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VENDORS RESHAPING PUBLIC SPACE IN MUMBAI

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Summary

This study investigates how vendors give meaning to the place where they conduct their business in the context of contested urban public space. It has the aim to gain insight in the ways urban public space is defined and shaped 'from below', in order to better understand processes through which vending is able to survive in the 'modern city'. The study is situated in Mumbai, India.

Vending is a significant as well as a contested sector in Mumbai's urban economy. Around 3 lakh (300.000) people work in Mumbai as street vendors (Anjaria, 2008) and their number is growing. Since many years, the position of vendors in the urban society of Mumbai has been topic of debate. Opponents feel vending is out of place in the 'world class city' of Mumbai, and creates problems ranging from traffic congestion to air pollution. For vendors however, vending is the basis of their livelihood and provides a way to support their families. They argue that they have the constitutional right to work and should therefore be allowed to vend. The 'world class', modern city ideal is reflected in laws and regulations and in most parts of the city vending is officially illegal. The presence of vendors in the streets has led to protests from middle class groups (so called citizen groups). This resulted in several court cases, in which the court often ruled in favour of the citizen groups, ordering vendors should be removed from public space.

Whereas some scholars have used these protests of citizen groups to argue that vendors are excluded from public space in the modern, globalizing city (Fernandes, 2004; Mitchell 2001), Anjaria (2008; 2009) argues that the fact that vendors have not disappeared from public space insinuates excluding processes are not all-powerful. Although vendors (as actors conducting an illegal practise) have little opportunities to claim legal rights, they have found alternative ways to lay a claim on space. Vendors' claims on space are based on alternative imaginations of the city, reflected in everyday practices. These imaginations are the focus of this study.

This study selected a single street market as research area. The market provides room for around 55 vending business and roughly 90 self-employed, wageworkers and employers. Data was collected through observations and interviews. Observations were used to study the everyday routines of the vendors. During 16 interviews vendors talked about the meaning of public space, the profession of vending and their identities as vendors. Interviews are conducted in Hindi, Marathi or Tamil, sometimes in combination with English. An interpreter translated the interview questions and comments of participants. Data is analyzed based on principles of grounded theory and used software for qualitative analysis (Atlas.ti).

The result section is divided in two. The first part focuses on meanings vendors attach to vending and public space. The second elaborates on everyday activities reinforcing vendors' claim on space.

The first part shows that there are several ways in which vendors reconstruct public space. This is an interesting finding, since literature on this topic has mainly focused on only one particular construction of public space: the modern city ideal. It found, in addition to the reconstruction of the modernity ideal, two other layers through which vendors give meaning to public space: a layer in which public space is defined in relation to gender; and a layer defining public space based on local and national identities. Just as the modernity ideal is reworked and challenged by vendors, so are particular constructions of place identity within the two other layers (i.e. localism and an 'all men's place') constantly reworked and challenged. In addition, the study showed that the way in which an individual vendor gives meaning to public space (i.e. the constructions of public space (s)he chooses to highlight) depends on the particular context. This is tactic behaviour through which, on a local level, a vendor constantly works to justify his/her claim on space.

A modern place

Vendors are aware of the middle class' struggle to reshape Mumbai in accordance to their ideal of the modern city. In this construction of public space vendors believe they are 'out of place' (illegal even), and perceived as "valueless". This places vendors in a rightless and thus vulnerable position. Vendors feel the need to justify their presence in public space, reshaping their 'modern' identity as 'lawbreakers' into a more morally acceptable variation. Vendors do this in three ways. First, they underline their identity as poor, low-educated fathers that need to provide a livelihood for their families. Vending is now constructed as a necessity to the survival of these families. The need to survive legitimizes the ignorance of laws and regulations. Second, vendors see themselves as taking care of public services, such as providing safety on the streets, where the government fails to provide these. Finally, vendors reconstruct state institutions, politicians or elites as the other. They do this by challenging the respectability of these institutes and actors. And, as policymakers and law enforces lose their respectability, vendors create a space where they can question the morality of the anti-vending laws and regulations.

A local place

Most vendors in the market are first or second generation migrants from other parts of India. 'Locals', who claim to be more entitled to Mumbai's public space than migrant 'outsiders'; often contest the legitimacy of migrant's presence in the city. This constitutes the construction of public space as a local space, intended for either native Mumbaikers and Maharashtrians or 'old' vendors (i.e. vendors who have been working in the market for a long period of time). Competition between 'old' vendors and 'outsiders' as well as the supposed immorality and impurity (dirty) of 'outsiders' are used as moral arguments to exclude vendors from public space. Newcomers rework their assigned identity as 'outsiders' by

claiming a local identity or national Indian, redefining themselves as part of the in-group.

A 'men's place'

Women are excluded as workers from the market on a number of grounds. Religious beliefs are used to argue that women should not work at all. Furthermore, women sitting in the market are believed to attract negative attention, causing unrest in the market and a loss of business. Finally, male vendors construct the market as a 'bad' or 'backward' place, which hosts a number of threatening elements: drunks, goonda's¹ and sex workers. This, too, makes it inappropriate for women to work in the market. This construction of the market has been challenged by a female waged worker working at the market. By constructing the market as 'a home' and the establishment of a fictive kinship relation with her boss, this woman was able to reshape the place she worked in from dangerous to safe and comfortable, i.e. suitable for women. Furthermore, she desexualized her own position in the market.

The second part of the result section analyses three practices through which vendors reinforce their claim on space: various street relationships, corruption and an informal entitlement system dividing public space among vendors.

Since vendors' participation in formal political processes is often problematic, vendors developed alternative strategies to negotiate rights. Their informal arrangements are often based on personal relationships amongst vendors or between vendors and various external parties. Vendors use social contacts to create and sustain informal structures through which they may reinforce their claim on space. For example, vendors participate in an informal system of corruption by bribing BMC² and Police officials on a regular basis. Furthermore, they developed an informal ownership system dividing public space among vendors. Corruption is an important factor in the survival of vending in public space. Although paying bribes can never completely stop BMC and Police harassment, it reduces the frequency and the effectiveness of raids. The system of corruption is highly structured; payments occur on a regular basis, money collection is well organized and the amount of bribe to be paid is fixed. For the 'insiders' receiving the 'hafta'³ it is however not always possible to prevent raids or to provide vendors with correct information about planned raids. Corruption seems a balancing act. Officers, pressured by middle class and elite groups, need to live up to their formal responsibilities as law enforcers, but also need to keep their promise to the vendors that have paid them for their protection. And vendors as well, need to find a balance between the costs of corruption and the (potential) costs of BMC and Police harassment. Another characteristic of the system of corruption in the market is that it is self-enforcing. It provides and

¹ Local criminals or troublemakers.

² BMC stands for Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation, which is also known as The Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM).

³ Bribe money

incentive for officials, who are not (yet) bribed by the vendors, to increase the level of harassment of vendors, in order to motivate vendors to start paying them 'hafta' as well. For vendors, bribery, therefore, is a necessity rather than a voluntarily applied strategy to claim space. An informal entitlement system divides public space among vendors. This prevents struggles for space among vendors. Like the bribery system, the entitlement system is highly structured. It strengthens a vendor's claim over a particular space and lays out guidelines for gaining access to the market.

The study concludes that the construction of public space on a local level is fragmented. It seems that, whereas dominant social groups or the state as a whole have well defined ideals about what public space should look like (reflected in policies, laws and regulations), on a local level, individuals select elements from different ideals (see table 6.1), regrouping and reshaping them to fit their own interests. In this way public space is redefined on a local level. This also entails that what ever group is considered powerful within a particular geographical scale, is not necessarily powerful within another scale.

However fragmented exact conceptualisations of public space may be, vendors in this market do agree that public space is a place where vending may take place. This perception of public space is reflected and at the same time sustained through some everyday practices that join vendors together. It is through these everyday activities that vendors express their claim on space.

From the above it should not be concluded that the way access to the city is arranged is just. Instead here, it is argued that when access to public space becomes a necessity to survive, individuals become incredible creative and resourceful in finding new ways into the city. They rework the narratives that try to exclude them, altering them into alternative stories that legitimizes their presence in powerful ways.

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Preface

In India I saw a warning sign is painted on a grey wall. It reads “illegal activities prohibited”. To some it might seem that this sign is stating the obvious. Of course illegal activities are prohibited! To me it appears that the sign addresses certain activities that everybody knows to be illegal, but that are nevertheless a common sight in public space. These are the type of activities that is hard to get rid of, precisely because it seems to be integrated into everyday public practices. Street vending is a perfect example of such an activity. In Mumbai, where this study is conducted, street vending is illegal, but based on the clear presence of lakhs of vendors in the streets, this law is not enforced with great efficiency. And indeed, no sign can change that.

These common, public, illegal activities have fascinated me since, as part of a study project, I conducted a short trip to South Africa. During this trip I worked on a small study on fruit and vegetable sellers. I found the workings of their informal economy intriguing. For my master’s thesis I returned to the topic of street vending, be it in another country (India) and with a completely different focus. The result is this report on the meaning of vending and public space to street vendors.

There are several people without whose help this project would never have succeed. Among these people are of course my supervisors Ajay and Inge. I would like to thank them for their patients, comments and direction. In India I would like to that Sharit Bhowmik, who welcomed me at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai; the international student office that found a perfect bug-free home for me with two wonderful room mates; Deb, who introduced me to some of the most inspiring persons I have ever met; Jitu, who despite his incredibly (when do you sleep?!) busy schedule never tiered of translating a million or so questions to participants; and finally all participants in this study. Without the openness and honesty of these persons there would not have been a study at all. Thank you!

Chapter 1

Introduction: Vending in Mumbai

In most parts of the Indian metropolis Mumbai vending, or hawking, is illegal. Laws and policies have been put in place to ensure vending is not allowed in the city's public spaces. Recent court orders have underlined the importance of these laws and policies. Middle class groups, organized in so called citizens' groups actively fight against the presence of vendors in public space. Nevertheless, these laws, policies, court orders, and protests, have not been able to stop vendors from vending their goods in the streets of Mumbai. In fact, in many areas vendors dominate the street scene and in recent years the number of vendors within the city's borders has only increased. So, despite efforts to bring vending to a halt, it continues to put down a marker on Mumbai's public space.

The question arises: how is this possible? Studies focusing on anti-vending laws, modernity discourses and middle class groups in society, which are seen as very powerful, are not able to explain the increased number of vendors in Mumbai. This study therefore aims to gain insight in the ways urban public space is defined and shaped 'from below', in order to better understand processes through which vending is able to survive in the 'modern city'. This study, therefore, takes a bottom up approach and investigates the ways in which public space is defined, not 'from above' through laws and policies, but from below by vendors. In order to understand this reconstruction of public space 'from below', this study focuses on the underlying narratives and practices.

The main research question is how do vendors give meaning to the place where they conduct their business in the context of contested urban public space. The study focused both on ways in which vendors give meaning to public space through narratives and talks and everyday activities.

The structure of the study is as follows. Chapter 2 provides a background sketch of the context in which vending takes place in Mumbai and deals with some theoretical considerations related to the topic. The study finds its theoretical basis in the work of de Certeau (1984), who stretched the importance of everyday practices in the construction of space. Furthermore, it builds on a PhD study of Anjaria (2008), who has also noted the tension between the power scholars have invested in forces excluding vendors from public space and their continued presence in the streets of Mumbai. Chapter 3 reflects on the operationalization of main concepts and the applied methodologies. Data was collected within one street market in Mumbai, through observations and in-depth interviews. The data was coded and analysed using Atlas.ti. Chapter 4 presents how vendors give meaning to vending, the market, themselves and others. The ways vendors define these elements sustain particular claims on

space. Chapter 5 investigates how particular claims on space are reflected in everyday practices and policies on the street level. In chapter 6 it is concluded that the process through which vendors give meaning to public space is not a black and white, straightforward process. There are different layers through which vendors define public space. Furthermore, individuals use different conceptualisations of public space depending on the context. These processes create room for democratic spaces through vendors are able to claim 'vendor's places' within public space.

Chapter 2

Constructing public space: the role of vending in Mumbai

The research question posed in this study is 'How do vendors give meaning to the public space where they conduct their business in the context of contested urban public space?' It focuses on bottom up strategies of vendors claiming access to public space. To answer the research question an understanding of the local context is needed. Furthermore, there are several theoretical concerns that need to be addressed. This chapter provides both.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides an overview of secondary literature on street vending in Mumbai. It starts with a background sketch of the socio-economic context of vending in Mumbai. Then it focuses on ways in which, in the context of Mumbai, public space is defined 'from above', through a modern ideal of the city. This ideal, it is argued, is represented by middle class action groups (so called citizens groups) and reflected in laws, policies and urban design. The third section of the first part takes a different angle and investigates how vending may be defined at a local level, 'from below'. Finally, during the fieldwork period the concepts of gender and masculinity appeared to be of relevance to this study. Therefore the fourth and final section of the first part briefly gets into this issue.

The second part of this chapter addresses theoretical concerns underlying the way actors assign meaning to place. The second part starts with a theoretical reflection of the concept of urban public space. After that, it investigates the relationship between giving meaning to place, claiming space and struggles over space.

The chapter concludes that some studies on vending in Mumbai seem to have overlooked the ways in which vendors participate as active actors, reshaping and redefining public space in ways that reinforce their claim over space. Only one study (Anjaria 2008; 2009) was found that seemed to look at ways in which vendors define public space from below, through everyday practices. This resulted in some interesting findings. Theoretical ideas of de Certeau, Bourdieu and Giddens may provide a useful guideline for further exploration if this topic.

2.1 A background of vending in Mumbai: from licence to 'pauti' to 'hafta'

As an introduction to the topic, this section provides a background sketch of social-economic aspects of vending in Mumbai.

2.1.1 Vending as sector of the economy

A large census conducted in 1998 by the Tata Institute for Social Sciences (TISS)

and an NGO called YUVA stated that there were 102.401 vendors in Mumbai's public space. It was estimate that, when non-public or semi-public spaces would be included, the total number of vendors would be around 200.000. In more recent years, the estimated number of vendors in the city fluctuates anywhere between 2,5 lakh (250.000) (Bhowmik 2000, 2003a, 2006) and 4 lakh (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai 2010).

As both Bhowmik (2005) and Bhowmik and More (2001) have argued the relative share of vendors in India's urban economy has increased since the beginning of the 1990, due to liberalization and structural adjustment programs. In Mumbai, when the mill workers industry broke down, this further increased the number of vendors in the city.

Although street vending is not generally seen as highly profitable, the combined turnover in the sector is significant. Sharma (2000) and Anjaria (2006) provide illustrative examples of the fruit and vegetable trade in Mumbai. Anjaria states that according to the Agricultural Produce Marketing Committee (APMC) in Vashi, administering the city's wholesale vegetable market, over 1.500 metric tonnes of vegetables are sold for household consumption or to hotels every day. Sharma estimates that this comes down to an annual turnover of Rs750 crore (Rs 7.5 billion) worth of fruit and vegetables in the wholesale. Anjaria (2006, p. 2141), as well as Sharma (2001, p. iv), believe that street vendors sell most of these vegetables.

2.1.2 The meaning of vending in urban society

Whereas other sections of this chapter elaborate more on the position of vending in the context of Mumbai, this section aims to provide a general overview of often used arguments in the debate about vending⁴.

Proponents of vending often argue that vending provides a means of survival for low educated migrants from rural areas, as well as for those who were fired and now unable to find a formal job (Bhowmik 2003b, 2005; Bhowmik and More 2001). Scholars argue that these workers have a fundamental right to work as formulated in the UN's (1948) human rights declaration and in the constitution of India (Brown 2006; Bhowmik 2003b). Furthermore, street vending can be seen as 'decent work' (ILO, 2002), preventing theft or begging and functioning as a social safety net. Besides, vending satisfies a customer demand (Bhowmik 2003b, 2005; Bromley 2000) and reduces crime by social control (Bromley 2000).

In contrast, opponents agree vending leads to traffic congestions, causing traffic accidents, making it impossible for emergency vehicles to pass through and blocking emergency exits and access to off-street businesses (Bromley 2000). Vending (especially food vendors) can pose a threat to public health.

⁴ Bromley (2001) provides an more elaborate overview of pro and contra arguments in the vending discussion

Furthermore vendors engage in illegal activities: they fail to pay income tax; they avoid formal regulation; and contribute to system of corruption by paying bribes. Finally, vending is seen as a general disorder in public space (Bromley 2000; Anjaria (2008, 2009) has also investigated arguments made against street vending).

In Mumbai, the vending debate is reflected in numerous newspaper articles, but also in several court cases. This jurisdictional aspect is discussed in the next section.

2.1.3 Vending and the law in Mumbai

The vast majority of the vending businesses are, from a jurisdictional point of view, considered illegal. Only 14,000 vendors possess a vending license, legalizing their business, and the municipality of Mumbai has not released any new vending licenses since 1978. The rest of the (more or less) 300,000 vendors are thus officially conducting an illegal type of trade.

There seems to be a discrepancy between the increasing number of vending businesses (vending businesses are common and can be found anywhere in Mumbai) and the illegal status of these businesses. This discrepancy has created a conflict between vendors, often supported by social activists and critical social scientist, on the one hand and city planners and elite and middle class NGOs (so called citizens groups) on the other. Where proponents of vending see vendors as “perhaps the most vulnerable and victimized” workers in Mumbai’s workforce (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai 2010, pp 149, referring to an article in the *Economical and political weekly* 2005), opponents argue that vendors obstruct footpaths and roads and are an ‘eyesore’ in the modern city. Comments of opponents often seem to be based on a fear to lose urban space to a certain ‘other’, often envisioned as migrants or the urban poor. As one middle class inhabitant of Mumbai states:

“[M]igrants started coming specifically to hawk on the footpaths. They are not the traditional hawkers. They have come to set up a business; to occupy a place on the footpath and call it their own” (quote derived from Anjaria, 2009, p. 391).

In the last thirty years, the vending issue is addressed in several Supreme and High Court cases. Arguments in these court cases are often based on section 19(1)(g) of the Indian constitution that reads that everyone has the right to “practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business”; sub 6 of the same article, which states “affect the operation of any existing law insofar as it imposed, or prevented the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of general public”; and sections 312, 313 and 314 of the 1888 BMC Act, granting Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation (hereafter BMC)⁵ the right to

⁵ The Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) is also known as The Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM). Most scholars referred to, as well as the participants in this study, commonly use the abbreviation ‘BMC’ to refer to the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai.

“remove encroachments on streets and footpaths and to do so without warning” (Anjaria, 2006, p. 2140).

Three often referred to cases are elaborated on here. In the early 1980's the Bombay Hawkers' Union filed a case in the Bombay High Court against the BMC. The Bombay Hawkers' Union pleaded to end BMC raids, whereby the BMC demolished vending businesses. The BMC defended their actions by citing sections 312, 313 and 314 of the 1888 BMC Act. In this case, the court ruled that the BMC couldn't be denied the rights invested in them by the 1888 BMC act. However, the court also stated that the constitution of India not only protects Indian's right to life, but also to livelihood. In 1989 a ruling of the Supreme Court in Delhi added that “[t]he right to carry on trade or business mentioned in Article 19(1)g of the Constitution, on street pavements, if properly regulated cannot be denied on the ground that the streets are meant exclusively for passing or re-passing and no other use. Proper regulation is, however, a necessary condition as otherwise the very object of laying out roads – to facilitate traffic – may be defeated” (Sodhan Singh versus NDMC, 1989). With ‘proper regulation’ the court refers to the establishment of (non-)hawking zones.

In 1998 citizens' groups filed a case against the BMC with the Bombay High Court. After the BMC stopped issuing new vending licenses a pauti-system developed, in which unlicensed vendors paid the BMC on a regular basis (most often daily) a certain amount of fine. In return vendors received a receipt. Rather than seeing ‘being fined’ as a way to control Mumbai's significant population of unregistered vendors, members of the citizens' group felt the process gave illegal vendors a legitimization to lay a claim on public space. As Anjaria (2006, 2008) explains the receipt vendors received in return for their payments to BMC (or pauti) “served as evidence of the official recognition of hawkers' unofficial claims to city space, which hawkers used with some success to fight eradication campaigns” (Anjaria 2008, p. 46). In this way, rather than keeping them out, fining worked to legitimize vendors' access public space. Civic activists successfully pleaded the pauti-system should be abandoned.

More recently, in 2007, the Supreme Court of Mumbai came to a verdict in a third court case. It ruled that although according to section 19(1)(g) of the constitution of India every citizen has the right to make a livelihood, this section is overruled by sub 6 of the same article which states that making a livelihood should not get in the way of the state to exercise the rule of law and general public interest. As vending can lead to traffic congestion and may have other undesirable effects on public safety, the court (again) suggested vending should be allowed only in special hawking zones. It also suggested that there should be absolute non-hawking zones: for example hawking is not allowed within 100 meters of a house

of worship, and within 150 meters from train stations and municipal markets (Supreme Court of India, 2007).⁶

Indeed, the BMC has been working on the construction of hawking zones in Mumbai since 1985. Over the years debates have taken place to decide on the number and the location of the city's hawking zones. In recent proposals the original number of 488 proposed hawking zones has come down to 187. These 187 hawking zones can occupy around one-fifth of the total number of vendors in the city (Anjaria, 2006).

It may come as no surprise that the illegalisation of vending has resulted in a rise in corruption. Hawkers complain that since the 'pauti' was banned, corruption levels have sharply increased (Anjaria 2006; 2008). Sharma (2000) has estimated that at the turn of the millennium "while the official collection of Mumbai Municipal Corporation from hawkers in the form of penalty for using a public place, redemption charges or license fee is between Rs 11 to 12 crore [Rs 120.000.000] annually, the collection of 'hafta' (illegal money) from them amounts to a staggering Rs 120 crore" (p. v). Another study has shown that on average in Indian cities vendors pay 10-20% of their income as bribes (Bhowmik, 2003b).

To conclude, Mumbai has a long history of conflicts between vendors and city planners and citizens' groups. Anno 2010 this conflict seems far from resolved. This creates a tension between the everyday reality on the streets, where lakhs (hundreds of thousands) of people work as street vendors, and the law/court rulings, illegalizing these workers. Conflicting ideas of what does and what does not belong in public space are at the root of the conflict. These ideas about what does and does not belong are a result of different underlying conceptualisations of what public space is. In the case of vending in Mumbai, studies have discussed the ideal of the modern city as a powerful way in which public space is conceptualized (section 2.2). Recently, however, attention has been drawn to alternative conceptualisations of public space (section 2.3). These studies are intrigued by the question of how vending is able to survive in the 'modern' city. Based on de Certeau, Bourdieu and Giddens, this study suggests a theoretical framework to explain how different conceptualisations of public space are used in struggles over space, allowing vendors to endure in the streets of Mumbai (section 2.5).

2.2 Public space and modernisation

Some scholars have argued that in the context of Mumbai, elites use a particular conceptualisation of public space to exclude vendors from public space. This conceptualisation is based on the ideal of the modern city.

⁶ Since literature (Anjaria 2009) questions how widely held anti-vending notions are even among elite and middle class groups, the question could be raised whose public interest the court or BMC is protecting exactly when sub 6 is applied.

Mitchell (2001) provides a theoretical ground for these claims. He has studied the way dominant ideological frameworks (referred to as discourses) can exclude marginalized groups from public space. He studied the discursive power of anti-homeless laws in the US and finds that dominant discourses work to exclude 'the other' (here the homeless) from particular public spaces. These discourses, according to Mitchell, are based on a powerful conceptualisation of morality and are reflected in laws and regulations. These laws and regulations work to exclude the homeless from public spaces. Mitchell believes this exclusion of marginalized groups from public space is closely connected with processes of globalisation.

Also in India, and more particularly in Mumbai, scholars have studied the relationship between globalisation and the position of marginalized groups in society (i.e. the urban poor, or street vendors). These scholars also find that urban elites or middle class groups use a particular modern discourse to exclude marginalized groups (i.e. vendors) from public space (see for example Fernandes 2004).

Fernandes (2004) believes that the rise of an Indian urban middle class has led to a changing relationship between capital and the state. This relationship, which was formerly based on pillars of socialism, is now shifting towards an ideology based on consumption. This consumption ideology, it is noted, creates a general 'amnesia' towards the urban poor. This is what Fernandes calls the 'politics of forgetting'. Members of the middle class are organized in citizen groups, striving towards a 'modern city' that is clean and pure and signals its modernity through skyscrapers and wide well constructed roads (Fernandes 2004; Chatterjee 2004). Members of citizen groups present themselves as 'proper' citizens, who respect the rule of law, as opposed to those who depend on illegal practices to make a livelihood (Chatterjee 2004). Citizen groups argue that the government, in their pursue of the modern city ideal, should be more concerned with the rights and needs of lawful citizens, than with the rights and needs of those conducting illegal activities (such as illegal vendors). As one participant in Fernandes' (2004, p.2427) study explains:

"In fact, it is a matter of shame that the administration is more concerned about illegal hawkers [vendors] than about tax-paying citizens"

The middle class-lobby can be seen as reflected in the city's laws, court rulings, policies and urban design. The influence of middle class groups in the jurisdictional system can be found in cases such as the court verdict from 1998. In this year, after complains from citizen groups, the Bombay High Court ordered that BMC stops fining unlicensed vendors, as the fines provided vendors with a legitimization of their claim on space. A second case, which reflects the influence of the middle class in Indian law, is more recent. In a court order from 2007 the Supreme Court ruled that although section 19(1)(g) of the constitution of India gives every inhabitant the right to a livelihood, this section is overruled by sub 6

of the same article. Vending here is apparently seen as jeopardising the rule of law and public interest (i.e. middle class interest) (see section 2.1).

Policy documents also seem to reflect the dominant position of the middle class group in the establishment of these documents. In the 2007 ruling the court also suggested, for example, vending should be allowed in special hawking zones. In the run up to a hawking zone-policy, the declining number of hawking zones in the policy proposals over the years suggests the strength of middle class influence on the policy development (see Anjaria 2006). A second example is based on a case in which a business lobby group called 'Bombay first' assigned a New York based consultancy firm named McKinsey & Co to write a vision on Mumbai for the next decade. This resulted in the report Vision Mumbai, which aim is to make Mumbai a 'world-class city' by the year 2013, comparable to Shanghai and other so called 'world-class cities'. "To become a vibrant international metropolis, Mumbai", the report stated, "must ensure that its economic growth is comparable to world-class levels while simultaneously upgrading the quality of life it provides to its citizens" (McKinsey, 2003, p.1). This could be achieved suggested the report by large investments in housing and above all infrastructure. As Anjaria (2008) argued the report became invested the hearts of Mumbai's policy makers with the hope that Mumbai could indeed become a world-class city by striving towards modernity. Vendors become a group that does not fit the 'World class' envision of Mumbai and are just "a reminder of the past" blocking "infrastructural developments resulting in slower economic growth and less foreign investment" so much advocated by McKinsey (2003) (p.2).

Also urban design reflects notions of modernisation and globalizing discourses. In 1999 the first shopping mall was opened in Mumbai. According to Anjaria (2008), who studied the arrival of the shopping mall in Mumbai from an anthropological perspective "[t]he mall, it seemed, signalled the arrival of Mumbai into the world modernity" (p. 153). Several authors have argued that in India, as well as elsewhere in the world, shopping malls represent a privatization of public space (Voyce 2006, 2007; Srivastava 2007). This privatization, which is also reflected in the rise of gated communities, casino's, etc, works to exclude particular groups of people from the now *semi-public* space. In fact, these scholars argue, a mall may act as a "prison in reverse: to keep deviant behaviour on the outside and to form a consumerist from of citizenship inside" (Christopherson, 1994, p. 416-9, quoted in Voyce, 2006). Rules and regulations applied on the mall territory work to exclude the homeless, beggars, etc. Perceiving the mall as expressing a global culture Voyce (2007, 2006) also fears that the presence of malls will erase local identities, replacing it with a global counterpart unifying particular places in to a uniform space. The arrival of the mall in Mumbai fitted the modernisation ideal of the cities middle class, hungering for a clean and cool environment in which shopping could become a new experience. In the context of Mumbai, the mall then can be envisioned as a cocoon in which middle class groups can dwell in modernity, closed off from beggars, slum dwellers and vendors present in the outside world. In this

perspective the presence of the shopping mall excludes vendors from (formerly) public space.

The effects of the laws, policies and the urban design mentioned above are to exclude vendors from public space. A parallel can be found with Mitchell's (2001) study on anti-homeless laws in the US. Mitchell concludes that by excluding certain social groups from public space laws (as policies and urban designs) define on a political level what cities ought to be like. Laws "have the effect of helping to create and reproduce a brutal public sphere" (p. 15). By brutal Mitchell means to say that in the legal sphere of public space only elite and middle class interest are represented, neglecting the needs of the marginalized. This is to favour perceived demands of globalisation. These laws, as Mitchell would argue, make it almost impossible for marginalized groups to remain in public space. Fernandes (2004) in her article on the 'politics of forgetting' agrees. She concludes that the 'politics of forgetting' is not only a process in which "particular localities are excluded from globalisation", but more importantly can be viewed "as an active political process that involves processes of exclusion and purification. In particular this political process is embodied in a series of spatial practices at the local level in cities such as Mumbai" (p. 2428).

Studies like those of Fernandes and Mitchell focus on the way public space is defined based on ideals of modernism, globalism and neo-liberalism, through laws, policies, and urban planning. In other words, these scholars focus on the way public space is defined from above. What these studies fail to explain, however, is if anti-vending discourses are so powerful, how it is possible that vendors have not disappeared from the city's streets? This study suggests that vendors should be viewed as actors invested with (a certain amount of) power. This would allow vendors to recreate public space on a local level, from below. Few studies however have considered this possibility. The next section elaborates on those few.

2.3 Vendors shaping public space

If 'politics of forgetting', based on the idealization of modernisation, are so powerful how then is it possible that vendors continue to be present on Mumbai's streets? In fact, in recent years their numbers seem to have grown rather than decreased, as may be expected from studies referred to earlier. This suggests that a top down perspective on the situation does not fully explain the relationship between conceptualisations of public space and claiming space. Top down perspectives fail to explain this relationship for two closely connected reasons. First, the middle class (elites) is not all-powerful. Second, vendors are not completely powerless.

First, middle class groups are not as powerful as some scholars assume. When it comes to the relationship between the state, the middle class and vendors, power relations are not as clear-cut as scholars like Fernandes (2004) tend to depict them. Whereas these scholars view the interests of middle class groups as closely connected to state and capital interests, Anjaria argues that "[d]espite their

financial resources, privileged access to power, and the support of the media citizens' groups do not necessarily comprise an inexorable force sweeping the city" (2009 p. 403). This is because middle class interest, represented through citizens' groups, is neither based on ideals of globalism, nor synonym to state interests. In fact, Anjaria (2008) argues, citizens' groups represent a 'third term', which fears a "decline of civil society" (p. 97). The actions of the citizens' groups aim to address corruption within the state system that is seen to enable illegal activities to take over public space. In order to prevent such a decline, citizens' groups' activists advocate of the rule of law. This focus conflicts from time to time with state interests. Furthermore, the state itself is not a homogenous, neutral 'black box', but a dynamic institute that incorporates different (personal) interests. Sharma (2000) argues that conflicts of interest may also occur between different organizing layers within the state's structure. "Though the state at the regional and national level may work in the interest of monopoly capital, at the local level it often leans toward 'interest group' politics which involves bargaining and compromise on issues related to consumption of public goods and services" (p. iv). This means that whereas policy makers (whose thoughts are assumed to be reflected in laws and policies) may feel attracted to the modern city ideal advocated by citizen groups, law enforcers, who have different (personal) interests, do not necessarily share that attraction.

Second, returning to the citizens' groups' fight against the 'decline of civil society' it can be stated that populations that depend on illegal practices to sustain their livelihood (such as vendors) become a threat to the citizens' groups' cause. As these populations define an alternative system through which they can make political claims outside the legal framework, based on entitlements rather than formal rights, they are seen as undermining the functioning of this legal framework (Anjaria 2008, based on Chatterjee 2004 and Roy 2001, 2004). An informal political system based on entitlements is appealing to the state, or rather actors within the state's institutes, as it provides possibilities for exploitation. This has the effect that "[m]uch to the chagrin of the activists, for whom abiding by the rule of law in the strictest sense is the precondition for citizenship, the state continues to recognise –however tenuously- the rights-based claims of this illegal population" (Anjaria, 2008, p. 149). Despite the fact that an individual vendor may not have the financial means or the formal right to claim space (as citizen groups have), the large number of vendors in Mumbai still make them a force that needs to be taken into account. Vendors then are not passive victims of middle class beautification strategies, but actors invested with (at least some) power to influence political processes.

Another way vendors are able to remain in public space is through everyday activities. Anjaria (2008), for example has looked at the way vendors reconstruct the concept of the mall in everyday talks to define vending and reinforce their presence as vendors on the streets. He concludes that the introduction of the shopping mall in Mumbai does "not simply negate the practices of exchange and consumption on the street but, in part, infuse them with new, intersecting, meanings" (p. 184). Furthermore, Anjaria found that ideas about the

'appropriate' usage of the street and the footpath do not coincide with the way these physical structures are used in everyday practices. He found, for instance, that most people walk on the middle of the street, even when a footpath is available. Following de Certeau (1984) it is through everyday practices like these that vendors (or the public) reshape public space and reinforce their own particular claims on space⁷. In this way everyday activities can (re)shape public space from below, just as they are an expression of a particular conceptualisation of public space (see section 2.6).

From this it can be concluded that vendors' constructions of public space matter. As was already noted, several studies (Fernandes 2004; Mitchells 2001; Voyce 2006, 2007; Srivastava 2007) have reflected on processes of globalisation and modernisation shaping, or rather erasing, the local. The fact that this erasing does not actually take place insinuates these studies have missed something. On the one hand, citizen's groups are not all-powerful, and their interests are not necessarily compatible with those of actors within the state's institutes. On the other hand it seems that the 'victims' of 'politics of forgetting', the marginalized, are not as powerless as some studies would lead to believe. Through their everyday activities in public space vendors reshape public space from below, in a ways that reinforce *their* claims on space. They do this with some success: the fact that they are still selling their goods in public space is proof of that. This also implies that ways in which vendors give meaning to public space, vending and 'others' constitute alternative, but nevertheless powerful images of public space, which challenge the ideal of Mumbai as a 'modern' city. These images are the focus of this study. The theoretical basis of these claims is investigated in section 2.6.

2.4 Gender in public space

In recent years, globalisation processes in India seem to have shaped specific gender discourses determining women's relation to public space on multiple levels (see for example Derné, 2005 and Oza, 2002 in combination with the works of Phadke, 2005, 2007; and Ranade, 2007). These theories deepen understanding of how women can be excluded from the street market. Furthermore, they provide a foundation from which women's resistance of these powerful discourses can be explored.

Several authors have noted that globalisation processes in India has reinforced the purity discourse restricting women to the home (Derné, 2005 and Oza, 2002, see also Phadke, 2005, 2007; and Ranade, 2007).

Oza (2001) and Derné (2005) both state that the exposure of women's bodies, has become a symbol of the perceived threat globalization posed to the sanctity of India as a nation-state. Female bodies and sexuality, therefore, needed to be controlled. Derné observes men have tried to achieve this by emphasizing "the

⁷ De Certeau's work will be discussed in the next chapter, but the concept of the everyday is central to his work. Interestingly, Anjaria in his work makes no reference to de Certeau.

use of public cosmopolitan spaces as essential to their masculinity, while focussing on women's actions in domestic and religious spaces as basis of their national identity" (p. 93).

This is not to say that women are completely restricted to the purity of the home. It seems that especially upper and middle class and upper caste women have some options to engage in the world outside the home. Both Phadke (2005, 2007) and Oza (2001) mention a 'modern' discourse on gender in which women are envisioned as important actors in the roles of professionals and consumers.

It should be noted that these 'modern' visions of womanhood still aim to strengthen *national* identity, not a global or Western identity. Western conceptualisations of womanhood in this respect are seen as loaded with open sexuality, whereas the idea of the modern female professional portrays a more desexualized, and in this sense neutralized, image of womanhood. In this way even a modern discourse on gender strengthens the idea that Indian women need to be protected from the sexual immoralities of the Western world.

2.5 Urban public space

Sections 2.1-4 aimed to provide a background sketch of vending in Mumbai and an overview of secondary literature on the topic. This section and the next focus on more theoretical concerns. This section investigated the concept of urban public space. Urban public space is a central concept in this study. It is where it all happens. Vendors use public streets, sidewalks, squares, etc. to conduct their business. They are dependent of the public-ness of these places. Vendors need the visibility and accessibility of public spaces to sell their products to, indeed, the public. This makes urban public space highly relevant to this study⁸.

What is public space? Public space includes the streets, sidewalks, squares, etc. It is a physical or geometrical space, made up out of built structures. In addition, public space contains a more symbolic action or a social component, referring to all human activities taking place in the city and the meaning people attach to the place. Brown (2006) defines urban public space as "all the physical space and social relations that determine the use of that space within the non-private realm of cities" (p. 17).

In its symbolic meaning, the concept of public space can be traced back to the Greek 'agora', which functions as the stage on which democracy is performed through debates and protests. In its ideal form the agora is completely open and accessible to all. In reality, however, actors do not have equal access to public space (even within Greek society where only men participated in the public debate). Power structures influence to what extent actors can access public space and participate in public debate. To Dixon et al (2006) both the openness

⁸ Since this study is conducted in a solely urban context, the terms 'urban public space' and 'public space' refer to the same theoretical concept. In the text the two notations are therefore exchangeable.

of public space, as well as the power relations shaping access to public space are essential to the understanding of the concept. They argue “[o]n the one hand, public space has always been conceived as an arena of order where ‘appropriate’ publics might participate in a particular ideal of urban existence. The implementation of this exclusive vision of public space has, of course, required the exercise of power, the imposition of a regime of social control that preserves sectional interests and values. On the other hand, public space has also been conceived as a site for oppositional activity, playful deviance, and educative exposure to the full range of people and values that make up a society” (p. 190-1). As Mitchell (1995) puts it “[p]ublic space” then, “is the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space- order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction- and about who constitutes ‘the public’” (Mitchell, 1995, p. 115).

There is no single answer to the question ‘what is public space?’. Public space, not only in its physical form, but more importantly its meaning, is constructed (e.g. Lefebvre 1976). Human actors, often representing powerful institutions and social groups in society, constantly shape and reshape space, constructing not one but multiple identities of a place. The question ‘what is public space?’ should thus be rephrased. Following Harvey (1973) it would be more interesting to wonder, “how is it that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualisations of space?” (p. 34).

In the context of vending in Mumbai, this means that the public spaces vendors create, are different from the way public space is defined by other social groups and institutions. These conflicting conceptualisations of public space are each used to found a particular claim on space. The next section elaborates on the theoretical background of these processes.

2.6 The everyday practices of claiming space

Previous sections hinted at a relationship between the way public space is constructed and the claiming of these spaces by human actors. The link between the construction and the claiming of space is at the heart of this study, as it focuses on the way vendors give meaning to public space in a context of struggle over space. A further investigation of these concepts, construction of space and claiming of space is therefore appropriate.

As humans construct spaces within a certain place, they ascribe meaning to that place. They define what is expected or what is ‘natural’ and ‘normal’ in this place. This meaning is reflected in human activities: the way people use space mirrors what this space means to the people who use it.

Human activities, however, are not only a representation of a particular construction of space. It is through human actions that actors constantly redefine space as well as their own position in a space. As Giddens (1984) explains “[h]uman social activities [...] are recursive. That is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means

whereby they express themselves as actors. In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible" (Giddens, 1984, p. 2). This means that the way people construct space and the way they behave in that space constantly reshape each other.

Human activities are not only important to reproduce constructions of space. They also constitute particular social structures, such as social groups or institutes. Bourdieu (1977) has tried to explain why human activities are shaped the way they are and why they can evoke such strong counter reactions. "The reason why submission to the collective rhythms is so rigorously demanded", he writes, "is that temporal forms or the spatial structures structure not only the group's representation of the world but the group itself, which orders itself in accordance with this representation" (p. 163). For the social structure it thus becomes important that actors comply with the 'rhythms' of the group, i.e. the activities through which the social structure constructs and identifies itself.

Scholars studying ways in which social structures are constructed and represented often (implicitly) draw from the work of Foucault. Foucault's work has focused on ways in which powerful authorities (such as the state, among others) discipline the bodies of actors through discourse. Smith (1996) uses the term *revanchism* to refer to the way in which dominant discourses in the urban context exclude 'others', such as the homeless or the working class, through a language of public morality, neighbourhood security and 'family values'. Also in the context of Mumbai studies have been conducted to critically examine the role of powerful discourses in shaping public space (the most explicit example is Fernandes 2004. See also section 2.4).

What Foucault is criticized for, and some of the studies based on his ideas also seem to lack, is that he largely ignores the possibility of resistance (Harvey 1990; Rose, 2007). Discourse is presented as something that a dominant group can lay out over passive, marginalized actors structuring the practices and activities of these actors. This, of course, is not necessarily the case.

One of the main contributions of de Certeau (1984) is that he provides a new, bottom up, perspective on the way space is shaped and therefore claimed. Instead of limiting his studies to the effects of a dominant discourses on public space, he focuses on the everyday practices. To de Certeau it is through these everyday practices that human actors constantly (re)create the city. De Certeau believes that everyday practices provide the marginalized (the weak) with an opportunity to fight dominant structures of 'the strong'. "Many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc.)", de Certeau says, "are tactical in character. And so are, more generally, many "ways of operating": victories of the "weak" over the "strong" (whether the strength be that of powerful people or the violence of things or of an imposed order, etc.), clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, "hunter's cunning," maneuvers, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike" (p. xix). As Harvey (1990) explains, the novelty of de Certeau's ideas is

that it imagines social spaces 'from below', "open to human creativity and action. [...] De Certeau here defines a basis for understanding the ferment of popular, localized street cultures, even as expressed within the framework imposed by some overarching repressive order" (p.213-4).

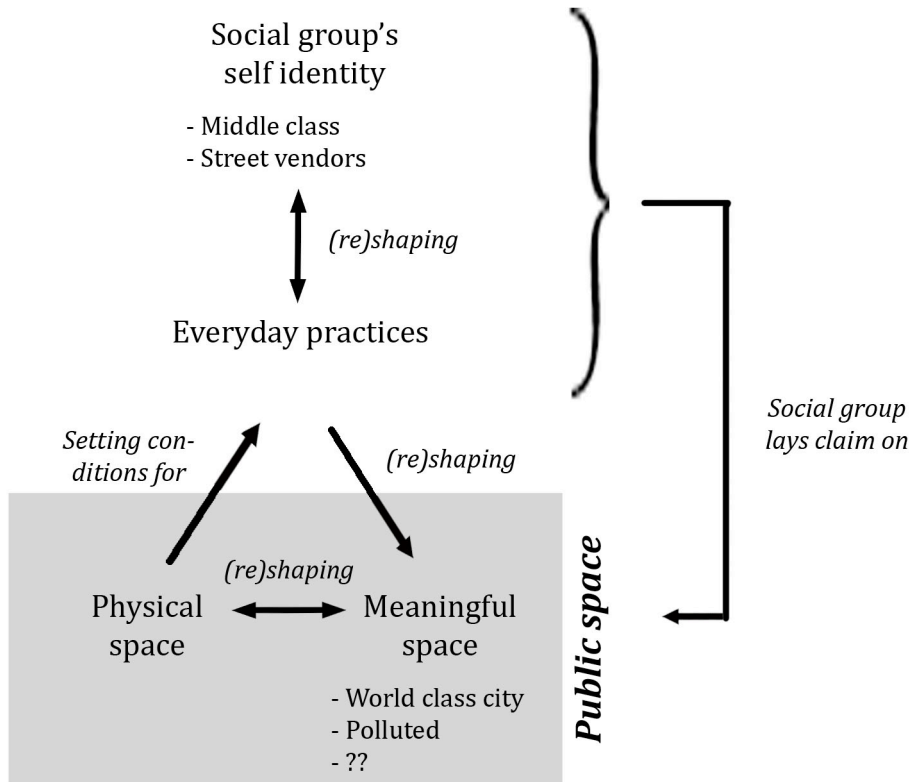
De Certeau does make a division between dominant groups and marginalized groups, but in his view marginalized groups are able to pay resistance to dominant groups. The process of actively challenging dominant values and norms in society by marginalized groups is called transgression, which literally means the crossing of geographical and social boundaries (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001). Transgression normally takes place when a phenomenon –for example individuals, behaviour, etc., is perceived to be out of place in a particular context. With its appearance, the phenomenon challenges taken-for-granted expectations about what is normal and accepted in a certain place (Cresswell, 1996).

According to Holloway and Hubbard, following de Certeau, "[p]laces, then, do not just exist as classified, ordered and labelled as belonging to certain groups by the state and its agents (the Police, planners, councils), but as places whose meaning may be challenged and subverted through everyday spatial practices and tactics" (p. 219-20).

In sum, these sections aimed to explain how giving meaning to place is related to claiming space and struggles over public space. Following de Certeau, this section argued that human actors constantly (re)shape and (re)define space through everyday activities. Figure 1 provides a schematic overview of how social groups use everyday activities to express their group identity, but also their ideas about what public space is supposed to be. At the same time, everyday activities reshape group identities and ideas about public space. Whereas dominant social groups may try to strengthen claims on space by demanding submission to activities that reinforce this claim, marginalized groups can use (transgressive) everyday activities to resist dominant social structures. This study aims to define ways in which vendors give meaning to public space and to explain how these processes reinforce particular claims on space.

Figure 1: Conceptual model

Claiming Public Space



Chapter 3

Data gathering on the street

To understand how vendors lay claims on public space, this study focuses on the ways in which vendors give meaning to public spaces through narratives and everyday practices. Using different qualitative methodologies an in-depth understanding of these meaning giving processes is generated.

Section 3.1 starts to define the main concepts that are used in this study and brings the concepts together in a conceptual model. Furthermore it operationalizes the concepts for this study and gives the outline of the rest of the chapter.

3.1 Conceptualizing and operationalizing giving meaning to public space

Based on the research question (How do vendors give meaning to the places where they conduct their business in the context of contested urban public space?) and the theoretical concerns discussed in the previous chapter, the following concepts appear central to the study.

Central to this study is the notion of public space. It includes both all the physical surroundings outside the private realm, as well as the symbolic meanings attached to these surroundings. Brown (2006) defines public space as “all the physical space and social relations that determine the use of that space within the non-private realm of cities” (p. 17). Social groups try to gain access to or strengthen their position in public space; in other words they try to claim public space. According to de Certeau actors do this through everyday practices. Everyday practices are defined as “ways of operating’ or doing things”, such as “talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc” (de Certeau 1984, p. xi, xix). Different social groups conduct different everyday practices. In this way, social groups do not only reshape public space in accordance to their group identity through everyday practices. Everyday practices also reshape the groups’ identity (Giddens, 1984). As everyday practices redefine the group, the group demands actors to act in accordance to these everyday practices (Bourdieu 1977). Since different groups often represent different interests and identities, reflected in distinct everyday practices, this leads to conflicting claims over space. In fact public space can be viewed as the outcome of a power struggle between different social groups. As Mitchell (1995) notes, Public space is “the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space- order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction- and about who constitutes 'the public'” (p. 115). This makes public space both constructed and contested by nature. Particular conceptualizations of public space are reflected in urban design. For example, the modern depiction of Mumbai as a ‘world class city’, can be seen reflected in the arrival of the shopping mall in Mumbai. Recent writings on the mall (Voyce 2006, 2007; Srivastava 2007; Christopherson 1994) have

argued that this particular urban design works to exclude particular social groups. In other words particular everyday practices, such as vending, bargaining, etc, are seen as 'out of place' within the grounds of the shopping mall. In this way, urban design sets the conditions for the arena in which everyday practices can take place.

This study focuses on ways in which a particular group in society reshapes public space, notably street vendors. A street vendor, according to Bhowmik (2005) is "a person who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell" (p. 2256). This includes stationary traders, who occupy one specific sight for their trading activities and mobile traders, who move from place to place carrying their goods. Furthermore, vendors may sell a service in addition to goods.

The study operationalizes the concepts as follows.

Physical space

For the study one particular site where vendors sell their goods seven days a week was selected as research location. See section 3.2 for more details on this particular site.

Meaningful space

The way vendors define the public space where they conduct their business is assessed through interview questions. During the interviews vendors were asked to describe the market area, about their motivation to come to this particular public space, their security of space and place attachment. In addition to this, vendors were asked about particular practices through which they define the space they are in, such as vending, payments and social contacts.

Everyday practices

Everyday practices were investigated both in interviews as well as through observations. During the interview the practice of vending was addressed. Especial attention was paid to the meaning the participant ascribes to the act of vending. In addition, other everyday practices that appeared during the interview were addressed, such as paying 'hafta' or rent, social contacts, etc. Trough observations the workings of these everyday practices were experienced.

Vendors

The vendors included in the study are all linked to the research site in a particular way. This includes mobile vendors, using the market area as a base for operation, as well as stationary vendors occupying a specific spot with in the market. Effort was made to make sure that the range of diversity within the market is reflected in the selection of participants. So participants conduct different types of businesses, are either self-employed without personnel, wageworkers or employers. Other distinctions between participants are based on gender, religion, ethnicity and age.

Vendors as a social group

Finally, the construction of vendors as a social group was operationalized by drawing attention to the nature of contacts between vendors. Vendors were

asked about their relationships with other vendors, how they help each other, but also about the occurrence of fights and disagreements.

3.2 Fieldwork in Mumbai

The fieldwork is conducted between September and November 2009 in one of Mumbai's northern suburbs. In this period 16 interviews were conducted which varied in length between 30 minutes and two hours. In addition many hours and days were spent at the market, 'hanging out' with the vendors, learning Hindi, 'helping' them to organize their stalls, observing daily routines and practices and drinking chai (sweet Indian tea). The combination of observations and in-depth interviews increased the comprehensiveness of the information within the dataset. Weeks of observations helped develop a general understanding of the market before the in-depth interviews were started. Furthermore, issues that were observed at the market could be discussed later in interviews. In this way the two methods reinforced each other. With this qualitative approach an insider's perspective is generated of what it means to be a vendor in one of Mumbai's street markets. This understanding enables a reflection on ways in which vendors try to claim space by (re-)shaping definitions of place, the self and the 'other'. The next section discusses the (selection) of the market site. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 elaborate on two research methods that have been applied: observations and in-depth interviews. Section 3.5 reflects on the fieldwork experiences and positionality. The sixth and final section explains how the data was analyzed using Atlas.ti and addresses some limitations of the dataset.

3.2.1 The market

Data was collected within one specific market site in one of Mumbai's Northern suburbs⁹. The boundaries of this market are well defined, since it is enclosed between a railway track on the one side and a road on the other, and two blocks of buildings. Most vendors within the market have been vending from this site for many years (some even over thirty years). None of them have licenses (which have not been issued since the mid 80's) and are therefore formally recognized by neither BMC nor Police. This was an important characteristic of the market, since this study aims to focus on contested public space. Another reason why this market provided a suitable research location is that a majority of the vendors within the market were evidently interested in participating in the research project. Finally the enclosed market site provided a safe location from which the research could be conducted and in which even a tall, white, female researcher would eventually be able to stop attracting the attention of a small crowd, if not 'blend in'. Within the market most vendors speak (a mixture of) Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and Marathi (for a further introduction to the market see chapter 4, setting the stage).

⁹ For reasons of confidentiality, neither the exact location nor a complete description of the research area, are included in this research report. However, an extra, separate appendix, describing the research area, has been submitted for evaluation together with this report.

3.2.2 “Now you feel what it’s like”

During the first weeks that were spent at the market observations were conducted. Observations worked to establish contact with potential participants and to acquire some ideas of the everyday routines and practices within the market. Everyday practices are not always discussed during interviews, because they are taken for granted by the vendors and their occurrence seems too obvious to talk about. Other activities may not come up because they maybe associated with a sense of shame or inappropriateness, which make vendors uncomfortable to talk about them during interviews (fights between vendors could be an example of this). Still, these types of events can be observed. Furthermore, by being physically present at the market the researcher is allowed to experience what it feels like to be a vendor. This may also shape a bond between the researched and the researcher. This happened for example when a vendor invited the researcher to help him organize his vending stall. The vendor took great care in the presentation of his wares and organizing his stall took him hours every day. Standing together in Mumbai’s hot sun arranging and rearranging his goods, he said, “Now you feel what it’s like to be a vendor”. Participant observations allowed this vendor to share a particular type of tacit knowledge with the researcher that words never could: an experience.

Several authors (i.e. Bernard 2002; Cook 2005) have highlighted the importance of a proper introduction to the research site. In this case a PhD student from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences together with members of the local vendor’s union arranged an introduction to the street market under study. During the researcher’s introduction to the market, vendors were informed about the research either by the PhD student or through one of the members of the hawkers union. In later stages of the data collection process, when the researcher often went to the market alone, language barriers made it difficult to communicate with the vendors. In these cases vendors who had already been introduced to the researcher in an earlier stage, offered their help in explaining the researcher’s purpose in the market. During the interviews an interpreter helped to solve these issues (see section 3.3)

Following Bernard’s (2002) guidelines for conducting (participant) observations, notes were taken during the observations, which were later on worked out into field notes. The field notes reflected on a range of topics varying from methodological issues, new insights, ideas for further investigation, information about participants, etc. Finally a log was kept which contained short profiles of the people at the market. This last strategy was especially useful to quickly get to know the vendors within the market, learn their names and remember some personal details.

3.2.3 Interviewing in public: some methodological concerns

Few weeks after the researcher was introduced to the market, in-depth interviews were conducted with 13 street vendors, a shopkeeper and two wageworkers. Participants are aged between 12 and 60/70 (exact age unknown). Most are in their 30ties or 40ties however. All, but one, of the

participants are male. Vendors own diverse types of businesses. Some own relatively large businesses. One vendor, for example, employs up to seven waged workers and invested in a truck. For other vendors these types of investments are out of reach. They are self-employed, working on their own, specializing in a particular product they buy and resell at the market. Participants were selected in a way to cover the business, age, gender, religious and ethnic variety that exists within the market. Furthermore, while hanging out with the vendors a trust relationship was established between some of the vendors and the researcher. Some of these vendors later participated in the interviews. This relationship then often helped to establish an open and relaxed interview setting. All interviews are recorded using a digital recorder.

Although many languages are spoken within the market (and despite remarkable efforts of several vendors to improve her Hindi), the researcher mastered none of them. For this reason, during the interviews a student of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences acted as an interpreter. As in any case, the use of an interpreter jeopardises the quality of the data, since an extra person needs to interpret as well as translate what is said *on the spot*. This is a challenging task of course, especially in a context where multiple languages are spoken and often mixed. To minimize the effect working with an interpreter would have on the quality of the data, the interpreter and the researcher discussed issues of confidentiality and the interview outline and spoke about their expectations for the research project on forehand. The interpreter's Hindi is excellent, as well as his understanding of Urdu and Tamil. Furthermore, he was able to communicate in Marathi when necessary. Although the interpreter is not professional, he handled the difficult task of translating interviews skilfully, making literal translations of particular expressions (i.e. "making the tea more sweeter") and including specific local words in his translations (pheriwalla, goonda, hafta, chaipani). Furthermore, the interpreter's knowledge about cultural aspects and some 'ways of the street' were helpful to gain a further understanding of the wider context in which vending takes place as well as to smoothen the interview process at particular moments.¹⁰ In sum, although the data has surely suffered a quality loss through interpretation and translation, precautions were taken to minimize these losses. Furthermore, in some situations the presence of the interpreter turned out to be very helpful to gain better understanding of the processes at hand within the market.

Some of the topics discussed during the interviews include working history, motives for starting vending, motives for selecting the market to set up business, relationships with Police, BMC, shopkeepers and other vendors and the meaning of vending (see appendix A for the interview guide).

The interviews took place within the market. The reason for this was that vendors were unwilling to leave their businesses for a considerable amount of

¹⁰ For example, having been a street vendor himself, the interpreter knew how to deal with BMC and Police officials interrupting the interview. This type of knowledge was extremely valuable during the interviews.

time. This would increase their vulnerability to BMC and Police raids and may lead to a loss of sales. Conducting interviews in the openness of the market also meant that the interviewing process was visible for others, and others may hear parts of the interview. Because of the public interview setting, it was expected that vendors might be more cautious during the interview and perhaps unwilling to open up. On occasions this appears to be the case, and it seemed that certain issues in particular in relation to bribes and goondas (local criminals, or troublemakers) were not discussed in full length. As one participant noted at the end of the interview:

“So, I don't have anything to add or something. Whatever you'll ask, I'll answer that. And if I have to add something, or tell on my own, so for that I need a different place, leisure place where I can talk about- Here, I cannot tell you all these things.”

During two interviews it was clear that participants were not comfortable being interviewed about certain topics. In these cases the interview was cut short. In most of the other interviews, however, vendors were quite open about their experiences and shared a lot of information in relation to several topics. Even on those occasions when the interview was interrupted by the presence of a BMC or Police official, vendors tended to get involved in the conversation that developed between the researcher, interpreter and the Police officer, instead of turning away for example. Furthermore, in some cases, when multiple interviews were held with one respondent, respondents would open up over time. On one occasion a participant even requested an extra interview, since he wanted to add to his previous statement. Here, spending time at the market helped to build up a trust relationship with participants. Moreover, it made participants think about the issues addressed during the interviews and motivated to participate in the study. In sum, despite the fact that interviews were conducted in public places, where 'others' might hear what was discussed during the interviews, vendors in general seemed to have no problem with this.

3.2.4 Some ethical considerations

The following ethical aspects need to be considered. First, on forehand, participants received truthful and complete information about the research goal and objective and the way in which the final report would be used. Second, information participants shared during the interviews and observations is confidential. For this reason the exact location of the research area is not revealed in this report. Furthermore, names of locations and participants as well as some personal details have been deleted or altered in the report. The interviews were conducted with help of an interpreter. The interpreter was a student at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) at the time of the fieldwork. The supervisor of this study approved of his participation in the fieldwork. Before the start of the first interview session issues of confidentiality were discussed with the interpreter. Before the start of the interview the consent of the participants was asked to tape the interviews.

Participation in the research project takes of participants' personal time, which cannot spend on work or other activities. Therefore, it is reasonable to offer a small compensation for the time that participants spend on the research project.

3.2.5 "You people": Reflections on positionality

A lot has been written about depictions of the 'Western world' in the Indian context. During the data collection period I experienced that there indeed are stereotypes related to 'Western' (looking) women. This section discusses how these stereotypes affected the research processes and how they were dealt with.

During the my introduction in the market it became immediately clear that being a white, tall women attracts attention. This resulted in the fact that during the first visit to the market both the PhD student and I where continuously surrounded by a group of men (and a occasional woman). This had two main effects. First, the crowd attracted Police and BMC officials who wanted to investigate what was going on. On these occasions, the PhD student addressed the officers explaining his right to be here and motivated his refusal to come with the officers to the BMC/Police office. BMC and Police allowed the research and these incidents did not have a drastic impact on the study. Second, the PhD student, who was collecting research data himself, found ways to utilize the presence of a white women for his studies, by using her presence to attract participants. This tactic proved quite successful, beneficial to the response levels of PhD's study.

Crowds could be avoided (or at least reduced) by retreating in the relative quietness of the market behind a flyover wide column that blocked the view from the main road. Here, within the centre of the market, over time a trust relationship developed with several vendors who accepted my presence as a student researcher and to whom my presence was normalized.

During the hours spend at the market there were numerous instances in which vendors shared their perspective on a 'Western-ness. For example, vendors expressed their anxiety about how the sari and the kurta are making way for American styled jeans and tops. In another occasion, a participant explained how pornographic movies have come to symbolize the sexual morals of 'you people' i.e. Western women. Here, Western culture is seen as threatening traditional Indian values, promoting indecent and profoundly 'Western' sexual moralities.

As a student researcher I was aware of these types of stereotyping related to white women and made several efforts to de-sexualize and de-Westernize my position within the market. First, I wore traditional Indian shirts, kurtas, or wide cotton blouses with long sleeves and long trousers, but never jeans. Second, I used Hindi phrases to greet people, ask their names and how they are doing, using the polite 'aap' instead of 'tum'. During the hours 'hanging out' with the vendors a further attempt was made to strengthen my skills with Hindi. Third, strong efforts were made to learn the names of the vendors within the market as soon as possible. It was clear that these efforts were much appreciated by the

vendors. Finally, in conversations with the vendors, I attempted to present myself as a hard working student and distance myself from stigmas attached to Western women. This was done for several reasons. For example, the fact that I am unmarried could be problematic. Rather than pretending to be married, I emphasized that before I could get married, I needed to complete my education. This was a generally accepted excuse for my unmarried status. Furthermore, as a student I underlined my intention in this market to learn something. This not only legitimized the amount of questions I asked, but also placed me in a somewhat subordinate position. In these ways, an attempt was made to recreate my position in the market, distancing myself from the perceived 'immoralities of Westernisation' and presenting me as unknowing and willing to learn from the vendors.

In most cases, vendors appreciated these obvious attempts to adapt. This made my presence within the market less controversial. Vendors often saw me as a 'guest in India' and they made efforts to welcome me as a 'guest' in the market, underlining the importance of hospitality in Indian culture. Over time, some of the vendors even seemed to accept the researcher as a non-Western woman by referring to her as sister or Indian, freeing her of some of the sexual stereotypes associated with this group of women.

The gender difference between the (majority of the) researched and me remained however and as the vendors accepted my presence in the market, they also developed some sense of responsibility for my 'purity' and safety. Vendors dealt with this responsibility in several ways. One vendor for example declared that since I was his sister and he would therefore protect me, I had nothing to worry about in the market. Other vendors tried to protect me by demanding that I would leave the market before eight o'clock at night. The immediate cause for this demand was an incident, whereby a drunken man on the streets harassed me. Although I did not think too much of the event, a vendor responded powerfully by verbally harassing the man and demanding I would leave immediately. When he explained what had happened the next day to the PhD student, who was absent at the time of the incident, the PhD student further restricted my access to the market to six o'clock in the evening. The fact that I had some experience living and travelling throughout India, and had in fact encountered these types of incidents before, did not change his decision (see also chapter 4).

Besides protection, the vendor in this last story may have had a second motive to exclude me from the market after eight o'clock in the evening. Later on, he shared that on particular evenings BMC and Police officials collect bribes, an event that I should not attend this vendor felt, since this could become problematic for the vendors.

Usually, I strictly tried to avoid talks about topics that could relate to sexuality, to ensure my position as a decent woman within the market. It had the effect that, not so much the vendors, but the student researcher herself became

uncomfortable talking about these issues. This became clear when, during an interview, a participant addressed his relationships with girls through his work as (porn) movie vendors. Here, the openness of the market was more problematic to me as a student researcher than to the participant, as I feared, more than him, to be overheard by one of the other vendors. This could put my carefully built up image of a decent woman at risk. In this case the topic was cut short and the focus of the interview redirected to safer, as in non-sexual, topics.

In sum, the interaction between the researcher and the vendors is very dynamic. Both parties are constantly working to position themselves and each other in such a way that is culturally acceptable to everyone involved.

3.3 Qualitative analysis

After the fieldwork period the interviews were transcribed and the data analyzed using the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti. This section describes the analysis process and reflects on the quality of the dataset.

The data was analyzed through coding. Coding is used to sort and distil data and provides a basis for analysis (Charmaz 2006). Coding is done through codes, i.e. “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of [data]” (Saldaña 2009, p. 3). Codes need to capture the essence of what is said during an interview. Codes can be very specific and stick close to the text, or more general, working towards broader concepts and ideas. The analysis process in this study included two layers (or cycles) of coding. During the first coding cycle, or initial coding, codes stayed close to the data, in order to “remain open to exploring whatever theoretical possibilities we can discern in the data” (Charmaz 2006, p. 47). In Vivo codes were used to code particular “terms used by [participants] themselves” (Straus 1987, p. 33; quoted by Saldaña 2009), such as ‘hafta’ (bribe money). In addition, process codes, based on “gerunds (‘-ing’ words) to connote action in the data” (Saldaña 2009, p. 77), were used to investigate processes and the consequences of these processes. The process codes are based on sub-processes, i.e. “the individual tactics, strategies and routine actions [or everyday practices] that make up a larger act” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 169; quoted in Saldaña 2009), for example ‘Paying bribe’.

The second coding cycle grouped the specific, initial codes together in more general codes, defining some common topics in the data. Topics amongst others include:

- Vendor characteristics: grouping information about the participant’s background, working history, age, etc.;
- Market characteristics: Listing different manners in which vendors described the market area;
- Status work: combining different attitudes towards street vending;
- Risks: referring to all things vendors saw as threatening their business or personal safety;

- Social contact: listing different types of social relationships that influence the vending business.
- Corruption: grouping all references to payment of bribes.
- Newcomers/outside: identifying a differentiation process between vendors who have been working at the market for a longer period of time and newcomers, or outsiders as they are also often referred to.

In appendix B a complete overview of the codes generated in the second coding cycle is provided. Throughout the entire coding process memos were written, whenever an insight, memory, idea, or addition came to mind.

Coding the data was useful to organize the data and identify some core issues. The main part of the analysis, however, took place after most of the coding was finished. Through describing codes and linking them together in writing, new insights emerged. In the course of the writing process, going back and forth between the coded data and the report, these insights developed into a more coherent and better grounded account. The result of this process can be found in the following chapters.

3.3.1 Analysing translated data

Working with translated data has several disadvantages as opposed to dealing with the original accounts. Data loss may have occurred for example when, at times, in the translation (slightly) different wordings were used, altering the meaning of what was said. In addition, details may have been left out in the translation. Hindi metaphors and expressions may not be well translatable. Furthermore, it is difficult to include exact tone of voice and emphases in a translation. Nuances and ambiguities could, therefore, have been missed at some point within the data, making the data less rich of detailed information. During the transcribing of the data and the analysis process it was constantly kept in mind that this could have been the case. In certain occasions quotes were double-checked with the interpreter.

Chapter 4

Meanings and identities within the street market

Setting the stage

Envision a street market in Mumbai. It is located underneath a flyover, in between a railway track on the one hand and a street on the other. On either side of the market, and parallel to the street and the railway track, two flyover-wide columns are built to support the flyover above. In between these two columns and in front of the column next to the road, around 90 people have found a way to make a living. They are working in one of the approximately 55 businesses located in the cool shade of the flyover. Self-employed men are vending watches, sunglasses, belts, 'chappals' (sandals), bananas or keys. Others have become local wholesalers, supplying vendors, as well as direct consumers, with spices, tomatoes, coconuts or 'chikus' (a fruit). Then there are the waged workers, working in one of the larger vending businesses, or employed by a relative. There are people of all ages; the youngest worker is 12 years old, the oldest, uncertain of his exact age, estimates he is somewhere between 60 and 70. Most people are between 30 and 50 years old however. All most all of them are male, although there are two exceptions; a women is trying to sell her tattoo drawings in a small corner next to the footpath that is used to cross the railway. Another women, a waged worker, is cleaning and sorting chillies in a spice shop. A large majority of the vendors is Muslim, and will go for prayer on Friday. Still, Hindus own some of the most successful businesses in the market. Among which, the spice shop, which takes up almost a quarter of the market area for storing and sorting piles of herbs. With few exceptions, vendors in this market are either first- or second-generation migrants from other parts of India, such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Tamil Nadu. This means there are many (mixtures of) languages spoken at the market: Hindi, Urdu, Tamil in addition to Mumbai's regional language, Marathi, which is used in communications with BMC¹¹ and Police¹².

When a BMC truck or Police van drives by, vendors close to the road wrap up (part of) their businesses and move behind the cover of the flyover-wide column next to the street. Most often the truck or van drives by and the vendors resume their work almost immediately. But there are exceptions where the truck or van will stop. BMC or Police officers get out and into the market. The vendors run to the safe haven of the railway tracks. Vendors explain that on the railway tracks vendors are no longer the responsibility of the road Police or BMC, but of the railway Police, so neither the road Police nor BMC will chase them there. In the

¹¹ BMC stands for Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation .

¹² The BMC and the Police force in Mumbai are two different institutions, but are both engaged in efforts to control vending.

meanwhile Police and BMC try to respectively arrest, or confiscate the goods of the vendors that were to slow to make it to the tracks in time.

When a vendor who is originally from Gujarat, is asked where he feels he is from, he answers “I am reborn in Mumbai” and starts singing a line from a popular Bollywood song: *‘Jeena Yahaan, Marna Yahaan. Iske siwa jaana kahan.’* *You live here, you die here. Where else can one go but here?’*

The question arises: what is happening here? The public space the vendors use to conduct their business is clearly contested. How do vendors perceive their position in this contested public space and how do they give meaning to public space? These are questions this chapter aims to answer.

It does so, first, by describing the market area as well as the people within it. Second, the chapter elaborates on ways in which vendors perceive vending and give meaning to their occupation. Third, it sketches the situation of vendors in public space, as the vendors perceive it. It shows that vendors feel that their presence in public space is constantly challenged in an on-going struggle over space. The fourth section investigates how vendors give meaning to the market place, either as a place to earn a livelihood, an open place which leaves one vulnerable to all kinds of external threats, a meeting place full of opportunity, a place of sexuality, a ‘men’s place’, or a place that feels like home. The way vendors define a place identity is very telling about what they feel belongs in this place, and what does not. The next, fifth, section of this chapter therefore explains how constructs of place identity sustain processes of in- and exclusion. The sixth and final section looks at alternative moral justifications through which vendors challenge the rightfulness of anti-vending laws and regulations, and legitimize their presence in public space.

4.1 Vendors and the market

Who are the people that vend at the street market in Mumbai? To provide some insight in the diverse lives of the people in this market, where they came from, how they found their way to the market and how they started their current vending business, this section with case studies focuses on the working history of some of the market’s vendors.

Shiva employing Soumitra

After his father’s death around 25 years ago, a vendor named Shiva¹³ (around 40 years) came from Chennai to Mumbai to work for his ‘mama’ (mother’s brother) in a spice shop. Over the course of time, two of Shiva’s brothers joined him. Since his mama did not have any children of his own, he handed down the business to the three brothers after retirement. From then on the three brothers have been running the spice shop, expanding it into a business that employs seven to eight wageworkers and by now occupies a space that used to belong to seven different vendors. In total the shop takes up around a quarter of the available space at the

¹³ All names and certain details in the text are fictive to ensure the confidentiality

market. Stalls are built closely together, almost as one, to display the goods for sale: tomatoes, chillies, ginger, herbs and small kitchen supplies. The stalls have a combined length of approximately seven meters, which is more than half of the entire width of the market. They look like wooden tables, which on the front side, the pavement side, are covered with sheets. On the corners of the stalls thin wooden poles are erected and connected with ropes. From the ropes hang plastic bags, newspapers that are used for wrapping fruits, some plastic items that are for sale, and during the festival season strings of orange flowers. Just like the other fixed stalls in the market, the shop is provided with electricity which is used to burn a light bulb during the evening or to connect a small radio. On the backside of the stall piles of herbs, ginger and chillies are stored, sorted and cleaned. People, both shop employees and a sporadic customer, walk around to sort, clean and move or select the products. Business activity in the spice shop does not restrict itself to retail only; it is also occupied with wholesale of spices, serving the entire neighbourhood. For this purpose Shiva and his brothers bought a lorry, which is used to bring piles of herbs and vegetables from a market outside the neighbourhood to their area every morning. Shiva is the only vendor in the market to employ a female wage worker. Her name is Soumitra. Soumitra is born and raised in Mumbai. She is mother of four, three girls and a boy, aged between 25 and 16. Ten years ago, her husband did not have a permanent job and she felt obliged to find a job to support her family. When she asked Shiva, from which she used to buy her spices, to employ her, he provided her with a job cleaning and sorting spices, which is what she has been doing ever since.

Mohammed

Mohammed is the oldest vendor in the market and came to Mumbai (Bombay then) around 45 years ago. Being in his early twenties, he found that in his 'muluk' (native place) in Bihar was 'nothing much to do' for a young man like himself. He therefore came to Mumbai to earn and support his family that he left behind in his village. In Mumbai, a friend helped him to start a banana vending business, which he still owns today. His business is located in front of the flyover wide column next to the street, near the footpath leading to the railway tracks. Cars, rickshaws, bikes and pedestrians rush by. A high crutch with bananas and a small knife neatly grouped together, a basket used as a dustbin for the banana skins and a bench to sit on make up Mohammed's stall. On the backside of the column, in another basket, or on top of a small wooden shed, Mohammed stores some more bananas. Mohammed owns no home in Mumbai and usually sleeps at a friend's place, or stays at the market during the night. Every year he spends two months away from Mumbai and his business to visit his wife and his two daughters.

Nand

Nand, aged between 25 and 30, is one of the younger vendors in market. His legs have not fully developed and because of this he is walking with crutches. Nand is working for a boss who employs several young men to sell the latest movies produced in India's movie industry popularly known as 'Bollywood' and porn

movies. This means that before cinemas have had a chance to stage them, the most recent movie releases are already for sale at Nand's stall. His stall consists of a low plastic box with a wooden plate on top. Over the plate a fabric sheet is folded, on which all kinds of movies lay seemingly carelessly draped. In the afternoons, Nand is accompanied by a boy. It is the boy's task to run away with the goods whenever BMC or Police move in too close. Nand started working this job eight years ago. Before this, he briefly took part in a four-year training program initiated by a Bollywood actor. The program provides disabled youth with a scholarship and offers them training into a range of professions, varying from welding, to printing press and tailoring. Nand didn't finish the program however and started working for a company cleaning computers of banking companies. One day, wandering around the city Nand met his current boss, who offered him a job, which Nand happily accepted. With his job, Nand earns 200 Rupees a day, half of which he gives to his mother. The other half he keeps to 'roam around the city'.

4.2 What it means to be a vendor

"You just provide money"¹⁴

Vendors attach a variety of meanings to their profession. One common element is that all of them vend to earn money. Nevertheless, vending is not *just* a way to make money. The section below provides an overview of the range of meanings vendors attach to their occupation, starting with what seems to be an quite exceptional case, moving to perceptions of vending that were more frequently expressed.

One extreme case is Nand, the young movie seller. He loves being a vendor. Nand is especially enthusiastic about the contacts he maintains, through his work, with young women who buy his porn movies. They have his telephone number and on occasion, when they call him, he will bring them the latest porn movie releases as home delivery, where, sometimes, the women offer him water or chai (sweet Indian tea with milk). He appreciates this aspect of his work.

¹⁴ During the interviews vendors spoke (a mixture of) Hindi, Marathi, Urdu or Tamil. Their words were translated into English at the spot, with the help of an interpreter. The quotes published here are derived from transcripts based on the English translations of the interpreter. In longer quotes the character 'P' is used to refer to the translated responses of participants. 'I' is used to refer to lines spoken by the interviewer. Other coding used in the transcripts includes, first, '[t]' to indicate exact moments during the interview where interview questions were translated. Second '(...)' (periods in between round brackets) signifies these moments during the interview where the participant himself is talking. The number of periods (one to three) roughly indicates the length of the response of the participant. Furthermore, some participants spoke English in addition to another language or spoke Hindi or Urdu words that could be interpreted by the interviewer during the interview. Whenever it was possible for the interviewer to understand what participants themselves were saying, these words or lines are included in the transcripts and placed in round brackets '(Text)'. Where ever '[...]' (periods in between squared brackets) show in a quote, text between two phrases has been deleted.

Participant (P): *So because of this reason like, you get to meet, talk to this women.*

Interviewer (I): *Yeah, Yeah, Yeah.*

P: *They give you [their telephone] number and ask you for porn movies and all.*

I: *[laughs]*

P: *So, I enjoy and that's why I'm here since last eight to ten years.*

To Nand, the market is a meeting place full of opportunity. Vending in this respect becomes a tool by which opportunity is seized.

This particularly positive perception seems to be quite unique in this market, however. When other vendors talk about positive aspects of vending, they may mention how vending makes them 'experts' in a certain vending type. Many of the vendors have been vending in the market for many years, often selling one specific product. In the course of time they developed the skill and knowledge to conduct their business and became 'experts' so to say. Others note how vending, i.e. being self-employed, gives them the freedom to leave Mumbai and visit their families in their muluks whenever and for how long they want. In contradiction to Nand (who is unmarried and lives with his parents in Mumbai), these vendors are often married and have migrated from other parts of India to Mumbai. They need the flexibility of being self-employed to visit their families in their villages for a few months every year. Usually these are the positive meanings vendors attach to their profession.

Most vendors, however, primarily see vending as a necessity to maintain their families, rather than something that is greatly enjoyed. Mohammed, the elderly vendor from Bihar, underlines how he feels circumstances pressured him into vending in Mumbai.

"[T]his [vending] is only because I don't have any other skills. I'm not educated. And also I have grown old. So, I can't do anything else. So, to feed my family and run my family, I'm doing this. Otherwise there is no point I can like this, this job."

Other vendors are less pronounced. They view vending as a means by which children can be fed and educated. Still, in this lies the hope that these children will have better prospects in life than their fathers did.

"I came here with the view to earn, so that I can educate my children and feed them. So, I, I always- That means I always slept in the road side and all. But I don't want my children to be doing the same."

Most of the vendors are working in the market six or seven days a week, up to 16 hours a day. This means the amount of time spend at the market is significant. Long working hours leave little time for vendors to spend at home with their families. This is true for vendors who live separated from their families, which are left behind in their muluks, as well as for vendors who live together with their families in Mumbai. Shiva, the owner of the large spice shop, explains that

because being a vendor requires him to spend a lot of his time at the market, he misses out on his children and important family events, such as weddings.

"So, if I do this business, my whole time will be spend on this only. This morning till night. I do not have any spare time, even if something happens in my home, I do not celebrate. I have to be in the business. So I don't like it. So, [I] cannot attend marriage ceremony and all. [I] cannot take [my] kids out."

Another vendor, Atash, who sells fruits from a mobile card, lives in Mumbai alone. His family he left behind in Uttar Pradesh. He explains how long working hours keep him from bringing his family over from his muluk to Mumbai.

"We start our business at six o'clock in the morning and it goes on till eleven o'clock at night. It means we work around sixteen to seventeen hours per day. [...] Because of this reason also we cannot keep our family here. Because family will be always asking: why do you come at eleven o'clock or ten o'clock? Because you won't be able to give much of time to the family. So that's why it is better the family stays there [in our muluk] and [I] work here for sixteen, seventeen hours."

Atash fears that his family will not accept the lifestyle that comes with being a vendor. For this reason, he decides not to bring his family over to Mumbai. Mohammed also fears lack of understanding from his family, be it for another reason. He is afraid that when he is not able to give some money to his wife on a daily basis this will lead to conflicts. In his perspective it would be better to avoid conflict by leaving his wife in his muluk and send her money whenever he can afford to do so. Furthermore, he thinks it is costly to bring his family together in Mumbai, since then he will have to rent a room where at the moment he sleeps in the market.

"[My wife is] not here [in Mumbai]. Basically I don't have money to, eh, take a room rent and all. Because they charge one thousand to three thousand in between. So I don't have that much money. So, if I can't afford that, how can I keep her here? And second thing whatever I earn, I don't have anything to send, then it will be a problem I think. So, that's why it's better to keep them in my village. At least they'll have a place to live. And I can send them money whenever I can."

It appears as if a conflict arises between vendors, identifying themselves as 'providers' (i.e. the ones providing money to feed the family) and their families (i.e. wives) who may challenge this identity. Vendors here point to two ways in which wives may do this: 1) by demanding that they spend more time within the family sphere, pointing to vendors' roles as family men in addition to their identity as providers; or 2) by demanding more money, through which women seem to point to men's failure to provide for the family and with this undermine their identity as family providers. For some migrant vendors the deliberate maintenance of a physical distance between themselves and their families provides a solution to the conflict around their identity as providers.

Another measure by which vendors define their occupation is by income. Most vendors at the market identify street vending as a poor man's job¹⁵, saying: "*We street vendors are poor.*" Vendors reason that if they would have money, they would not be out on the street selling goods, running away from BMC and Police. If they would have money, then they would rather open a 'proper shop' or a 'big business'.

"[I]f you have money with you, so you can start a big business. So, why would you start a street vending? (...) You won't start a street vending, you won't become a street vendor, because if you have money why would you put up such stalls. When the- Where you know that when BMC come you have to run and all."

This vendor identifies vending as a profession in which right to public space is not so secure and explains how government institutions, such as BMC, work to exclude the vending profession, and therefore the vendors, from public space. Vending in this perspective is a survival strategy, only upheld because of financial constraints.

A lack of financial means also makes it difficult for vendors to negotiate with authorities, for example during an arrest. According to the vendors Police regularly change the exact location where the arrest took place in vendor's case files. Vendors explain that the areas within 200 meters of a train station are *absolute* non-hawking zones. Therefore when Police claim to have made an arrest in the direct surroundings of the station (in stead of at the market, a few hundred meters further down the road) they can build a stronger case. In court, vendors reason, it makes more sense to agree with this false acquisition and pay a fine than to fight it. Fighting the acquisition would be more time consuming and costly than paying a fine. In this way, vendors feel, a lack of financial means denies them specific rights, such as the right to fight for justice. Aariz, a vendor who has been at the market for around fifteen years, has been arrested on several occasions. He explains how the jurisdictional system tends favour the better off.

"We street vendors are poor. As we are very poor so we don't have time to fight with others [in court] and go and file cases and- Eh. Then eh- So, we don't do all this, but eh when somebody does a murder, [...] as they have money they can easily get away. But we don't have money. We cannot fight [for justice] we cannot raise our voice, because we don't have money."

Aariz feels 'poor street vendors' experience difficulties to voice their interests, because they lack financial means.

¹⁵ The question whether or not vendors actually are poor is not addressed in this study. Here, the focus is on perceptions of vendors about their position in the market. In this respect it is important to note that vendors view vending as a job for the poor.

The fact that many vendors do not have valid identity card also increases the difficulties vendors encounter to voice their interests. It proves difficult for vendors to obtain an ID card. Atash, the mobile vendor, has been living in Mumbai for around 30 years. Still, he does not have a voter ID card to prove he is living in Mumbai at all. Atash describes the difficulties he faces when applying for an ID card, referring to the frequent mistakes officials issuing the cards make. He shows an ID card that states he is 28 years old, instead of 40, which he claims is his true age. He has heard of other mistakes that can be more problematic.

"[T]here're mistakes like such lets say some Muslim wife. OK? But then by mistake they have written it is Hindu- And photograph has been changed. So, it is difficult for them to be a part of politics. Because no one takes care of such things. [...] the voter ID card election officers they make mistakes. Like changing, lets say, I put somebody else's wife's photo- On somebody else's. And it creates tension in the family. Because- They think: how come this is your wife and all. So it creates tension in the family."

This example illustrates how to Atash feels applying for an ID card is problematic. Since state identity cards are a necessity to vote in Maharashtra, many vendors lack democratic means to raise their voices. This further complicates vendors' attempts to participate in formal politics. Moreover, without an ID card it is also more difficult to raise voice in the market. A vendor, Saeed, who has a ration card (which functions as an ID card), explains why he can raise his voice in the market, where as others cannot.

"So, if something happens Police comes. If the Police takes [me], [I] can show that I'm a localite. I have a ration card. But those people do not have any proof. So there'll be more trouble."

Saeed is 'localite', a native. He belongs in Mumbai. His ID card is proof of that. In this way, his ID card grants Saeed the formal right to raise his voice, not only in state politics, but also on a local level within the market itself. Without an ID card, vendors believe, government institutions, such as BMC and Police, are more likely to deny them the right to voice themselves.

The people working as vendors in the market find it difficult to claim formal rights, not only because their livelihood is based on illegal practices, but for multiple reasons. Their poor financial status and the fact that they are often migrants to the city also contribute to their exclusion from formal rights. Furthermore, their poor financial- and migrant status seem to complicate efforts to access an alternative system based on corruption and social contacts. Some vendors express how vending in this context they feel not only poor, but also valueless in the eyes of 'others'.

"I'm doing my business in footpath. So, I do not have any value, because the people who works in footpath they, people- Other people think they are valueless."

“Vendors are like dustbins. [...] So, this is how they think of us.”

By referring to themselves as ‘valueless’ or ‘dustbins’ vendors explain how, in their view, ‘other people’ are unconsidered to the rights and needs of vendors in public space (here the footpath). Vendors believe to these people their rights and needs do not matter in this context. When a vendor was asked about the local words describing vending he mentioned that ‘pheriwallas’¹⁶, a general name to describe vendors in Hindi, to him has a negative connotation. He explains that the word pheriwalla used to refer to mobile vendors, or vendors selling goods from door to door.

“So, they [participant] know what this pheriwalla means. They’re doing a business. Even though it’s small, they are doing a business.”

By using the English word ‘business’ this vendor shows that he is not a ‘pheriwalla’ moving around and selling goods door to door, but an actor, however small, contributing to Mumbai’s modern economy. By using the word businesswalla this vendor distances himself from representations of vending as ‘eyesores’ out of place in world-class Mumbai, and redefines his occupation as integrated in and being part of Mumbai’s modern economy.

This section evolved around the variety of meanings vendors attach to their work. It showed that although in certain situations vending can be perceived as a window of opportunity, this view is not widely shared within the market. In general vendors in the market identify vending as a necessity, which they confine to because they lack financial means to invest and they need to support their families. Vending in public space also means being seen as valueless. Vendors feel their rights and needs are of no importance to ‘other people’.

4.3 Putting vending in place: position of vendors in public space

Perceptions of valuelessness on the footpath conceal important implications for the way vendors position themselves in Mumbai’s public space. In the context of Mumbai, where space is highly contested, many groups struggle for the right to answer the question who does belong in a certain space and who does not. Vendors are aware of this struggle over space and talk about how other groups (‘they’) are trying to exclude vendors from public space. Amir, a vendor with a stall close to the road on a busy location, explains:

“They want to move these [vending] business out of here, and they want to make Mumbai like Singapore.”

Amir believes elite ‘want to make Mumbai like Singapore’. He uses Singapore to signify what he feels is the elite vision of a modern, clean city. Vendors,

¹⁶ Nowadays in Mumbai, vendors and others use the term ‘pheriwalla’ to refer to any type of street vendors. In the past, however, pheriwalla only referred to mobile vendors selling their goods door to door.

obstructing footpaths and causing traffic congestion, do not fit into this description of the modern city and therefore need to be 'moved'. By making reference to Singapore, Amir expresses how, he fears, notions of vending as 'out of place' in the modern city can be used to exclude vendors from public space. Vendors worry that their space may be used to locate activities that better fit the modern discourse, such as real estate projects or hotels.

"Many time many people want to take this place [the market]. (...) Real estate business, hotel business. They go to BMC and they say give me this place. We'll make it safe. We'll make hotel. We'll make bridges and all. So, they want to capture these places."

As another vendor explains, with the growing population in the area the call for removing vendors increases. As more people use the roads, vending stalls are often seen as obstructing traffic. Vendors then are often blamed for traffic congestion.

"Previously the population of this, eh, population of this area was less. And eh vendors in this area were less. So, B- Eh, there is no such problem with the road traffics and all. But now this whole area is newly made and all. Population is increased. So, BMC- These vendors are not allowed to sit here."

Although it is not always completely obvious which laws and regulations are applied in which context, for vendors it is clear that vending is illegal in the neighbourhood.

"See, eh, Supreme Court has declared that this is a non-hawking zone. That means that you can't have the street vendors out in this road."

The market area under study did not get the official status of a vending zone, despite the fact that it seems to meet all the criteria¹⁷. This is especially interesting considering there is a fruit market located on the other side of the road in between the next two columns supporting the flyover, which is legalized. A vendor explains that although at one point vendors had the opportunity to buy the spaces they occupy, this time has passed and in the current situation BMC is not willing to sell the public space in which the market is located. Instead, BMC and Police enforce the anti-vending laws, through harassment of vendors by arresting them or confiscating their goods.

Confronted with BMC and Police harassment, vendors found ways to negotiate with the BMC and the Police in order to reinforce their claim on space (see also

¹⁷ i.e. since most of the market is fenced off from the main street and the train tracks by the two flyover wide columns enclosing the market, most vending businesses do not obstruct traffic, cause air pollution or jeopardize public safety in any obvious way. This would mean that according to law, at least the vendors located between the two columns could (should) be legalized.

chapter 5). Considering the fact vendors are still present in public space these negotiations are affective. In the eyes of the vendors however, claiming space remains a constant struggle, which is fought on a daily basis.

“[T]here are so many, pro - Hurdles [we] have to face from BMC during this years, they tried to close this many times. They broke against our business. They tried to make toilets over here. So, those are the hurdles [we] face. But, BMC always comes and starts with new projects for this place.”

“If they [BMC or Police] come then I run away with goods. That's the only way. That's the only way you can protect.”

Because of this vendors believe their position on public space is insecure.

I: *“How secure are you of your space?”*

[t]

P: *[...] Fifty percent.”*

4.4 Vendors ascribing meaning to public place

Vendors attach value and meaning to place. The way public space is perceived is connected to ways in which vendors ascribe meaning to the profession of vending (section 4.2) and experience the struggle over public space (section 4.3). This section describes the different meanings vendors attach to place and links these meanings with findings from the two previous sections.

Just as vending is seen as a way to earn money, public space is viewed as the place where money is earned. Money cannot be earned in any public space, however. Vendors, who are often migrants from other states in India, reason it makes no sense to attempt to earn money in a village's public space, for example. Money is earned in Mumbai. Vendors who migrated from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or Tamil Nadu emphasize the importance of Mumbai as a place where they can work and support their families. To them Mumbai is the place that offers a livelihood and there for a place of opportunity and possibility, something that cannot be found in their villages. Shiva, one of the brothers owning the spice shop, explains how being in Mumbai (or Bombay as the city is also often referred to) enabled him 'feed his stomach'; provide a livelihood.

P: *He's [Shiva] saying he likes Bombay because Bombay is the place where he is earning.*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *Everything started here only. [...]*

I: *Yeah, kanna, kanna [food] [smiles].*

P: *So, he's, he's feeding his stomach in Bombay only.*

Public space is almost by definition an open space. This openness is reflected in the vendors' perceptions of public space in different ways. It provides opportunities for migrated vendors, who are seeking to make a livelihood on the

streets. It can also be a meeting place, as the case of Nand the movie vendor illustrated. To him public space is a place where women and Bollywood actors can be met. Openness also has a downside. It makes it difficult, if not impossible, to exclude unwanted elements from public space.

"If I have a shop. Say I want to go out, I can close the- Shut the door and go out but here I cannot do this."

Vendors talk about several things they would like to keep from entering the market, i.e. BMC and Police harassment; 'goondas' (by which usually drunks and troublemakers, but in some cases also murderers are indicated); and female sex workers. Some also would like to restrict migrant or female vendors access to the market. In public space, where it is impossible to 'shut the door' to exclude threats, vendors understand these potential risks they are exposed to as something that cannot be (fully) controlled.

"[T]his is the footpath place where various kinds of peoples comes. There might be drunk people there might be pickpocketer and all. So they can do anything so we don't have control on those people."

P: *"You can't have control of life.*

I: *No.*

P: *Like you have that riot in '84 and '93. So, you don't know who become- becomes a murderer at what point of time. So it can be anyone, anytime."*

This makes public space also a dangerous place, where vendor are at constant risk of assault and unwanted elements, such as goondas and sex workers, can enter freely. This makes of public space a gendered space. Vendors feel that women and families should not be exposed to the unwanted elements public space contains. One vendor explains:

"In the name of bar, he [bar owner] actually runs a prostitution business. So, if those prostitutes they come on the road. So, it makes difficult for the family people to come and visit [Neighbourhood]."

Male vendors use the presence of sex workers, and other 'dangerous' elements, to argue that public space is not suitable for 'pure' women (their wives, mothers and sisters) and children to participate in. Through this reasoning the market is constructed as a 'men's place'¹⁸.

"It's [the market area] a backward place and a bad place also. So its [an] all men's place."

¹⁸ Derné (2005) provides some further discussion on the underlying reasons men in India have to prevent women to access public space.

By assigning a certain meaning or identity to a place (i.e. a men's place) vendors also define what elements do not belong in public space (i.e. women). One of the few women at the market, waged worker Soumitra, challenges this vision of public space as a 'men's place'. To her the market is as a 'home' (see also section 4.5.1). By comparing it to the home, Soumitra redefines the market place in a way that makes her presence as a woman appropriate. Women are often envisioned within the domestic sphere. So if the market place is comparable to the home, there is no reason why women should be excluded from that space. In this way Soumitra claims access to this public space. The next section further investigates how constructions of personal and place identities can on a market level reinforce a particular claim on space.

4.5 Identities and contested space: who belongs in public space

This section investigates how constructions of identity are used to strengthen various claims on public space. It does so by focusing on three cases. Cases include women negotiating access to public space, vendors with a physical handicap using their perceived vulnerability to claim space and recent migrants facing difficulties to get accepted in the market by 'old' vendors. The cases show how human actors, through everyday talks, can (re)shape public space in such a way that it justifies the actors presence in that public space.

4.5.1 Gendered space: women negotiating access to a 'men's place'

One of the ways in which the predominantly male vendors perceive the market is as a 'men's place'. The market place in this respect is seen as threatening environment, only suitable for the strong, i.e. men. This conceptualisation of the market works to the exclude women from these spaces. Women are seen as too weak to be able to endure the hardships of the market. Vendors, who are primarily Muslim, use religious constructs as an external validation to moralize women's exclusion from the market. Vendors use religion convictions as a legitimization to define the home as a women's place and caretaking as their prime activity, therewith excluding women from the market place or even from Mumbai.

"He [participant] is saying that, eh, as he is a Muslim, according to Muslim rules, eh, womens should not go out and work. Better, [it is] the responsibility of the husband to earn money. OK. And, eh, to feed the women, who take care of the children. Women should not go out and work. And that's why their wives all are in their villages. They are not in Bombay. They stay in UP."

Public space is constructed as a space, in which respectable women, following traditional or religious principles and taking care of children, should not enter. The respectability of the women that are entering public space is often seen as doubtful. Their presence in public space is quickly related to open sexuality; something respectable women should not be confronted with. In this way, male vendors try to exclude women from the market, saying that including women would put them at risk of losing their dignity and respect in the eyes of others.

Saeed, one of the younger vendors explains how this could threaten the vending environment in the market.

"[I]f women comes and sits here, they're doing business. Then there will be people who are staring at that woman. Passing comments, or doing something else. So, there might be fights confusion. So, it'll be- It'll be kind of loss. OK? Of time energy and wasted. So, its better the women sits at the home and they do the business."

These sexual moralities make it difficult for women to work in public spaces. However, among dozens of men at the market, one woman, Soumitra, has gained access to the market space. She works as a waged worker in the spice shop. She has been able to do this by creating a fictive kinship relationship between herself and her boss, Shiva. Soumitra uses the word "*anna*" (older brother) to refer to her boss. The use of 'anna' has several effects. First, it desexualizes the relationship between Soumitra and Shiva. Relationships between sisters and brothers are seen as absolute non-sexual relationships. The word 'anna' thus undermines sexual images attached to the relationship between the Soumitra and Shiva in public space. This gives the worker the justification she needs to be able to work in a 'man's place' for a male boss. Another effect of creating a fictive kinship relationship is that by careful use of specific words referring to family members older or younger than the self, it establishes a social hierarchy within the market. By calling her boss *older* brother, Soumitra shows respect and takes a subordinate position. Finally, Referring to Shiva as 'anna' assigns him with the responsibilities that follow from being an older brother. This means Soumitra claims his protection (both physically and financially) during her work in a 'man's place'. In practice, her boss therefore literally functions as her brother within the market.

When asked how she feels about the fact that there are very few women working in the market, Soumitra working in the spice shop replies by saying:

"I feel I'm working here as I'm working in my home."

Soumitra explains her statement by saying that she feels proud of her job because her boss is "*very decent*". And she describes her relationship with him as "*I feel like he's my own brother.*"

The idea of a having a family on the streets and views of the market as a 'home' contrasts images of public space described above, where public space is seen as a 'men's place'. They serve to put women in place in the market. It is a means through which women can portray themselves as decent woman in public space (that is a non-sexual actor which shows respect to others within the market). With this image, female actors in public space pressure men to see them, not as a sexual object, but as a female family member that should be both respected and protected.

During the data collection period as a Dutch female researcher, I was subject to the same type of stigmatization of women in public space as sexual objects. At one point Nand for instance explains how, in his view, open sexuality is represented in images of non-Indian moralities. He takes the example of how Western (looking) women in public space are associated with images derived from the porn movies he sells.

P: *(You are from, eh- Not from, you're not- You're not from Mumbai right?)*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *(Right.)*

I: *Right.*

[...]

P: *(...) OK. That's- Basically what happens, you come from outside, you are not an Indian.*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *So, you different from Indians. So, as, eh, most of these people, who are in this [movie business], such kind of Goonda and all, they act. So, they watch porns and all. So, where all the porns has been made by some foreigners-*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *They have that, ehm- They think that you people are always like those-*

I: *Yeah.*

P: *So, they try to come and trouble you, touch you and all. So, this is way- This is the way they come to harm you.*

As I was entering the market and became a daily visitor 'hanging around' in public space, vendors looked for ways to make the presence of this Western, female researcher at the market morally acceptable. In the early stages of the fieldwork I -clearly not of Indian origin- was seen as a guest in India, which according to Indian custom should be carefully looked after. Several vendors in the market took their role as hosts for this guest quite seriously. In later stages of the fieldwork vendors found other ways to determine the position of this white female researcher in the market. Aaris, who was one of the most welcoming vendors at the market, undermines sexual envisions of non-Indian women, by depicting me as an Indian women, telling a friend 'she is Indian now'. Another vendor, Bodhan, vending in front of a shop between the railway track and the street, again uses notions of family to justify my regular presence at the market. During an informal talk he calls me his sister and states that he, as a brother, will protect his 'sister' in the market. Portraying a white, female the researcher as 'Indian' or a 'sister', vendors redefine my position within the market as part of the in-group, the 'us', instead of the 'them'. It supports the idea that the researcher holds the same set of morals believed to underlay Indian culture (as opposed to Western culture). This undermines associations of sexual immorality of non-Indian white women and allows the vendors to accept the researcher's presence in the market. Furthermore, it provides a means for the vendors by which they can define contacts between themselves and this white female as completely non-sexual.

In sum, there are different ways by which women as well as vendors can work around powerful perceptions that depict women in public space as openly sexual, immoral and lacking respectability. Resistance of these perceptions is based on the establishment of an alternative, desexualized identity. Alternative identities therefore need to have strong association with non-sexual (identification of a sister) or respectable (identification of a guest or an Indian) types of relationships. Alternative identities of women in public space also constitute alternative place identities. By creating a fictive kinship relationship between women and men at the market, the market itself is transformed from a men's place into a place for the family or even a 'home'. These alternative images enable women to access the market and make contact between male and female actors in the market morally acceptable to (some of the) vendors within the market.

4.5.3 "Old" vendors and "outsiders"

Not only women may face some obstacles entering the market. The same holds for newcomers. New vendors are introduced in the market through friends or relatives on a regular basis. Not everyone is happy with this development, though. This creates a tension between newcomers (or 'outsiders') and some of the 'local' vendors who have either been working in the market for a long time or originate from Mumbai (these vendors are referred to as 'old' vendors).

Increased competition is one of the obvious reasons why 'old' vendors try to keep newcomers from entering the market. As Aaris explains:

"[W]hen somebody comes from outside, OK? First they come and work in business who is already in Bombay. Like if somebody comes to me [...] Somebody comes to me and I teach him how to make keys and after few days he starts his own business beside me. So, obviously it is loss.

Competition, however, provides 'just' a rational incentive for vendors who have been working in the market for a long time to try to exclude newcomers. It does not provide a *moral* justification for doing so. For this reason, stories are created that reshape newcomers' identities in a way that excuses their exclusion from the market. This can be illustrated with the case of Das.

One vendor who holds a particular strong negative opinion towards newcomers (or 'outsiders') is Das. Das, a second-generation migrant from UP, grew up in this neighbourhood in Mumbai and feels strongly connected to it. He used to be a fruit vendor, but handed over his business to family members to become a 'social worker'. Being a social worker means Das files petitions against a variety of wrongs within the neighbourhood. One of his frustrations is that he feels 'Mumbai is getting filled' with new vendors looking for a way to make a profitable business in the city. For Das, the distinction between 'old' vendors and 'outsiders' is not just based on the number of years that have been spend in the market or place of birth. He believes 'outsiders' have low moral standards and are a polluting factor in the market. Das for example strongly objects to the

payment of bribes. Although a majority of the vendors is involved in informal payment systems based on bribes, Das assigns most of the blame for the payment of bribes to new vendors in the market.

"[T]he BMC is taking bribe, Police is taking bribe and they're allowing the new people to do business out here. So, its becoming so dirty now so, you can't even imagine."

And:

"I'm OK if that only old people are doing it [pay bribe]. [But] the new people who are coming in, they are also paying the same here. So, basically it's a loss for everyone. At least for the people who are very old in this market."

To Das, an increase in the number of vendors is 'a loss for everyone'. A market with newcomers becomes 'dirty'. So, with their presence newcomers pollute public space. Furthermore, he is concerned about the immoral behaviour of one group of newcomers in particular; people from Uttar Pradesh (UP).

"Also, mentally they are not, eh, eh, what do you call? Good. In the sense that like there're a few people who comes from UP. I'm also from UP, but there're people from UP who comes and starts the business. And lets say there is some girl, who is, eh, dressed properly or a beautiful girl, they go by the market. They start commenting on the girl and their village language and all. So those things make very different for us. So, I don't trust on them."

Based on the construction of an immoral, polluting identity, Das distances himself ('us') from 'people from UP who comes and starts the business' and justifies why newcomers should be excluded from public space.

Although the passion with which Das plies his case against 'outsiders' is quite exceptional, the underlying excluding process is real enough to affect newcomers trying to enter the market. Minhaj is one of the older vendors in the market and has worked in the area for several decades. In the course of time, he has brought several people from his native village in Uttar Pradesh to the market and helped them to start their business in the neighbourhood. Minhaj is sympathetic to the situation of newcomers within the market. Together with his neighbour vendor he explains what it means to be new to an area.

P: *"If someone is an outsider-*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *They live very cautiously because they're always scared and all.*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *But if you're not an outsider. So, you become a tiger. It's like- Example is been given like if you are a dog but you stay in your own area. So, you become, you act like a tiger.*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *So, if you're not in- But if your an outsider obviously you'll feel scared and you behave differently.*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *And try to act cautiously. So, this is the difference between outsider and an insider."*

As Minhaj tries to explain, being an 'outsider' has some very real effects. Minhaj' neighbour, who is relatively new to the area, claims that new vendors encounter more harassment from BMC and Police than 'old' vendors, for example. Being labelled as an 'outsider' is thus not a comfortable position to be in.

In order to lose their outsider's identity, newcomers try to find ways in which they can redefine oneself as an insider. Vendors for example underline the importance of the development of specific kinds of tacit knowledge. One form of tacit knowledge that vendors see as important is knowing '*how to talk and when to talk and what to talk where*', especially in communication with BMC and Police. Mastering the local language Marathi in addition to Hindi (India's national language) becomes central to the reduction of BMC and Police harassment. Again, Minhaj explains the difference between his own position in the market as someone who has been working in the market for a long time and learned Marathi, and that of his neighbour vendor, who is new to the neighbourhood and does not speak the local language.

P: *[W]hen they talk to you in Marathi or Hindi, so you don't understand. So, they automatically come to know the truth: OK. If he know, doesn't know Marathi. So-*

I: *Ja.*

P: *He's not from this place.*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *[...] So, I'm here since a long time. So, right now I know Marathi, Gujarati and all.*

I: *Hmm.*

P: *But people like him [neighbour vendor], who just came in and who doesn't know Marathi. So, the Police or somebody else will come and talk to them in Marathi. So, if you don't answer- If you can't speak, so they'll automatically know: OK, this guy is not from this place. He's from outsider. So, we should charge him more than this.*

Speaking the local language makes vendors insiders in the eyes of BMC and Police. This works to smoothen relationships and contacts between officials and Marathi speaking vendors.

In addition to gathering tacit knowledge, new vendors create alternative narratives that redefine their position in public space. The creativity that shows in these narratives highlights how distinctions between the in- and out-group are flexible and can be challenged. Several examples illustrate this point. The first example is, ironically, provided by Das, where he makes reference to native Maharashtrians harassing North Indians. He uses the image of Maharashtrian

harassers to explain the word 'Goonda', by which troublemakers or bad characters are indicated in India.

"So, basically there is no proper definition for goonda and all. It can be anything like eh- most of the vendors out here is north Indian. So, somebody might come who's a Maharati [Maharashtrian] and all, start fighting saying that- As because people are from North India, they'll try to enforce their rules and regulation, eh, talking in Maharati and shouting and fighting and all."

Above, Das appears to identify himself more with the North Indians than with the Maharashtrais 'shouting and fighting'. This is because, in comparison to native Maharashtrais, Das is still an 'outsider', a (second generation) migrant from North India. As a reaction, Das reworks his depiction of 'a local' insider, to better suit his interest within this specific context. The local insider becomes violent and immoral.

In a second example, new vendors extend the definition of the in-group to include vendors who have migrated from other parts of India. When asked where they feel their from, several vendors explain they feel 'Indian'. As 'Indians' vendors challenge their migrant identity in Mumbai and pose an alternative being Indian-narrative. By widening the definition of the area that can be claimed by the own group (the 'us') from the state borders of Maharashtra to India as a whole, vendors claim a right to public space anywhere in India, including Mumbai, thoughtless of where in India they were born originally.

Finally, Bodhan, vending in front of a shop, uses the idea of rebirth to underline his strong connection to Maharashtra, Mumbai and the market. By being reborn in Mumbai he creates an image of himself as a native Maharashtrai. Based on this image he claims to have a birth right to the city. Bodhan justifies his rebirth by depicting the place he was born originally in Gujarat as a place where it is impossible to survive, since 'nothing is there' to sustain him. Mumbai in this respect is seen as the only place where these difficulties can be overcome. Therefore, leaving Mumbai is not an option. Bodhan sings a line from the popular song *Jeena Yahan* from the famous Bollywood movie *Mera naam Joker* to illustrate this idea.

P: *He [Bodhan] feel that he's a Mumbaiker, because in his home [in Gujarat] he has problem with water, food, job, nothing is there. So, he's m- reborn in Mumbai.*

I: *Reborn? That's, eh, a beautiful way of -*

P: *(.. [sings] Jeena yahan marna yahan. ...) [...] It means that I'll die here, I live here. I cannot go anywhere, leaving this. So, he's saying that's like this. That I die here, I live here, I do not, eh- That means where should I go leaving [neighbourhood] and Bombay?*

Similar to the previous section, this section highlights the creative ways in which vendors attempt to reconstruct their own identity in order to be part of a moral in-group. By reworking identities of the self or the other, vendors validate

particular claims on space. Identity constructions of 'old' vendors, reborn Mumbaikers, or Indians are all used for this purpose. Identities are not fixed and individuals rework the stories of their personal and others' identity to best suite their interest in a particular situation. This is not to say that vendors' behaviour is purely rational and tactical. Emotions, both positive and negative, attached to particular constructions of the 'us' or the 'other' are real. This is exactly what makes identity constructions so powerful.

4.5.3 Using envisioned vulnerability to claim space

In contrast to the woman in section 4.5.1 and the 'outsiders' in 4.5.2, who needed to rework the identities others assigned to them in order to claim access to public space, some individuals are *assigned* with identities that strengthen their claim on space. For example Nand describes how in the context in which he works, his handicap comes in handy. Companies making the Bollywood movies of which Nand vends illegal copies try to stop the illegal distribution by tracking down illegal vending points. Although usually employees of the companies can be bribed to give information about the planning of actions against vendors like Nand, in some cases this system fails. Then Nand gets tracked down and could be caught. In reality however, the people who are ordered to track down illegal movie vendors are hesitant to harass disabled people.

"OK. Eh, the business is very risky, because we sell pirated movies and apart from pirated movies I also sell porn movies and all. So, what happens the original moviemaker company, they always come to track us. [...] [S]o, eh, eh, most of the time, as I'm handicapped, they leave me."

Being handicapped makes selling illegal goods less risky for Nand, since people working for moviemaker companies are reluctant to harass disabled persons. The same, Nand believes, holds for the young boy that helps Nand with his business.

"[H]e's [the boy worker is] small. He won't- There is not a problem because he's a kid. (He's child.) So- (..) So, they leave him."

These are two examples of how perceptions of an individual's vulnerability alter attitudes towards this individual. Nand and the boy can work other's perceptions of their vulnerability to reduce risks when vending pirated Bollywood and porn movies.

4.6 Resisting the morality of law: reworking blame and guilt

Section 4.3 discussed how modern place identities of the city are used to validate illegalisation of street vendors. Vendors do not fit into the modern ideal of the clean, spacious and beautiful city and therefore need to be removed. In this modern narrative removal of vendors is justified by blaming vendors for several unwanted urban developments, such as traffic congestion and air pollution.

There are different ways in which vendors try to challenge this modern narrative that excludes them from public space. They do this by looking for alternative moral justifications for their presence in public space. Three ways in which vendors do this are described here. First, vendors acknowledge part of the 'accusations' made against them in the modern discourse, but try to counter these by claiming to have no other choice. Second, vendors formulate an alternative morality arguing vending serves the common good. Third, attempts are made to undermine the moral validity of those groups, who, in the eyes of the vendors, are representatives of the modern city narrative. While resisting formal legal perspectives of vending, vendors create a moral legitimization of their presence in public space, based on family values and complaisance.

4.6.1 Blame and guilt: having no other option

"[W]e work, we will work, so we are getting money. We'll not work, so where, who will give us money?"

One way to legitimize vendors' presence in public space is by claiming poor people have no other option but to vend on the streets. The person quoted above does this by limiting his career options down to two contrasting alternatives: either to work (by vending) or to do nothing at all and be unemployed, which is really no option at all. In this way he is insinuating vending is the only career option that is available to him. Others explain this same perspective in some more length.

"I came here basically, eh- in my village there is no- nothing much to do. There is no way you can earn and all. So, there's lots of difficulty, lots of problem I face. So, I came to Bombay to earn. So, that I can run my family. I can, eh, feed my children. So, I tell you one thing, like- (...) If you have everything in one place, why will you go out of that place? You'll be there only. But when you don't have anything to do in your own place, so you'll try to come out and do something else. That is why- how I came here."

Here, the vendor also emphasizes his need to take care of his family and 'feed his children'. Furthermore, he underlines that his situation is not ideal. If he had had a choice and could find work in the proximity of his family, he would rather do that than work as a vendor in Mumbai. However, the lack of employment in his village and the need to feed his family, left him no other choice but to start vending in Mumbai.

Following the vendors' claim that they have no other choice but to become a vendor, the relevancy of the legal status of vending diminishes. If vending is the only option vendors have to allow them and their families to survive, who could argue they should stop their businesses? A vendor sums this perspective as:

"If you do good job it's good job, if you do bad job, that's also a good job."

In other words: it is more important to earn a livelihood and take care of family, than to obey all the rules laid out by the government. Vendors try to argue, that following from this, it is legitimate to ignore rules when this allows for the vendor's (family's) survival.

4.6.2 Another morality: serving the public

Another argument made by vendors to legitimize their position in public space is focused on ways in which vending serves public needs. In general there are two lines of reasoning to this argument. On the one hand vendors see vending as serving a public demand for cheap, accessible products. The proximity of the market to the public living in the neighbourhood and the relatively low prices for the products vendors have on offer benefit a large population. On the other hand, vendors feel that the presence of vendors in public space adds to public safety. It is said it does so for two reasons. First, vendors serve as local watchmen, which is supposed to curtail all kinds of unwanted phenomena, such as theft and harassment of women for example. Second, since vendors have limited options, keeping them from vending would mean they have to resort to stealing and other criminal activities to generate an income, which would decrease public safety. As one vendor explains, because of the presence of vendors:

“you have lesser number of thieves. Because if you don't do this, you'll start steal somebody else's things. Then you will go and trouble the womens in the road. So, government is not understanding that because of us, because of the street vendors, these things are not happening.”

Despite the proclaimed contributions vendors make to serve the public, vendors feel invisible when they turn to the government for support.

“So everywhere we are helping out the government, the general public. But, eh, after those things also the government never looks at us.”

By ignoring the wellbeing of one significant group in Mumbai's society (vendors), the government, vendors feel, seems to neglect their own responsibility to serve the public. In fact, the government seems to be ignorant not only to the welfare of vendors, but also to slum dwellers in general, and only interested in these groups in society during election time.

“[T]here are lakhs [hundreds of thousands] of street vendors, but there is no kind of facilities given to us. No one thinks of us. They don't care. They don't bother.”

“The whole Maharashtra government thinks that, that pheriwalla [street vendors], that vendors are like dust bins. OK? And slum are like (...) [v]ote banks, where they can get their votes. So, this is how they think of us.”

From the above it follows that vendors are trying to create an image of vending as serving the public. At the same time they depict the government as paying little attention to the public (of vendors and slum dwellers) except for when they

need their votes. As vending serves needs of the public, which are neglected by the government, legitimizing vendors' access to public space seems a natural consequence.

4.6.3 Reversed morality: Challenging elite's respectability

Taking their critique on the government one-step further, vendors find a third legitimization for vending by challenging the respectability and trustworthiness of government and elite groups in society. Vendors create an alternative morality, in which vendors question elite morality portraying them as selfish, careless, cold and involved in illegal activities (i.e. corruption or drugs). Based on this moral argument, vendors distance themselves from elite groups.

Vendors depict institutions such as BMC and Police, as well as politicians, as dishonest by nature and therefore not to be trusted, or respected for that matter.

"[I am] not at all interested in politics. The reason behind it: those who are in politics are very dishonest. They won't tell you the truth. And if you are telling the truth you'll be the last one. You won't win. And if you have to win, you have to be dishonest."

Furthermore, vendors make direct comparisons between criminals and criminal activities and government institutes.

"Previously the goondas used to come ask you for money. But now the same thing is done by Police and BMC."

"BMC and Police all are thieves. OK? They are dishonest person."

What is the consequence of criminalizing the government and elites for the vendors' struggle to legitimize their claim on public space? What does it mean when the moral principles underlying the institute responsible for illegalizing vending are questioned? It undermines the justification by which vending is illegalized. In other words, by criminalizing the government and elites, vendors destabilize the legitimacy of government institutes and elites to claim space based on legal authority.

Furthermore, the criminalization of government and elite groups adds to the development of an elite identity, which defines the rich and powerful as uncaring, dishonest and selfish.

"Rich people like, they involve with themselves into the drugs and cocaine, heroine, such kind of, eh, drug addicts and all. So, also if you look at the beer bars. There were beer bars earlier, where these girls used to dance there. Rich people used to go and throw money at them and all. So, these all are illegal things and black money, but still it happens in Bombay. (...) In Mumbai it's all about money. They don't even care for their brother if he's dying, and he's ill and all. But he's always bother about how much I can earn, not about his brother and all. Its in Mumbai."

Why do vendors differentiate themselves from elites based on morals, instead of income for example? By constructing an alternative morality to evaluate elite behaviour as corrupt and dishonest, and 'lose' sexual morality, vendors also make an implicit statement about their values and norms that underlay good moral behaviour. 'Good' people are honest, do not ask for bribes, do not openly display their sexuality in beer bars and care for people in need. Based on this 'good' people identity, vendors redefine themselves as hard working honest family men, vending only to feed and educate their children. Vendors create an image of themselves as people who may not have the money to bribe their way into the polluted moralities of law, but who have maintain important (Indian) moral values and norms. Through this, vendors construct an alternative vendor's identity contrasting elite's constructions of vendors as 'valueless' eyesores, or inconvenient obstacles on roads and footpaths. Thus, vendors indirectly challenge modern, elite discourses expressed through laws and regulation, criminalizing vendors through the construction of an alternative morality.

Chapter 5

Politics of the street: organizing claims on space

As became clear from the previous chapter, vendors construct meanings, personal and place identities to legitimize their claim on public space. However, the chapter also showed that powerful elite groups in society heavily contest the vendors' claim on space. The moral legitimization the vendors construct in it self is therefore insufficient to secure their access to public space. Yet, it does provide a foundation on which an informal power system can be built, expressed in everyday activities, through which vendors negotiate their claims on space between each other and with the wider public.

This chapter first focuses on vendors' involvement in formal politics. Then it highlights the importance of social contacts on the street. Finally, it shows how this context allows for the creation of an alternative power structure guiding the politics of the street.

5.1 Political involvement

"India is a democratic country, but is it helping anyone?"

As vendors conduct an illegal business, they find it difficult to participate in formal politics, through elections or public protests for example. This is reflected in vendors' talks about politics, as Atash, quoted above, expresses.

"Means, earlier days it used to that, lets say BMC or somebody arrest someone, so we used to go for protest with banners and all. OK? But after the Supreme Court order where, eh, this street vending is not legal. So, no political leader, eh, they used to do such kind of thing. (..) OK. Even the political leaders they are also not supporting us."

As section 4.2 explained, the general lack of ID cards among vendors excludes a large proportion of them from democratic elections. This means that vendors' ability to employ political pressure to motivate politicians to get interested in their case is limited through the formal political system.

Besides elections, vendors also find it difficult to utilize other channels for political participation, such as public media and public protests like rallies. In relation to public media several vendors in the market refer to an incident in which a journalist, who regularly 'hangs out' at the market, wrote about corruption at the market. This article caused a considerable boost in BMC and Police harassment. This made some vendors increasingly aware of their vulnerability to writings of third parties.

Another channel through which vendors can voice their critique are rallies. Although rallies do not seem to be a frequent phenomenon in the lives of the vendors in this market, a few vendors recall certain occasions where vendors grouped together and protested to (re)claim 'their' public space. Shiva for example talks about occasions in which the BMC plans to close down the market to make room for a new planning project, i.e. the creation of public toilets or parking lots. Shiva explains what happens after the BMC shuts the market down.

"We go to, eh, basically, the political parties and all after they close it [the market]. Then we request them that there are so many, seventy, eighty people are employed here. So, we have to do business otherwise we'll be unemployed. Then the political parties they come and try to help them. The problem is that political parties they always- that means, every five years they are changed."

Not all vendors are eager to join rallies. On occasion, unions are said to demand vendors' participation in rallies by force. Here vendors seem to be used as a 'street fill' during protests. Atash recalls how this has happened to him.

"[T]hese union doesn't help them. On the contrary. He [P] said sometime what happens you have, eh, road protest and all, hain? People go shouting slogans and all. That time they're, forcibly they are asked to close the shop and join them in that really. [...] If somebody says you have to stop, they have to close. If he doesn't, there might be change say somebody will steal his, all the things. [?] Forcibly take all the things and get away."

The instance Atash refers to took place in 1984. If anything similar has occurred recently remains unclear. There is no doubt however about Atash' disapproval of the vendors' union¹⁹.

It is clear that in voicing their opinions vendors encounter considerable difficulties. One vendor, Das, a self proclaimed social worker and former vendor is not scared off by these complications. He is so frustrated with corruption and a range of other grievances, that he is determined to fight against these issues and 'make a difference'. However, as most vendors, Das feels that, despite public protests, petitions and complains, change is not generated easily.

"I do not have any government support, so we can't do anything."

Atash in the introduction of this section indicated, vendors do not think highly of their ability as citizens to participate in the world's largest democracy.

"This is a democratic country where people gets elected by votes, but, eh, whoever comes in the power for- lets say they're staying for five years, so they try to enforce

¹⁹ Union's incentives to organize rallies or to force vendors to join them have not been investigated in this study.

their rules. Its- That means that's not called a democracy. And all, all the officers and everyone is governed by their command."

Here, the main point to be taken is that vendors' participation in formal political processes is often problematic. However, where formal channels fail, new options for negotiating vendors' right arise in informal domains. These informal arrangements are often based on personal relationships amongst vendors or between vendors and various external parties. Section 5.2 elaborates on the role of these social contacts. Vendors use social contacts to create and sustain informal structures through which they may reinforce their claim on space. For example, vendors participate in a system of corruption by bribing BMC and Police officials on a regular basis. Furthermore, they developed an informal entitlement system dividing public space among vendors. Section 5.3 elaborates on the workings of these informal systems and the ways in which they enable the privatization of public space.

5.2 Street relations

As formal rules and regulations often seem to fail to involve vendors in politics and provide them with legal protection, vendors seek for alternative means to deal with the problems they face on the streets. One of the ways in which vendors do this is by the establishment of social contacts, which are used to negotiate access to and strengthen claims on space.

The next sections discuss relations amongst vendors, between vendors and BMC/Police officials and between vendors and shopkeepers.

5.2.1 Street relations between vendors

The previous chapter has already shown that vendors compete with each other for market space. Especially section 4.5.4, on 'old' vendors and newcomers, brought out this element. However, vendors also rely on each other to maintain access to space and to strengthen their position in space, from an economic perspective, but it seems also from a social perspective. Social contacts between vendors are highly important.

"[T]he relationship is the key"

as Minhaj, who has been working at the market for several decades, explains. The question remains how social contacts work to strengthen claims on space. It seems there are (at least) six ways in which vendors benefit from their mutual relationships. In these cases, social contacts:

- facilitate access to market space;
- stimulate the transfer of tacit and explicit knowledge needed to conduct a vending business;
- provide the possibility of connecting vendors with their contact's contacts;
- generate financial and physical protection in certain situations;
- stimulate the development of cliental ties between vendors; and

- possibly add to the social status of individuals within the market.

Furthermore, most contacts are maintained between people that share certain identity markers such as religion or place of origin. Finally, social contacts seem to create an uneven network concentrated around several social 'hubs' so to say, rather than hierarchies. The section below elaborated on each of these issues.

Although there are vendors who accessed the market without the help of any 'insiders', most vendors entered the market with the help of people they knew. These helpers can be family members as well as people who originate from the same village for example. These vendors emphasize the importance of social contacts to maintain access to the market. Mohammed remembers what motivated him some 40-45 years ago to come to Mumbai (then: Bombay) to find work, instead of going to any other major Indian city.

"See, eh I came to Bombay, just like that. If you don't know anyone in other cities you don't go, because you won't be able to do any business or anything. So, if you start business where you don't know anyone, so you'll be segregated from that place. You won't be allowed to sit there. So, I came to Bombay, because I knew many- some people out here. So, I knew that they might help me. They won't, eh, trouble me if I starting the business. On the contrary, they help me out. And this is how I chose Bombay over other cities."

Social contacts not only provide newcomers with a space to conduct their business, they are also extremely important for the development of tacit and explicit knowledge needed to operate a vending business. Tacit knowledge is of special importance here and several vendors emphasize the significance of learning '*what to talk where*' from other vendors over time. By using this phrase vendors hint at the complex social processes underlying the vending process. For example, as was discussed in again section 4.5.4, the specific ways in which vendors address BMC and Police officials can determine the level of harassment they are faced with in the market. Knowing how to react in these contexts is therefore very important. Social contacts help to develop this type of knowledge

Another way vendors use social contacts is by using the contact's contacts. Again Mohammed explains how his contact helped him after his arrival in Mumbai.

"[H]e [social contact] told some vendors that, eh, give him [Mohammed] things in credit. OK? Once his sells is out, so he pay you back. So, that is how he helped me. And till now, no one- Everyone gives me in credit, whenever I need it."

These indirect contacts can be used for several aims, for instance for getting goods on credit, but also for moving a business or communicating with the BMC and Police (see also section 5.2.2 for more on vendor's contacts with BMC and Police).

Even after vendors have established their position in the market, social contacts remain important. Being self employed and literally out in the open working in public space, vendors are vulnerable both in financial terms, since they have no guaranteed income, and in physical terms, since public space may contain all kinds of dangers and threats (see also section 4.4). Social contacts help vendors to deal with these uncertainties. Basically social contacts work as an informal version of a social security system. Whenever a vendor or waged worker needs extra money for example to buy new goods, pay medicines, or school fees, other vendors (or in the case of waged workers, their bosses) will either give or lend them the money, usually without raising interest or any other conditions. Furthermore, several vendors report how vendors help each other when one of the vendors gets involved with a member from the public.²⁰

“The relationship is very important. Lets say any fight happens now, so if you're- If these people were not there it would be difficult to handle.”

The question remains, however, why do vendors help each other getting access to the market in the first place? In section 4.5.4, street vendor Aaris explained how helping newcomers can lead to increased competition amongst vendors. Allowing new vendors access to the market and transferring different forms of local knowledge to them, in this sense, may eventually pose a threat to early vending businesses. From the interviews several motives come up for helping other vendors. First of all, vendors can use the new vendors they introduced in the market area to resell their products. A clear example of this is Shiva, who claimed to have introduced over 25 people to the market. Most of these 25 people now buy his goods and resell these goods on different locations throughout the neighbourhood. In this way, Shiva gained control over a significant share of the spice and vegetable trade in the area.

“So, basically, I do wholesale and retailing both, so that's why I can go to each shop and everyone takes from me.

[...]

So, all buy from me and they used to work under me.”

Shiva is not the only vendor in the market who established himself as a local wholesaler by selling his products to former pupils. Also Pravin, a chiku (type of fruit) seller, benefited from his connections with the people he introduced to the market. An explanation why some vendors are able to profit from helping newcomers, whereas others are not, may be found in the nature of the goods that are for sale. Shiva and Pravin both sell products that get wasted quickly in Mumbai's hot, humid climate (fruits, spices, vegetables). Whereas watch sellers for example can do with an occasional visit to a wholesaler, this is not the case for fruit and vegetable sellers. People selling these types of products need

²⁰ However, it should be kept in mind that not all vendors will be willing to risk getting involved in a fight due to their legal position as vendors in public space, often lacking any formal identification (see also section 4.2).

regular supplies. Furthermore, considering the weight and the amount of fruit and vegetables sold in the market area, transporting these items is a challenging task. Specializing in transporting these items, either by buying a truck as Shiva has done, or by employing boys and men to carry the goods –Pravin’s strategy-, can be beneficial for both the wholesaler and the ‘new’ vendors that are buying from him. For other products this may not necessarily be the case.

Another, more subtly hinted at motivations behind helping newcomers in the market are related to the wider social context vendors participate in. For example, vendors may see helping their family or village members as just and something which they may be rewarded for later in life (either by the contact or divine intervention). Also, vendors may experience social pressure to help these contacts. Minhaj tactfully links all these motivations together.

“So, basically, eh, there are so many people that are unemployed in my village. So, like, eh, [Vendor X] is my nephew. So, he didn't have anything to earn there. So, I thought it better that he comes here and please earn something. So, that he can have a decent life. And, eh, that's why I brought him here. And like him there are so many other villagers. So, my friends are there, so they tell me that you should do something for my children, my son. So that's how (...) I brought, bring them here.

(...)

I help them out so there is a time where God will also help me out.”

Finally it seems that vendors might be able to increase their social status within the market by helping newcomers. This did not become clear during the interviews. However, from the hours of observations and informal conversations it became obvious that Minhaj, who has introduced several vendors to the market site under study over the years, is well respected by other vendors in this market. Of course, there could be other explanations for this. Furthermore, the effect may not be anticipated on forehand, and therefore not motivating the decision to help or not to help newcomers. Still, there seems to be a possible connection between social status and helping newcomers.

Since most social contacts through which vendors are introduced are based on family relationships or shared village membership, vendors are usually connected to people with whom they share characteristics such as religious convictions, or place of birth. In the market this is reflected in the invisible separation of the left, predominantly Hindu, and right, predominantly Muslim, side of the market. With the riots of 1984 and 1993 kept in mind, religious tensions is a sensitive issue in Mumbai. Vendors labour to ensure that within the context of the market Hindus and Muslims can work peacefully together – although ‘there is no such thing as helping each other’.

“See, eh, as because I'm a Hindu- There're- Most of them are Muslim. (...) So, there is no- There's no such thing called helping each other, because they are Muslim and we are Hindu. And, eh- But we are very good. We talk regularly. We are very good to each other.”

Another remark that can be made concerning social contacts within the market is the apparent lack of formal organisation. Although there are street vendors unions active in the area, several vendors noted that they put little trust in these organisations (see previous section). Leadership within the market seems to be divided amongst those who own the biggest businesses or remain contact with BMC and Police officials. Furthermore, there are persons, who are naturally well respected, and whose authority seems to be generally accepted (such as Minhaj). This leads to the conclusion that rather than social hierarchies there are uneven social networks in place within the market in which some vendors have a better position than others. These vendors can be seen as social hubs connecting multiple vendors and different actors. A 'hub' status can be created around certain economic, as well as social features.

To conclude, social contacts between vendors are vital within the market. It is not hard to imagine that in a context where people are drained from any jurisdictional backing, social relations based on mutual trust become all the more important. It can provide vendors with a sense of safety and security within the potentially hostile environment of the market.

5.2.2 Street relations between vendors and BMC/Police

Besides contacts with other vendors, vendors rely on contacts with BMC and Police officials to maintain their claim on space. Officially, the spaces the vendors occupy belong to the public. Government institutions, such as BMC and Police, are assigned the task of maintaining order in public space. By 'choosing' what laws to enforce and what laws to ignore, local BMC and Police officers play an important role in negotiating process allowing access to public space to some, whereas others are denied this access.

Vending is officially illegal in Mumbai's public space. This means that formally the role of the BMC and Police is that of a law enforcer standing up to those carrying out illegal activities (i.e. the vendors). Indeed, BMC and Police frequently harass vendors. BMC drive bys are frequent and during the fieldwork period of two months these could be witnessed almost on a daily basis. Most BMC drive bys, however, are relatively harmless; the BMC truck drives by, but does not *stop* to raid the market. Still, even a drive by interrupts the vending process, as vendors need to wrap up (part of) their businesses and move their goods away from the road in the direction of the inner part of the market for a moment. Another way in which the threat of a raid affects the vending businesses is illustrated by the following story. Three weeks before the end of the fieldwork period vendors received information that within the next few days a large scale BMC raid would take place, conducted not by the local, neighbourhood BMC, but by the regional Mumbai BMC. This higher-level BMC department, vendors explain, cannot be bribed as efficiently as the local level BMC departments. When a truck of the Mumbai BMC shows up in the neighbourhood, it has, therefore, not come to drive by; it has come to raid. The announcement of the Mumbai BMC drive by created a significant amount of

stress for the vendors. For days they only took out part of their wares, or did not put up their stall at all. But as the days went by, nothing happened. In fact an actual BMC raid did not take place during the fieldwork period. In my fieldwork notes I noted the following.

[A few days ago] I noticed something strange. The market was so empty when I arrived. The vendors explained that their BMC contact had told them that the Mumbai BMC was targeting [Neighbourhood] area. [...]After three o'clock the street vendors seem to have become less tensed. They build up their stalls and start conducting business again. Why? They tell me that their contact has told them that today the BMC will not come after three o'clock. [...]

Initially, the vendors are informed that these drive bys will continue for four to six days, but just a few days later the number of days has increased to ten: till [mid] November. [Today] [...], between twelve and one there [was] a BMC drive by every 10-15 minutes. It seems to me that this makes it almost impossible for the vendors to conduct their business. And indeed, some of the vendors, like [Tawoos], have decided that today it is no use to put up a business. Others however, have developed different strategies for coping with the threat of BMC. [Lai] for example, closed down his stall only for one or two hours, before he rebuilt it and continued his business. When he rebuilt it he only put up half of his goods, the rest of it he kept in a bag underneath his stall. If a customer would ask for something he could show the additional models from the bag. [Waleed] who only sells belts, decided to sell only from a bag and didn't hang anything in his stall. [Bodhan] covered his stall with plastic wrappings and told me he would store the goods inside Mr. [Gupta junior]'s shop in case of BMC harassment. – I wouldn't know how he would get all of his goods in their in time, but who knows. Finally, some of the key makers [...] seemed not bothered that much by all the anxiety. They both had a customer and they continued making the keys as everybody else was trying to bring their good to safety.

Contrary to the BMC, the Police did raid the market on two occasions during the fieldwork period. Police take a different approach than the BMC; whereas the BMC is out to confiscate vending goods, the Police aim to arrests the vendors. Police raids happen very quickly. They do not come with heavy trucks (like the BMC), but in jeeps. When Police officials enter the market, vendors run to the safety of the railway tracks or blend in with the crowd. Most goods are left behind. During a Police raid I witnessed, one vendor was arrested and put in the back of the jeep. It did not take long before he was released. This does not mean that he walks free, however. Vendors explain that after a Police arrest they have to appear in court where they have to pay a fine (the amount of money to be paid varies. To give some indication: Bodhan, who was arrested by the Police a few weeks earlier, was charged with an 800 Rupees fine).

Despite BMC and Police harassment, the streets of the market neighbourhood are full of vendors. It is clear that anti-street vending rules are not (fully) enforced here. Of course part of this can be explained through vendors' stories

explaining how vending is a necessity to survive. When vendors feel that there is no other option available to them but to vend, whether this job is legal or illegal, and the amount of BMC or Police harassment are not so important. However, corruption based on personal contacts between BMC and Police officials and vendors, is a second factor explaining why street trade remains such a lively part of Mumbai's informal economy. The illegal position of street vending in combination with the pressure vendors feel to continue their business creates a context in which corruption can prosper. Local BMC and Police officers collect bribes from vendors and in turn they undermine the enforcement of some anti-vending laws at particular moments in time and within certain places. In the eyes of the vendors the law enforcers are therefore the powerful party, which whom they need to negotiate their claim on space. Shiva addresses this issue when he discussed the rallies vendors undertake to (re)claim market space. In this part of the interview he talks about 'political parties'. When asked about the political parties they contact -maybe the Shiv Sena?- he explains how it is the BMC and Police, not the political parties, who are the ones with power.

"[I]t's nothing like that. For Shiv Sena somebody comes and goes [...] It's nothing like related to Shiv Sena, or no Shiv Sena. Its like BMC do it. And who ever in the power they go to them and they paid him."

"If we don't pay then they will punish us like put fine on us. They won't let us do the business and all. It's like that, eh, they have the power. And if you have power you need to live like that only. So, you have to pay there is no other option."

It becomes clear that vendors do not take their complains directly to political leaders, instead they turn to BMC officials. To vendors the BMC is the institute that is concerned with the planning of public space and therefore with the design of the market area. Furthermore, BMC is obliged with law enforcement. This makes that when plans are made to change the usage of the public space occupied by the market, vendors direct their protests and give bribes to BMC officials instead of political leaders.

Whereas rallies are relatively uncommon, bribing BMC and Police officials is an integrated part of vendor's everyday life. Where as section 5.3.2 will go further into the organisation of the payments of bribes, here the focus lays on the social contacts between BMC and Police and vendors. In negotiations with BMC and Police these social contacts play an important role. Amir, occupying a tiny spot at an exceptionally busy location right next to the road, explains how his contacts with BMC and Police are beneficial not only for his, but also for other vending businesses in the market. Amir feels that through his contacts he has gained a central position in the market.

P: *[R]ight now I'm a kind of leader in the market. Whatever will happen, OK? I'm the one who'll get the first information. So, and everyone knows me, I know everyone. So, its a good for my business.*

I: *Hmm. So, what does this leader role, what does this- What is this? What does this-*

[t]

P: (...) OK. The role of leader basically, if you have to pay to, eh, BMC and Police-

I: Hmm.

P: And how you have to pay, lets say, eh, BMC takes out someone's business. So, how you can release them? So, do I need to pay money, pay bribe or any other way? So, all these things are done by me, because I have good contacts in BMC and Police. Almost everyone knows me so, that's why I'm the one who plays the leadership part.

The role of a leader seems to consist of at least two elements. On the one hand Amir negotiates between vendors and the Police whenever they get arrested or their goods confiscated. On the other hand, Amir gets 'the first information', by which he probably refers to the information system that exists between vendors and BMC and Police officials. Whenever officials do plan a raid, 'insiders' inform vendors about the raid. In this way vendors can anticipate on the up coming raid.

"See there is, eh, insider, who always will eh- Basically, before they start the raiding the places, they'll, there will be some people who always call him- Call this people that today its going to be, eh, raid. So please, eh, don't put stall, or don't put more stuff. So, it always some insider who acts like this."

It is interesting to note how Amir developed his contacts with BMC and Police. In the past he was a 'bad man' as Amir refers to it. This meant that he frequently came into contact with BMC and Police. Over time, Amir developed social relationships with BMC and Police officers, which he utilizes in the market today.

I: How did you get these contacts. How did you get into this role?

[t]

P: (...) Because, I, I- Its like I stayed for long time, and always fought and all. So, all those things- I used to fight no?

I: Hmm.

P: I used to fight then sit here. So all those, played a good role to play the contacts.

Besides Amir, there is at least one other vendor who claims to have good contacts with the BMC and Police, Ibrahim. During the interview Ibrahim (in contradiction to Amir) was not open at all about his position within the market and the ways in which he conducted his business. However, at the end of the (short) interview he stretches:

"I have good relation with BMC and Police. And, eh, by talking to them I resolve all the problems. So, make sure I should not get into trouble because this."

Ibrahim is worried that talking too much about his contacts with BMC and Police officials may jeopardise his relationships with these officials. The newspaper article 'revealing' corruption between vendors and BMC/Police officials may have made Ibrahim increasingly cautious to talk about his own contacts with BMC and Police. His contacts with BMC and Police seem vital to his business in the sense that through these contacts he solves his problems.

In sum, especially to vendors owning relatively large businesses and those conducting their business on busy spots, relationships with the BMC are essential. Vendors need these contacts to strengthen their claim on space and negotiate around formal anti-vending laws and regulations. Again, it appears that contacts runs through certain 'hubs', i.e. vendors that have developed personal relationships with BMC and Police officials. Some vendors use this feature to improve their social position in the market (i.e Amir, who positions himself as a leader based on his contacts with BMC and Police), whereas others are more secretive about the nature of their relation with the BMC and Police (i.e. Ibrahim).

5.2.3 Street relations between vendors and shopkeepers

Another actor some vendors have developed beneficial social ties with is the local shopkeeper. In some cases these ties allow vendors to claim public space or expand their businesses. The following section explains the nature of these contacts and the processes they facilitate.

A case that illustrates how shopkeeper-vendor contacts are of benefit to vendors is the case of Bodhan. Some decades ago Bodhan owned a vending business selling shoes and 'chapals' (sandals) near a crossing. Once a month he would visit the market under study to sell his products. During that period, Bodhan had alcohol problems. After the BMC demolished Bodhan's business near the crossing, one of the shopkeepers, Gupta senior, invited him to occupy the market space right in front of his shop. Currently Gupta junior has taken over the shop from his father.

P: [...] *Eh, so when I was in [X] circle I was doing business there. So, I used to get drunk with a friend. And every month I used to come here to sell shoes and chapels here.*

I: *Right. Because his, his shop was that also a stand like this?*

P: [...] *Yeah, here only. [...] Monday then all market is closed, only he [Bodhan] used to sell here.*

I: *Ja.*

P: *OK. Then eh, [Gupta senior] told him: Why don't you start your business over here only? [...] [W]hen I started this shop, I came here and started with the help of [Guptha senior].*

Gupta senior used to be a vendor himself and sympathised with Bodhan. His son, who took over his father's business after his death, still respects his father's decision to let Bodhan work in front of the shop. For Bodhan this location provides him –and his goods- some protection from BMC and Police.

I: *So how do you protect yourself from BMC and Police?*

[t]

P: [...] *If Police comes then I run away and if municipality comes I keep this in a, eh, bag and throw it or keep it inside the shop.*

I: *Hm. But how much time then does it take to wrap your business up and get it into the shop?*

[t]

P: [...] *Everyone from this shop will come and everyone will do, and it is very quick.*

Bodhan is not the only vendor who benefits from contacts with this shopkeeper. Also Aaris maintains a good relationship with Gupta junior, who allows him to store his electronic key-making machine in the shop. By investing in a key-making machine Aaris is able to produce a special type of key that cannot be manufactured by hand (as keys are usually made within the market). Buying the machine, however, is a considerable investment and it would be risky to keep the machine out in the openness of the market, where BMC could confiscate it. By allowing Aaris to store his investment in the relative safety of the shop, Gupta therefore, enables Aaris to invest in and further develop his business.

In both Bodhan and Aaris case, contacts with shopkeepers function as a strategy to protect one self from BMC and Police. In the case of Bodhan, his close relationship with the shopkeeper also allows him to claim a specific place within the market. Pravin, the chiku wholesaler, developed a different type of connection with local formal businesses. He supplies restaurant and hotels with chikus. This is a clear example of how formal and informal businesses can be mutual beneficial to each other. A final way in which vendors make use of connections with local shopkeepers is by tapping electricity from local shops to light the market in the evening. Vendors pay this shopkeeper a monthly fee in return for this service.

A final remark here, is that although a close relationship between a vendor and a shopkeeper, as exists between Gupta junior and Bodhan or between Gupta junior and Aaris, may not be completely uncommon, they are also not to be taken for granted. Gupta junior and senior both have or had personal motivations to help the vendors in the market: Gupta senior, because he had been a vendor himself; his son, because, he is honouring the memory of his father by continuing the efforts made by his father to help (some of) the vendors in front of his shop. Other shopkeepers, less connected to the vendors' case, are probably less inclined to help them.

5.3 “Capturing these places”: Privatizing public space

5.3.1 Capturing public space

“[I] used to have the shop here. And, eh, these places were pretty much empty. So, you can take and sit anywhere. Its like that only. That time.”

In ‘that time’, when the neighbourhood in which the market is located had not yet grown into its current proportions and the population density in the area was less, a vending spot not hard to come by. Where ever a vendor decided to open up a business it was acceptable, but this has changed. Due to population

growth in the area and increasing economic activity, the pressure on (public) space in the area increased. Nowadays a variety of actors try to negotiate different, and often conflicting, claims on the neighbourhood's (public) spaces, be it for sleeping (either on the streets or in a home), driving cars, conducting business, or any other activity. Whereas in the old days getting a vending spot was not problematic, currently, claiming space is an important issue to the vendors.

As was shown in section 4.2 on the position of vendors in public space and again in section 5.2 on street relationships, vendors are constantly renegotiating their claims on space. They negotiate these claims not only with BMC/Police, but also with elites, companies, and each other. 'Capturing' a suitable vending spot and then protecting it from being recaptured by someone else is very important to the vendors.

Potentially, this struggle for space could fuel an extremely chaotic situation in which claims on space need to be constantly renegotiated. In this sense, the construction of meanings, identities and moralities, discussed in chapter 4, may work to legitimize a certain claim on space; they are ineffective to ensure a claim on space when access to space is heavily contested. This calls for some kind of practical organisation and regulation of vendors' claims on public space. As became clear in section 5.1 formal political channels are not well equipped for this end. Vendors, therefore, have searched and found alternative ways to regulate claims on public space. These alternative ways enable vendors, who usually lack formal political rights, to access the city's public space and vend in a non-hawking zone, while minimizing the level conflict in this process of claiming space.

Two ways to organize vendors' claims on space are discussed here: Paying bribes and the establishment of an informal, though highly effective, entitlement system assigning the (informal) right to vend from a specific spot among vendors.

5.3.2 Public secret: organizing corruption on the streets

"[E]verything starts from bribe."

As section 5.2.2 explained the relationship between vendors and law enforcers is complex. Corruption in the form of regular bribe payments forms an important part of this relationship. Vendors usually refer to bribe as "*Hafta*." or "*Chaipani*" and see it as an essential part of their business process.

The payment of bribes in the market works as follows. Every day, a vendor collects a fixed amount of money from all the vendors that are paying bribes (an unpublished survey conducted by Saha, a PhD student at TISS, showed that daily bribes amount to 10 Rupees to the Police and 15 Rupees to the BMC). There are different collectors for BMC and for Police. Furthermore, there are different persons collecting money for the left (predominantly Hindu) side and the right

(predominantly Muslim) side of the market. During the interviews vendors explain how collected bribes are handed over to a courier of BMC/Police at a previously determined time. Based on the vendors' stories, the bribery system seems highly organized and integrated in the vendors' every day life.

Despite the payment of bribes, BMC and Police harassment does not completely stop however. When asked why there are BMC and Police raids even after bribe has been paid, vendors respond by saying that officers have to show their superiors as well as the public that they are doing their job.

I: *"Still sometimes you have to run. So even though you pay- How does this work?"*

[t]

P: [...] *See what happens. Those who come to take the bribe. They are lower level officers. OK. So they take the money- But they don't say it to the higher authority. So, at some point of time they have to show that they are doing their job. They are not taking bribe. So, that's why they raid at some point of time and take some stuff. That's to show that was, we are working, we re not taking bribe.*

(...)

[E]ven the higher officials also take bribe, but there are some time where the local public, local people they complain- Writing complains. So, to show them that we are, as a BMC, we are taking you complains and we are working on it. That's why they raid that place.

Another reason why BMC and Police harassment do not completely disappear is that it is difficult to effectively bribe every BMC/Police officer in the area. This is how Bodhan explains why the Police arrested him not too long ago.

I: *But how come Police has picked you up yesterday?"*

[t]

P: [...] *OK. Its like there're a hundred people in Police. So, if I pay one guy and another is not paid, so he'll come and pick me up.*

Furthermore, not all vendors pay bribes. For vendors with small vending businesses and those in the more quiet sides of the market, may decide not to pay BMC and Police. In these cases the vending businesses are not very profitable, or have low investment cost reducing the effective risk of BMC and Police harassment and with that the incentive for corruption. How and if BMC and Police officers respond to these renegades did not become clear during the study.

Although corruption is very common and most vendors talk openly about the way the bribery system functions, payments take place 'secretly'. During the fieldwork period, Amir for example laboured to ensure I would not witness the weekly money transfer. Also other vendors confirm:

"They collect the money put together, then they'll give it to the BMC, Police or whoever, in a secret way."

Also, talks between vendors and BMC and Police about bribes are impregnated with metaphors and full of indirect references. One of the older vendors, Minhaj, explains:

"P: [W]hen you talk about BMC, it's basically free. OK? We pay them, but, eh, sometimes it's like the more sugar you put in the tea- that'll be more sweeter.

I: Hmm.

P: Basically it will be sweeter. So, they [BMC officers] say if you take care of us, we take care of you. So sometimes they come and give you these dialogues and ask for money in a different way. But not force, but they'll give you this dialogues like if you take care of us, we'll take care of you."

To conclude, corruption is an important factor in the survival of vending in public space. Although paying bribes can never completely stop BMC and Police harassment, it reduces the frequency and the effectiveness of raids. The system of corruption is highly structured; payments occur on a regular basis, money collection is well organized and the amount of bribe to be paid is fixed. For the 'insiders' receiving the 'hafta' it is however not always possible to prevent raids or to provide vendors with correct information about planned raids. Corruption seems a balancing act. Officers, pressured by middle class and elite groups, need to live up to their formal responsibilities as law enforcers, but also need to keep their promise to the vendors that have paid them for their protection. And vendors as well, need to find a balance between the costs of corruption and the (potential) costs of BMC and Police harassment. Another characteristic of the system of corruption in the market is that it is self-enforcing. It provides and incentive for officials, who are not (yet) bribed by the vendors, to increase the level of harassment of vendors, in order to motivate vendors to start paying them 'hafta' as well. For vendors, bribery, therefore, is a necessity rather than a voluntarily applied strategy to claim space.

5.3.3 Entitlement to public space: Dividing space to vend

While bribing BMC and Police may ensure the continuation of vendors' claim on space, it does not resolve conflicts over space between vendors. Again it is not hard to imagine how struggles over space between vendors can lead to disorder in the market, i.e. fights etc., causing a potential threat to business success. However, despite the obvious pressure on market space (because of an increasing number of vendors and limited number of profitable vending spots in the market), vendors rarely seem to fight each other over a vending spot. During the data collection period, only one vendor referred to the use of force to claim a place within the market. In general, vendors seem to have found an alternative solution to regulate access to public space amongst vendors.

This alternative solution takes the form of an informal entitlement system for the use of a particular public space. It is through this system that the entire market area is divided amongst vendors. Indeed, even when a spot seems empty, ever spot in the market is occupied.

“Even if you see there open space, but this belongs to someone. The moment they start business- doing business in that open space the owner of the plot will come and start- will ask for rent for that. There is nothing called empty plot here. It seems to be empty but it is not.”

The vendor referred to in the beginning of section 5.3 recalls how it used to be in the market, when the area was still relatively empty. In the early days, it seems like there was no entitlement system in place. This changed with the increasing number of vendors in the area. Pressure on space increased, leading to the development of some informal rules regulating claims on space. The general idea is that whoever occupied a spot first ‘owns’ it. This rule is quit strictly enforced in the market. And a vendor’s claim on space is respected even when the vendor him self is absent (for example visiting his ‘muluk’ for a couple of months, which happens frequently) and even in the hereafter a vendor maintains his claim on ‘his’ vending spot (in the case of death, the vendor’s family members usually inherit his vending spot). A vendor’s claim on space is not restricted to the size of a vending stall, but extends to include the direct surroundings. As pressure on space increases these surroundings can be sold or given out in rent to new vendors. New vendors are most often acquaintances or family members²¹ (see also 5.2.1 on street relationships between vendors), but can also be strangers as Nand explains.

“Its like, eh, you have to come here and search for the place. So, if you see any empty places near a shop keeper [vendor], you’ll ask them that who’s place is this? OK, if it is, he-, eh, s- That means, if its not his place, and no one is there, then he’ll say that this is my place. So, what should be done? So, then I’ll say I want to do a business out here. So, they’ll ask will you pay me for this? How much will you pay me? So, he’ll say that: pay me this much. So, I’ll agree to that and they tell me that in the beginning you pay me this, but as the business grows, you have to keep growing the money. This is how I came, and- This, this- This is the way it happens in the market.”

By buying spaces from vendors who are unable to sustain their business, Shiva, the spice shop vendor has been able expand his business to include an area that used to occupy around seven separate businesses.

P: [...] *OK. The small vendors if they are not able to do their business, so I buy the place and start my business there.*

I: *OK. And the vendors, they leave then? Or they-*

[t]

P: [...] *They leave after the sell the place to us. They leave.*

²¹ Since it is common in India to refer to friends using family terms, such as brother (‘bhai’) or uncle (‘chacha’), it is sometimes hard to tell the difference between real and fictive kin relations in the context of a market.

In sum, vendors apply an entitlement system to divide access to particular public spaces among vendors. This system seems to function as an effective way to negotiate claims on space made by an increasing number of vendors.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: How vendors give meaning to public space

This study aimed to define ways in which vendors give meaning to public space and to explain how these processes reinforce particular claims on space. Central to this study is the notion of public space. Chapter 2 and 3 discussed how public space consists of both a physical component and a symbolic component. In its symbolic sense, public space is seen as constructed (Lefebvre 1976). Human actors, often representing powerful institutions and social groups in society, constantly shape and reshape space, constructing not one but multiple identities of a place (Soja 1971). Public space then becomes “the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space- order and control or free, and perhaps dangerous, interaction- and about who constitutes 'the public'” (Mitchell 1995, p. 115). Social groups try to gain access to or strengthen their position in public space through everyday practices (de Certeau 1984), reshaping not only conceptualizations public space, but also the group’s identity (Giddens 1984). Particular conceptualizations of public space are reflected in the physical component of public space: the urban design. Urban design sets the conditions for the arena in which everyday practices can take place.

How do street vendors’ efforts to define and redefine the meaning of public space relate to this theoretical model? From this study it became clear that constructing public space is not a black and white, straightforward process. In fact there are many different layers through which vendors (re)shape public space and create and recreate a ‘vendor’s place’ within it. This concluding chapter identifies three prominent constructions vendors create and recreate of public space (as a modern place, a local place and an ‘all men’s place’) and shows how these constructions are enforced, but also contested and resisted. It is through these different conceptualisations that vendors create a ‘vendor’s place’, where vending in public space is normalized. The chapter also analyses how particular everyday activities reinforce and reinvent the vendors’ claim on space. The final section of the chapter goes back to the conceptual model presented in chapter 3 and adds to it the insights acquired in this study. It shows how at the local geographical scale vendors’ claims on space can be considered powerful in some ways.

6.1 Meanings and identities

This study found several ways in which vendors reconstruct public space. This is an interesting finding, since literature on this topic has mainly focused on only one particular construction of public space: the modern city ideal. These studies argued that modern constructions of public space are prominent among Mumbai’s middle class citizen groups, who use it to exclude vendors from public space. This study finds that vendors are aware of this modern ideal (“they want to make Mumbai like Singapore”), but have developed strategies to rework this

excluding construction into a more including (vendor friendly) vision of public space. In this way, vendors create a vendor's place in an otherwise hostile (modern) public space. Furthermore, vendors do not just use their reconstruction of the modernity ideal to define the public space around them. In fact they use multiple layers of constructions through which they constantly redefine public space. In these other layers vendors differentiate not only between vendors and non-vendors, but also between different categories of vendors. This leads to the creation of not a single vendor's place, but rather multiple vendors' places.

This study found, in addition to the reconstruction of the modernity ideal, two other layers through which vendors give meaning to public space: a layer in which public space is defined in relation to gender; and a layer defining public space based on local and national identities. Just as the modernity ideal is reworked and challenged by vendors, so are particular constructions of place identity within the two other layers (i.e. localism and an 'all men's place') constantly reworked and challenged.

In addition, the study showed that the way in which an individual vendor gives meaning to public space (i.e. the constructions of public space (s)he chooses to highlight) depends on the particular context. This also means that a vendor may change his or her story of what is appropriate and what is not appropriate in public space in different situations. The example of Das, the second-generation migrant from UP illustrates this idea. In a market full of migrants, Das is a 'localite' labouring to exclude newly arrived migrants from the market. However, when Das is confronted with an aggressive native Maharashtrian, he identifies himself as an -unfairly treated- migrant from UP. This is tactic behaviour through which, on a local level, a vendor constantly works to justify his/her claim on space.

Sections 6.1.1-6.1.3 elaborate on the three layers of modernity, local/national identities and gender. Findings are summarized in table 6.1.

6.1.1 Modernity and the market

The most clearly represented construction of public space is vendor's reconstruction of the middle class ideal of modernism. Vendors are well aware of the fact that, as Fernandes (2004) would say, they are 'forgotten' by the urban middle class and elite. Vendors expressed they felt like 'dustbins', 'valueless' and rightless in a city that tries to become a 'Singapore' copycat.

Resisting constructions of modernity

In their reconstruction of the modernity ideal, vendors try to redefine themselves and the market in a way that not only contradicts the modern ideal, but also legitimizes their presence in space. On the one hand, vendors create an image of vending in public space as necessity for the survival of the family. It is the only way for poor fathers to earn money to educate and feed their children. The provision of food underlines the necessity of vending, whereas the children's

education represents an investment in the future, a possibility of a better life. On the other hand, some vendors mention their position as experts in a certain business field, or express the desire to be seen as a 'businesswalla' instead of a 'pheriwalla'. Vending in other words is a proper business that requires skills and expertise and provides a service to the general public. In this way vendors position themselves as opposed to marginalized or criminal groups in society, such as beggars, goondas and criminals. In this way they underline the contribution they make not only as fathers providing an income, but also to society as a whole. Elites, policymaker and the rich are now portrayed as uncaring, addicted, dishonest or corrupt. What it means to be rich, an elite or a policy maker is thus redefined on a local level, in a similar way as vendors reshaped the meaning of the shopping mall (as was argued in chapter 2, referring to Anjaria 2008).

In this way, vendors, who in general seem to perceive themselves as decent fathers and honest vendors, can legitimize the fact that in order to conduct their profession, they have to break the law. It is a necessity in a world where corrupted, uncaring officials try to 'eradicate the poor' rather than poverty. Above all children need to be fed and educated and the only way to do that in a decent matter is by vending, as the alternative would be stealing. Trying to illegalize vending then becomes an attempt to criminalize the nation's fathers, or, as in the case of Soumitra, mothers.

6.1.2 Localism and (re)working local identities

A second story through which vendors assign meaning to public space, construct a notion of the 'other' and shape their own identities is based on ideas of localism. This story is developed in a context where there are significant numbers of migrants coming into the area. This creates an insiders-group of so called 'old' vendors or localites and an outsiders-group of migrants from other parts of India. 'Old' vendors try to legitimize their presence in the market based on their historical rooting in the area. Furthermore, a narrative is created in which migrants' morality is questioned. Migrants are then considered a threat to public safety and purity of public space. They are blamed for polluting public space, making the market 'dirty' and accused of harassment of women, for example. These types of behaviour do not belong in Mumbai's public space, which is apparently supposed to be clean and safe. The parallels with the modernity ideal and the purity narrative underlying gender identities in India are striking.

Resisting constructions of localism

Again the group portrayed as 'outsiders', i.e. migrants, have found clever ways to neutralize the 'old' vendors narrative. First, some vendors emphasize their Indian-ness. Being Indian represents the all vendors in the market as belonging to the same group, redefining migrants as insiders. Second, a migrated vendor expressed how he feels he is a 'Mumbaiker', since he was 'reborn in Mumbai'. Through this, the vendor radically reconstructs his personal identity as being reborn into the insiders-group.

6.1.3 The market as an “all men’s place”

The third narrative that was put forward in the data is related to the role of gender in public space. Male vendors construct public space as an ‘all men’s place’ and exclude women workers on a number of grounds. First, public space is considered dangerous for women if not for the constant threat of BMC and Police, then at least because of the sexual harassment women apparently face in public space. Public space here is portrayed as full of threats and danger, such as gambling, drunks and ‘prostitutes’ [sex workers], making it unequipped for families. Furthermore, women sitting in the market are believed to attract negative attention, causing unrest in the market and a loss of business. Finally, Religious believes are used to argue that women should not work at all. Especially the Muslim vendors justify the exclusion of female workers from the market based on their religious convictions. This has the two sided effect of on the one hand it provides a strong moral justification which is difficult for women to challenge since it is based on the secret institution of the Islam. On the other hand, grounding a particular gender view on religious convictions makes it relative in the sense that other religions may have different gender views.

Resisting the all men’s place construction

To secure her position as a pure woman, Soumitra identified herself as a sister working for her ‘anna’ (older brother) within the context of the ‘home’. In this way Soumitra completely distanced herself from the sexual prostitute or ‘public women’, in the same way that she uses the desexualized term ‘anna’ in extreme contrast to sexual harasser, to refer to her boss.

It is interesting to see, how instead of labelling herself as a ‘modern professional’, Soumitra chooses to rework the purity discourse into a story that redefines her own position as that of a sister, purity is protected by a male family member, her ‘anna’. It looks as if the image of the ‘modern professional’ might be reserved for middle class and elite women²².

6.1.4 An overview

The sections above highlighted the interesting ways in which individual vendors constantly reconstruct their self-identity, the ‘other’s’ identity and the meaning of public space. Through these reconstructions, vendors are not only able to challenge powerful excluding processes at the local level, they are also reshaping modernisation ideologies and gender and local identities. Table 6.1 summarizes the different ways in which vendors reattach meaning and reshape identities. The table presents the three layers discussed in section 6.1.1-6.1.3 under the headings ‘modernity’, ‘localism’ (local/national identities) and ‘all men’s place’ (gender). These headings represent a particular powerful construction of public space within every layer (summarized under ‘reinforcing’). As outlined in the sections above, each of these constructions can be (and are) challenged.

²² It has to be noted that within other markets the exclusion of women is not so apparent. In fact, there are markets that are dominated by women. In these contexts the power balance and therefore the dominant constructions of public space, are most likely different.

Alternative constructions, challenging the ones presented under the reinforcing-header, are summarized under the header ‘resistance’. It should be noted that in reality, conceptualisations of public space held by an individual vendor will not precisely fit into any of the categories presented in the table. Rather, depending on the context, vendors use elements from several categories to justify their claim on space. Table 6.1 should thus be interpreted as a neatly ordered, static representation of a messy and dynamic reality.

Table 6.1: Overview identity constructions of vendors

Ideal→	Modernism		Localism		All men’s place	
Identities↓	Reinforcing	Resisting	Reinforcing	Resisting	Reinforcing	Resisting
Self	-.23	Rightless Poor Providing-father Expert/ Business-walla	‘Old’ vendors ‘Localite’	Reborn - Mumbaiker Indians	Male provider	Sister ‘Anna’
Other	Vendors: ‘Dustbins’ ‘Valueless’	Elites: Careless Addicted Dishonest Corrupt	Migrants: Immoral outsiders North Indians	-.24 (Native Maharashtrians)	Women: Family women	-.25
Public space	‘Singapore’	A place to earn A place where people don’t care for each other	‘Dirty’ (when invaded by outsiders)	A place of rebirth Part of India	‘Men’s place’ Dangerous place A anti- family place	Home

6.2 Putting performance in place

Vendors use everyday practices to reinforce their presence in public space. For example, vendors use social contacts to create and sustain informal structures through which they may reinforce their claim on space. These include paying bribe and remain contact with BMC and Police officials (through a system of corruption) and assigning entitlements to use a particular space to vendors (based on ‘ownership or payments of rent) through an informal entitlement

²³ Usually, when vendors talk about the people or groups that want to modernize Mumbai, turning it into Singapore, they refer to them as ‘they’. ‘They’ can indicate elites, middle class, politicians, BMC or Police officers, etc. Since these social groups did not participate in this study, it is not possible to construct a self-identify for these groups. This is why this cell is empty.

²⁴ Redefining oneself as a Mumbaiker makes one part of the in-group (here: ‘old’ vendors/localites) this means that there is no specific ‘other’ can be defined here.

²⁵ Here, the identity of a family women and her inappropriateness in a ‘backward place’ is not contested. This is why there is no specific other indicated. What is challenged instead is the way public space is constructed.

system. Other important everyday practices include the creations of social contacts and fictive kin relationships through talks and interactions and speaking the local language Marathi. Finally, of course the act of vending in it self is the most important practise through which vendors redefine public space and shape their identity.

6.3 Jeena yahan, marna yahan

How do the conclusions above relate to the conceptual model presented in chapter2? In literature much attention has been given to the ways in which dominant social groups or the state define what public space ought to be like (Fernandes 2004; Mitchell 2001). Other theoretical studies already highlighted that marginal groups are not a passive actors, over which social groups can spread their projections of what public space ought to be like. In stead, these studies argue, marginalized groups change, challenge, and redefine the dominant group's constructions of public space, fundamentally altering their meaning and therefore their effect on everyday life (i.e. de Certeau 1984; Anjaria 2008). These ideas were reflected in the conceptual model (see section 2.6). The model is based on the idea that social groups try to gain access to or strengthen their position in public space through everyday practices (de Certeau 1984), reshaping not only public space, but also the group's identity (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu 1977).

This study, however, is conducted at the local level of a single street market. At this local level identifying particular social groups turned out to be problematic. The study showed that on a local level individuals select elements from different conceptualisations of public space (see table 6.1) and regroup and reshape them to fit their own personal interests within a particular context, rather than the interests of a particular social group. As a result, an individual may at times use different or even conflicting conceptualisations. Furthermore, individuals carry several identity builders, such as ethnicity, religious conviction, gender, number of years that were spend in the market, age, etc., etc. Depending on the context, individuals can therefore be grouped in a number of (still not formally organized) social groups. Therefore on a local level there is no social group that demands "submission to the collective rhythms" as Bourdieu (1977, p. 163) has argued. In fact it is difficult to define a particular social group at all, left alone its group identity. So, whereas dominant social groups or the state as a whole may have well defined ideals about what public space should look like (reflected in policies, laws ad regulations), on a local level the construction of public space seems to take place in more fragmented and flexible ways.

Another conclusion underlying the importance of local geographical scale in the conceptualisations of public space is related to power. This study shows that a group that is generally considered powerful on a particular geographical level may not necessarily be so on a different scale. For instance, middle class citizens, politicians and higher officials may participate in the construction of the world-class Mumbai ideology, which is strongly reflected in laws, regulations and policies and in that sense powerful on a city level, they are not able to eliminate

vendors from the local markets. On the other hand, whereas vendors can be considered powerful at a local level (considering their presence in public space despite anti-vending laws), their interests are poorly reflected at the city level through laws and policies. In this context claims over space are constantly contested not only at particular geographical levels, but also *between* geographical levels. Whatever interest is most powerful depends on the geographical scale at which these issues are studied.

In sum, reflecting on the conceptual model, it can therefore be argued that, first, it is hard to define a specific social group at a local level; and second, studies of the local blur distinctions between the dominant and the marginalized, which are usually defined at other geographical levels. Where the global modern city of Mumbai tries to forget about 'valueless' vendors, representing a pre-modern past, vendors engage in efforts to make the city remember and revision the role vending plays in Mumbai. Where 'localites' try to keep 'outsiders' from polluting the market, outsiders are reborn as Mumbaikers. Where men try to protect women's purity by restricting 'good' women to the domestic sphere, 'good' women have extended the domestic sphere to include the public. Local actors thus have a certain power to rework dominant ideals of what public space is and how it should be used. In fact dominant ideals seem to leave quite some room for that. This creates powerful democratic spaces on a local level.

However fragmented exact conceptualisations of public space may be, vendors in this market do agree that public space is a place where vending may take place. This perception of public space is reflected and at the same time sustained through some everyday practices that join vendors together (such as social interaction (whether based on common language, shared background or fictive kinship relations), assigning land use to vendors, paying bribes and, of course, the act of vending it self). It is through these everyday activities that vendors express their claim on space.

From the above it should not be concluded that the way access to the city is arranged is just. Instead here, it is argued that when access to public space becomes a necessity to survive, individuals become incredible creative and resourceful in finding new ways into the city. They rework the narratives that try to exclude them, altering them into alternative stories that legitimizes their presence in powerful ways:

Jeena yahan. Marna yahan. Iske siwa jaana kahan?
You live here. You die here. Where else can you go but here?

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Appendix A: Interview guide

Street vendor:

- How long have you been a street vendor?
- How long have you been here in this market area?
- And in this specific spot?

- Why did you become a street vendor?
- Why did you decide to sell keys/belts/sandals/etc?
 - How did you learn to make keys, to manage your business?

- Why did you start vending in [Neighbourhood] area?
 - Social network: Who did you know in [Neighbourhood] before coming here?
 - How exactly did knowing these people help you to start your business here?
- Besides the presence of a social network, what makes [Neighbourhood] a good site for street vending?

- Within [Neighbourhood] what is the best area to sell from? Why?
- Within this market what is the best place to sell from? Why?
- What do I need to do so I can start a new business in this market?

- What do you pay for this spot?
 - Bribe Police
 - Bribe BMC
 - Rent
 - Other?...
- Why do you pay this money?
- What would happen if you would not pay this money?
- How secure are you of this space to sell from? How come?
- Has anyone ever tried to take your space from you?
 - What happened?
 - Police
 - BMC
 - Street vendors from outside this market
- Is there room for any more vendors at this market or is it full? Why?

- How is your relationship with the other vendors within this market?

- How important are these relationships for you?
- And how important are these relationships for your business?
- With what kind of things do other street vendors help you?
- Concrete example?
- Do you ever help the other street vendors?
- How do you help other vendors?
- Are there other people that enable you to conduct your business in this way? (Probe: Family support (lunch), surrounding shop keepers, other?)

- What makes [Neighbourhood] a bad site for street vending?
- What dangers are there for street vendors here? (repeat)
 - How do you deal with these problems (go by them one by one)?
 - Who helps you to tackle these problems?
 - How do these people help you?
 - Concrete example?
- *By law, street vending is illegal. Should all street vendors be allowed to sell at [Neighbourhood]?*
 - *Why (not)?*
- *Why, do you think, is street vending illegal?*
- What should the government do to improve the lives of street vendors?
- Are there any other people that could do something to improve lives of street vendors? Who, by doing what?

- How are disputes among street vendors resolved within this market?
- Can you give me an example of when there was a dispute in this market? What had happened and how did individual people react to it?
- And what about disputes between vendors and customers/shop keepers/other?

- What do you like about being a street vendor?
- What don't you like about being a street vendor?
- To what extent is street vending a decent job?
- Who benefits from street vending?
- What are negative effects of street vending?

- Where are you from?
- What do you feel like most? (Identity)
 - A person from [Neighbourhood]
 - A person from Mumbai
 - A person from (fill in place of origin)
 - A person from India

- Other
- Why?

- I know in Hindi **** is the word for street vending. Are there any other (slang) words for street vending in Hindi or any other local language?
- Do they have a positive/negative connotation?
- What do these words mean exactly?

- Do you have anything to add? Any other comments?
- Do you have any questions? (about the study? Other things?)
- How did you like the interview?

Thank you for helping me with my studies!

Appendix B: Codes in second coding cycle

Codes (AA_):	General codes
<p>MARKET CHARACTERISTICS VENDOR CHARACTERISTICS Muluk</p> <p>Working history</p>	<p>Description market</p> <p>Back ground vendors Male UP/Bihar/Tamil/Mumbai Languages: Did vendors understand each other? Religion Hindu/Muslim Working history Business type (Size, specialization) Age</p>
<p>STATUS WORK</p> <p>Needing to survive Negative attitude Feeling unable to change situation Positive attitude Taking pride from work Business success/Upward mobility</p> <p>Motives vending Mumbai Poverty</p>	<p>Status work Self-employed/Wage worker Surviving/obligation (I have to) Negative attitude Feeling trapped/incapable of doing anything else (poverty trap) I love my job!/being an expert Positive attitude towards street vending Business Success/Upward mobility From helper to being self-employed Expanding business Missing the vendors that have moved on from vending to a better job Motives for becoming a vendor in Mumbai Poverty/being rich</p>
<p>RISKS BMC Police Harassment <i>(invivo: Special raid)</i> Fine Having goods confiscated Being arrested Being removed Goonda Fighting/Intimidating Stealing Riots Crowd Public media</p>	<p>Jeena Yahaan Marna Yahaan <i>(You live here, you die here, where else can you go but here?)</i> Things are the same everywhere, Life and death (your problems) are there with you always. Running away is no use: You have to make the best of it here.</p> <p>Risks to which a street vendor feels exposed BMC Police Harassment/raid Fine/Receipt (double meaning boete en rente voor BMC) Having goods confiscated Being arrested New planning plans (bridge, new ideas -> rally) Goondas Fights/intimidation (among vendors/drunks/movie producers)</p>

<p>Natural elements Low sales Competition Increasing livelihood expenses Getting old Costs of expanding</p> <p>POLITICS Invivo: Voting banks Losing registration</p> <p>Having no Identity proof Court Rightless position</p> <p>CORRUPTION Motives for corruption</p> <p>(il)legality</p> <p>MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES Bribe Running</p> <p>SOCIAL CONTACTS Rally Other</p> <p>EFFECTS RMS</p> <p>SOCIAL CONTACTS Being on your own Trust Helping each other Contacts other vendors Contacts employer / wage worker Contacts distributor Contacts BMC/Police Contacts village/relatives</p>	<p>Thieves Riots (everyone can become a murderer) Crowd: Terrorist attacks Newspaper: Being exposed (Link BMC&Police) Being exposed to natural elements (Sun, wind, rain) Low sales/low income Competition Increasing livelihood expenses Getting old (quote)</p> <p>Risks to growth: Becoming visible to BMC/Police/Goondas</p> <p>Politics “Voting banks” Needing to vote: Losing registration identity Changes Risk of political unrest Not trust worthy Having no identity proof Court cases (also related to fine) Rightless position (Also linked to (il)legality and newcomers/outside)</p> <p>Corruption (If your county is for sale, would you buy it?) Motives for corruption BMC/Police Politicians Movie producer workers Vendors Less raids Information system Creating incentive to let them stay</p> <p>The grey boundaries of (il)legality in Mumbai Feeling ill treated</p> <p>Risk management strategies Paying bribe + extra’s (Hafta, to make the tea more sweeter) Running away (Railway = free) Social contacts Protest rally Using bridge protection Employ vulnerable people (handicapped/children)</p> <p>Effects risk management strategies Less harassment Information system between BMC/Police & vendors Obscuring planning projects Nothing is happening</p> <p>Social contacts Social contacts is not the same as friends, you’re on your own</p>
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<p>Contacts shop keeper Contacts customers Hawkers Union</p> <p>CONNECTION TO MARKET Access to market Business linkages Reducing BMC/Police harassment Helping each other Financial security</p> <p>NEWCOMERS/OUTSIDERS</p> <p>“Old” vendors Mumbaite Being discriminated Motives helping newcomers</p> <p>CLAIMING SPACE</p> <p>“Old” vendors Pressure on space</p> <p>SOCIAL CONTACTS Language</p> <p>Bribe Rent</p> <p>LEAVING</p> <p>ROLE FAMILY Compromising on family</p> <p>Supporting family Being supported by family</p> <p>DESIRES</p> <p>DISCUSSION: PROPER</p>	<p>Importance trust (see also memo’s) Helping each other Other vendors Workers Contacts distributor Contacts Police/BMC Contacts village/relatives (difference is hard to see)</p> <p>Less important: Contacts shop keeper (B+JS) Less important: Contacts customers Less important: Hawkerc union</p> <p>Results social network: Strong linkage to a place! Access to market Business linkages Reducing BMC/Police harassment Being helped out by other vendors Financial Security: Social Security System</p> <p>Newcomers/outsidecs: Competition for space Who has the right to this space? Oudgediende Mumbaiyte? Being discriminated Motives for introducing/allowing newcomer opening business: Business linkages (M_SS) Receiving rent Position market (Rewarded by God) ??? Social position village???</p> <p>Claiming space (Act) by getting rooted (Process)/ Struggle over space Or: Place attachment and dependence Or: Struggle over space</p> <p>Rename and recode!</p> <p>Strength claim Being there since long time Pressure on space</p> <p>Social contacts Role of language Payments Bribe (Hafta) Rent Buying business</p> <p>Leaving the market</p> <p>Role family Compromising on family Having no time Lack of understanding Leaving family behind in village</p>
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