

Bangkok Street Vending Ban 2016

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Street vending is a long-standing fixture in Thai society. Vending plays a role as a source of income generation, especially for women, the elderly, and those with limited educational opportunities. As a source of cheap food to consumers, pedestrians, office workers, students, workers, and the middle class (Nirathorn 2006, 2016; Yasmeen 2006), street food also attracts both domestic and international tourists. CNN ranked Bangkok as the place with the best street restaurants in the world for two years (CNN, 2018). Research by Associate Professor Dr. Narumon Nirathron confirms that the economic role of street vendors relates to the creation of jobs and economic stability for vendors, who, oftentimes, are already economically disadvantaged, as street vending helps reduce social problems as a result of lowering unemployment, plays a role in building social capital, as successful independent entrepreneurs. The domestic sale volume from street vending, contributes to massive revenue for the economy as a whole, enables reasonable cost of living for the people, and supports the self-reliance for the national the economy (Nirathron, 2003). Research from several institutions recommends integrated management to address coexistence and sustainability for vendors and cities, rather than an ad hoc solution (Roever and Skinner 2016, Skinner *et al.* 2018).

Citing an order from the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Command Center (Council of State, 2011), the Bangkok Metropolitan Authority ordered the ban on vending in 400 street vending permitted areas since July 2014. The BMA revoked the vending on the sidewalk in 451 formerly permitted zones, out of a total of 683 zones, such that 232 permitted points remained operating.¹ The BMA issued bans on vending in additional locations again in the second half of 2016. The BMA announced its goal to “reorganize street vending” and “restore public sidewalks to the public and the society”, by eliminating all vending by August 2017.

¹ Bangkok Biz News. 2017. "Bangkok Revoked 232 Street Vending Zones." Available at www.bangkokbiznews.com, accessed 10 April 2018.

This report focuses on the impacts of evictions which have taken place since 2016. Since 15 August 2016, the BMA has canceled street vending in permitted areas in four central business districts of Bangkok, covering 610 vendors in Pratunam; 600 vendors in Ratchaphrasong Intersection In front of Central World Mall and Big C Ratchadamri Mall; 611 vendors on Silom Road. Later, in September the same year, the BMA revoked the vending areas along Sukhumvit road, affecting 558 vendors, also 348 vendors in King Rama I Bridge and King Prajadhipok Bridge had been canceled in mid-September. Likewise, on the Thonburi bank of Bangkok, district offices cancelled all vending areas on the sidewalk by the end of the same month. The BMA announced a goal to end street vending in 48 Districts out of 50 Districts in Bangkok, covering 73 roads or 309 Kilometers. There are 17,812 registered vendors with the BMA, whose permitted vending points have been revoked.²

This figure does not include other vendors who are also suffering from the policy: vendors without licenses. There is no precise estimate for the number of unlicensed vendors, but it is presumed to be considerably higher than licensed vendors (Yasmeen and Nirathron 2014).

Since the BMA revoked all the vending permitted zones for over a year, or in some zones, for over two years, consequences from the policy became apparent, and expand ripple effects to other business connecting to street vending, either economically or socially. Hence, the phenomenon inspires this research.

Objectives

1. To study the effects and reflect the problems facing vendors after the BMA imposed a ban on street vending by cancelling vending in permitted areas;
2. To study the history of the street vendor network establishment, activities and, needs; and
3. To provide recommendations for street vendors to coexist with urban development.

Scope and Methodology

² Kom-Chad-Luek (2017). "Clearing the Sidewalks, No Vending in the Next Four Month." Hot Issue Insights. Available at www.komchadluek.net, accessed 10 April 2018.

This study collects data from members of the Thai Vendors for Sustainable Development affected by the government's street vending ban policy during 2016-2017 in Bangkok and vicinities. It covers the following main topics:

- General characteristic of street vending and hawking;
- Impact of the ban on vendors, families, and related businesses; and
- Street vendor individual adaptation and recommendations to address the problems.

This paper also discusses the establishment of the Thai Network for Sustainable Development, which was formed between 2017 and 2018 and now represents the collective voice of street vendors in Bangkok, who previously had no city-wide representative organization.

The author conducted site visits and discussions in 27 vending locations across Bangkok between January and June 2018. The research included discussions with vendors and business owners, as well as in-depth interviews with 15 vendors. The author also visited several “Pracharat Markets”, which according to the BMA provide alternative locations for displaced vendors. Information from other studies conducted around the same period (Nirathron 2017, Reed and Samantrakul 2018, Suksai 2018) and media were used to supplement the interviews.

In 23 of the locations visited during the research period, vending had been banned in 2016 or 2017. Some vendors in these areas are continuing to operate illegally and/or nearby their original spaces, usually on smaller alleys and less conspicuous locations, whereas others have left entirely. In four locations, vending has not been banned, and vendors were continuing to operate as usual at the time of research. A full list of research sites is available at the end of this brief.

Duration of study: January - June 2018

Street Vending, Occupations and Characteristic of Vendors in Bangkok

Street vending is an activity of the informal sector. It is a small independent occupation found in almost every major city all over the world (Bromley, 2000). Studies from other countries define the identity of "Street Vending" by (Suharto, 2000, Nirathron 2016) as follows, (1) Operates in public areas, where the space is usually not profit-seeking;

(2) Offer varieties of products: foods, a commodities, or services; (3) Linked to other economic activities, in particular, as a distribution unit (backward linkages) to larger industry, home-based industries, or small business; (4) Vendors are not permitted to vend in the areas, but are not criminalized, unless they sell illegal commodities; (5) Vendors may not pay taxes. However, fees may be levied by local authorities, such as cleaning fees, etc.; (6) Often, a family business, an own account enterprise that do not rely on external workforce or employing not exceeding five external workers; (7) Vendors do not have legal protection; and (8) Often lack basic infrastructure and support.

Historically, street vending in Bangkok Metropolitan can be divided into three main groups, as follows. The first group, licensed vendors in "permitted zones," are those vendors permitted to sell on sidewalk or areas designated by the local authority or the competent officials, during the days and hours permitted, with an approval from the Metropolitan traffic police.³ The second category is unlicensed vendors are not permitted but tolerated. Vendors pay weekly or monthly fines in exchange for the ability to vend, and have to conform to rules and regulation. The third category is unlicensed vendors vending without any permission from the district office. Some of the vendors in this group are international migrant vendors using pushcarts, operating without the use of regular vending areas.

Each vending area has different physical characteristics, size of selling area, and operational hours.

Street vendors interviewed in this study have the following characteristics:

1. **Operating on revolving capital.** This occupation relies on circulating/revolving fund. Vendors that appear to have high revenue do not usually earn high profits, because funds immediately reinvested for purchase of raw materials for the next days. The remaining income after expenditure for production are used for daily needs: water and electricity utilities, housing mortgage, tuition fees for children, and savings, etc.
2. **Street vendors operating this occupation for a long period of time.** Many vendors inherited the business from their parents and have been working for 25-35 years. These vendors are the second or even the third generations. They have been living

³ *Tamlaykhaikong.com [Vending spaces.com]*. 2013. Permitted areas, meaning and regulations for street vending (from Bangkok Information Center). Available at <http://www.xn--22cap5dwcg3d9ac1l0f.com/archives/3040>, accessed 17 June 2018.

with regular expenditures in the same level as expected their income. However, when an unexpected policy reduces their incomes, in relation to expenditures, the vendors' families will be negatively affected as they did not have an opportunity to plan in advance.

Long-term Street Vendors

Uncle Chai, 52 years old (pseudonym)⁴ has been selling braised pork knuckle rice dish in Bang Khun Thien areas said “I have been selling braised pork knuckle rice dish for ages. I am in my 50s. This business has been going on since my father's generation. When my father was senile, I inherited it when I was 27 years old. I have been selling for about 30 years.”

Korn, 32 years old (pseudonym)⁵ sells Hainan chicken and rice in Rattaburana District. He recounted, “I sell Hainanese chicken and rice dish because I grew up under my parent's pushcart. I started from clearing the tables, serving, etc. It is an occupation that raised my family and I have been with this job for at least 25 years.”

Nopphanan, 49 years old (pseudonym)⁶ “I have been vending since I was a Ramkhamhaeng university student. I used an income from vending in this Ramkhamhaeng university sidewalks to pay my tuition. Now I can support my children to attend a university. (Before the ban) I had been vending for at least 25 years in this area.”

3. The majority of the street interviewed in this study are over **40 years old, with** several over 70 years old. Street vending is an occupation for every gender and age. It accommodates people who cannot fit in a formal organization, namely the elderly, people with disability, mothers with infants who can rear children while tending her vending. Street vending enables people to earn either main or secondary income for families. These vendors can live independently without any social or family intervention.

⁴ Uncle Chai (pseudonym) sells rice pork leg on Rama. 2 Alley 69 Opposite Lotus Rama 2 Bangkhuntien (interview 4 June 2018).

⁵ Korn (pseudonym) sells Hainan chicken and rice, Ratburana District (interviewed 3 February 2018).

⁶ Nopphanan (pseudonym), teenage fashion shirt seller, opposite Ramkhamhaeng University, Bangkok (interviewed 26 January 2018).

4. Street vendors have gained specialized skills and expertise over decades from selling the same products in the same places:" for instance, fish sellers at Lad Phrao Saphan 2 Market, a la carte Thai curry and rice dishes sellers and braised pork knuckles and rice at Huay Kwang Markets, and flower garland sellers at the Erawan Shrine (Rachaprasong Intersection). Many vendors who originally purchased goods have become the designers and producers of the products that they sell. Souvenir vendors can design and make their necklace, bangles, or earrings. Cooked street food vendors, such as braised pork knuckles over rice, Hainan chicken and rice, mussels deep fried in crispy pancake or soy milk, use family recipes passed down over generations. Vendors selling fresh produce are capable of procuring and picking fresh and high quality products (fruits, vegetables, and meat products) because of accumulated expertise and skills. Vending in the same places over the years, they have regular clients. The change of vending space decrease the sale. Street vendors are often, long-term residents in the community. They provide visitors with unique, affordably priced, and tasty local food in the community or along regular commuting routes. This characteristic is a strength for local street vendors to give an input for landscape development, urban area development, and upgrade street vending with the local District Offices.

Orn, 40 years old (pseudonym),⁷ a veteran fish seller:

"My family has been selling fresh fish at Ladprao Saphan 2 Market. We choose quality fish. Tilapia and Ruby Tillapia are farmed. My shop selects the river, deep water, flowing water fish species (which have a less muddy odor), from Chainat, Suphan Buri, or Bang Pakong River." Orn helped her father selling fish starting from high school breaks. At 26, she got married and set up her own shop. "That's life, one need to struggle on."

5. **Street vendors are usually diligent and hard working, but prefer independent jobs.** Vending requires working irregular hours, at times when other people are normally sleeping or resting. It is common for vendors to work long periods without off-days. Those that sell in the morning need to get up, buy goods, and prepare their products by 2 or 3 AM, to be ready for sale at 5 AM. Vendors selling at night, such as souvenir

⁷ Orn sells fresh fish at Ladprao Saphan 2 Market, Wangthonglang District (interviewed 23 February 2018).

seller for tourists on Sukhumvit Road and Silom Road, start from late afternoon until 1-2 AM. After finishing, they have to pack up their stalls and return home. Most days they go to sleep at 3 AM. These irregular working and sleeping hours make vendors concerned about long-term health impacts.

Nirathorn (2017) found that the majority of vendors have lower than middle school-level education. Her research cited 400 samples from four inner Bangkok. Four (4) percent of street vendors have no formal education; 43.25 percent studied at a primary level; and 18.5 studied at middle school level. A lower level of education limits vendors' occupation possibilities.

Nevertheless, street vending provides an opportunity for social and economic mobility. It helps people save money and improve their lives. Vendors have been working for 25-35 years or longer (Nirathorn 2006). Interviews during this research shows that vending has allowed many workers to build a secure foundation for families, buy a house, vehicles, send kids to a university without being social burden.

Lives and Adaptation after Street-Vending Ban in Formerly Permitted Areas

From the group interviewed, some continued to work as street vendors informally, moving to sell in small alley or finding other areas where they could operate discretely. Some have moved to locations where they need to pay rent. Others have had to stop working as vendors.

Street vendors are not the only group that suffers consequences of the ban. Their families have been severely affected, particularly children in schools, parents and grandparents **also suffer**. Below are example of impacts to families and dependents.

1. A little over a year the street vending ban was imposed, **those workers still operating as vendors informally earn 70% less.** Families whose primary income comes from street vending do not have other options, however, difficult as it may be to access new locations in the current economic situation. The remaining 30-40% of income earned has to be managed frugally, to keep up with expenses. The reduce income can barely support a family, often,

vendors have to reduce expenditures, and seek high interest informal loans after they have used up their savings.

2. **Debts:** Many vendors are responsible for mortgage and car lease payments. Some vendors who had recently been approved for the Government Savings Bank “Happy Citizens Microloan” have been unable to make payments following the vending ban. This has damaged their credit scores and caused considerable personal anxiety.

3. **Schooling:** Street vendors earned money for tuition fees for children from primary, secondary, to tertiary education. After an immediate street vending ban has extended to a protracted vending prohibition, vendors cannot afford tuition fees. Some are 3-4 semesters overdue. In several instances, children withdrew temporarily from school to work to alleviate financial strains, while waiting for the parents to return to the vending business.

Aunty Chanhom, 59 (pseudonym),⁸ (Impact on children's education):

"My husband passed away when my youngest kid was seven. I sold Chinese churros and soy milk to support my children. The youngest boy is now studying at the second year in a private university. I have to pay thirty thousand Baht a semester. When I do not have a vending space after the ban, I used my saving to pay for one more semester. Finally, I did not have enough to pull through. I asked my son to drop out and to get a job to help my family survive."

4) **Support for parents or grandparents:** Vendors are often direct caregivers for parents or grandparents who live with them, or give significant financial contribution to parents living in other provinces for daily expenditure and healthcare. When the vendors do not earn adequate income, many families were forced to suspend spending in support of parents, who have had to stop medical treatment and suffer health consequence leaving medical care.

5) Many vendors have been suffering from **chronic stress:** Without any visible light at the end of the tunnel, many vendors fell ill, suffering mental health issues, or even severe mental illness that prevent them from working or function, and require treatment. Others

⁸ Aunty Chanhom (pseudonym), soy milk and Chinese churros seller Phutthamonthon Sai 3 (Interview 5 February 2018).

suffered from strokes and become paralyzed. Some vendor had died and some committed suicide.

Aunty Chomnad, 59 years old (pseudonym),⁹ (died from health issues):

"She had been a fruit vendor before the vendor permitted areas were determined. She sold fruits and was content with vending and raising her grandkid, who was abandoned by her daughter. She did not suffer from stress and lived her life in a rented house with a grandchild. Her life took a dramatic turn when the street vending ban was implemented. As a result of the policy, she has no income and no money to pay rent. The landlord evicted her from her rented flat, and she has been living as a homeless person on the street, after a short stint sleeping in her friends' houses; her friends were also unemployed, so they could only offer temporary intervention. She was tremendously stressed and suffered mental breakdown. She walked naked. She slept on the street, tore banknotes because she said they were just paper, and suffered incontinence. Her grandchild's father finally took his child away. Neighbors who sympathized with her condition found a space under the flat for her to sleep. They consoled her until her condition improved. Later she managed to sell fruits shortly before another wave of illnesses hit. Her neighbors brought her to a hospital due to her swollen abdomen and feet. She passed away on 2 July 2018. Doctors identified causes of death as septicemia and acute renal failure.

6) It is almost impossible for **elderly vendors** between the age of 50-70 years old from lower educational backgrounds to find alternative forms of employment. They either have had to depend on their children financially or have returned to live in the provinces. They are waiting for the government to end street vending ban. Inevitably, those with financial burdens or expenditures risk selling in the alley or small Sois to avoid being fined.

7. Most vendors do not have the option to return to their former provinces. In general, vendors do not have any land for cultivation in the provinces or they have not had any rural home. Returning to provincial hometowns is especially difficult for vendors between the ages of 30-40, whose children study in Bangkok. The majority of vendors have responded by

⁹ Fruit vendors at Huai Khwang market (interviewed 30 January 2018).

finding a new vending space, in the absence of other livelihood options (as discussed further below). Vendors who adapt by **renting a vending spot** and/or downsizing vending stalls have seen a plunge in incomes. Others sell discreetly in the same areas, but they are at risk of confiscation and have to hide from municipal officials. Some vendors avoid confiscation by selling on small mobile carts. Overall, all vendors have been struggling with mounting pressure and more exhaustion, while earning less. For some, it is better to earn a little than nothing, because they can make enough to feed daily meals to the families.

Dao, 70 years old (pseudonym)¹⁰ (Elderly vendor):

Dao, a 70-year-old Onnut Soi 70 vegetable vendor, has been struggling with street vending to support her 17-year-old-grandson with an impaired leg. The boy's mother left him with her without returning to raise him or supporting the child. Dao pays 150 THB a trip to hire a car to go to Khlong Toei market to buy vegetables (300 Baht round trip) every day and resell them in her stall.

Kaew, 52 Year (pseudonym)¹¹ has several dependents under her care, including her elderly mother who suffers from a coronary artery disorder.

"My family consists of my husband and a grandchild. A family of three needs a lot of money to survive. Also, my mother has a heart disease. She underwent a heart artery ballon operation for her coronary artery and requires a strict care regimen at home. I sold fresh vegetables at Huay Khwang Flat for 35 years since this neighborhood is still not as gentrified. There were not as much buildings. After the street vending ban, my big family has suffered a great deal. In the first year, I attempted to sell secretly, as it was necessary to earn the family some income. Later the [municipality] officials become more rigid, and I need to stop selling. In the last two months, the family's income has been from my husband, who drives a pickup truck for hire, but we only earn a little because not many people hire his logistic truck. We have been living frugally because our saving ran out. Now everyone in the house must be frugal. My grand children can only spend 30 Baht

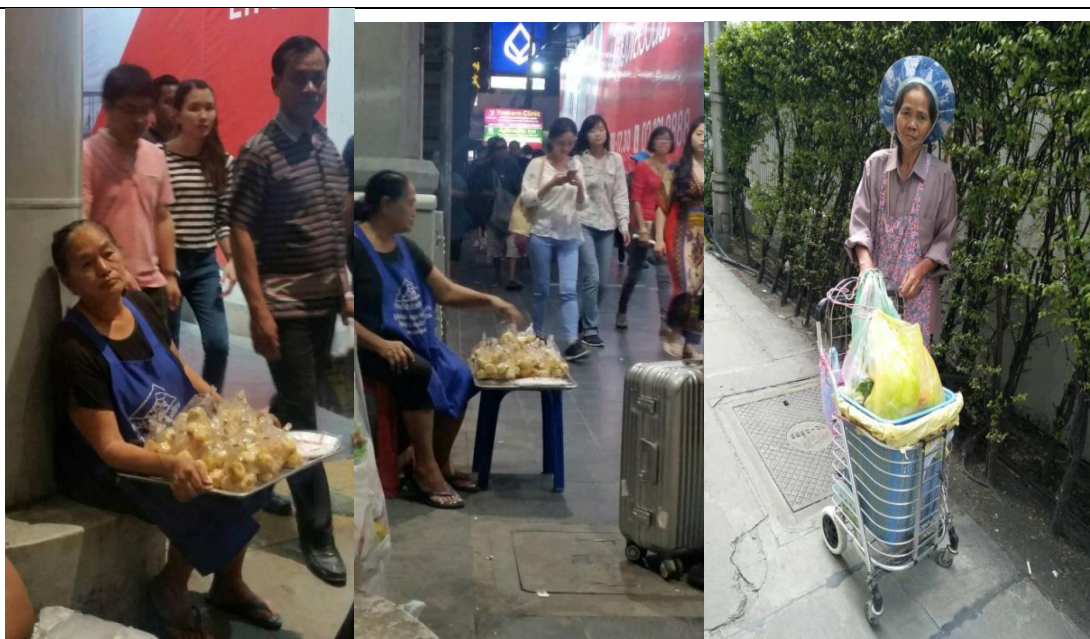
¹⁰ Grandma Dao (pseudonym) sells vegetables on the front-end of Onnut 70 Alley, Pravet District (Interviewed 30 January 2018).

¹¹ Kaew (pseudonym) sells fresh vegetables in front Flat No. 11 Huay Khwang Market, Din Daeng District (Interviewed 30 January 2018).

allowance each school day for snacks from previously 50 Baht. Adult members have not enjoyed wholesome food because we earn much less. Now, I want to return vending, the family has no other alternative.



Grandma Kaew, 70 years old, sells vegetables on the front-end of Soi Onnut 70. (Photo Credit: Pailin Wedel 2018)



Vendors on Rajdamri Road in front of Big C Mall and Central World are obliged to modify

their vending practices by placing goods on a chair ready to move and run away from municipality officials. Some have converted to a small wheeled basket to avoid being arrested. (Photo credit: Pongsil Leein)

8) In the absence of revenue to support their vending businesses, many people have **switched to new jobs**. Some former vendors have left vending to become security guards, motorcycle taxi drivers, domestic workers (cleaners or carers). Some have left the country as migrant workers. Street vendors earn much less in these occupations, and some are higher risk to health and safety (e.g. motorcycle taxi). As illustrated by the case studies below, the reduced earnings have resulted in negative consequences for family and health.

Eed, 50 Years old, and his wife used to sell handmade souvenirs to tourists in Silom. Their business was not lucrative, but Eed learned enough to rent an apartment and pay for treatments for his son's mental illness. Since 2016, vendors in Eed's area were forced to leave. Though Eed moved into a small shared room, his new job as a security guard earned him too little to support his wife and son, who moved to live with relatives outside Bangkok. His son's condition worsened after missing several medical appointments. The stress affected Eed severely. Early in 2018, he suffered from a sudden hemorrhagic stroke. The stroke resulted in partial paralysis, forcing him to return home to receive care from his ailing mother (Reed and Samantrakul 2018)

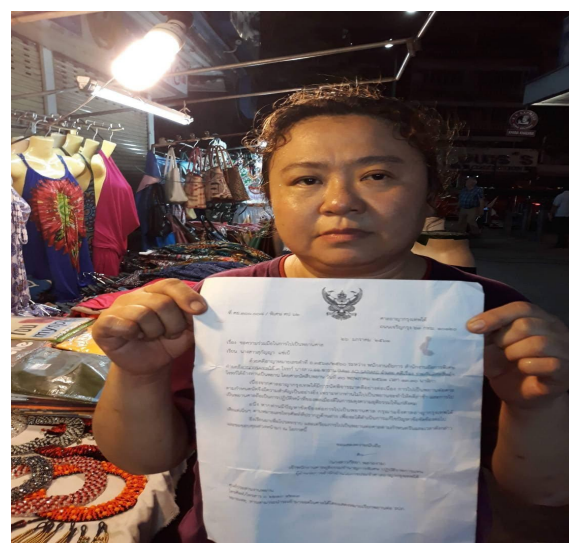
Impact on public space and safety

Hazan (2017) concluded that street vending and hawking attracts pedestrians in Bangkok more than empty sidewalks, bringing people to use public space. He argues that street vending connects the society and the space, while ensuring the movement of the people in the space.

In the absence of vendors, many of these areas have very few pedestrians during the late evening and night. Areas abandoned by vendors appear to be experiencing higher incidences of petty crime like snatching and pickpocketing. This includes the former King Rama I night market on the end of the Bridge Phra Nakorn District, from where the Bus No. 8 operation booth has relocated for security reasons.

On Soi Suksawat 25/2 in front of Lotus Suksawat Mall, Rattaburana District, the District Office recently installed a sign warning against bag snatching. A business operator in the former Sukhumvit market expressed concerns regarding increasing snatching theft and narcotic crimes after the street vending ban. A Phaya Thai District Official agreed that street vending should be allowed on the main road of Phahon Yothin in the evening, to reduce the risk of motorcycle snatching theft in the neighborhood (Suksai 2018).

Mookda, 48 years old (pseudonym),¹² is a vendor selling in a dimly lit corner. She is a souvenir and shirt vendor on the sidewalk of Sukhumvit road. Her stall is adjacent to a construction site, where part of the sidewalk is therefore dimly lit. Many tourists have often been pick-pocketed in the area, and she warns tourists to be careful. Once, she had alerted tourists that they were targeted by a foreign pick-pocketing gang, who were angry that she alerted the target and threatened to attack Mookda. Later, Mookda was subpoenaed as a court witness regarding the incident.



Mookda displays her subpoena as a witness for 30 May 2018. She witnessed joint pick-pocketing thieves in January 2018. She alerted a tourist before being pick-pocketed.



Street vending stalls not only supply affordable food. They shine light in the night as eyes on the street for pedestrians and keep them safe.

¹² Mam, a souvenir and shirts vendor at Sukhumvit Street Night Market, Watthana District, (interviewed 2 March 2018).

	
<p>A sidewalk in Ratburana District Suksawat Soi 25/2 in front of a Tesco-Lotus Mall.</p>	<p>A sign installed by Ratburana district to warn about pick-pocketing and criminals.</p>

	
<p>Sukhumvit Soi 11 sidewalk after the street vending ban.</p>	<p>King Rama I Bridge former night market, after the ban. Even the Bus No. 8 operator booth has had to relocate outside to the main road for security reasons.</p>

Impact on Other Related Businesses

In addition to the immediate impacts on vendors and families, **stores in commercial buildings located in former vending areas have suffered as a result of the ban.**

Neighborhood businesses have suffered from the reduction in foot traffic (Reed and Samantrakul 2018):

- In Ramkamhaeng market, store proprietors report that the number of customers has dropped severely since the eviction of vendors in 2017. They estimate that sales volume has declined by 50-80%, and that between 10% and 20% of shops in the areas have closed. Most shops have reduced their opening hours, and one store owner reported that he was forced to terminate four employees.
- Businesses owners around Sukhumvit Soi 11 likewise complain that the number of visitors has plummeted since the disappearance of the Sukhumvit Night Market. Rows of shops along Soi 11 have closed or relocated; one local business owner reports that many shops have already shut down. 30 businesses have signed a petition to the District Office asking that vendors be permitted to return.

A shop owner who used to have a vendor, selling in front of the building:

Commercial Building on Ramkhamhaeng Road¹³ owner who used to have street vendors operating in front of her shop said "I have never thought that when street vending was banned, it is our problem. I thought it is their problem. Now I know that street vendors' issues is ours."

Fresh markets and wholesalers suffered from a reduction in buyers. These include markets where vendors buy raw cooking materials, meat, fresh vegetables or fruits. Vendors also buy other products such as wholesale garments, souvenirs, necklaces, bangles, etc. Vendors interviewed during this study purchase goods from markets such as:

- Pak Klong Talat Market, on Maharat Road, a wholesale market for flowers, fruits, vegetables, garlands and garland making accessories, After July 2016, the street vending ban resulted in a sales drop of 70% sale drop.¹⁴
- Si Mum Meaung Market, Lamlukka in Pathumthani, a wholesale market for agricultural products, vegetables, fruits, and seafood. The market is patronized by street vendors selling pre-cut fruits, vegetables and ready-to-eat foods.
- Saphan Kao Bridge Market, Mahanak intersection, a wholesale market for fruits: a key source for fruit cart vendors.

¹³ Interview with an owner commercial building in Ramkhamhaeng Road, Bangkok (interviewed 6 March 2018).

¹⁴ Thai Post. 2016. "Pak Klong Talat Market: Sale Falls Silent After Bangkok Ban." Available at <https://www.ryt9.com/s/tpd/2456312>, accessed 10 June 2018.

- Sala Namron Market, also known as Hua Rod Fai Market, located on Arunamarin Road. It supplies fruits and vegetables, as well as food ingredients for street vendors on the Thonburi side of Bangkok.
- Chatuchak Market: Wholesale beads, bracelets, and garment.
- Sam Peng Lane, Phahurat Market, and Pratunan Market are major wholesale market where street vendors purchase garments.
- Bobae Market, a garment wholesale outlets, has dwindling sale volume after the street vending ban, while sales dropping by over 70%. Some shops face liquidation.

As illustrated in the, street vending connects several economic systems (Roever 2014). When street vending was banned, it sent a domino effect to farmers, homeworkers, and home-based micro enterprises who are part-time producers. When the demand for products is eliminated, the other level of producers, such as farmers, workers in other related industry, homeworkers, etc. suffer from fewer job orders, and inevitably, earn less income.

Cases of Wholesalers who Sustained Negative Consequences from Street

Vending Ban¹⁵

- **Khim (pseudonym), a garment wholesaler at Pratunam Market:** “I have been a wholesaler in Pratunam Garment Market for over 20 years. Over a half of the customers are street vendors who sell clothes at the street vending permitted zones.” Khim experienced a sales volume drop of over 30% after street vending policy was implemented.
- **Khachen (pseudonym), a chicken wholesaler for street canteen and street food push-carts.** “I am in this chicken meat wholesale for over 10 years. The majority of my customers are general restaurants and Hainan chicken and rice push-carts/ street canteens in in Rat Burana District. After street vending ban and clearing the sidewalk policy, my key customers operating push-carts and street canteens had to stop selling. My sale is now has declined by over 60 percent.”
- **Ruby Tilapia and Jeh Mam fish shops:** After the street vending ban, fresh fish street vendors were removed. As a result, the Ruby Tilapia sale in **fish wholesale market in**

¹⁵ Wholesalers’ circumstances (interviews 6-10 August 2018).

Ladkrabang shrank by more than 60 per cent. Similarly, Jeh Mam wholesale fish shop, which sells deep water fresh water fish, has lost roughly a half of regular customers. The owner reduced the cost of running the business by terminating an assistant worker and delivering fish to customers herself.

- **Aunty Boon (pseudonym)**, a garment wholesaler in Bobae Wholesale Market in Bangkok said after the street vending ban, her main customers-- garment sidewalk stalls in tourist attraction street such as the Sukhumvit Road – have reduced purchases by over 50 per cent. Aunty Boon had to stop hiring an employee and cancel one of her two rented selling space at the Bobae to save money to compensate for the loss of earning.
- **Chaba (pseudonym), a butcher stall owner in Huay Kwang Market** for over 20 years, admitted that banning street vending and the revocation of street sending zones severely impacted her pork butchery business. A dozen vendors from Huay Kwang vending permitted area who were her regular customers have been affected by the vending ban and subsequently shut down their businesses due to lack vending space. Formerly, she ordered 18 pigs a day from an abattoir, and hired 2-3 workers to pick up the pigs and to help her cut pork. Now she orders 7-8 pigs and hires an assistant to help her with cutting. In order to cut labor cost, she commutes to a slaughterhouse herself, just to earn enough each day.
- **Homeworkers**
Chit (pseudonym), 48 years old from in Lopburi, used to receive orders for making handmade bracelets and necklaces, from a relative who sold souvenirs, **handmade jewelry** for tourists on Silom Road. Chit gets a piece rate, which varies with the types of assigned work: for example, she receives 25-30 Baht for a necklace and 6-8 Baht for a bracelet. Chit had weekly orders, making about 800-1,200 Baht per week, which supplemented her main source of income from the paddy rice farming season. After the stall was banned, her relatives in Bangkok have not sent any orders for over a year. She now relies exclusively on income from paddy rice farming.

Cases of vendors whose reduced income has trickle down impacts on their regular suppliers and wholesalers.

Pin, 52 years old, (pseudonym):¹⁶ Buys garments from Chatuchak Market and hires regular dressmakers to sew original garments for her street shop

Pin has been selling souvenirs for tourists at Sukhumvit Road for more than 30 years. She carries souvenir goods like mini tuk-tuk models and elephant printed bags, as well as garments. Sales drops sharply because of reduced tourist visiting her stall, which was relocated two meters to a dark alley where tourists hardly visit.

Previously, she visited the wholesale suppliers four times per month, spending 8,000-10,000 THB each time (32,000-40,000 per month); after the street vending ban, she acquired goods only once per month, spending not over 6,000 THB on each visit. Before the ban, Pin ordered garments from home-based workers, whom she paid dressmakers 200 Baht for a long dress and 130 Baht for shorts. She would easily sell 220-250 dresses in a month. In mid-2018, Pin canceled her order to dressmakers, since she had sold only 12 dresses from early June to July.

Non, 42 years old (pseudonym),¹⁷ Chatuchak and Bobae Clothes buyer

Non has sold souvenirs and shirts for tourists at the Silom Night Market for over 25 years. Before the street vending ban, he purchased wholesale shirts from Pratunam, Boabae, and Chatuchak wholesale markets, from several different wholesalers every week. He spent 20,000-30,000 THB each visit or about 100,000 THB per month, before the ban. After the ban, the situation changed drastically. Whereas his previous business was large and thriving, his new space is very small, and he relying on regular customers to keep him in business. Today, he buys shirts only once or twice a month, spending 5,000-6,000 THB each visit. Some months he does not buy any new shirts.

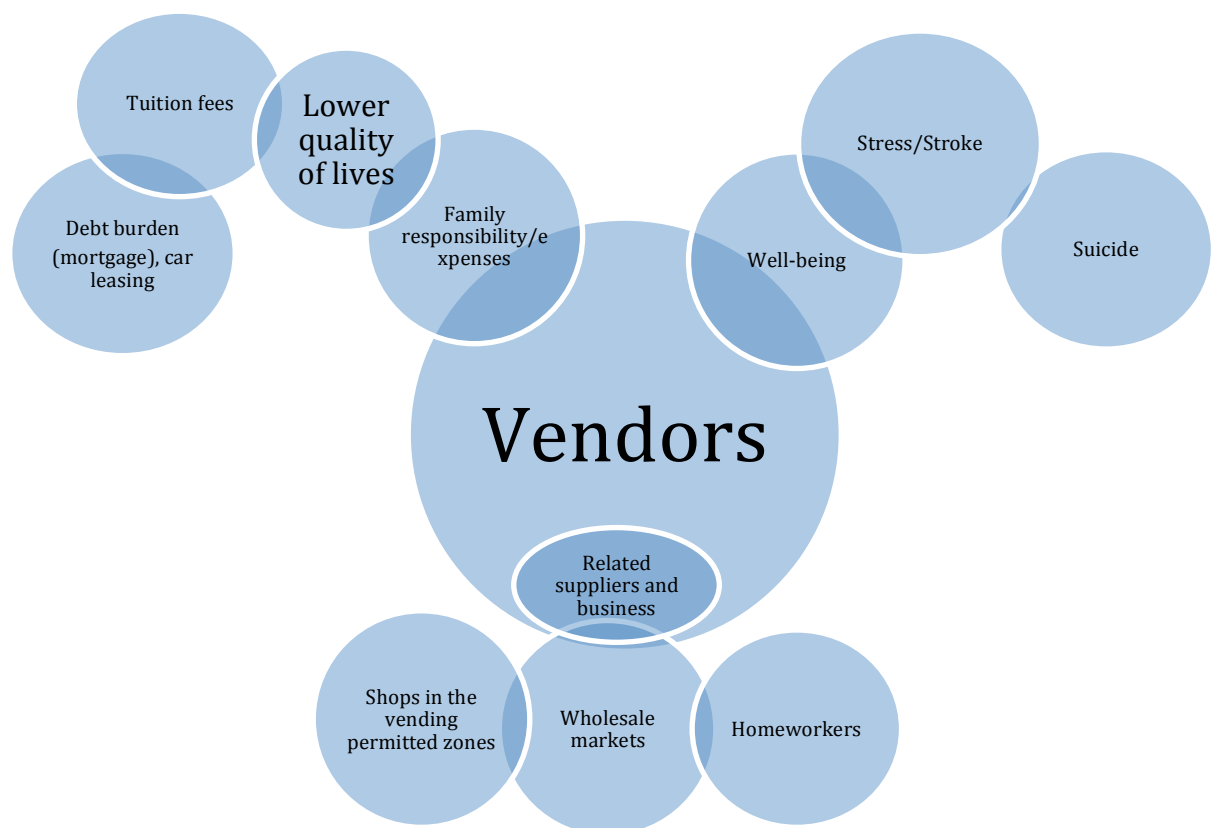
Kwan, 39 years old (pseudonym)¹⁸: Buys fresh chicken from Hua Rodfai Market (Sala Nam Ron Market)

¹⁶ Pin (a souvenir vendor) for tourists, at Sukhumvit Street Night Market (interviewed, 23 January 2018).

¹⁷ Non, a souvenir on Silom Night Market (interviewed, 25 January 2018).

¹⁸ Kwan (pseudonym), roasted chicken seller At Pho Samae (interview 5 February 2018).

Kwan sells roasted chicken on skewers at the Pho Sam Ton for three years, taking over from his mother who sold for over 20 years. Kwan buys fresh broilers from the Hua Rod Fai Market (Sala Nam Ron Market) and seasonings from Macro Wholesale. Before the ban, she bought 65-70 kg of poultry daily, to ensure she had fresh chicken. She spent an estimated 5,000 THB a day for chickens (approximately 165,000 THB per month) and 4,000 THB for general tools and ingredients once a month. After the street vending ban, she reduced her purchase to 43 kg of chickens per day, costing slightly over 3,000 THB (or approximately 100,000 THB per month) and roughly 2,000 THB for ingredients and tools.



Revocation of well-managed vending areas

The BMA has justified the need to curb street vending and “reorganize the sidewalks” to address regular complaints from the public, for instance related to lack of orderliness. This includes obstacles to foot traffic because of push-carts, piles of goods or other equipment blocking the traffic on the road surface; or forcing pedestrians to walk on the road surface rather than the footpath; not cleaning up after the vending sites or dumping

garbage on the sewage; vending stall blocked lawful owners or tenants from operating businesses; obstructed passengers' waiting space on bus stops, such that passengers risk an accident waiting on the road surface, among other complaints.

However, the study found that the issues described above do not occur in every street vending zone and not all street vending zones have received complaints. "Model" street vending zones in several districts have been revoked from being a street vending permitted areas, in spite the fact that vendors have organized their stalls and the zones in a manner that permits the flow of pedestrian traffic, efficiently manages waste, and keeps the public space clean. For example, the street vending permitted zone on Rama II Road, Soi 69, where vendors recently reorganized the vending area, leaving adequate space for commuters, have been recently revoked. The measure reflected that the BMA's street vending policy changes with the leader of the administration: A previously "model" area is now undesirable and banned.



A self-organized pedestrian sidewalk on Rama 2 Road, Soi 69 before the vending area was revoked. Vendors collected money to build a new roof and set up new stalls to widen the footpaths.

Pracharat markets

The New Pracharat (State for Citizens) Public Market in Bangkok to Accommodate Mitigate Impacts from the Ban: A Gradually 'Dying' Markets.

At present, the BMA has been unsuccessful in creating new street vending zones to support street vendors. Some existing markets have been renamed as Pracharat Markets, and these have been successful; but most of the vendors are not those who were affected by the policy and they do not have space for all of the affected vendors. New markets created after the policy are not popular among customers, due to poor locations in remote and/or dead-end area. Among vendors who relocated to the new markets, many have since closed their businesses because the markets do not attract customers. Vendors had low sale volume and had to shoulder increasing expenses.

These alternative markets or vending space arranged by BMA include.

- Under Pongpharam Expressway Market: The market was introduced in October 2017 to support 340 vendors. During a trial run for over a month, hardly any customers visited the market. Vendors gradually closed down and moved out.¹⁹ BMA increased advertising for the market and reopened it on 9th February 2018, but still attracts very few customers.
- Hassadin Alley Market: The area was designated for former Pratunam vendors. It is located in the same district in a small alley, on a dead-end alley beside an abandoned building. Customers do not come to the market.
- Airport Link Station Market is located under two Ratchaprarop and Phayathai Airport Link stations. The area is not a pedestrian street, so the market fails to attract customers.
- Soi Petchburi 23: The market is located in front of a Chinese shrine, so the market has to close whenever there is an event.
- Pracharat Beung Kum Market is located at the entrance of Soi Serithai 41. It has a low volume of buyers.
- Tawanna 2, Bang Kapi Market: Bangkok District Office claimed that the area is designated for former vendors from Ramkamhaeng area, despite the fact that it is a private space, with expensive rent prices and no buyers. Many vendors who invested in the rent suffered a loss.

¹⁹ Daily News. 2018. "Quiet and Eerie Street Market." BMA to PR New Market Place. Available at <https://www.dailynews.co.th/bangkok/609924>, accessed 16 August 2018.

The experience of Pracharat markets suggest that the central government and BMA favor the interests of private investors over those of the vendors, since the policy to ban the street vending encourages vendors to relocate to private markets. This practice forces former vendors to pay the rent to sell in private markets, only to find that there are fewer customers, that they cannot break even with their investment, and could not earn enough to pay their rent. Finally, most vendors left the private markets and returned to the sidewalks for survival.

Customers only buy goods and products *en route*: For example customers often buy go from vendors *en route* from their commute at the end of a working day. They shop from sidewalks shops between the workplace and bus stop on the way to commute back home. Customers almost never stray from their normal routes to new selling points. The “Phoe Sam Ton” market demonstrates that even a short walk beyond their route will discourage customers from visiting a market. The "Phoe Sam Ton" is located only 50 meters from a former vending site, but it has nevertheless failed to attract buyers, and vendors have gradually left it. The market eventually closed.

Renegotiating and Adjustment After Street Vending Ban in Former Vending Permitted Area: Decreasing Income, Increasing Expenses, and Survival Tactics

Chada, 70 years old (pseudonym)²⁰

Chada sells pork knuckle over rice at Huay Kwang Market in Dindaeng District. She has been selling more than 50 years. Before the ban, she bought 25 pork knuckles every other day, at 54 Baht (under 2 USD) per kg, equivalent to 1,350 THB (42 USD) every two days. Her monthly expenditure was 20,250 THB for pork knuckles and 5,000 THB for condiments she bought at Yaowarat once a week. She bought vegetables at a fresh vegetable market. After the roadside canteens were banned for two years, her sale shrank tremendously. She bought 15 pork legs every two days, despite a price surge from 75 - 80 THB per kg, spending 1,100 THB every two days or 16,000 THB monthly. Currently she buys condiments and other

²⁰ Chada is a rice and pork knuckle dish seller at Huai Khwang Market, Din Daeng (Interviewed, 30 January 2018).

ingredients every 2-3 weeks/or once a month, while fresh vegetables are purchased every other day.

After the ban, she briefly relocated to a private market in Patrara Building. She spent a total of 100,000 THB from her savings to invest in her business. She sold in a private canteen for two months, but did not earned as she expected because of poor sales volume and an expensive monthly rent of 15,000 Baht. She now earns only 300 THB as profit; before the ban, she earned 5,000-6,000 THB per day and had a net profit of roughly 2,000 THB per day.

She moved to the current space which costs her 4,000 THB per month. However, commuting and transportation cost 300 THB per day and she pays her workers 400 THB to set up the stall and street canteen, whereas the business earns a maximum of 1,500 THB per day before deducting expenditures. Chada said, "I has to endure it. I have to be frugal, otherwise, if I live the same way I did, I cannot save any money."

Street Vending Network Formation

The Street Vending Network was founded at the initiation of vendors who suffered negative consequences from street vending ban policy from 2016 to 2017. The group started from the Huay Khwang market, Din Daeng District, where the vending ban was implemented on January 2016. The number of canceled street vending zones expanded throughout the year. During that period, many vendors sought restitution by filing complaints to government agencies. On 30 September 2016, several groups of street vendors arranged an appointment to meet at the Office of the Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister to file a petition to the "Government Complaint Receiving Center." Vendors had not known one another previously, so exchanged contact numbers; this was a starting point to formulate a group of vendors affected under the policy. The group expanded from vendors' words of mouth. Many vendors have joined and discussed a proposed solution and to monitor the complaint procedures. The network met former Democrat Member of Parliament, Watchara Phetthong, who coordinated for the group to hand their petitions to agencies (as described below). On 7 December 2017, the group joined a meeting hosted by

Homenet Thailand to brainstorm the street vending issues in the “Cities and Street Vending: A Direction for Development.” The group decided to hold subsequent meetings to design proposals for the vendors to return to the street. On 14 March 2018, the group resolved to form a formal group called “Thai Street Vendors Network for Sustainable Development.” The group’s membership encompassed street vendors from 14 districts, covering street 18 vending zones. The network has continued to attract more members since that time.

The Network established the following aims:

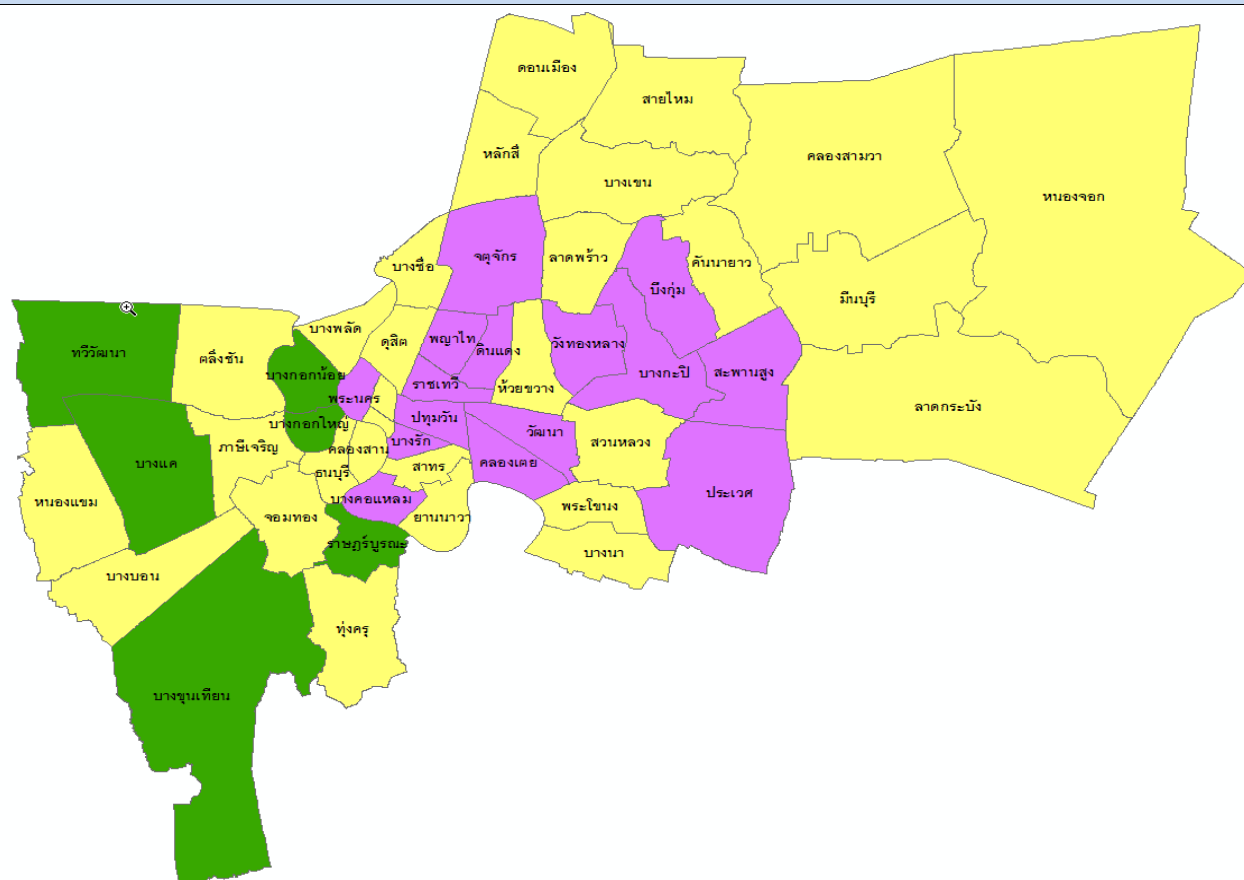
1. Protect the right to decent occupation for vendors, assist and give guidance to members;
2. Ensure justice and reduce social injustice faced by street vendors; and
3. Represent members in street vending policy engagement.

As of 17 April 2018, the network has expanded its membership to 21 districts and 27 vending zones as follows:

Phra Nakhon Side of Bangkok (15 districts) Wattana, Pathumwan, Ratchathewi, Bangrak, Phra Nakhon, Chatuchak, Wangthonglang, Bangkokapi, Saphan Sung Pravet, Phayathai, Khlong Toei Bangkoklae

Thonburi Side of Bangkok: (6 Districts): Ratchada, Bangkok Yai, Thawi Watthana, Bang Kae, Bang Khun Tien

Vending Zones Network Members Operated (covering 21 Districts, 27 vending Zones)



The table shows members' vending zones (organized by Districts) in 21 districts, accounting for 27 vending zones¹

Table: Areas where vending is banned

	District	Group Name (Vending areas before the ban)	Type	Number of Vendors before the ban (estimated) ²	Status before the ban	
					Licensed	Un-Licensed
1	Watthana	Sukhumvit Street Market (Soi Sukhumvit 1-21)	Souvenirs* Clothing, food	558	158	400
2	Pathumwan	Flower garland group (In front of the Erawan Shrine, Ratchaprasong intersection)	Flower garlands	100	50	50
3	Pathumwan	Ratchadamri (From Big C to 7 - 11/Top Charoen Optical	Souvenirs Foods and consumer	38	38	-

		Shop)	products			
4	Pathumwan	Central World Mall (In front of Central World Mall to Bhrama Shrines)	Souvenirs Foods and consumer products	300	25	250
5	Pathumwan	Bonkai Market (Soi Plukchit Intersection - Bangkok Bank, Lumpini Branch)	Food	100	67	34
6	Bang Rak	Silom (Night Market) (Narathiwat Road to Rama 4 Road)	Souvenirs	611	-	611
7	Bangkapi	Ramkhamhaeng (Soi Ramkhamhaeng 17-65)	Clothing, food	1,050	447	603
8	Ratchathewi	Watergate (Soi Petchaburi 17-31 and Soi Ratchaprarop 8; two sides of Pratunam intersection)	Souvenirs Street Food	617	617	-
9	Din Daeng	Huay Kwang Market (From clock tower to the Ganesh Deity Shrine)	Street Food Fresh food	1,200	650	540
10	Wang Thonglang District	Lardprao, Saphan 2 Bridge Market (Soi Ladprao 45 / 1-49)	Pre-cooked food Fresh food	98	98	-
11	Chatuchak	Pet fish market (Kamphaengphet 4 opposite Children's Museum To Her Majesty Queen Sirikit Garden)	Pet fish	37	-	37
12	Chatuchak	Street Food of Chatuchak The entrance to Kamphaengphet 3 from the guard post to the Chatuchak market, around Children's Museum)	Food, shoes, clothing	200	200	-
13	Pra Nakon	King Rama I Bridge (Under the King Rama I bridge and King Prajadhipok bridge)	Food, clothing, consumer goods	800	-	800
14	Bueng Kum	Indra Rak (Front of Indra Rak	Food	56	36	20

		Market)				
15	Phayathai	Phayathai (Phahonyothin 49 - Wat Phai Tan)	Food	400	300	100
16	Klong Toey	Klong Toey (Sukhumvit Soi 4-12)	Tourist goods	44	14	30
17	Ratburana	Ratburana (In front of Lotus Mall to Bangpakok market and in front of Big C Ratburana Beginning of Soi Suksawat 26)	Food	275	195	80
18	Bangkok Yai	Pho Sam Ton Market (Soi Issarapap 23-29/1)	Pre-cooked food	130	70	60
19	Bangkok Yai	Beginning of Soi Charansanitwong 13 (Begining of Soi next to main road)	Food/fruit	70	70	-
20	Bangkok Noi	In front of Bang Khun Si Market (From front of 7-11 Bang Khun Si Market, Charansanitwong 35 to 7-11 Soi Charansanitwong 37)	Pre-cooked food	90	63	30
21	Thawiwatthana	Phutthamonthon Soi 3 (Buddhamonthon 3, Outbound Boromarajonani Road side)	Pre-cooked food	35	-	35
22	Bang Khun Thian	Rama 2 Soi 69 (Beginning of Soi Rama 2 Soi 69, Opposite Tesco Lotus)	Food- beverages	100	45	55
23	Bangkae	Front of Petchkasem Village 2 (Soi Phetchkasem 55 - 55/3)	Food- clothes	120	70	50
Total				7,029	3,213	3,785

Table: Areas where vending is still permitted

	District	Group Name	Type	Number of Vendors before the	Status
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		(Vending areas before the ban)		ban (estimated)²	Licensed	No License
24	Prawet	Onnut 70 (In front of Seri village)	Pre-cooked food	53	48	5
25	Bang Kho Laem	Bang Kho Laem (Wat Phraya Krai) to Charoenkrung Hospital, Road fall)	Food	200	200	-
26	Saphan Sung	Mooban Nakila (Community public park)	Pre-cooked food	200	-	200
27	Bangkok Noi	Behind Kung Luang Restaurant (In front of Krung Luang Restaurant, Soi Borom Ratchachonni 11)	Food	70	-	70
Total				523	248	275

Remark:¹ Information updated as of 20 April 2018

² "Number of Vendors before the ban" covers non-members, because in some street vending zones not all vendors have joined the Network.

The Network covers 27 street vending permitted zones, of which 23 zones had been revoked and vendors were banned from vending, despite the vending licenses have not expired before the ban. There are 7,029 street vending stalls affected and four vending zones that can sell, but the vendors are concerned if they can continue the trade in the future (See also the Network Member Table).

Timeline of Activities Organized to Address Problems Faced Affected Street Vendors

Negotiation, Filing Complaints, and Requests Made.		
Date	Organization	Result
3 October 2016	Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)	Street vendors affected by the ban visited the Office of the Prime Minister to voice their grievance. Vendors' representatives had been called to negotiate with district officials. When the complaint is not effective. The vendors exchanged numbers and established a LINE group to design the next step in the struggle.
3 October 2016	Damrongdhamma Grievance Center.	Vendors filed a complaint at Damrongdhamma Grievance Center, next to the OPM
3 October 2016	Bangkok Metropolitan Office (Chairman of Bangkok Governor Advisory Group)	Vendors approached the Chairman of Bangkok Governor Advisory Group Mr. Wanlop Suwanmee), who responded that the complaints have been heard and the street vending ban had already been implemented and would not be reversed.
28 November 2016	Administrative Court	Vendors from six districts successfully filed an administrative petition and sought an emergency injunction for 60 days, from 28 December 2016 to 25 February 2016. During the injunction, the vendors negotiated with BMA to return to vending during the injunction period, following the injunction order the Administrative Court ordered that there should be a consultation between the District Offices and the BMA. Nevertheless, <u>the BMA affirmed that the street vending must be cancelled.</u>

13 March 2017	Bangkok Metropolitan Office (The Governor of Bangkok)	Vendors sent a letter requesting the Governor of Bangkok (Police General Asawin Kwanmeang) to negotiate the street vending ban. He responded through a letter that <u>the vending zones had been cancelled permanently.</u>
10 May 2017	Ministry of Tourism and Sport Ministry of Social Development and Human Security	In the meantime, vendors sent petitions to the Ministry of Tourism and Sport. Representatives responded <u>that the issue had been forwarded to relevant agencies.</u>
26 June 2017	Ministry of Commerce	Vendors requested a meeting with the Deputy Director General of Department of Internal Trade, after hearing through several channels that the government had assigned the Ministry of Commerce to oversee the street vending issues. <i>The Deputy Director General</i> responded that <u>the Ministry does not oversee the street vending/hawking stalls.</u>
5 June 2017	Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)	After vendors joined the group, leaders decided to gather 500 vendors to petition the Prime Minister and the Governor of Bangkok through <u>the Office of the Prime Minister.</u> The Office informed BMA that the vendor group has filed the petition. The BMA delegated the then-director of the Municipality Official Bureau, <u>Mr. Sucha Kontrong</u> to come collect the petition; <u>however, he swiftly left after receiving it.</u> The vendors pressed the OPM to called him again and demanded an answer next week. <u>A week later,</u> almost a thousand vendors returned to the OPM to press for a response. The BMA delegated an official from the Municipality Bureau who could not provide concrete answers except to confirm <u>that the street vending permission had been cancelled.</u> The vendor attempted to contact the Bangkok Governor through OPM, but they did not receive any positive response.

3 July 2017	Bangkok Metropolitan Office (The Secretary to the Governor of Bangkok)	Former Member of Parliament Wachira Petchthong contacted the <u>Secretary of the Governor of Bangkok</u> . Vendors met the officials from the BMA in a morning session, which was live-streamed on Thairath TV; however, remedial measures were not discussed during the morning. In the afternoon, <u>the group discussed redress</u> , and officials agreed that vendors can sell <u>on sidewalks with a width of three or more meters</u> . Street vending can be permitted in the <u>outer ring zone (outside the city centers)</u> . The officials were requested to draft a street vending plan and to meet again on 17 July.
17 July 2017	Bangkok Metropolitan Office (The Governor of Bangkok)	The meeting was led by the governor, Police General Asawin Kwanmeuang, who offered to set up <u>district level street vending committees to assist vendors</u> . He added that any area with a footpath greater than 3 meters, the footpath vending can be negotiated. He informed the vendors of the negotiation that the matter would be addressed within a week. However, after the meeting, the vendors have not received any communication, and there has not been any practical change.
18 March 2018	Member of the National Legislative Assembly (NLA) Meet Citizens (Event)	Vendors attended the " <u>NLA Meets Citizens</u> " in <u>Southern Bangkok</u> at Sathorn District Office, Bangkok, led by Police General Pongsaphat Phongcharoen, for a hearing session which included street vendors' problems from the policy. The Network participated in the hearing to clarify the impact and problem after the street vending ban. The NLA members recommended the street vendors to meet with Police Lieutenant General Prasopchok Prommul, the Bangkok Council Member, on the Special Committee to Study Measures to Improve Street Vending Re-organizing Measures in Public Spaces.
30 April 2018	Bangkok Metropolitan Office The Deputy Governor of Bangkok	Fifteen street vendor network representatives met Deputy Governor Mr. Sakolthee Bhittiyakul to negotiate temporary relief measures for street vendors by allowing them to return to selling. The answer from the authority was, "[Vendors] cannot vend in their original places, we can only help find new Pracharat Public Market spaces."

		The network disagreed because the Pracharat Public Market space do not meet the needs of vendors and consumers (as described in the next section).
8 June 2018	Bangkok Metropolitan Council	Police Lieutenant General Prasopchok Prommul, the Bangkok Council Member and the Chairperson of the Extraordinary Committee Study Measures to Improve Street Vending Re-organizing Measures in Public Spaces organized a <u>public hearing</u> at Wat Pak Bo, Suan Luang District. There were more than 500 participants and representatives from Bangkok district offices and other agencies. However, no officials were able to offer any commitment regarding the vending policy. The hearing was intended to relay the inputs from vendors' proposal to the Council of Bangkok, the BMA, and the central government.
25 July 2018	Bangkok Metropolitan Council	Police Lieutenant General Prommul invited the Network to meet and to discuss a petition to <u>enable vendors to return to the trade.</u>

Conclusions and Recommendations

Street vending is an independent job that provides work for a diverse population of all ages. It is an economic foundation for people across Bangkok. Street vending has an economic value that cannot be overlooked. While urban development requires neatness, cleanliness, hygiene, convenience and safety, urban dwellers, workers, employees, and especially low-income population relies in goods and services from street vending, including healthy, affordable, and tasty foods. Street food also reduces cost of living. Dr. Niramorn Kulsrisombat from Design and Development Center has commented that "Thai Street vending stalls is responsive for people's life-style, similarly to the Singaporean counterparts, where street food offers affordable food to low-wage workers. Our workers in Bangkok are on the move, which is why Bangkok workers prefer buying food along their commuting routes, sidewalks under the Skytrain, or the walkway. So how should we design the city? To make people in Bangkok enjoy the market near their residence or a hawker center In their

own residential area"(Kulsrisombat, 2017). Street food is the identity and lifestyle of Bangkok where Thais and foreigners enjoy tasty favorite dishes. Street food is a tourist attraction and part of the country's fame for many years.

Street vending ensures that the commuters can be safe, especially at night. It is found that in many areas with no vendors after the ban, routes have become deserted, eerie, and are experiencing from bag snatching and petty crimes. In addition, street vending generates enormous revenue for the economy, including for shophouses in the same area and wholesale centers and outlets, which convert the money back into the formal economy. This is consistent with previous research (Nirathron 2016), which argues that the economic role of street vending is not limited to creating jobs and economic status vendors, especially with those with poor economic base. Street vending can support the cost of living for the general residents and contribute to the overall formal economy, while also boosting self-reliance domestically.

The view of most academic research, NGOs, and the National Legislative Assembly is that shortcomings of the street vending administration in the past stems from a lack of clear policy, which can be fixed. The government officials (Municipality officials) can perform their legal duties, while the vendors can sell. (NIA Meet the people in Bangkok, Southern Bangkok Area.²¹)

This study recommends that the administration of the street-vending and sidewalk trade ensure that Bangkok can maintain its unique identity and life-style. It should support transformation and development of the city that does not leave anyone behind.

Recommendations to the Government

In the past, the BMA was the only authority that determined policy on street vending and hawking. Each district offices should be empowered to independently consider its own local administration. It is also found that the flexibility to tolerate vendors is multi-standards, not certain, and depends on BMA leadership. BMA does not have a long-term development plan for vending. Vendors cannot participate in policy making or drafting the regulations.

²¹ NIA "NIA Meet the People Southern Bangkok," at Sathon Bangkok Office. (18 March 2018). Accessed 25 June 2018.

This paper offers the following recommendations, which are consistent with the recommendations proposed by the Network of Thai Vendors for Sustainable Development.

1. Short-term approach: Many vendors are now suffering from the ban, with economic and social impacts to their lives, health, and children's education. Many vendors do not have vending areas and have to sell discreetly while avoiding municipality officials duties, rent expensive, private vending spaces, or have relocated to public market that are badly located and unpopular with customers. The markets arranged for vendors cannot accommodate all cancelled vendors. It is proposed that the ban should be reviewed. In the meantime, the vendors should be granted a temporary injunction to sell in their original places. After a new policy is drafted and implemented, the new vending spaces should be organized and improved to ensure that the vending areas will not effect pedestrians and sidewalk users.
2. Vendors should actively participate in the development of guidelines to re-organize the sidewalks and street-vending with officials, agencies, academicians, the street-vendor network representatives, citizen or community representatives and related organizations, to improve the vendors' livelihood. Street vendors should be a part the city and urban community development and they should coexist with communities.
3. Vendors, from all vending zones, should be supported to organize into a membership based group to facilitate with the district authorities and to supervise the local members to follow the guidelines and recommendations from mutual agreement from consultative meeting, such as on cleanliness, maintaining the vending and walking space for at least 2 meters for pedestrians, controlling the stall setting time, as well as sanctions for those who breach the agreement.
4. Government and BMA should provide remedies for those affected by the street vending ban policy. Remedies can be low interest loans, a debt grace period and/or debt relief measures for vendors who received the government's micro-loans from the Government Savings Bank.
5. Long-term measure: Review and improve the law governing street-vending to organize street vendors to develop in a sustainable way with long-tern continuity. Ensure that

the long-term measure can buffer the impacts from changing policies which cause unnecessary suffering on the decent occupation among the people.

Street vending creates jobs and plays a role in incubating and maintaining micro-entrepreneurship. If the vendors have potential and receive support, they can expand the micro-entrepreneurship. Street vending also links producers and consumers at multiple levels in the value chain. It promotes accumulation of social capital and cultural capital, a role no less vital than the economic role (Roever 2014; Cross 2000; Nirathorn, 2559).

Hence, street vending is crucial in many ways. The way of organizing in a context that is consistent with the Thai way may not be pushed out of the area. It is a great opportunity to resolve existing problems and develop a new model that is consistent with the era. Together, find a way out from all sectors. Developing stalls in Thailand to support and integrate with sustainable urban development, helped propel the economy. It is a solution that all parties can benefit and co-exist.

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