and unstable, to a large section of the urban poor. However, this view does not consider it appropriate to orient policies towards maintaining inefficient and small scale economic activities which use retrogressive technology. Raising the standard of living of the people demands, according to this view, rapid expansion of the formal sector. \16

In contrast to this view the ILO mission report on Kenya \17 regards the relationship between the formal and informal sectors as one of structural inequality; the flexibility, viability and the use of adapted technology of the informal sector is seen to be constrained by an absence of government protection to this sector and by favourable market conditions which are available to the formal sector. This analysis recommends adopting a policy of actively stimulating the informal sector. The provision of a range of facilities (from credit to marketing promotion) is justified on the grounds that there are possibilities for capital accumulation that will allow small enterprises to expand.

However, policies designed to encourage and promote informal sector activities have been regarded as encouraging "autonomous local capitalism" \18, divested of the most extreme contrasts but still based on cheap and exploited labour. According to another critic, backwardness of the informal sector is a precondition for the development of the formal sector \19. The inequality between the informal and the formal sector is seen by another critic in

14. Breman, Jan - op. cit.

15. Ibid

Davies, Rob - Informal Sector or Subordinate Mode of Production : A Model in Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities, in Ray Bromley and Chris Gerry (ed.), John Wiley and Sons, 1979

16. A sector working paper of the World Bank, Urbanisation, referred to by Breman, Jan - op.cit.

17. ILO - op.cit.

18. Leys, C. - Interpreting African Underdevelopment : Reflection on the ILO on Employment, Income and Equality in Kenya, African Affairs, 1973, cited in Breman, Jan. - op. cit. and Papola, T.S. - op. cit.

terms similar to the unequal exchange of goods during the colonial period when not only the surplus but also what would be used as subsistence in the colony was withdrawn for the development of the mother country. \20

The complex debate over the role played by the informal sector in developing economies emanates from a disagreement about the prospects for capitalist full employment \21. There are three points of view which shape further formulations : (1) global capitalist full employment to be a realistic prospect in the foreseeable future, (2) full employment within particular nation states to be feasible, (3) capitalist full employment to be a necessarily partial and temporary condition which can neither be sustained, nor generalised, and which is a particularly remote possibility in the underdeveloped countries.

The informal sector debate challenged the possibility of global capitalist full employment. One way of dealing with the problem of the existence of a large pool of labour which could not be absorbed in the capitalist sector was "to consider the 'informal sector' as a separate sphere of activity which acted as a labour reservoir releasing its labour to the expanding capitalist sector as required, while through its income opportunities, establishing a lower limit to the capitalist sector's unskilled wage. Unfortunately, if it is a 'separate' sphere, its internal developments would not be guided by market signals, so that their impact on capitalist accumulation would be unpredictable and generally problematic, especially because improvements in the sector's productivity would impede accumulation by raising wages.

.... Naturally the informal sector debate soon began to consider how this sector could be ... integrated into the overall process of capitalist accumulation \22.

This analytic perspective led to policy prescriptions aimed at assisting the informal sector to become accumulating capitalists through training, credit, marketing facilities etc. (as suggested in the ILO report).

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19. Gerry, Chris - Petty producers and the Urban Economy : A Case-Study of Dakar, World Employment Programme Research Working Papers, ILO, Geneva, 1974, cited by Breman, Jan - op. cit.
 20. Bose, A.N. - The Informal Sector in the Calcutta Metropolitan Economy, World Employment Programme Research Working Paper, ILO, Geneva, 1974, cited by Breman, Jan-op.cit.
 21. Bienefeld, Manfred - The Informal Sector and Women's Oppression, in IDS Bulletin, Women and the Informal Sector, Kate Young and Caroline Moser (ed.), Vol.12, No.3, July 1981
 22. Ibid.

"To conclude, given a belief in the efficacy of the market, and in the reasonable prospect of global full employment, the informal sector, viewed as an integrated part of the competitive economy, merely appears as a particular, and indeed appropriate, form for capital to utilise labour when that capital is very scarce in relation to labour. The fact that such activities yield low income either indicates the existence of market imperfections, or reflects their low productivity. The only real solution to that problem is therefore to remove the imperfections and to assist the process of accumulation by leaving incomes to be determined strictly by the market." \23

If, however, global full employment is not seen as a realistic possibility in the foreseeable future, "those in the informal sector, along with the weakest, lowest paid sections of the labour force, appear trapped in a situation where their sacrifices will not help to solve their problems." \24

In spite of the divergent views reflected in the informal sector debate there is "considerable common ground for all those who consider that the present impossibility of full employment in most developing countries requires special policies aimed at maximising aggregate production while preventing minimum wages from falling below some socially and politically defined minimum. Since this cannot be done by simply legislating minimum wages, it can only be done by providing (if possible), the as yet unincorporated labour with productive assets, so as to allow that labour power to be utilised optimally in a self-employed context.

..... Such small producers could thus make a net addition to capital accumulation, always provided that the environment in which their growth had been fostered was maintained, and their 'assets' were not destroyed by their sudden exposure to competition from technically, or economically, much more powerful rivals." \25

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

II. STREET FOOD VENDORS :

Street food vending is one of several economic activities which are included in the informal sector. The selling of a variety of snacks, meals and drinks in market places, near offices and factories, on street corners is a familiar sight in cities of the Third World. In some countries there is a tradition of selling cooked foods used as a basis of meals \26. And yet this activity has been ignored as a source of income in most Third World cities. It has, in fact, been considered undesirable by city authorities on the grounds that it is unhygienic and a health hazard.

"The volume of street-food sales was assumed to be inconsequential: the foods were dismissed as snack items and marginal to diet. The reality of the street food trade is one in which the sector is a persistent and expanding feature of the urban economies of many third world countries. As a sector of flourishing microenterprises, the street food trade operates both as a processing component of the food system, employing as much as a quarter of the urban labour force, and as the provider of an important component of the urban household diet. Moreover, the street food trade is largely the domain of women. They are heavily involved as preparers, vendors and purchasers of street foods." \27,

Equity Policy Centre (EPOC), for the purposes of their studies, defined street food on the criterion of consumability at the point of purchase. Such a definition can include both processed and unprocessed foods. Fruits bought in small units as immediate refreshments come under unprocessed street food, while a large variety of prepared items are processed foods. Their key distinguishing feature is their transformation or processing. \28

26. Cohen, Monique - The Influence of Street Food trade on women and children, to be published in Advances in International Maternal and Child Health, B. Derrick and E.F. Patrice Jelliffe (ed.), Oxford University Press, (manuscript dated February 1985).

27. Ibid

The study was conducted by Equity Policy Centre, Washington D.C., and the data are based on country studies done in Iloilo City (Phillipines), Bogor (Indonesia), Manikganj (Bangladesh), and Ziguinchor (Senegal).

28. Ibid

Studies conducted by Equity Policy Centre (EPOC) in some cities in Asia and Africa \29 show that there is considerable variation, owing to cultural factors, in the volume of street food sales, food items (meals or snacks) sold and the rates of participation of women in this activity. Some countries (cultures) have a tradition of eating out where staple food items are bought regularly ready-made from vendors and where most of the students eat one or two street food meals every day. In other cultural contexts meals are prepared at home and street foods provide a supplement to diet, a valuable supplement where, because of poverty, low-income families eat only one meal a day. Whatever the cultural context the demand for street food, however, is not inelastic with respect to income.

The rate of participation of women in street food vending is determined by the cultural context. The studies have shown, however, that even in such cultures where very few women actually sell food, their participation in less visible activities, such as food preparation at home, is high.

The studies found that there are few barriers to entry into street food vending since little skill and capital are required. Women are attracted to this occupation because it is compatible with domestic duties of cooking and child-care. They can use equipment and skills that they already have. To operate a viable street food business, however, is far from easy. It requires long hours of preparation and selling time. Products are perishable and therefore require established clientele. \30

Food safety is another aspect taken up in the studies conducted by EPOC. The reason of health hazard is generally used by governments to denigrate street food. Not all street food, however, carries germs that cause gastrointestinal infestation. \31

The importance of food eaten outside the home in the diet has been stressed in another study. \32 This contribution is especially important under conditions in which food intake is at a marginal level and/or when the individual or group in question

29. Ibid

Cohen, Monique and Tinker, Irene - Street Foods : Opportunities for Female Employment in the Food System, Executive Summary, Equity Policy Centre, Washington, D.C.

30. Cohen, Monique - op.cit.

31. Ibid

32. Webb Rayland E., Hyatt, Susan A. - Haitian Street Foods and their Nutritional Contribution to Dietary Intake, Ecology of Food and Nutrition, Vol. 21, 1988.

is nutritionally at-risk. In the study of school children (in Port-au-Prince, Haiti), street food provided on an average 15% of the daily recommended dietary intake for kcalories and 18% of the recommended daily allowance for protein (according to Caribbean standards).

The EPOC studies have pointed out that overall, street foods can be regarded as nutritious and often superior to their industrially manufactured counterparts. They are a better source of minerals and vitamins than typical western fast foods. \33

"Street foods are important as a source of both employment and food, especially for women who play roles as both providers and consumers. As a means of income generation, street foods are more than competitive with alternative opportunities for the unskilled. Street foods are integral rather than marginal to the urban household diet. Moreover, their presence in the diet would seem to reflect a rational consumer decision. Given these advantages the preparation and sale of street foods will continue to be a widespread and expanding phenomenon of third world cities." \34

III. THE STUDY IN PUNE

Street food vending has been gradually on the increase in Pune. A wide range of food items are sold as street food. The clientele consists of both the better-off and the poor. In fact some new, relatively expensive and non-traditional dishes have been added in the recent past to the list of items sold presiously, to cater to the increasing middle-class in the city.

Pune is in the State of Maharashtra, in central west India. It has been an established urban centre since the early eighteenth century. After 1950 a diversified modern manufacturing sector grew in and around the city. As a consequence there has been a steady growth of population in the city. By the late nineteen eighties (when the study of street food vendors was conducted) it was close to 1.5 million (within the limits of the Pune Municipal Corporation). \35 Pune has also received a large number of migrants who came in search of livelihood from perennially drought-prone districts further east in Maharashtra. Severe droughts that occurred in this part in the late sixties and especially in the early seventies gave rise to rapid growth of

33. Cohen, Monique - op. cit.

34. Ibid

35. Pune is much larger than any of the cities where street food vending was studied by EPOC, the largest amongst which had a population of 248,000 in 1980 (Cohen, Monique and Tinker, Irene- op.cit.)

shanty settlements. The population of shanty settlements increased dramatically from about 92,000 in 1969 to 273,000 in 1976 (that is from about 12% to 27% of the total population; subsequent estimates have put this proportion at 33% in the early eighties and even higher in more recent years).

It cannot be said that there is a tradition in Pune of eating out (street food), as it exists in some of the cities studied by EPOC. However, pushcarts and kiosks (stalls) selling a great variety of food items have become more ubiquitous in the recent past than before. As the population of the city has increased so has its spread; consequently the distance between home and place of work has become greater, eliminating the possibility for most of returning home for a meal during working hours. Has this created a greater demand for street food? In view of the flourishing street food business in the cities in Asia and Africa studied by EPOC, we decided to study this activity in India in a large city like Pune. We adopted a similar definition of street food to that used by EPOC, for their study. The only difference is that in addition to the criterion of consumability on the spot, we included another feature of processing. The food that has undergone some processing and is consumable on the spot and is being sold from a kiosk (stall), pushcart or a basket or a similar container by the roadside or in a public place is termed as street food.

The objective of the study was to understand the scale of street food vending in the city, the working of such enterprises and economics of their business. Being an informal sector activity it may be encountering disadvantages with respect to basic inputs such as space, basic services (clean water supply, garbage collection) or credit. Our inquiry sought to identify these difficulties in order to define appropriate response from government required to improve the product of men and women working in this activity. The question of allocation of space at appropriate locations for conducting this business is crucial for the successful working of such enterprises as well as in urban planning. The studies referred to earlier have not examined this aspect adequately although their recommendation for legitimising this activity has direct implications for the allocation of urban space.

Another area that concerned us regarding street food was hygiene and food safety. We conducted microbiological tests on food, drinks and water served in order to assess their quality. The objective again was to chalk out, if necessary, types of interventions required to improve food safety and protection against contamination.

It is not the case that all street food vendors operate their business illegally. Some of them hold licenses issued by the Pune Municipal Corporation. There is a set of rules and conditions for issuing licenses that has been formulated by the city authorities, in order to ensure food safety and hygiene. They have delineated new hawking zones to allow hawking

(including street food vending) supposedly in a manner that causes as little obstruction to traffic as possible. Procedures for issuing vending licenses are being formulated. This report attempts to make a contribution towards the design of a relevant and appropriate intervention to facilitate and regulate this activity.

In order to help the creation of income opportunities, government has been providing small loans for self-employment. Street food vending can be one such activity which can be started with a small capital and can afford reasonable income to the vendor. For such a credit facility ³⁶ to yield better results it will have to be accompanied by appropriate licensing policy and allocation of urban space to conduct this activity. This report attempts to make recommendations towards such a policy framework.

36. For instance, Self-Employment Programme for the Urban Poor (SEPUP) in which a short-term loan upto Rs. 5000/- is given at the rate of interest of 4%.

III. OFFICIAL VIEW ON STREET FOOD VENDING :

Under the Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporations Act (Bombay Act No. LIX of 1949), the use of any public place or road for hawking is prohibited without a license issued by the Municipal Commissioner and is permitted under conditions and provisions specified in it. The encroachment (Prevention) Department of the Municipal Corporation in Pune issues permits to hawkers. Those hawkers who intend to sell food items, have to obtain, in addition, a license from the Health Department. The Encroachment (Prevention) Department, in consultation with the traffic police, issues permits for hawking either from kiosks or using pushcarts (ambulatory or stationary) or for street vending or for selling goods as itinerant hawkers. The mode of hawking is specified on the permit. A permit is issued for a specified period of time, the maximum being 11 months, after which it has to be renewed. A small fee is charged for the permit, depending on the mode of hawking and the period for which the permit is issued.

On the recommendation of the District Collector and the Commissioner of Police, the general body of the Municipal Corporation voted to stop the issuing hawking licenses on 17 October 1975. On the request of the National Eggs Coordination Committee, however, the Health Department issued licenses on 26 December 1983 to 13 hawkers to sell egg dishes on pushcarts (in order to promote the consumption of eggs). After this, a large number of people wanting to sell street food applied to the Health Department for obtaining hawking licenses. The Health Department granted some licenses, without consulting the Encroachment (Prevention) Department. This caused difficulties in the removal of obstruction to traffic caused by hawkers. In order, therefore, to resolve the question of inter-departmental coordination and to agree on a definite policy towards hawkers, the issuing of licenses by the Health Department was suspended.

This, however, did not stop the growth in the number of hawkers. After the Hawkers Union made representations to the municipal authorities, a committee was set up in mid 1985 to deal with the question of unlicensed hawkers and to make recommendations for clearing busy roadsides and pavements occupied by hawkers. The Committee consisted of municipal officials, traffic police and representatives of the Hawkers Union.

The Committee considered the question of a growing demand for new hawking licenses; it studied the problems of obstruction to traffic caused by the rapidly increasing number of hawkers, many of whom were unlicensed. The Encroachment (Prevention) Department provided information to the Committee on the number of hawkers in the city, their locations and the type of foods sold by them. According to the Department, there were 3000 hawkers using pushcarts and 1500 street vendors and of the total 731 carried licenses for hawking.

The Committee took into consideration a judgment given by the Supreme Court that hawking cannot be prohibited; municipal authorities must allot space to hawkers; hawkers, however, cannot insist on particular locations for conducting their business. The Committee decided to identify areas in the city where hawker could sell their goods without causing obstruction to the traffic movement.

The Committee noted that hawkers occupy pavements or roadsides along almost all busy roads in the congested part of the city (i.e. the inner city). In view of the narrow width of most of the main roads in the inner city and a large volume of the traffic they carry, the Committee decided to prohibit hawking altogether on such roads. It would be permitted on subsidiary roads which meet main thoroughfares and on smaller roads in residential areas in the city. For finalising hawking locations, the Committee recommended, the traffic police must be consulted. The Committee also made a recommendation regarding timings for hawking (not later than 8.30 p.m.) and stipulated alternative locations for shifting hawkers away busy areas. It recommended that in the inner city 1500 licenses for pushcarts and in suburbs another 2000 could be given; in addition 2000 street vendors could be permitted. Once these licenses are issued, the Committee specified, no further licenses should be given in the subsequent 10 years.

On the basis of this report, a policy towards hawkers was formulated in August 1985. Important provisions of this policy are :

1. In the inner city area, ambulatory hawkers are not permitted; they could, however, be allowed in suburbs (outlying areas).
2. On roads without heavy traffic, stalls (kiosks) could be permitted at specified locations; on such roads pushcarts, ambulatory or stationery, are prohibited.
3. On crowded streets and on main roads, pushcarts or street vendors are prohibited; such roads are to be declared out of bounds for hawking by issuing a notification from the traffic police.
4. The Municipal Commissioner has powers to notify locations in the city where hawking is permitted.
5. Hawkers who operate in no-hawking areas are to be shifted to notified hawking locations; they are to be issued permits or daily passes.

The document has stipulated license fees and removal charges (if hawking is conducted without proper authorisation). It has specified sites in the inner city to which hawkers from busy roads are to be shifted. It has listed 283 specific locations in

the city where hawking is permitted.

The municipal authorities have so far not succeeded in enforcing these policy decisions which were made in late 1985. The number of hawkers has increased. A large number of them are still unlicensed (including street food vendors). They continue to conduct their business at locations which have been declared as prohibited for hawking, but are advantageous from the point of view of business. The authorities have not been able to shift them from busy roads to specified hawking sites. Their business hours have not been regulated; many continue to sell food after 8.30 p.m., well past midnight.

In addition to a permit from the Encroachment (Prevention) Department, street food vendors are required to obtain a license from the Health Department. The Health Department has formulated a set of rules and conditions that vendors have to fulfil in order to ensure food safety and hygiene (see Appendix A). After inspecting the pushcart or kiosk to make sure that it fulfils all the requirements and on checking the proposed hawking site (which is approved by the Encroachment (Prevention) Department) to ensure that it is hygienic (for example, there is no garbage dump in the vicinity), a license is issued. Vendors were initially not permitted to cook food on pushcarts or in kiosks and were permitted to sell certain prepared or cooked food items only, the reason being the absence of adequate facilities for washing and cleaning of plates, cups and utensils at hawking locations. After a notification was issued on 2 December 1986, however, vendors have been permitted to prepare on pushcarts or in kiosks egg dishes and some deep fried snacks (only two types). This has been done even though proper cleaning facilities have not been provided.

Of the permits issued to hawkers in 1986-87 by the Encroachment (Prevention) Department, 685 (199 kiosks and 486 pushcarts) were street food vendors. The Health Department, however, has issued even fewer licenses to street food vendors as indicated by the figures given below.

Year	Number of licenses issued by Health Department (temporary *)
1986-87	4
1987-88	51
1988-89	94
1989-90	89

(* The maximum period for which a license is issued is 11 months)

The machinery that the Health Department has for ensuring food safety and hygiene is very inadequate. There are only 7 food inspectors and 36 sanitary inspectors. They have a number of responsibilities other than inspecting and checking hotels, restaurants and street food vending places. They, therefore, visit eating places infrequently. As one of their duties, they collect samples of food items to be examined under the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act 1954. The samples are taken not only from eating places but also from grocery shops, bakeries, confectioneries, etc. and checked for adulteration. Bacteriological tests (for checking contamination) are rarely conducted, generally only if a complaint is received about food served or sold at a particular place. The total number of samples tested by the Health Department under the Prevention of Food adulteration Act was :

Year	Samples tested under Prevention of Food Adulteration Act
1986-87	131
1987-88	167
1988-89	143
1989-90	261

Officials of the Encorachment (Prevention) Department are aware that there are many more hawkers than the number that holds licenses. They see hawking as a recalcitrant problem, not as an income opportunity. Health officials know that there are many more street food vendors as compared to the small number who have been issued licenses. They are also aware that many of them sell food items which are not included in the list of items permitted to be sold as street food; they are aware that a variety of different dishes are prepared on pushcarts and kiosks although the rules prohibit this. Like the Encorachment (Prevention) Department, the Health department regards unlicensed street food vending as a menace that is growing; it is not seen as an activity that is fulfilling a demand and giving employment to many.

IV. ENUMERATION OF STREET FOOD VENDORS :

In order to establish the magnitude of street food vending, we conducted an enumeration of vendors. This involved traversing all streets in the city to find them. Each street had to be visited several times of day in order to enumerate vendors who conducted business at different times (from morning till late evening) but taking care to avoid double counting. We noted the number of vendors at each location, food items that each one sold, hours of business, and whether the vendor had a kiosk, a pushcart or was a street vendor, or an itinerant hawker. Kiosks being relatively permanent fixtures, if installed without requisite authorisation from the municipal authorities, face the risk of immediate removal, while pushcarts and street vendors can manage to conduct business without licenses (for a consideration).

Our enumeration recorded 199 kiosks and 1382 hawkers (street vendors and pushcart users together), making altogether 1581 street food vendors. The count included ambulatory pushcarts and itinerant hawkers also; care was taken not to double count them; however, they may have been slightly undercounted. The vendors sell 98 different types of food items, from hot and cold beverages, snacks (light and heavy) to meals. Most of the items require some processing at the site of vending; very few of the food items sold are fully prepared at home. The processing may involve peeling/ chopping/ cutting and mixing or actually cooking on the cart or kiosk (frying, roasting, making Indian pancakes on a hot plate, making tea etc.). Several of these food items are prohibited to be sold as street food by the Health Department on the grounds of the absence of facilities to maintain hygiene. For example, meals or tea are not included in the list of items permitted to be sold as street food because of the absence of proper facilities to wash cups and plates at the site of vending; our enumeration; however, recorded more than a hundred vendors selling tea and 26 serving meals (Table 1). \37

In some of the cities where EPOC conducted the studies on street food vendors, eating out is a tradition and children and adults regularly eat street food for breakfast or meals \38. In Pune, as in Manikganj (Bangladesh) \39, street food primarily provides snacks or supplementation rather than meals. Among the street food vendors in Pune, only 26 (1.6%) sell meals and about 200 (12.5%) sell heavy snacks which can be substituted for meals (132 sell egg dishes such as omelettes or spicy scrambled eggs served with bread and 66 sell vegetable stew served with rolls fried in

37. Tables 1 to 30 are given in Appendix C.

38. Cohen, Monique - op. cit.

39. Ibid

butter). The rest, nearly 86%, offer a variety of snacks, hot and cold beverages, icecreams and ice lollies etc. (Table 1). Street food vendors are concentrated on specific sites which are distributed over the whole city. We divided the city in three zones - eastern (working class area, the railway station and bus terminals, whole sale markets), western (relatively better off area, shopping places, parks), suburbs (primarily residential area and some offices) (Map - Appendix B). The distribution of pushcarts and street vendors ⁴⁰ in the three zones is as follows

Distribution of Street Food Vendors in Pune

Zone	Pushcarts and Street Vendors
East	413 (29.88%)
West	489 (35.38%)
Suburbs	480 (34.74%)
Total	1382 (100.00%)

We classified street food vendors (pushcart users and street vendors) according to the predominant land-use/activity in the immediate vicinity of the vending site that brings people to the area (Table 2). Vendors who have chosen to be close to parks, and movie houses and theatres together add up to a quarter of the total number. Another significant concentration of vendors is around the railway station and bus terminals (13%). Street food vending sites which have come up in different parts of the city (and distributed in the three zones) accommodate another 13.5% of street food vendors. These sites have developed as eating out places and people visit them for that purpose. There are relatively few vendors in residential areas (only 8.5%). A similar small number of vendors is grouped around shopping areas (8.8%) and around offices (7.5%). School and colleges do not seem to provide much clientele for street food, nor do industrial units. On the whole, 38% of the vendors cater to eating out related to entertainment; and about 25% of the vendors are grouped around sites where people come for work.

40. The reason why pushcarts and street vendors were selected for this analysis is that they have chosen sites which are advantageous from the business point of view, often in defiance of official policy and regulation. Kiosks, on the other hand, have to abide by official regulations in guarding permissible sites for vending.

The timings of business that the street food vendors keep vary according to the predominant land-use or activity in the vicinity of vending sites for which people come to the area and among whom are their clients (Table 3). Vendors around parks work mainly in the evenings, while those around offices and business area conduct business the whole day from morning till evening; wholesale market and shopping areas, on the other hand, provide clients for street food from early morning till late evening depending on business hours at different markets. At street food vending sites business is conducted mostly in the late evenings, while in residential areas, about a third of the vendors sell street food the whole day or in the evening, and two thirds of them late evening.

Our findings show that about 45% of the street food vendors conduct their business after 19.00 hrs. till well past midnight. The municipal regulation requires them to stop selling street food after 20.30 hrs. In view of profitable business, however, many of the vendors continue to work after the stipulated hour in contravention of the rule.

An analysis of the type of food items sold at different vending sites correlates with the type of customers served (Table 4). We have classified the food items in four broad categories - snacks, meals and heavy snacks, hot and cold beverages, and icecreams and ice candy. All the sites offer snacks, and beverages but meals and heavy snacks are primarily served at specific places (such as the railway station and bus terminals, near labour pools and at street food vending places), where there is a likelihood of getting customers for them.

V. FINDINGS OF SAMPLE SURVEY :

Based on the information collected during the enumeration of street food vendors in Pune, we selected a sample of 236 vendors (18 kiosk holders, 184 pushcart users and 34 street vendors), i.e. 15% of the total number of vendors (9% of kiosk holders and 16% of pushcart users and street vendors together). The sample represents the range of food items sold (Table 5), vending sites that vendors occupy (Tables 6 & 7) and business timings that they keep (Table 8). We decided to include in the sample all those vendors who sell inexpensive meals. This is a small group of 21 street vendors that offers meals at cheap rates and which include meat dishes made mainly from offal.

1. Legal Status :

Street food vendors are required to obtain before they start the business a permit from the Encroachment (Prevention) Department and a license from the Health Department of the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC). We inspected licenses carried by street food vendors among the sample (Table 9). All those who have kiosks, hold a license from the Encroachment (Prevention) Department, (or else they would be removed), but only about 60% of them have a license from the Health Department. When it comes to pushcart users much less proportion carries these licenses; the proportion of Health Department license holders is, in fact, only about 10%. Street vendors do not seem to bother much about getting these licenses; less than 10% have licenses from either of the Departments.

2. Number of Years in Business :

Street food vending is relatively a new activity. Among our sample of vendors a larger number of pushcart users and street vendors (nearly 40% each) have been in business for more than 10 years, while less than 20% of kiosk holders have set up their business that long ago. Half of the kiosk holders have been conducting this activity for upto 3 years only (Table 10).

3. Business status :

Almost all the street food vendors in the sample (97%) are proprietors of their enterprise (Table 11). A very small proportion of the vendors run the business on contract for a fixed sum of money paid as fees to the owner; this proportion is higher among kiosk holders. Only one pushcart user in the sample is paid a daily wage by the owner for doing the work.

4. Religion and Caste :

Nearly 60% of our sample of street food vendors belong to Hindu advance castes (Table 12). Their proportion is much higher (close to 80%) among kiosk holders, and much less (35%) among street vendors. Nearly 20% each of pushcart users and street vendors belong to lower castes and about 10% each are Muslims. Fifteen per cent of the street vendors belong to scheduled castes. This proportion is much higher as compared to that among the kiosk holders and pushcart users.

Quarter of the street vendors belong to ther religions (such as Buddhists, Sikhs, etc.). The higher form of business enterprise seems to correspond with the higher caste status.

5. Period of residence in Pune :

Nearly a quarter of the street food vendors have lived in Pune for two generations or longer and three quarters of them are migrants (Table 13). Among the migrants, close to 70% have lived in Pune for more than 15 years and a little over 10% for more than 10 years. Only 5% have been in the city for less than 3 years. A relatively longer urban experience seems to be a characteristic of street food vending. It may be a necessity for building networks and to 'know the ropes'.

6. Level of education :

The level of education of the street food vendors is similar to that in the population in the city. Within this group, however, there are differences (Table 14). The street vendors are the least educated, with close to a half of them being illiterate. The kiosk holders at the other end have just over a fifth of them illiterate and the same proportion have finished secondary school education (and some have studied upto graduation). The relatively high level of education is correlated with the higher form of business enterprise, although the skills required for street food vending do not necessarily require higher education.

7. Place of Residence :

In the case of several food items part of the process of preparing street food takes place at the residence of the vendor. It may involve cleaning/ washing/ chopping/ partly cooking the ingredients used. The availability of clean water and hygienic surroundings, therefore, contribute to food safety. We, therefore, examined the places of residence of the vendors (Table 15). Over a third of them live in shanty settlements (where shared basic services are provided on an inadequate scale and services like refuse collection are non-existent); more than 55% live in chawls and old sub-divided houses (where in some cases shared facilities are available); and only 7% have independant

flats or houses.

Among the three classes of vendors, kiosk holders are better off in terms their residential accommodation; nearly 90% of them live in authorised housing and slightly over 10% only live in shanty settlements. The street vendors, however, are more disadvantaged as a half of them stay in shanty settlements and not a single street vendor is able to afford an independent flat. Better economic status as manifest by the type of housing is correlated with the higher form of business enterprise.

Homes of most of the vendors are very small (Table 16). Those who have less than 150 sq.ft. of space in their dwellings account for two thirds of the vendors. Our survey revealed that nearly 40% homes have open drains just outside or in the vicinity. (This is the case in almost all the dwellings in shanty settlements). The conditions in which some of the street food is prepared (partly or fully) are, therefore, less than conducive to food safety. Small dwellings in which a large majority of vendor live do not allow much space for storing (and therefore bulk buying) of ingredients used in the food that they sell.

8. Occupation Previous to Street Food Vending :

More than three quarter of the street food vendor followed other occupations before starting their street food enterprises (Table 17A). However, a third of the kiosk holders, a quarter of the pushcart users and a fifth of the street vendors started street food vending as their first occupation.

The largest number of vendors were casual labourers, petty traders or self employed (over 70%) prior to being street food vendors (Table 17B), while the rest held formal sector industrial or service jobs.

9. Reasons for starting street food vending :

The vendors reported a variety of reason for starting street food vending (Table 18). The largest group, more than a quarter of them, mentioned failure to find employment as their reason for vending street food. A slightly smaller proportion (22%) started street food enterprises as subsidiary occupation to supplement other income. About 10% got into street food vending on the basis of previous work experience related to preparation and catering of food; and an equal proportion are carrying on their family business of street food vending.

It is clearly not the case that the street food vendors started this enterprise as an activity of last resort. Close to 60% have given positive reasons for starting street food vending.

10. Previous experience related to Street Food Vending :

Two thirds of the vendors have reported having had some experience in the field of food preparation, and catering before they embarked on the business of their own. A third of the vendors started the enterprises without any previous experience (Table 19). A negligible proportion started on a small scale or as secondary occupation before expanding the business.

There are clear differences in the level of previous experience between the three groups of vendors - a majority of kiosk holders (over 60%) started street food vending without any previous experience in this field, whereas less than 30% of cart users started their enterprises without any previous experience. This difference may exist on account of the kiosk holders acting as entrepreneurs (managers) while employing people with adequate skills to do the actual work while pushcart users mostly run their business by themselves and help from family members with paid employees to do menial tasks.

11. Expansion of Street Food Vending :

Nearly two thirds of the street food vendors have been conducting this activity for less than 10 years, and those who have been in this business for more than 20 years add up to only 15% (Table 20). Street food seems to have gained popularity and is resorted to as a source of food mainly in recent years.

Snack vendors who comprise more than half the street food vendors have increased in number steadily over the years. On the other hand, the selling of heavy snacks mainly spans less than 10 years ⁴². Although selling street meals has existed for relatively long time, there are even now few vendors who sell meals and among them two thirds have been conducting this activity for not more than 10 years.

The relative proportion of vendors selling different food items has changed over time. Although a variety of snacks is still the largest category of street food, the relative proportion of snack vendors has considerably reduced. Until 15 years ago, 75% of the vendors sold snacks and now they comprise about 45%. The relative proportion of vendors of heavy snacks and meals has increased over time.

42. One of the popular dishes (spicy mixed vegetable stew served with rolls fried in butter) is not a traditional dish and was introduced recently, so were milk-shakes and fruit juice.

12. Augmenting Income :

Most vendors own one kiosk or cart (Table 21). We have in our sample 12% vendors who own two kiosks or carts. Those who have more than two are very few.

Nearly 20% of the street food vendors take catering orders for specific occasions, and a smaller proportion (less than 15%) puts up temporary food stalls at fetes.

A substantial number (40%) of the street food vendors depends solely on this activity to earn a livelihood. The rest have other sources of household income as well. In a small number of cases this additional income is derived from pension (5% of those who have additional sources of income) and from agriculture at the place of origin (12%). In the rest of the cases, some members of the household are engaged in various income earning activities, formal and informal.

13. Seasonal changes :

Generally, the street food vendors sell the same products throughout the year. However, there are about 15% of the vendors who do not do so. About 40% of them change the type of food that they sell according to season ⁴³ and the rest take up some other type of work altogether (casual labour, petty trade or tilling the land at the place or origin).

14. Cooking fuel and electricity :

Predominantly kerosene is used as cooking fuel where required (in 84% of the cases of street food vendors in our sample where a stove is required, another 8% use liquified petroleum gas and a further 8% charcoal for cooking). Forty per cent of the vendors do not need to use stoves since the food preparation involves no cooking. Vendors face difficulties in getting adequate supply of cooking fuel. A small number uses kerosene obtained from fair price shops as their family quota of cooking fuel (which is rationed). But most of the vendors have to pay higher prices towards kerosene or gas, since even those who hold municipal licenses are not allotted additional quota of kerosene for their street food enterprise.

Only a quarter of the vendors have electricity connection in the kiosks or on carts, but only 18% have obtained it legally. A small number of vendors (only 8%) use modern electric gadgets (grinder, juicer, hot plate, refrigerator etc.) at home or in kiosks.

43. For example, cold drinks in summer and tea, or roasted peanuts in pods or roasted corn on the cob other months.

15. Fulfilling licensing conditions :

Although a majority of street food vendors do not hold municipal licenses, we assessed whether or not they fulfill some of the licensing conditions since they are important for maintaining hygiene and safety.

a) Smooth work top :

Number of Street Food Vendors	
Provided	122 (51.69)
Not provided	74 (31.36)
Not Applicable	40 (16.95)
Total	236 (100.00)

b) Roof at required height :

Number of Street Food Vendors	
Provided	169 (71.61)
Not provided	27 (11.44)
Not Applicable	40 (16.95)
Total	236 (100.00)

c) Glass case for storing food items

Number of Street Food Vendors	
Provided	141 (59.75)
Not provided	74 (31.36)
Not required	21 (8.89)
Total	236 (100.00)

d) Tin cover for stove

Number of Street Food Vendors	
Provided	100 (42.39)
Not provided	40 (16.95)
Not applicable	96 (40.68)
Total	236 (100.00)

e) Disposal of waste water at vending site

Number of Street Food Vendors	
No arrangement	142 (60.17)
Bucket/ tin to store it (inadequate)	61 (25.85)
Adequate arrangement	10 (4.24)
Not required (water not used at vending site)	23 (9.74)
Total	236 (100.00)

f) Source of water

	Number of Street Food Vendors	
	For drinking	For other use
Canal, well, storage tank	10 (4.24)	13 (5.51)
Municipal water supply	197 (83.47)	200 (84.75)
Not provided or used (at vending site)	29 (12.29)	23 (9.74)
Total	236 (100.00)	236 (100.00)

g) Environmental conditions near vending sites

	Number of Street Food Vendors
Municipal refuse dump	87 (36.86)
Uncleared garbage	60 (25.42)
Stagnant water	45 (19.07)
Open drains	30 (12.71)

h) Serving of food

	Number of Street Food Vendors
Use of printed paper solely or partly	97 (41.10)
Use of plates (metal, plastic or corckery), cups, mugs, glasses	126 (53.38)
Use of paper plates, disposal cups	12 (5.09)
Use of leaves, plates and bowls made from leaves	1 (0.43)
Total	236 (100.00)

i) Cleaning of utensils

Number of Street Food Vendors	
Just dipping in a container water	88 (37.29)
By pouring small quantity of water	46 (19.49)
Wiping with Cloth	15 (6.35)
Under running water	23 (9.75)
Using washing soap/ powder and water	3 (1.27)
No washing required (food served on printed paper, paper plates or in disposable cups)	61 (25.85)
Total	236 (100.00)

A significant proportion of street food vendors do not fulfill many of the licensing conditions. Some of these lapses are more hazardous than the others. More than 40% of the vendors use printed paper for serving food which is not dry in all the cases. A serious lapse occurs in the washing of utensils. Unsatisfactorily washed plates, cups, glasses or spoons can affect adversely the food consumed using these. Even though treated (potable) water is used in food preparation by most, therefore, food hygiene can get affected because of improper cleaning of utensils used for storing and serving food. This is as much a result of unsatisfactory practice on the part of vendors as the absence of adequate facilities at the vending sites.

15. Total investment made :

We sought information on how much total capital investment each street food vendor had made since starting business. Most of them (85%) have invested less than Rs. 5,000/- (Table 23). Nearly 40% have put into their business as little as less than Rs. 1,000/-. There are a few who have invested more than Rs. 10,000/- (about 5%).

Under the government scheme of making loans available for self-employment, the maximum sum of money that is lent is Rs. 5,000/-. To start street food vending business with that sum of money seems to be a viable proposition, as shown by our study. (Vendors make reasonable income for themselves from this

activity, as will be discussed later).

There are certain food items the vending business of which has required much smaller amount of investment as compared to the others (Table 22B). The least investment has been made by the street meal vendors. The vending of egg dishes forms another relatively low capital investment intensity business. The largest investment has been made by vendors by expensive snacks (which use butter in cooking and other dishes include milk-shakes and fresh fruit juice).

16. Income from Street food vending :

We studied the question of income from street food vending in great detail. To get as clear a picture as possible we noted down all items of expenditure \44, and vendors' earnings taking into account ups and downs each month and in a year and holidays taken by vendors. Total earnings and expenses were calculated for the whole period in a year for which business was conducted. From these net income was calculated. Since less than 10% keep accounts (and separate from household accounts) this elaborate exercise was necessary.

Our findings show that a significant majority of the street food vendors derive reasonable income from this activity (Table 23). On the basis of the 'poverty line' income \45 of Rs. 1,000/- for a family of 5 (at the time of the survey), 75% of the vendors earn more than that, and 45% earn substantially higher incomes.

The kiosk holders are clearly better-off. Over 70% of them earn more than Rs. 2,000/- a month, with 40% earning above Rs. 4,000/- a month. Among street vendors the situation is less favourable. Close to a half of them earn incomes that are below the poverty line.

As stated earlier, for over 40% of the vendor households street food business is the only source of earning (Table 24). For another 25% of the vendor households income from street food vending makes up more than 60% share of the total annual household income. In these cases where dependence on street food income is high, the income from this business is also higher (Table 24). Further, as street food income increases, the proportion of vendor households with lower share of street food income in the total household income decreases.

44. These included expenditure on raw material (ingredients), wages of employees (if any), on electricity, water, fuel, maintenance of kiosk or cart, replacing of utensils, stoves and crockery, license fees, rent, fines, 'consideration' money, flowers, incense.

45. Dandekar, V.M. and Rath, Nilkanth - Poverty in India, Ford Foundation, 1970.

For each category of food that vendors sell, their net income as proportion of the turnover varies considerably (Table 25). Some of the high return foods are hot and cold beverages, icecreams and inexpensive meals. This does not mean that the income the vendors derive from the sale of such items is necessarily high. Net income as proportion of the turnover is lower for relatively more expensive food items. These, however, are the food types from which higher incomes accrue to the vendors (as is shown later in V-19).

There is a considerable variation in the total household income of the vendors (Table 26). About 10% of the households earn income below the poverty line (This proportion is over 25% when only the income from street food is taken into account - Table 23). A half of the households are concentrated in the income group Rs. 10,000 to 25,000.

17. Employment in Street Food Vending :

There are 67 (28%) vendors who conduct their business by themselves (i.e. without any help from other family members or paid employees). In all other cases either family members assist in the preparation and sale of street food (45%) or there are paid workers (full-time and part-time) to do some of the tasks (8%) or both family members and paid workers help with the running of the business (19%) (Table 27A).

Single member enterprises and family run enterprises together account for over half the street food vending businesses. More than a third of the single member enterprises are run by women. Out of the 320 workers (paid and unpaid), there are 188 female and 132 male workers (i.e. 58% female and 42% male) (Table 27B). Among paid workers 68 are females and 30 male workers (nearly 70% female and 30% male workers). There is a significant number of children employed as paid workers in these businesses and of whom two thirds are girls and one third boys. The kiosk holders employ the highest number of paid workers (0.88 per kiosk), the pushcart users employ much less paid labour (0.39 per pushcart) and street vendors the least (0.28 per street vendor).

Male workers and even children receive greater emoluments for their work from their employers as compared to that earned by female workers. On the whole it is lowly paid work.

Category of worker	Average monthly earnings Rs.	Minimum Rs.	Minimum Rs.
Male adult (part-time)	351	600	200
(full-time)	513	999	200
Female adult (part-time)	280	360	180
(full-time)	315	480	150
Child (part-time)	329	500	210
(full-time)	362	600	150

The total number of people engaged in running 236 street food vending businesses is 556 (236 vendors + 222 unpaid workers + 98 paid workers). On this basis, we estimate that not more than 3750 people are engaged in street food vending in the city.

18. Women in Street Food Vending

Among the street food vendors (i.e. those who head the enterprise), there are only 13% women. They represent the more visible part of the involvement of women in this activity; what is less visible is the role they play as unpaid and paid workers. Altogether, as women vendors, and paid and unpaid workers, they constitute more than 45% of the labour force that is engaged in this activity. Women seem to be preferred as paid workers even by male vendors (Table 27), perhaps because of they have the required skills and can be paid low wages (see Table in Section V-17), even lower than what children are paid. Twice as many girls as boys are employed in the street food enterprises.

	Male	Female	Total
Total number of street food vendors	205 (86.86)	31 (13.14)	236 (100.00)
Number of single person enterprises	43 (64.18)	24 (35.82)	67 (100.00)

Among the women street food vendors a large majority (77%) runs the activity as single person enterprises. The percentage of single person enterprises as a proportion of the male street vendors is much smaller (21%).

The variety of food items that women sell is somewhat restricted as compared to that sold by the street food vendors on the whole. In our sample of street food vendors we have included all those who sell inexpensive street meals. Out of the total number of 21 street meal vendors 13 are women (i.e. more than 60% of the street meal vendors and more than 40% of women street food vendors). If we exclude meal vendors, the proportion of women to men vendors works out to less than 10%. Excluding the women street meal vendors, what the rest of the women vendors sell compares with the food items sold by street food vendors excluding street meals as follows :

Street Food Items	Female Vendors	All Vendors
1. Snacks	13 (68.42)	126 (58.60)
2. Expensive heavy snacks	-	6 (2.79)
3. Egg dishes	1 (5.26)	28 (13.02)
4. Hot and cold beverages	4 (21.06)	37 (17.21)
5. Icecream / ice candy	1 (5.26)	18 (8.38)
Total	19 (100.00)	215 (100.00)

Among snack items women tend to sell those which are traditional in nature ⁴⁶ in the cuisine of Maharashtra. Women do not seem to sell egg dishes which have become popular in recent years. This may be so because they are primarily sold late in the evenings ⁴⁷. Among hot and cold beverages women mostly sell tea and not soft drinks (which are not traditional).

46. Such as sago patties, fritters, etc. Some snack items such as bhel - puri, pani - puri etc. are generally recognised as street food snacks.

47. Egg dishes are more popular with working class consumers who eat them as substitute for meals in many cases after drinking bouts. This may deter women from selling them.

The women vendors earn much less income from street food than do men vendors (Table 28). Nearly 55% of them earn less than the poverty line family income of Rs. 1000 per month, whereas among male vendors their proportion is just over 20%. Women are not necessarily involved with vending street food that has low returns. The scale of their business may be small as most of them operate single person enterprises. They are also limited by the need to work hours that do not stretch into late evenings. Also, they sell food items which are not associated with large income (as will be shown later in V-19).

19. Factors which Affect Income from Street Food :

Our analysis has indicated that income from street food is affected by factors such as gender of vendor or whether the vendor is kiosk holder, a pushcart user or a street vendor. We expected some other factors such as the food items sold, the zone where business is conducted, the number of family members engaged in the business and the past experience related to catering, to have effect on street food income. We, therefore, conducted multivariate analysis which includes all these factors ⁴⁸.

The multivariate analysis clearly indicates that out of the six factors we analysed, four influence income from street food. They are :

- a) Whether the vendor is a kiosk holder, pushcart user or a street vendor :

The differences in following per unit average monthly income are statistically significant.

About Rs. 3000 for kiosks

Rs. 1800 for pushcarts

Rs. 1300 for street vendors

- b) The zone where street food business is conducted :

The differences in per unit average monthly income are statistically significant for following zones -

About Rs. 1600 for east zone and suburbs

Rs. 2100 for west zone

48. A note on multi-variate analysis is given in Appendix D.

We also studied the interaction between the zone where business is conducted and the vending site in that zone and its impact on income from street food. The results of this analysis are, however, not consistent.

c) Food items sold :

The statistically significant differences in per unit average monthly income are observed in following groups \49

About Rs. 1100 to 1300 for snacks, (pani - puri, ragda - puri \49), inexpensive meals and cold beverages.

About Rs. 1500 to 2000 for snacks (bhel - puri, wada - pav - bhaji \49), egg dishes, hot beverages, icecream and miscellaneous snacks (sweetmeats, sandwiches, savoury snacks)

About Rs. 2400 for special snacks (samosa, sago patties etc. \49)

About Rs. 3000 for relatively expensive heavy snacks (pav - bhaji \49) and fresh fruit juice

About Rs. 3800 for South Indian dishes (idli, dosa, etc. \49)

d) The sex of vendor :

The statistically significant differences in per unit average monthly income are -

About Rs. 1110 for female vendors

About Rs. 1915 for male vendors

The number of family members working in the street food enterprise is not significantly related to the income from the enterprise, nor is the fact of having previous experience related to food preparation and catering or not having it.

49. See the classification and description of food items given after Table 1 in Appendix.

VI. CONSUMERS OF STREET MEALS

During our enumeration of street food vendors we found small groups of vendors who sell street meals ⁵⁰. The vendors bring cooked food in large aluminium containers to the vending site. There is one stove (generally kerosene) on which pots containing food are warmed one by one. The vendors sit on pavements or roadside on a wooden plank and pots are arranged around them. Their customers are served dishes of their choice in aluminium plates. They squat on the pavement or roadside to eat the food with their plates on the ground in front of them. The meals are very inexpensive as compared to other street food items, in spite of the inclusion of meat. This is possible because the profit margins are low and also because offal is used for making meat curries. There are set rates for individual dishes: if, however, a customer does not have sufficient money, portions are reduced to serve him/ her a meal that he/ she can afford. Vendors' families eat the same food at home.

We conducted a random sample survey of the people who consume street meals. By our estimate on an average 650 persons eat street meals every day. Street meal vendors are concentrated at three locations - near the Pune railway station, at a labour pool in the inner city and in an area southwest of the inner city where a large number of shanty settlements are located. Street meals are available only in the evenings.

Our sample of street meal consumers consisted of 50 people drawn from the three sites. Of these consumers only 2 are women, the rest are all men. The principal reason why they eat street meals is the absence of proper shelter and cooking facilities (60%); 24 (48%) of these consumers sleep in the railway station (10), on pavements (9) and at the construction site where they work (5); further 6 (12%) people share accommodation with relatives or friends. Of the 24 who have no proper shelter, 22 live by themselves and 2 with their families. Twenty consumers of street meals (40%) have independent accommodation and stay with their families. They, however, eat street meals because there is no female member in the family to do the cooking (5), or because of their drinking habit they are not welcome at home or prefer meat or fish as part of their meals (10), or because of the inexpensive food that is available (3), or because they live far away and prefer to have a meal after work before going home (2).

50. While the project report was being written up, we came across a group of 2 street meal vendors (women) at a new inner city location. They have started this enterprise recently (i.e. after our enumeration). It seems that the number of street food vendors is gradually increasing.

The consumers belong to a variety of social groups :

Hindu-Advance castes	19	38%
Hindu-Lower castes	17	34%
Hindu-Backward groups	6	12%
Tribal groups	4	8%
Muslims	4	8%
Total	50	100%

Twenty of the consumers (40%) are illiterate (this is a slightly higher proportion as compared to that for the total population of the city), ten (20%) have finished primary school education, eleven (22%), middle school and seven (14%) secondary school; there is one person (2%) who has done a technical course after finishing school and one (2%) graduate.

Half the consumers are daily wage labourers, seventeen (34%) are petty traders, six (12%) have temporary jobs, there is one person who is too old to work and one student among these street meal consumers.

Among the street food consumers there are young men (50%) in the age group 17 to 35 years and the rest are above 35 years of age. A small number (12%) have been living in Pune for 2 generations or longer but a large majority (88%) are migrants to the city, almost all of them from within the state of Maharashtra (nearly 98% of the migrants or 86% of all the consumers). Half of these consumers are long-term migrants (more than 15 years) and Pune residents, about a third have been in the city for 6 to 15 years, 14% have lived in Pune for less than 2 years and another 4% for 3 to 5 years.

A large majority (78%) eats street meals every day, the rest occasionally. Most of the consumers (88%) appreciate street meals principally because they are inexpensive and a small number because meat and fish are available at cheap prices (which are not cooked frequently in their homes or others in the family do not eat non-vegetarian food). Only six of the consumers who stay with their families take away street meals home (only one person regularly and other occasionally), for others in the family.

The number of street meal consumers is small. It is the poor who form the clientele for street meals. They eat street meals mainly because they live alone or and do not have proper shelter or cooking facilities.

VII. ENVIRONMENTAL HYGIENE AND FOOD SAFETY

Conditions in which much of the street food is prepared and sold are less than satisfactory (in some cases hazardously so). Being sold by the roadside it is also open to dust. We, therefore, examined samples of food and water collected from street food vendors, in order to assess the level of bacteriological contamination that may exist. In addition to the samples from street food vendors, we also analysed, for comparison, food and water samples collected from restaurants (grades 'A', 'B' and 'C') ⁵¹, authorised eating houses or establishments which sell ready-to-eat food (mostly basic, staple dishes primarily to labourers) through their shops located at several places convenient for the customers. All these are authorised eating houses which are licensed on the basis of provisions made for maintaining hygiene and to ensure food safety.

We collected 252 samples of food and water. They were taken from 85 street food vendors that we had surveyed and from a few restaurants and other eating houses, all chosen at random from different parts of the city. Samples of both cooked and uncooked food and water, wherever possible, were collected. Some of the samples of cooked food, however, contained uncooked garnishing.

1. Collection and processing of samples :

Selected food items were purchased from the vendor/ restaurant/ eating house and put into sterile polythene bags. Water was collected in sterile glass jars. Due care was taken by the sample collector not to touch them with bare hands. The bags and jars were sealed and labelled. Within two hours of purchasing the food items they were brought to the laboratory where further analysis was done. Everyday a limited number of samples were collected and the sample collection schedule was so arranged as to suit the analysis routine. The analysis was completed in 5 weeks in the summer in order to avoid straddling across different seasons.

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51. These are given by the Pune Municipal Corporation on the basis of points given for fulfilling a set of regulations which is designed for creating hygienic conditions in which food is prepared and served. They also specify practices that must be followed to ensure food safety. Additional features which enhance comfort (e.g. air conditioning) give higher ratings. Grade 'A' is the highest and 'C' the lowest.

In the laboratory each sample was homogenised thoroughly in the appropriate quantity of sterile Ringers solutions, to obtain the final dilution of 1:100. This homogenization was carried out in a sterile blender. The sample was then used for conducting three bacteriological tests in order to determine a) the most probable number of coliforms, b) the presence or absence of faecal coliform and c) the presence or absence of pathogenic bacteria.

a) The enumeration of coliforms in a food or water sample indicates its bacteriological quality, particularly the level of contamination with enteric bacteria. The analysis in the present investigation was done by using the Most Probable Number (MPN) method, using MacConkey's broth. The five tube method was used for determining the MPN index. Inoculations were done as follows :

- i) 10 ml. sample was inoculated in each of the five tubes with 10 ml. double strength MacConkey's broth.
- ii) 1 ml. portion of the sample was inoculated in each of the five tubes with 10 ml. single strength broth.
- iii) 0.1 ml. portion of the sample was inoculated in each of the five tubes with 10 ml. single strength broth.

All inoculated tubes were incubated at 35° c for 48 hours. Results were recorded at the end of 24 hours and 48 hours of incubation. Using the MPN table for five tube method, most probable number of coliforms was assessed for per g. of the original sample. If the MPN count is 0 per g., then the sample is considered to be satisfactory. If the count is between 1 and 10 per g., it is regarded as suspicious but satisfactory and if it is above 10, the sample is unsatisfactory for consumption.

b) In order to detect the presence or absence of coliform, a loopful of the homogenized sample was inoculated in 10 ml. Brilliant Green lactose bile broth in a 150 x 15 mm tube containing inverted Durham's tube. The inoculated tube was incubated in a water bath at 44° c for 48 hours. At the end of the incubation results were recorded for the production or absence of gas. Faecal coliform is said to be present only if gas has been produced in the inoculated tube. The presence of faecal coliform in a sample indicates its possible contamination with faecal matter from humans or mammalian animals. Food samples which contain faecal coliform suggest a risk of their contamination with enteric bacteria.

c) For detecting the presence or absence of enteric pathogens, the samples which tested positive for faecal coliform were further tested. For this, a loopful of faecal coliform positive tube was streaked on Salmonella Shigella agar. Black colonies with metallic sheen indicate the presence of enteric pathogens which cause diseases such as typhoid.

2. Results of Bacteriological Analysis :

The 252 food samples that were analysed comprised samples of 14 kinds of uncooked food items (e.g. bhel, pani - puri, salad, chutney, milk-shake etc.) and water, and of 80 different items of cooked food. The process of cooking involved roasting, frying, boiling, steaming etc.

The samples collected from 85 street food vendors numbered 188; 27 more were collected from restaurants (grades 'A', 'B' and 'C'), and further 37 from eating houses and establishment which cater to mainly the working class population.

The samples collected from the street food vendors are largely unsatisfactory in terms of their bacteriological quality, with more than 80% of them showing most probable number of coliforms above 10 per g. The presence of faecal coliforms was, however, detected in a smaller number (about 45%) of the samples (Table 29). In only two samples (both uncooked) enteric pathogens were detected.

Table 29 presents the results of the tests separately for samples of street food other than street meals (162 samples) and for street meals (26 samples). The conditions in which street meals are served and eaten, sitting by the roadside or on pavements, appear to be most unhygienic and hence we have tabulated separately the results of the analysis of the street meal samples. It is striking that a slightly smaller proportion of them as compared to the street food samples are contaminated; 73% of the street meal sample have most probable number of coliforms above 10 per g, whereas the proportion of the street food samples thus contaminated is 85%. The difference is much more striking in the level of faecal coliform contamination; only 20% of the street meal samples contain faecal coliform contamination while 50% of the street food samples have faecal coliforms. The street meal samples are free of enteric pathogens.

The analysis of the samples of food and water collected from restaurants, and eating houses and ready-to-eat food establishments reveals that the food is not better than street food in its bacteriological quality (Table 30). A slightly smaller proportion of the food samples from authorised eating places contains coliforms more than 10 per g (78%), as compared to those in the street food samples (83%). The presence of faecal coliforms is, however, detected in a larger proportion of the samples from the authorised eating places (53%), as compared to those from the street food samples (45%). In fact, the food samples from the restaurants come out the worst in the matter of faecal coliform contamination (70% of the samples). It is true that the number of samples from restaurants is rather small, but this does not negate compensate for the very unsatisfactory quality of their food.

3. Street Food Vendors and their Hygienic Practices :

We related the results of the analysis of the food samples to the street food vendors from whom the samples were collected.

a) Number of uncooked food samples 80

Collected from the number of vendors 60

b) Number of cooked food samples 106

Collected from the number of vendors 61

Number of vendors with 100% samples with
MNP of coliform above 10 per g

Uncooked food 45

Cooked food 49

Number of vendors with upto 50% samples
with MNP of coliform above 10 per g

Uncooked food 5

Cooked food 10

Number of vendors with samples showing
no coliforms

Uncooked food 10

Cooked food 2

4. Environment and Food Quality :

As an attempt to assess the effect of the level of sanitation, and lack of it, around vending sites, we examined the results of the bacteriological analysis in relation to the presence or absence of refuse and open drains close to the vending sites.

Environmental Quality	Samples with MPN of Coliforms above 10 per g	Samples showing Faecal coliforms
	Number of samples %	Number of samples %
i) Refuse dump and uncollected garbage		
- present	80.31%	46.67%
- absent	84.88%	44.89%
ii) Open drains		
- present	83.86%	45.16%
- absent	83.21%	54.26%

As the figures above show, the bacteriological quality of street food is not related to the environmental conditions around vending sites. Therefore, the practice of the Pune Municipal Corporation in allocating vending sites (when it issues vending licenses) away from garbage dumps or open drains cannot ensure food safety. This does not mean that degraded environmental conditions may not contribute to the poor quality of food, but it does indicate that the quality of street food is contingent upon a number of other factors including adequate level of services, where food is prepared (fully or partly) and sold, as well as the level of awareness of vendors regarding hygienic practices.

The results of the bacteriological analysis indicate the high risk that the people eating street food face of enteric infections, and the potential for spreading epidemics that street food (as well as food served in restaurants and authorised eating houses) carries.

5. Nutritional Value of Street Meals :

We analysed 18 samples of street meal items for their content of protein, fat and carbohydrate. Out of these, 13 were food items cooked using grains, pulses or vegetables and 5 were meat and fish dishes. Meat curries were cooked mainly using (rumen of) animal intestines.

The curries made from offal, that were analysed, are highly nutritious and rich in proteins. They provide main essential food components. The curry eaten with carbohydrate rich food (such as Indian bread made from millet flour) constitutes a near complete meal. The other preparations made from lentils and

pulses are moderately nutritious. Since these various dishes are eaten in combination, they provide the composite nutritional value of adequate standards.

Item	Nutritional contents (% w/w)		
	Protein	Fat	Carbohydrates
<u>Vajadi</u> (animal intestine)	12.3 to 13.3	30.1 to 31.2	1.3 to 3.1
Curry - sprouted lentils	5.8 to 6.2	0.4 to 0.9	10.6 to 11.2
Fish	17.2	24.8	5.8
<u>Bhakari</u> (millet bread)	6.1 to 6.3	2.0 to 2.8	75.1 to 7.4
Curry - pulses	11.2	3.8	38.2
Rice	2.5	0.6	31.2

VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Street food business has expanded in an industrial urban centre like Pune in the recent past. It has become more popular as part of entertainment to eat street food and is resorted to as a source of food by an increasing number of people, mainly the poor. The two categories of the clientele have created a demand for different items of street food.

The scale of street food vending in a city like Pune is nowhere near what is observed in some cities in Asia and some parts of Africa where eating street food has been a long-standing tradition. The studies conducted by the Equity Policy Centre have revealed the high levels of labour force that is engaged in street food vending (from 6% in a town in Senegal to 26% in a city in Indonesia). In Pune, not even three quarters of one per cent of the labour force is engaged at present in this activity; this includes street food vendors and their paid and unpaid workers.

As an informal sector economic activity, street food vending bears many of its characteristics. Street food vending enterprises are small in operation. A significant proportion of them are, in fact, one person operations. Their structure is informal and they are mostly owned and managed by vendors and their family members. A majority of them conduct business without any requisite authorization. As a consequence they are open to punitive action against them by city authorities and harassment. It is not always the case that those intending to do this business do not apply for obtaining the necessary permits and licenses, but the official stance on street food vending (and hawking in general) has been ambivalent. Because of the illegal status of a large number of them, they have no access to government offers (such as loans at subsidised rates of interest, permits for purchasing materials at controlled rates for their business).

Most of the vendors use non-modern technology. Not many use modern gadgets to assist them in their work. The business is conducted from day to day. Fresh stocks of materials (ingredients), even those which are not quickly perishable, are bought every day or every other day, food is cooked, and sold by the end of the day. There is no facility to store ingredients which are used in bulk or preserve safely the left overs which are perishable. A delicate balance has to be maintained between levels of demand and supply of food. Attempts to expand the volume of sales may result in greater spoilage which these microenterprises can ill-afford.

The clientele of most of the street food businesses is small, but not always poor. Even the better-off enjoy eating out street food. The clientele consists of both, those who eat street food out of necessity and those who eat out as part of entertainment.

It is assumed that there are few barriers to entry into street food vending as little skill and capital are needed. The study in Pune does not bear this out. While low capital intensity is a feature of the street food business, running a viable enterprise is not easy. A length of urban experience precedes the setting up of such businesses. Also, a large majority of the vendors embark on street food vending on the basis of previous experience related to the preparation and catering of food. It is not regarded as an employment of last resort.

Low level of formal education is another feature of informal sector workers; however, it is not a characteristic of street food vendors in Pune. It is possible that it is regarded as a viable opportunity for earning an income even by the relatively better schooled, especially at a time when the competition for obtaining formal jobs is severe.

Street food vending fetches reasonable incomes for most vendors but is a thriving business for only a small minority. It is the only source of income for households in the case of a large number of vendors and is a primary source of household income for a significant additional proportion. And even as a subsidiary occupation, income from it adds considerably to the household income.

There are those food items which cater to the needs of the relatively better-off, which yield higher incomes to their vendors, and the placing of the business activity in the better-off area of the city fetches higher returns.

Not many street food vendors are able to expand their businesses to any significant extent. At the same time it does not appear to be a first step in the process of capital accumulation leading to larger scale economic activity.

The involvement of women in the actual vending of food is small, but they play a much more important role in the preparation of food as paid and unpaid (family) workers. The EPOC study found a similar situation in certain cultural contexts where women are not involved visibly, but are important players in the trade. Again, as observed in the EPOC studies, in Pune too, women largely sell traditional items of food. They use their domestic skills for earning an income.

Women derive much smaller income from street food vending as compared to the men. This is so because a larger majority of women runs small enterprises with the involvement of no other person but themselves in the business operation; and also because of the need to look after domestic responsibilities and for social reasons their work hours are restricted. Further, they sell food items based on traditional home cooking (and not those which are customarily regarded as street food items) which bring lower income.

A significant proportion of women street food vendors sell street meals. It is a valuable source of inexpensive and nutritious food for the poor who have no proper shelter and live alone.

One aspect of street food sold by women that needs emphasising is its less unsatisfactory hygienic quality. Five of the six vendors from whom street meal samples were collected were women. It cannot be a coincidence that the relatively better food in terms of its bacteriological quality is street meals which is largely sold by women. It is creditable on the part of women street food vendors who sell food in such degraded environment (and cook it at home, in many cases, in not too different conditions) that the quality of the food they sell is less unsatisfactory than that served in restaurants and authorized ready-to-eat food establishments.

All street food is not unsatisfactory. Street food, on the whole, however, carries the potential risk of causing enteric infection. Street food is often denigrated for this reason. It must be stressed, however, that food served in authorized eating places is not much more satisfactory than street food. But this is no reason for comfort. In this connection, the municipal regulations which are aimed at ensuring food safety, do not address the real questions. For instance, the rules did not permit until recently the sale of certain foods because there are no proper facilities for washing at vending sites. This is only a part of the problem. The conditions in which much of the street food is prepared are often not conducive to ensuring food safety. Clearly, the municipal authorities cannot be expected to address the question of improving the living conditions of vendors (where street food may be prepared) as part of vending licensing regulations. However, this is a larger question that is connected with street food that a large number of people consume, and it must not be overlooked.

On account of their living conditions - homes without adequate access to water and sanitary facilities - many of the vendors fail to recognise the danger that street food can pose. A programme of health education to give instructions in food hygiene can play an important part in improving food safety. The EPOC study reports on Bangladesh where a campaign for publicising health benefits of cleanliness bore fruit.

Much of the problem related to food safety arises as a consequence of the ambivalent attitude of the municipal administration. It regards street food vending as a recalcitrant problem that needs to be contained. It has, therefore, designed its strategy in terms of controlling the number of vendors and disallowing certain forms of street food to be sold. In the recent past, however, it has permitted (as a result of pressure from vendors) the cooking of certain foods on pushcarts/ kiosks, but at the same time has not extended infrastructural facilities at vending sites that would facilitate hygienic practices.

Allocation of space for this informal activity is another contentious issue. The authorities have restricted the areas where street food vending is permitted in an attempt to keep roads free for traffic. This decision has remained largely on paper as vendors continue to conduct their activity at locations which are advantageous for business, often in contravention of the stated policy.

The question of allocation of space for vending is connected with the larger question of allocation of urban space among different groups and for different uses. Where the market mechanism is the main allocator of urban space (and it is in India, the provisions of town planning notwithstanding ⁵²), the experience shows that the poor, the disadvantaged rarely win. If it were not so, a proposal for creating vending sites made in the Development Plan of Pune (1981-1991) by the Town Planning and Valuation Department of the Government of Maharashtra, would have been implemented by now. Hawking and street food vending sites have been proposed in the Plan close to shopping complexes/ markets. This proposal may not take care of all types of vending sites which street food businesses now occupy, but it is, at least, a step in the right direction.

The EPOC study has recommended the legitimizing of street food vending and we endorse that recommendation. This, however, must also include the provision of vending sites with adequate provision of facilities. Without these, mere legitimizing will not make much difference to the practice of street food vending and food safety. The holding of requisite licenses must also accompany permits for procuring at controlled rates materials used in preparing street food.

Along with legitimizing the street food activity, a strategy can be worked out to allocate food preparation space for vendors, if they wish to use it, close to vending sites and with adequate facilities. This will ease the congestion in their homes and also allow for storage of bulk ingredients. However, the preparation of street food in vendors' homes has advantages, and especially for women, it is possible to slot the food preparation with other domestic work. This aspect needs to be retained. What EPOC has recommended by way of an organization of vendors is a useful suggestion. An organization of hawkers already exists in Pune. It could launch a separate unit for street food vendors to help servicing street food vending.

52. Bapat, Meera - Allocation of Urban Space : Rhetoric and Reality - Evidence from Recent Jurisprudence, The Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXV, No. 28, 14 July 1990.

These recommendation do not presuppose a large scale employment in street food vending, for the study in Pune has shown its existing magnitude and limits to growth in numbers and in the scale of individual businesses. However, in a situation such as in India, where entry into formal jobs is severely restricted, even a small addition to reasonable income earning opportunities needs to be viewed positively as discussed in the narration on the debate on the informal sector (Section I) and attempts made to increase its productivity. Also, as increasing numbers of people depend on street food as a source of food and eat it as part of entertainment, the question of food safety must also be addressed to. It needs to be stressed, however, that any strategy towards street food must ensure that its features of inexpensiveness (of certain foods) and availability where it is required must not be taken away. In the light of this, the existing municipal regulations need to be recast such that they facilitate street food vending. Some of the present rules border on being irrelevant and impossible to enforce. They need to be removed.

While it is true that street food vending engages a small proportion of the labour force in the city, the need for catering of food has increased considerably in the recent years. Many single men, white and blue collar workers and students living in small lodging houses and sharing rooms, need such services. In response to this demand, a large number of women (mainly lower middle class) have started catering services. Food is prepared in their own kitchens and sent to their customers' work places or residences. This is a burgeoning business. It takes place in individual homes and is not recorded anywhere.

Ready-to-eat food establishments is an answer to the demand created primarily by labourers. There are at least 3 such establishments in Pune which provide inexpensive but staple basic food for workers who buy it in shops located at sites convenient for the labourers.

Eating street food or purchasing of ready-to-eat food on streets as a regular feature cannot be said to be a tradition in Pune. But the growth of the city has created a demand for ready-to-eat food. Pune has answered it not by expanding street food vending but by starting the catering of food privately mainly by women as an extension of their daily cooking. In addition, large scale ready-to-eat food establishments have been started in reply to the need for food of labourers close to their work sites.

Appendix A

Conditions for issuing licenses for preparing and selling food items on handcarts

Rules and Conditions :

1. The top surface of the handcart, work surface for preparing food and space for storing food should be covered by plain tin sheet, Formica (laminated sheet), or anything else such that food will not lodge anywhere and rot.
2. Prepared food items should be stored in a glass case so that they are protected from dust and flies.
3. Paper plates should be used for serving food and after using them once should be disposed off in a tin or bamboo container or a basket and thrown away at a municipal refuse dump.
4. Pots used for preparing food items should be clean and should either be coated inside with nickel (if made of brass) or be made of stainless steel.
5. The kerosene stove used for cooking food should have a protective cover of galvanised iron sheet on three sides so that there is no risk of fire spreading.
6. Drinking water must be collected from a municipal tap.
7. For storing drinking water to be served to customers, there should be a container made of brass and coated inside with nickel or be made of stainless steel and fitted with a tap and a cover. There should be a bucket placed under the tap so that no water will flow onto the road. Clean glasses should be provided for drinking water.
8. The handcart should have a roof at adequate height from the worktop and its edges must be so turned as to prevent causing injury to anyone.

Health Officer (Pune Municipal Corporation)
10.12.1987

Pune Municipal Corporation License Department

License for Stationary Handcart

Name of Licensee :

Address of Place of Residence :

Items for vending :

Monthly fee for License :

Period for which License is valid : from to

Superintendent of Licenses

Conditions

1. The handcart for which this license has been issued must not be longer than 4 feet and broader than 3 feet. Similarly, the board, tray or anything else used for displaying goods must not be larger than the above mentioned dimensions and it must not project outside the hand cart. The handcart must have wheels.
2. This license will be valid for the stationary handcart standing at the place assigned by the Municipal Commissioner. The place of vending will be mentioned on the license.
3. The licensee must not obstruct traffic on any road or pavement.
4. The licensee must not conduct vending activity after 8.30 p.m. and after closing down must clear all obstructions to keep the place clear.
5. The licensee must not use printed paper for serving fruits or food items.
6. The licensee must use weights, scales and other measures which have been examined and stamped according to the Bombay Weights Measures Act, 1932.

7. The licensee must not make use of a bell or any other device to attract attention of people.
8. The licensee must maintain cleanliness while vending food. Fruits, food items or other items which attract flies must always be kept covered to prevent flies sitting on them.
9. If in the opinion of the Health Officer, Market Superintendent or any official who has been given powers on their behalf, items displayed for sale or being sold are injurious to health, they have powers to destroy those goods, and they will not be constrained by this license.
10. The Municipal Commissioner or any official who has been given powers by him can change the place of hawking (vending) to any other place in another zone.
11. The licensee must vacate within 24 hours the place assigned to him/ her if it is required for repairs, for demolition and reconstruction or for any other reason. In such a case, the licensee will be assigned, if possible, another place. However, this is not binding on the Municipal Commissioner and the license fee paid for the vending place will not be returned.
12. The licensee must facilitate the cleaning by the municipal staff of the place assigned to him/ her for vending.
13. The licensee must not construct anything on the place assigned to him/ her for vending or must not put a roof over the place. However, there is no objection to putting up a cover of cloth, gunny cloth or canvass for protection against the sun or rain, in a manner that does not cause inconvenience or invite complaints.
14. This license is valid only for the period for which it has been issued.
15. This license is not transferrable in any circumstances.
16. The license will be cancelled if the licensee or his/her employee is suffering from any contagious injury or disease.
17. The licensee must always carry the license and must produce it if asked for by any municipal official or police official.
18. If it is noticed by the Municipal Commissioner that the licensee has violated any of the conditions (mentioned in this document), he has powers to confiscate or cancel the license. Such confiscation or cancellation of the license does not constrain any legal action to be taken against the licensee by the Municipality or its powers. The licensee has no right to ask for the refund of license fees or for any compensation.

19. If the licensee is found to conduct his/her trade without carrying the license or refuses to pay license fees on being asked to do so, or is found to break any of the conditions mentioned in the license (document), his/her goods can be confiscated and taken away.
20. The licensee must pay in advance quarterly fees before the 10th of the first month of the quarter.
21. If the licensee closes his vending activity for more than 15 days without an adequate reason, the license will be cancelled.
22. The following rules regarding leave apply to licensees :
 - a) During one year period for which the license is valid, the licensee will get leave for one month; that is to say, after conducting vending for 11 months the licensee will get leave for one month.
 - b) Leave obtained in this manner cannot be accumulated for more than 2 months. In exceptional cases, if the licensee produces a medical certificate and if he/she has any balance of leave remaining, he/she will get leave for additional one month.
 - c) The leave will be sanctioned for the period for which there is balance of leave remaining.
 - d) During the period when the licensee is on leave, the name of his employee or substitute will be registered and he(/she) will be responsible for abiding by the rules and conditions (mentioned in the document).
23. If the licensee uses petromax or gas lamps at night, they must be covered by a shade in order to prevent the light bothering pedestrians or vehicles.

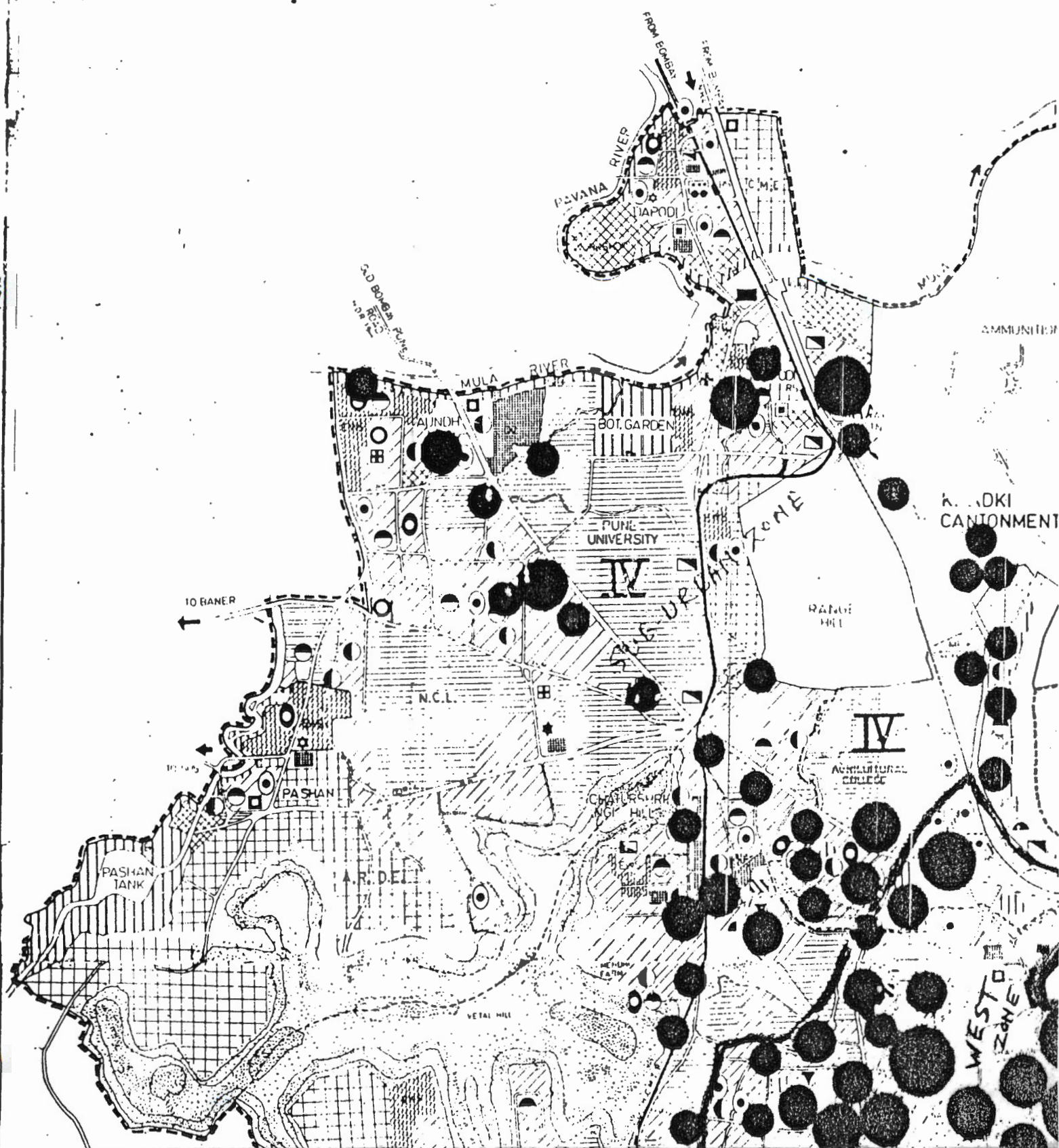
Penalty - Vending without license carries a penalty of Rs.

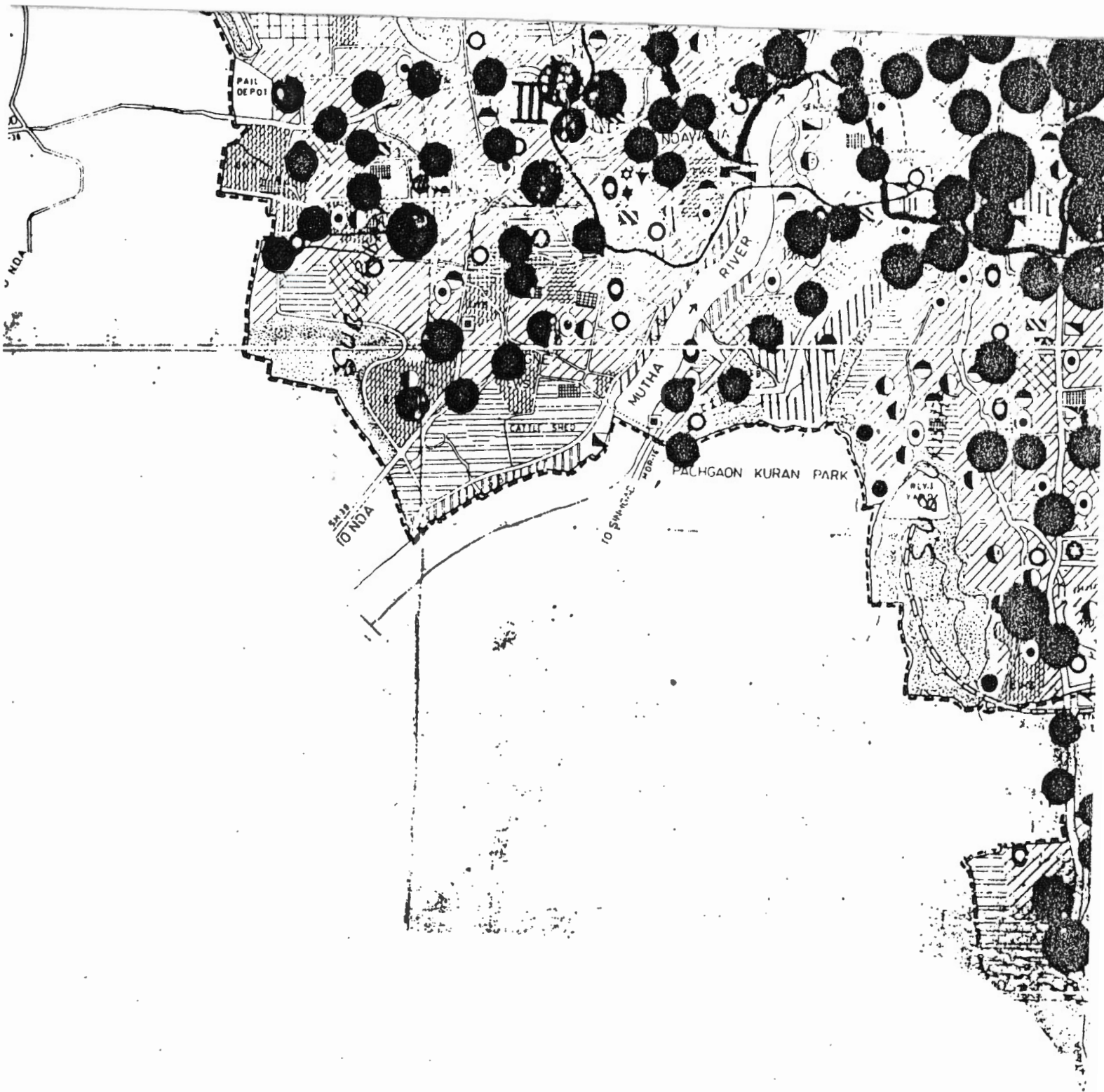
- Renewal -

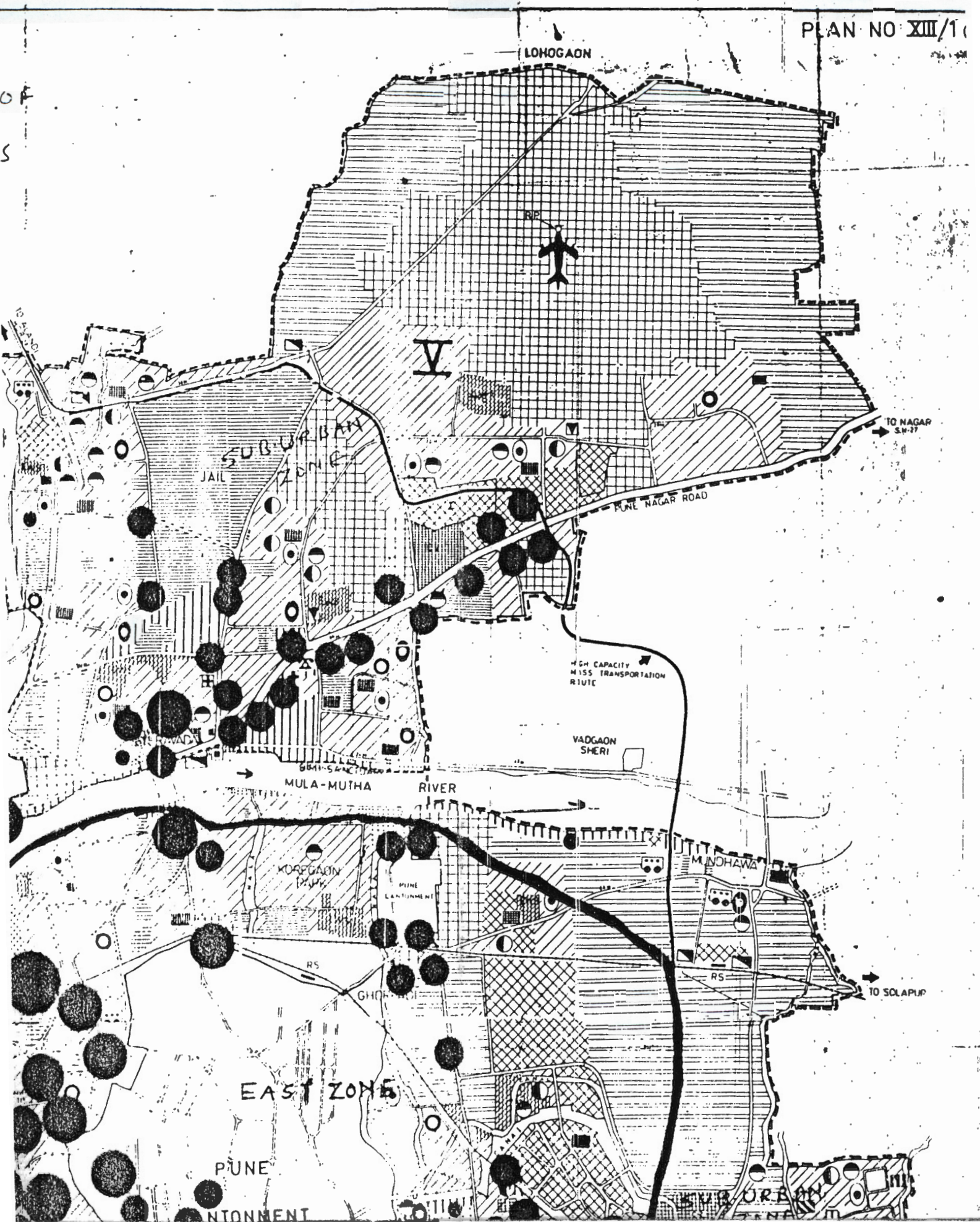
From	To	Challan Number and Date of paying fees	Signature of Examining Authority and Remarks
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DRAFT DEVELOPMENT PLAN
OF PUNE (REVISED)
1981-1991

STREET FOOD



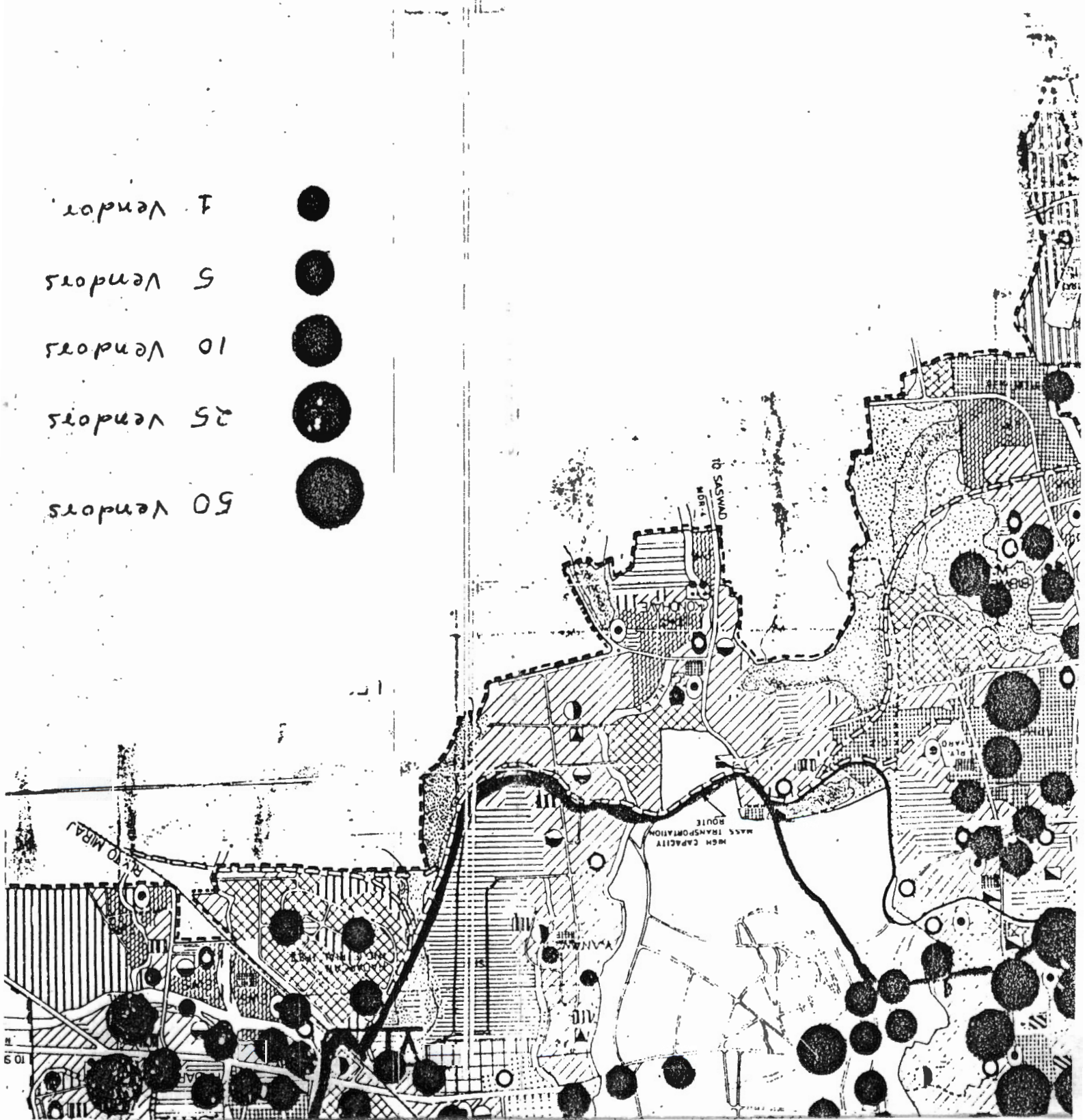




PENDIX B

AFT DEVELOPMENT PLAN
PUNE (REVISED)

- 1 Vendor
- 5 Vendors
- 10 Vendors
- 25 Vendors
- 50 Vendors



APPENDIX C

TABLES 1 TO 30

TABLE 1

Distribution of Street Food Vendors by Categories of Food Items sold

Sr. No.	Food Items	Pushcarts & street vendors	Kiosks	Total
1 *	Snacks	711 (88.10) (51.45)	96 (11.90) (48.24)	807 (100) (51.04)
2 *	Meals and heavy snacks	163 (72.77) (11.79)	61 (27.23) (30.65)	224 (100) (14.17)
3 *	Hot and cold beverages	326 (92.35) (23.59)	27 (7.65) (13.57)	353 (100) (22.33)
4 *	Ice candy, Ice creams	182 (51.56) (13.17)	15 (4.25) (7.54)	197 (100) (12.46)
Total		1382 (87.41) (100)	199 (12.59) (100)	1581 (100) (100)

(Figures in paranthesis denote per centages)

* : Note

- 1 : Items 1,2,3,4,5,14 in the following list
- 2 : Items 9,7,8
- 3 : Item 10,13
- 4 : Items 11,12

Classification of Food Items :

1. Bhel :

Savory dish (puffed rice, finely chopped onion and tomatoes with fresh herbs and spices - uncooked), and allied dishes.

2. Pani-Puri :

Deep fried small crisp puris filled with spiced water

Ragda-Puri :

Stew made from chick peas served with puris

3. Bhaji-Pav :

Deep fried savory dish (fritters) made from chopped onions mixed in gram flour batter, served with bread or rolls.

Wada-Pav :

Rough mashed potatoes mixed with chopped onion and spices, made into patties and deep fried after dipping into gram flour batter, served with bread as rolls.

4. South Indian dishes such as idli, dosa served with spicy vegetable curry or chutney.

5. Samosa, sago patties (deep fried), etc.

7. Pav-Bhaji :

Rolls fried in butter served with cooked spicy mixed vegetables and cooked in butter.

Fruit juice (fresh) and milk-shake.

8. Egg dishes :

Omlette, spicy scrambled egg, boiled egg etc.

9. Full meal with and without meat/fish dish :

boiled rice, wheat flour chapati or millet flour chapati, vegetables, dal, fish curry, meat curry (generally offal, especially intestines which can be bought very cheaply from abbatoirs), fresh onion, etc.

10. Tea, coffee, bakery products (biscuits, savory, crisp biscuits)

11. Ice candy, Pepsy (frozen squash in a long plastic tube)

12. Ice cream

13. Soft drinks and sarbat (lemon juice + water + sugar)

14. Others - sweet meat, savory snacks

TABLE 2

**Distribution of Vendors according to Zones
in which Business Conducted**

Sr. No.	Predominant land-use/activity	East Zone	West Zone	Suburbs	Total
1.	Hospitals	16 (80.01) (3.87)	1 (5.00) (0.20)	3 (15.00) (0.63)	20 (100) (1.45)
2.	Rly.Stn.,State/ city Bus Terminals	77 (42.54) (18.64)	66 (36.46) (13.50)	38 (21.00) (7.91)	181 (100) (13.10)
3.	Temple/Mosque	4 (66.67) (1.00)	-	2 (33.33) (0.42)	6 (100) (0.43)
4.	School/College	6 (24.00) (1.45)	8 (32.00) (1.64)	11 (44.00) (2.29)	25 (100) (1.81)
5.	Movie house/ Theatre	58 (40.00) (14.04)	56 (38.62) (11.45)	31 (21.38) (6.46)	145 (100) (10.49)
6.	Park/Play grounds	2 (1.05) (0.48)	140 (73.30) (28.63)	49 (25.65) (10.21)	191 (100) (13.82)
7.	Labour Pool	9 (15.79) (2.18)	30 (52.63) (6.13)	18 (31.58) (3.75)	57 (100) (4.12)
8.	Trading/business area	49 (90.74) (11.87)	5 (9.26) (1.02)	-	54 (100) (3.91)
9.	Govt.offices/ public institu- tions Banks/ other offices	19 (18.45) (4.60)	20 (19.42) (4.09)	64 (62.13) (13.33)	103 (100) (7.45)
10.	Industrial units	6 (10.00) (1.45)	2 (3.33) (0.41)	52 (86.67) (10.83)	60 (100) (4.34)
11.	Shopping area/ wholesale market	10 (8.20) (2.42)	56 (45.90) (11.45)	56 (45.90) (11.67)	122 (100) (8.83)
12.	Shanty settlement	46 (51.11) (11.13)	2 (2.22) (0.41)	42 (46.67) (8.75)	90 (100) (6.51)
13.	Alcoholic beverages shops/bars	-	20 (80.00) (4.09)	5 (20.00) (1.04)	25 (100) (1.81)
14.	Street food vending sites	68 (36.56) (16.46)	68 (86.56) (13.91)	50 (26.88) (10.42)	186 (100) (13.46)
15.	Residential area	43 (36.75) (10.41)	15 (12.82) (3.07)	59 (50.43) (12.29)	117 (100) (8.47)
Total		413 (29.89) (100)	489 (35.38) (100)	480 (34.73) (100)	1382 (100) (100)

TABLE 3

Distribution of Vendors according to Timing of Business

Predominant land-use/activity	8.00 to 21.00 hrs	6.00 to 13.00 hrs	15.00 to 21.00 hrs	19.00 to 1.00 hrs	Total
Hospitals	14 (70.00) (2.82)	-	4 (20.00) (1.64)	2 (10.00) (0.32)	20 (100) (1.45)
Rly.Stn.,State/city Bus Terminals	70 (38.68) (14.17)	-	1 (0.55) (0.41)	110 (60.77) (17.57)	181 (100) (13.10)
Temple/Mosque	2 (33.33) (0.40)	-	-	4 (66.67) (0.64)	6 (100) (0.43)
School/College	18 (72.00) (3.64)	1 (4.00) (5.56)	2 (8.00) (0.82)	4 (16.00) (0.64)	25 (100) (1.81)
Movie house/Theatre	51 (35.17) (10.32)	-	13 (8.97) (5.33)	81 (55.86) (12.94)	145 (100) (10.49)
Park/Play grounds	26 (13.61) (5.26)	-	146 (76.44) (59.84)	19 (9.95) (3.03)	191 (100) (13.82)
Labour Pool	14 (24.56) (2.83)	5 (8.77) (27.77)	-	38 (66.67) (6.07)	57 (100) (4.12)
Trading/business area	46 (85.19) (9.31)	-	8 (14.81) (3.28)	-	54 (100) (3.91)
Govt.offices/public institutions Banks/other offices	92 (89.32) (18.62)	1 (0.97) (5.56)	3 (2.91) (1.23)	7 (6.80) (1.12)	103 (100) (7.45)
Industrial units	39 (65.00) (7.89)	-	-	21 (35.00) (3.35)	60 (100) (4.34)
Shopping area/wholesale market	48 (39.34) (9.72)	11 (9.02) (61.11)	37 (30.33) (15.16)	26 (21.31) (4.15)	122 (100) (8.83)
Shanty settlement	33 (36.67) (6.68)	-	12 (13.33) (4.92)	45 (50.00) (7.19)	90 (100) (6.51)
Alcoholic beverages shops/bars	10 (40.00) (2.02)	-	2 (8.00) (0.82)	13 (52.00) (2.08)	25 (100) (1.81)
Street food vending sites	9 (4.84) (1.82)	-	1 (0.54) (0.41)	176 (94.62) (28.12)	186 (100) (13.46)
Residential area	22 (18.80) (4.45)	-	15 (12.82) (6.14)	80 (68.38) (12.78)	117 (100) (8.47)
Total	494 (35.75) (100)	18 (1.30) (100)	244 (17.65) (100)	626 (45.30) (100)	1382 (100) (100)

TABLE 4

Distribution of Vendors according to Type of Food Items sold

Sr. No.	Predominant land-use/activity	Number of Street Food Vendors				
		Snacks	Meals of	Tea, cold	Hot & cold	Total
1.	Hospitals	10 (50.00) (1.41)	3 (15.00) (1.84)	6 (30.00) (1.84)	1 (5.00) (0.55)	20 (100) (1.45)
2.	Rly. Stn., State/ city Bus Terminals	72 (39.78) (10.13)	37 (20.44) (22.70)	57 (31.49) (17.48)	15 (8.29) (8.24)	181 (100) (13.10)
3.	Temple/Mosque	5 (83.33) (0.70)	-	-	1 (16.67) (0.55)	6 (100) (0.43)
4.	School/College	8 (32.00) (1.13)	2 (8.00) (1.23)	7 (28.00) (2.15)	8 (32.00) (4.40)	25 (100) (1.81)
5.	Movie house/ Theatre	79 (54.48) (11.11)	17 (11.72) (10.43)	38 (26.21) (11.66)	11 (7.59) (6.04)	145 (100) (10.49)
6.	Park/Play ground	127 (66.49) (17.86)	7 (3.67) (4.29)	22 (11.52) (6.75)	35 (18.32) (19.23)	191 (100) (13.82)
7.	Labour Pool	28 (49.12) (3.94)	21 (36.84) (12.88)	4 (7.02) (1.23)	4 (7.02) (2.20)	57 (100) (4.12)
8.	Trading/business area	14 (25.93) (1.97)	-	24 (44.44) (7.36)	16 (29.63) (8.79)	54 (100) (3.91)
9.	Sovt. offices/ public institu- tions Banks/ other offices	42 (40.78) (5.91)	-	56 (54.37) (17.18)	5 (4.85) (2.75)	103 (100) (7.45)
10.	Industrial units	19 (31.67) (2.67)	9 (15.00) (5.52)	24 (40.00) (7.36)	8 (13.33) (4.40)	60 (100) (4.34)
11.	Shopping area/ wholesale market	64 (52.46) (9.00)	12 (9.84) (7.36)	35 (28.69) (10.74)	11 (9.01) (6.04)	122 (100) (8.83)
12.	Shanty settlement	51 (56.67) (7.17)	8 (8.89) (4.91)	18 (20.00) (5.52)	13 (14.44) (7.14)	90 (100) (6.51)
13.	Alcoholic beverages shops/bars	12 (48.00) (1.69)	4 (16.00) (2.46)	6 (24.00) (1.84)	3 (12.00) (1.65)	25 (100) (1.81)
14.	Street food vending sites	109 (58.60) (15.33)	29 (15.59) (17.79)	20 (10.75) (6.13)	28 (15.06) (15.38)	186 (100) (13.46)
15.	Residential area	71 (60.68) (9.98)	14 (11.97) (8.59)	9 (7.69) (2.76)	23 (19.66) (12.64)	117 (100) (8.47)
Total		711 (51.45) (100)	163 (11.79) (100)	326 (23.59) (100)	182 (13.17) (100)	1382 (100) (100)

TABLE 5

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample)
According to Food Items Sold ***

Food Items Sold	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
Bhel-puri etc.	4 (12.12) (22.22)	26 (78.79) (14.13)	3 (9.09) (8.82)	33 (100) (13.98)
Pani-puri	-	14 (100.00) (7.61)	-	14 (100) (5.93)
Wada-pav-bhaji fritters	3 (6.12) (16.66)	45 (91.84) (24.46)	1 (2.04) (2.94)	49 (100) (20.76)
South Indian dishes	1 (7.14) (5.56)	11 (78.57) (5.98)	2 (14.29) (5.88)	14 (100) (5.93)
Sago, patties, samosa etc.	-	4 (50.00) (2.17)	4 (50.00) (11.76)	8 (100) (3.39)
Pav-bhaji	2 (33.33) (11.11)	4 (66.67) (2.17)	-	6 (100) (2.54)
Egg dishes	1 (3.57) (5.56)	27 (96.43) (14.67)	-	28 (100) (11.86)
Street meals	1 (4.76) (5.56)	1 (4.76) (0.54)	19 (90.48) (55.88)	21 (100) (8.90)
Hot beverages	4 (19.05) (22.22)	17 (80.95) (9.24)	-	21 (100) (8.90)
Ice candy	-	5 (55.56) (2.72)	4 (44.44) (11.48)	9 (100) (3.82)
Ice cream	-	9 (100) (4.89)	-	9 (100) (3.82)
Cold beverages	2 (12.50) (11.11)	14 (87.50) (6.61)	-	16 (100) (6.78)
Miscellaneous snacks	-	7 (3.81)	1 (12.5) (2.94)	8 (100) (3.39)
Total	18 (7.63) (100.00)	184 (77.97) (100.00)	34 (14.40) (100.00)	236 (100) (100.00)

* : The list of food items and their description is given under Table 1

TABLE 6

Zone-wise Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample)

(See list under Table 1 for description of food items)

Zones	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. East	2 (2.99) (11.11)	51 (76.12) (27.72)	14 (20.89) (41.18)	67 (100) (28.39)
2. West	12 (12.63) (66.67)	66 (69.47) (35.87)	17 (17.99) (50.00)	95 (100) (40.25)
3. Sub-urban	4 (5.41) (22.22)	67 (90.55) (36.41)	3 (4.05) (8.82)	74 (100) (31.36)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 7

Place-wise Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample)

Place	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. Rly.stn., Bus terminus	3 (10.34) (16.67)	22 (75.86) (11.96)	4 (13.80) (11.27)	29 (100) (12.29)
2. Vending sites related to entertainment & shopping	10 (6.45) (55.56)	133 (85.81) (72.28)	12 (7.74) (35.29)	155 (100) (65.68)
3. Offices, Banks, Hospitals	4 (20.00) (22.22)	14 (70.00) (7.61)	2 (10.00) (5.88)	20 (100) (8.47)
4. Shanty settlements/ labour pools	1 (3.13) (5.55)	15 (46.87) (8.15)	16 (50.00) (47.06)	32 (100) (13.56)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 8

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample)
According to Business Timings**

Time	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. From 8.00 hrs 21.00 hrs.	5 (4.03) (27.78)	99 (79.84) (53.80)	20 (16.13) (58.82)	124 (100) (52.54)
2. From 19.00 hrs 1.00 hrs.	13 (13.83) (72.22)	75 (79.79) (40.76)	6 (6.38) (17.65)	94 (100) (39.83)
3. Morning or evenings only	-	10 (55.56) (5.44)	8 (44.44) (23.53)	18 (100) (7.63)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 9

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample)
According to Municipal Licenses Held**

License Issued by	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. Health Department	11 (61.11)	21 (11.41)	2 (5.88)	34 (14.41)
2. Encroachment (Prevention) Department	18 (100)	123 (66.85)	3 (8.82)	144 (61.01)

TABLE 10

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample) according to
Number of Years in Business**

No. of years in business	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. 0-1 years	2 (9.52) (11.11)	16 (76.19) (8.70)	3 (14.29) (8.82)	21 (100) (8.90)
2. 1+ 3 years	7 (19.44) (38.89)	25 (69.45) (13.58)	4 (11.11) (11.76)	36 (100) (15.26)
3. 3+ 5 years	5 (12.50) (27.78)	30 (75.00) (16.30)	5 (12.50) (14.71)	40 (100) (16.95)
4. 5+ 10 years	1 (1.92) (5.55)	42 (80.77) (22.83)	9 (17.31) (26.47)	52 (100) (22.03)
5. More than 10 years	3 (3.45) (16.67)	71 (81.61) (38.59)	13 (14.94) (38.34)	87 (100) (36.86)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 11

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample) according to
Business Status**

Status	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. Owned	15 (6.55) (83.33)	181 (79.04) (98.37)	33 (14.41) (97.06)	229 (100) (97.04)
2. On daily wage basis	-	1 (100) (0.54)	-	1 (100) (0.42)
3. On contract basis	3 (50.00) (16.67)	2 (33.33) (1.09)	1 (16.67) (2.94)	6 (100) (2.54)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 12

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample)
According to Community**

Community	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. Hindu Advance castes	14 (10.22) (77.80)	111 (81.02) (60.33)	12 (7.76) (35.29)	137 (100) (58.05)
2. Hindu lower castes	1 (2.44) (5.55)	34 (82.93) (18.48)	6 (14.63) (17.65)	41 (100) (17.37)
3. Scheduled caste and Tribes	1 (5.56) (5.55)	12 (66.66) (6.52)	5 (27.78) (14.71)	18 (100) (7.63)
4. Muslims	1 (4.54) (5.55)	18 (81.82) (9.78)	3 (13.64) (8.82)	22 (100) (9.32)
5. Christians	1 (33.33) (5.55)	2 (66.67) (1.09)	-	3 (100) (1.27)
6. Others	-	7 (46.67) (3.80)	8 (53.33) (23.53)	15 (100) (6.36)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 13

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample) according to
Period of Residence in Pune**

Period of Residence	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street	Total
1. Less than 1 year	-	2 (100) (1.09)	-	2 (100) (0.85)
2. 1-3 years	-	7 (100) (3.80)	-	7 (100) (2.97)
3. 3+ -5 years	-	8 (100) (4.35)	-	8 (100) (3.39)
4. 5+ -10 years	2 (12.50) (11.11)	12 (75.00) (6.52)	2 (12.50) (5.88)	16 (100) (6.78)
5. 10+ -15 years	1 (5.00) (5.55)	15 (75.00) (8.15)	4 (20.00) (11.76)	20 (100) (8.47)
6. More than 15 years	5 (4.06) (27.78)	95 (77.24) (51.63)	23 (18.70) (67.65)	123 (100) (52.15)
7. Residents of Pune for 2 generations or more	9 (16.07) (50.00)	42 (75.00) (22.83)	5 (8.93) (14.71)	56 (100) (23.73)
8. No reply	1 (25.00) (5.56)	3 (75.00) (1.63)	-	4 (100) (1.69)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 14

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample)
According to Level of Education**

Level of Education	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street	Total
Illiterate	4 (22.22)	48 (26.09)	16 (47.06)	68 (28.82)
Upto 4th grade	1 (5.56)	33 (17.93)	4 (11.76)	38 (16.10)
Upto 7th grade	5 (27.78)	49 (26.63)	8 (23.54)	62 (26.27)
Secondary School Certificate	4 (22.23)	30 (16.31)	4 (11.76)	38 (16.10)
Graduate	1 (5.56)	5 (2.71)	-	6 (2.54)
Total	18 (100.00)	184 (100.00)	34 (100.00)	236 (100.00)

TABLE 15

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample)
According to Type of Residence**

Type of Accommodation	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. On Cart	-	3 (100)	-	3 (100)
2. Pavement	-	2 (66.67)	1 (33.33)	3 (100)
3. Shanty settlement	2 (2.47)	62 (76.54)	17 (20.99)	81 (100)
4. Sub-divided old house/ chawl	12 (9.09)	104 (78.79)	16 (12.12)	132 (100)
5. Separate house/ flat	4 (23.53)	13 (76.47)	-	17 (100)
Total	18 (7.63)	184 (77.97)	34 (14.40)	236 (100)

TABLE 16

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample) according
to Area of Residential Accommodation**

Area of Residential Accommodation (sq.ft.)		Street Food Vendors
1.	Less than 100	90 (38.14)
2.	101 to 150	68 (28.82)
3.	151 to 250	39 (16.52)
4.	251 to 400	24 (10.18)
5.	401 and above	6 (2.52)
	No Reply	9 (3.82)
Total		236 (100.00)

TABLE 17A

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample)
According to Occupation previous to Street Food Vending**

Occupation	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. No other previous occupation	6 (10.91) (33.33)	42 (76.36) (22.83)	7 (12.73) (20.59)	55 (100) (23.31)
2. Other occupation previous to street food vending	12 (6.63) (66.67)	142 (78.45) (77.17)	27 (14.92) (79.41)	181 (100) (76.69)
Total	18 (7.63) (100)	184 (77.97) (100)	34 (14.40) (100)	236 (100) (100)

TABLE 17B

**Distribution of Street Food vendors (sample) according to
Occupation Previous to Street Food Vending**

Occupation	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. Casual labour, petty trade, self-employment	8 (6.30) (66.67)	99 (77.95) (69.72)	20 (15.75) (74.07)	127 (100) (70.16)
2. Industrial work	3 (11.11) (25.00)	22 (81.48) (15.49)	2 (7.41) (7.41)	27 (100) (14.92)
3. Formal sector service	1 (3.70) (8.33)	21 (77.78) (14.79)	5 (18.52) (18.52)	27 (100) (14.92)
Total	12 (6.63) (100)	142 (78.45) (100)	27 (14.92) (100)	181 (100) (100)

TABLE 18

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample)
According to Reasons for starting Street Food Vending**

Reasons	No. of Vendors
1. Could not find job, to earn livelihood	62 (26.27)
2. After losing previous employment	30 (12.71)
3. Wish to start one's own business	11 (4.66)
4. Previous experience related to food vending	22 (9.32)
5. To continue family business	25 (10.59)
6. Small capital and easy to learn skill required	26 (11.02)
7. To supplement income	52 (22.04)
8. Could not do heavy manual work	8 (3.39)
Total	236 (100.00)

TABLE 19

Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample) according to
Previous Experience related to Food Catering

Nature of Previous Experience	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. Employed by street food vendor	1 (5.55)	24 (13.04)	2 (5.88)	27 (11.44)
2. Employed in canteens, restaurants, sweetmeat shops	2 (11.11)	33 (17.93)	2 (5.88)	37 (15.68)
3. Worked in family business related to food catering	-	29 (15.76)	8 (23.54)	37 (15.68)
4. Helped relatives or friends with street food vending	3 (16.67)	37 (20.12)	9 (26.47)	49 (20.76)
5. Street food business at native place	1 (5.56)	2 (1.09)	-	3 (1.27)
6. Subsidiary occupation small scale enterprise in street food	-	4 (2.17)	-	4 (1.69)
7. No previous experience	11 (61.11)	55 (29.89)	13 (38.23)	79 (33.48)
Total	18 (100)	184 (100)	34 (100)	236 (100)

TABLE 20

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample) according to
Food Items sold and Number of years in Business**

Number of years in Business	Street Food Vendors					Total
	Snacks	Heavy snacks	Meals	Hot & cold Beverages	Ice- creams	
1. Upto 2 years	20 (15.88) (47.62)	8 (24.24) (19.04)	6 (28.57) (14.29)	7 (18.92) (16.67)	1 (5.56) (2.38)	42 (17.87) (100)
2. 3 to 5 years	26 (20.63) (45.61)	11 (33.33) (19.30)	3 (14.29) (5.26)	14 (37.84) (24.56)	3 (16.68) (5.26)	57 (24.25) (100)
3. 6 to 10 years	22 (17.46) (42.31)	11 (33.33) (21.16)	5 (23.81) (9.61)	9 (24.32) (17.31)	5 (27.78) (9.61)	52 (22.14) (100)
4. 11 to 15 years	14 (11.11) (53.85)	1 (3.04) (3.85)	2 (9.52) (7.69)	4 (10.81) (15.38)	5 (27.78) (19.23)	26 (11.06) (100)
5. 16 to 20 years	19 (15.08) (73.08)	2 (6.06) (7.69)	2 (9.52) (7.69)	1 (2.70) (3.85)	2 (11.11) (7.69)	26 (11.06) (100)
6. More than 20 years	25 (19.84) (78.12)	-	3 (14.29) (9.38)	2 (5.41) (6.25)	2 (11.11) (6.25)	32 (13.62) (100)
Total	126 (100) (53.61)	33 (100) (14.04)	21 (100) (8.94)	37 (100) (15.75)	18 (100) (7.66)	235 (100) (100)

TABLE 21

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample)
According to Number of Kiosks or Carts owned**

Number of Kiosks or Carts	Street Food Vendors
1	203 (86.02)
2	28 (11.86)
3	4 (1.69)
4	1 (0.42)
Total	236 (100.00)

TABLE 22A

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample) according to
Total Investment made**

Total Investment (Rs.)	Street Food Vendors
1. Less than 1,000	95 (40.26)
2. 1,001 to 3,000	79 (33.48)
3. 3,001 to 5,000	28 (11.86)
4. 5,001 to 10,000	22 (9.33)
5. 10,001 to 15,000	4 (1.69)
6. 15,001 to 20,000	3 (1.27)
7. 20,001 to 30,000	1 (0.42)
8. More than 30,000	4 (1.69)
Total	236 (100.00)

TABLE 22B

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample) according to
Total Investment made and Food Items sold**

Food Items	Total Investment Rs.						Total
	Upto 1000	1001-3000	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-20000	Above 20000	
Snacks	38 (30.76)	44 (34.92)	17 (13.49)	17 (13.49)	9 (7.14)	1 (0.80)	126 (100.00)
Expensive snacks	-	-	1 (16.67)	2 (33.33)	-	3 (50.00)	6 (100.00)
Hot dishes	12 (42.86)	6 (21.42)	6 (21.42)	3 (10.73)	1 (3.57)	-	28 (100.00)
Expensive street meals	18 (85.21)	3 (14.29)	-	-	-	-	21 (100.00)
Hot and cold beverages	10 (27.02)	15 (40.54)	4 (10.81)	7 (18.92)	1 (2.70)	-	37 (100.00)
Ice cream and ice candy	7 (38.89)	8 (44.44)	1 (5.56)	1 (5.56)	-	1 (5.56)	18 (100.00)
Total	85 (36.02)	76 (32.20)	29 (12.89)	30 (12.71)	11 (4.66)	5 (2.12)	236 (100.00)

TABLE 23

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample) according to
Average Monthly Net Income from Enterprise**

Monthly Income (Rs.)	Street Food Vendors			
	Kiosks	Carts	Street Vendors	Total
1. Less than 500	-	4 (2.18)	3 (8.83)	7 (2.99)
2. 501 to 1000	2 (11.76)	38 (20.76)	13 (38.23)	53 (22.65)
3. 1001 to 1500	3 (17.64)	60 (32.79)	8 (23.53)	71 (30.34)
4. 1501 to 2000	-	31 (16.94)	4 (11.76)	35 (14.95)
5. 2001 to 3000	4 (23.54)	32 (17.49)	3 (8.83)	39 (16.67)
6. 3001 to 4000	1 (5.88)	11 (6.01)	1 (2.94)	13 (5.56)
7. Above 4000	7 (41.18)	7 (3.83)	2 (5.88)	16 (6.84)
Total	17 (100)	183 (100)	34 (100)	234 (100)

TABLE 24

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample) according to Annual
Income from Street Food Vending as proportion of Total Annual Household Income and
Annual Street Food Income**

Annual Income from Street Food Vending (Rs.)	Street Food Income as Proportion of Total Annual Household Income				
	Upto 40%	40%+ to 60%	60%+ to <100%	100%	Total
Upto 10,000	21 (30.88) (56.75)	16 (23.53) (34.78)	12 (17.65) (21.43)	19 (27.94) (20.00)	68 (100.00) (29.06)
10,001 to 15,000	10 (17.24) (27.03)	12 (20.69) (26.08)	9 (13.79) (16.06)	27 (46.55) (28.43)	58 (100.00) (24.79)
15,001 to 20,000	3 (7.50) (8.11)	7 (17.50) (15.22)	10 (25.00) (17.86)	20 (50.00) (21.05)	40 (100.00) (17.08)
20,001 to 25,000	1 (5.00) (2.70)	4 (20.00) (8.70)	6 (30.00) (10.72)	9 (45.00) (9.47)	20 (100.00) (8.55)
25,001 to 30,000	-	2 (12.50) (4.35)	5 (31.25) (8.93)	9 (56.25) (9.47)	16 (100.00) (6.84)
30,001 to 40,000	2 (12.50) (5.40)	4 (25.00) (8.70)	4 (25.00) (7.14)	6 (37.50) (6.32)	16 (100.00) (6.84)
40,001 to 50,000	-	-	6 (85.71) (10.72)	1 (14.29) (1.05)	7 (100.00) (2.99)
Above 50,000	-	1 (11.12) (2.17)	4 (44.44) (7.14)	4 (44.44) (4.21)	9 (100.00) (3.85)
Total	37 (15.81) (100.00)	46 (19.66) (100.00)	56 (23.93) (100.00)	95 (41.30) (100.00)	234 (100.00) (100.00)

TABLE 25

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (samples) according to
Food Itemwise Net Income as Per Centage of Turnover**

Food Items	Street Food Vendors with Net Income as % of Turnover							Total
	Upto 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 40	Above 40	
Snacks	4 (3.17)	18 (14.29)	26 (20.64)	19 (15.08)	25 (19.84)	23 (18.25)	11 (8.73)	126 (100.00)
Expensive snacks	-	1 (16.67)	2 (33.33)	1 (16.67)	1 (16.67)	1 (16.66)	-	6 (100.00)
Egg dishes	1 (3.57)	3 (10.71)	3 (10.71)	7 (25.00)	7 (25.00)	5 (17.86)	2 (7.15)	28 (100.00)
Inexpensive street meals	-	1 (4.76)	6 (28.57)	4 (19.05)	2 (9.52)	4 (19.05)	4 (19.05)	21 (100.00)
Hot and cold beverages	1 (2.78)	3 (9.33)	5 (13.89)	2 (5.56)	4 (11.11)	10 (27.78)	11 (30.55)	36 (100.00)
Icecream, ice candy	-	2 (11.11)	5 (27.78)	2 (11.11)	-	5 (27.78)	4 (22.22)	18 (100.00)
Total	6 (2.55)	28 (11.91)	47 (20.00)	35 (14.89)	39 (16.60)	48 (20.43)	32 (13.62)	235 (100.00)

TABLE 26

Distribution of Street Food Vendors (sample) according to
Total Annual Household Income

Total Annual Household Income (Rs.)	Street Food Vendors
3,501 to 5,000	2 (0.85)
5,001 to 7,500	3 (1.28)
7,501 to 10,000	18 (7.69)
10,001 to 15,000	48 (20.52)
15,001 to 20,000	46 (19.66)
20,001 to 25,000	26 (11.11)
25,001 to 30,000	26 (11.11)
30,001 to 40,000	21 (8.98)
40,001 to 50,000	18 (7.69)
50,001 to 60,000	11 (4.70)
Above 60,000	15 (6.41)
Total	234 (100.00)

TABLE 27A

**Distribution of Street Food Vendors (Sample) according to
Employment of Family (Unpaid) and Paid Labour**

	Both Family labour & paid employees	Only Family labour (unpaid)	Only Paid employees	No paid or unpaid workers	Total
NO. VENDORS	45 (19.07)	106 (44.92)	18 (7.63)	67 (28.38)	236 (100)
Family-Male	31	71	-	-	102
Family-Female	29	91	-	-	120
Paid Part-time					
Male	16	-	2	-	18
Female	27	-	13	-	40
Paid Full-time					
Male	2	-	2	-	4
Female	4	-	-	-	4
Paid Children					
Male	7	-	1	-	8
Female	15	-	9	-	24
Total Family Workers	60	162	-	-	222
Total Paid Workers	71	-	27	-	98
Grand Total	131	162	27	-	320

TABLE 27B

Distribution of Workers (Paid and Unpaid) by Sex

Category of workers	Number of Workers		
	Male	Female	Total
Paid	30 (30.61) (22.73)	68 (69.39) (36.17)	98 (100) (30.62)
Unpaid	102 (45.95) (77.27)	120 (54.05) (63.83)	222 (100) (69.38)
Total	132 (41.25) (100)	188 (58.75) (100)	320 (100) (100)

TABLE 28

**Distribution of Male and Female Street Food Vendors (sample)
according to Average Net Monthly Income**

Average Net Monthly Income (Rs.)	Street Food Vendors	
	Male	Female
Less than 500	5 (2.44)	2 (6.89)
501 to 1000	39 (19.03)	14 (48.28)
1001 to 1500	62 (30.24)	8 (27.59)
1501 to 2000	32 (15.62)	4 (13.79)
2001 to 3000	26 (12.68)	-
3001 to 4000	13 (6.34)	-
Above 4000	28 (13.65)	1 (3.45)
Total	205 (100.00)	31 (100.00)

TABLE 29

**Distribution of Food and Water Samples from Street Food
According to MPN of Coliforms and Faecal Coliform Contamination**

Food Type	MPN of Coliform			Total	Faecal Coliforms	
	0	1 - 10	>10		Absent	Present
Street Food samples						
- Uncooked (including drinking water)	6 (8.11)	8 (10.81)	60 (81.08)	74 (100.00)	26 (35.13)	48 (64.87)
- Cooked	3 (3.41)	7 (7.95)	78 (88.64)	88 (100.00)	56 (63.64)	32 (36.36)
Total	9 (5.56)	15 (9.26)	138 (85.18)	162 (100.00)	82 (50.62)	80 (49.38)
Street meal samples						
- Uncooked (including drinking water)		1 (16.67)	5 (83.33)	6 (100.00)	5 (83.33)	1 (16.67)
- Cooked	2 (10.00)	4 (20.00)	14 (70.00)	20 (100.00)	16 (80.00)	4 (20.00)
Total	2 (7.69)	5 (19.24)	19 (73.07)	26 (100.00)	21 (80.77)	5 (19.23)
Grand Total	11 (5.85)	20 (10.64)	157 (83.51)	188 (100.00)	103 (54.79)	85 (45.21)

TABLE 30

**Distribution of Food and Water Samples from Authorised Eating Houses &
Restaurants according to MPN of Coliforms and Faecal Coliform Contamination**

Type of Restaurant	MPN of Coliform			Total	Faecal Coliforms	
	0	1 - 10	>10		Absent	Present
Eating Houses						
- Uncooked samples (including drinking water)	-	-	6 (100.00)	6 (100.00)	3 (50.00)	3 (50.00)
- Cooked samples	4 (12.90)	5 (16.13)	22 (70.97)	31 (100.00)	19 (61.29)	12 (38.71)
Total	4 (10.81)	5 (13.51)	28 (75.68)	37 (100.00)	22 (59.46)	15 (40.54)
Restaurants 'A', 'B', 'C'						
- Uncooked and cooked samples	3 (11.11)	2 (7.41)	22 (81.48)	27 (100.00)	8 (29.63)	19 (70.37)
Grand Total	7 (10.94)	7 (10.94)	50 (78.12)	64 (100.00)	30 (46.87)	34 (53.12)

Appendix D

In order to examine the influence of various factors on street food income, two indicators were experimented with :

- 1) Yearly Income
- 2) Monthly Income, calculated on the basis of months worked

Both these figures are net of expenses.

Street food vending being a seasonal activity for certain products, it was expected that the latter indicator would be a better one as it would absorb the factor of seasonality.

It was, however, found that this was not so and the relative variation in the latter case is more than that in the former. This is seen in the following table :

N = 234

	Average Per Unit	Standard Deviation	Coefficient of Variation (%)
Yearly Income	17956	13004	72.4
Monthly Income	1989	2902	145.9

In other words, the seasonality was affecting the yearly income less than expected and that the yearly earning of the units working for a few months in a year was not much different from those of the units earning more than say, 10 months in a year. The variation got increased in the process, after calculating the monthly income.

Another factor that introduced a bias in our analysis was the very recent origin of some of the enterprises. Those that had been started only a few months prior to the canvassing of the questionnaire were naturally recorded as having been conducting the business for a few months. In the statistical analysis they were added to the list of vendors who conduct street food business in certain seasons (i.e. a few months a year). The difference between the seasonality of business and the recent origin of enterprises could not be clearly demarcated. This added to the problem stated above.

The analysis of variance was, therefore, calculated on the monthly income figures for the units which were working for 10 months or longer per year. The results are as follows :

(The number of observations : 188)

Analysis of Variance for Monthly Income from Street Food Vending

Factor	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares (in million)	Mean Sum of Squares (in million)	F
1. Stall Type (Kiosk/Cart/Street Vendor)	2	31.84	15.92	21.22 **
2. Zone	2	13.13	6.56	8.75 **
3. No. of family members working in enterprise	4	2.91	0.73	0.97
4. Food items sold	11	81.35	7.40	9.87 **
5. Past Experience	1	0.10	0.10	0.13
6. Sex of Vendor	1	14.55	14.55	19.40 **
7. Residual	166	124.89	0.75	
	187	268.77		

(** : Significant at 1 per cent level)

APPENDIX E

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A kiosk



2. A wickerwork stand for a basket of street food



3. Street food eating site



4. Enjoying street food



5. Pushcarts lined up to serve snacks



6. Street food vendor couple (serving hot pan-cakes on banana leaves)



7. Frying fritters on a pushcarts



8. Serving icecream



9. Making do without adequate facilities for washing



10. Consequence of absence of garbage disposal facilities



11. Arrangement for drinking water



12. Serving egg-dishes
and rolls



13. Street meal
consumers



14. Serving street
meals

