

**Mumbai Fish Markets:
A Mapping Exercise**

**International Collective in Support of Fishworkers
2014**

Acronyms

BMC	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation
DCR	development control regulations
DP	Development Plan
CSO	civil society organization
ELU	existing land use (plan)
FSI	floor space index
GPS	global positioning system
ICSF	International Collective in Support of Fishworkers
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
KVRI	Kamala Raheja Institute of Architecture and Environment Studies
MCGM	Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai
MMKS	Maharashtra Macchimar Kruti Samitee
NFF	National Fishworkers' Forum
NGO	non-governmental organization
TISS	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
UDRI	Urban Design Research Institute
YUVA	Youth for Voluntary Action

Introduction

Mumbai, India's economic capital is located on the west coast of the country. A bustling city of 12.4 million,¹ it is also the capital city of the state of Maharashtra. Known as the "city of dreams", Mumbai attracts migrants from varied backgrounds, who pour into the city daily, from all corners of the country, hoping for a better life.

The original inhabitants of Mumbai, the *kolis*, have been engulfed by the modern city and the influx of migrants. The *kolis* are traditional fishers. They continue to hold out in pockets – their fishing villages, called *koliwad*s, dot the city's coastline, and are located on prime real estate. Despite a decline in their nearshore fishing activities due to urbanisation, pollution and other developments, they represent a unique identity of the city. Men do the fishing while women remain behind to operate on land-based resources, that is, coastal spaces and fish markets. They have been using these coastal spaces and fish markets for centuries now.

Earlier, fisherwomen used to sell the fish catch from family boats, but over the years, as the city expanded, the number of fish markets and demand for fish grew. In Mumbai, which is the main harbour, fish supply is abundant, which has led to a number of fish markets. In Old Mumbai (Mumbai city/south Mumbai) can be found major markets that have a history of fisherwomen taking the initiative to build them themselves. Later, after Independence, the municipal corporation took over the land and fish markets in the name of governance.

Currently, there are 62 [\(as per MCGM database\)](#) fish markets in Mumbai city under the purview of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM, earlier known as the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation or BMC). The markets, built pre-Independence, are large, well-ventilated and have a good deal of open space. They are also located on prime real estate. However, over the decades, the women complain, the markets have gone to seed; many lack basic amenities, thus reducing the flow of customers. The challenges facing the women fish vendors were documented in a 2013 study by the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF).²

Apart from these formally recognized markets, the city has many informal fish markets such as street fish markets. Unlike other street markets selling an array of goods, which are dominated by migrant sellers, Mumbai's fish markets have been historically populated by *koli* women, who are the [primary producer group](#) doing business in the same place for generations. Many of these fish markets were earlier on proper land but development pressures have now pushed them out into the streets.

The absence of recognition for the informal fish markets (and thus fish vendors) is a major concern that became a priority for the women's wing of the Maharashtra Macchimar Kriti Samitee (MMKS) which began to gather data on fish markets in the city. Towards this end,

¹ <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/pca/Searchdata.aspx> (Mumbai city 3085411 & Mumbai suburb 9,356,962)

² Women Fish Vendors in Mumbai. Study report. ICSF, 2013.
<http://www.icsf.net/en/monographs/article/EN/132-women-fish-vend.html?limitstart=0>

representative from ICSF and MMKS joined hands with the development plan division of MCGM to map formal and specifically informal fish markets in the city.

Development Plan

Any development in the city and reservations for civic amenities are decided by the development plan and development control regulations (DCR) of the city. Under section 61 (h) of the Mumbai Municipality Corporations Act, it is obligatory for MCGM to establish municipal retail markets for the general public. MCGM has a separate market and garden department dedicated to look into the governance of retail markets, including fish markets. This department has a market policy which looks into the redevelopment of markets, regulated by larger guidelines issued by the development plan.

MCGM is required to put together a development plan and DCR, which are supposed to lay out the blueprint for the city's infrastructural growth and land use for a 20-year period (2014-2034). The last development plan for Mumbai city was in 1982 (when the city was known as Bombay). That plan became operational only in 1994.

In 2005, the Government of India introduced a centrally-funded scheme for cities, called the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), which aims to make cities more efficient and equitable. To tap into the Rs 50,000-crore (about USD 8.5 billion)³ JNNURM scheme, states have to implement reforms to their regulatory frameworks to integrate the poor into their service delivery systems, make the system accountable, transparent and efficient. To be eligible for funds each city must also have an updated city development plan. In addition, Maharashtra's Regional and Town Planning Act of 1966 also requires the development plan to be put in place. As a result, MCGM has taken the initiative to formulate the development plan for 2014-2034.

Fish markets form a part of this process and are dealt with by the MCGM's market department, based on its market policy. MCGM put out a market redevelopment policy in 2002. However, only two markets were redeveloped under this policy as there was great civil society protest against the policy, which was seen as favouring private developers. It was said that the floor space index (FSI), which governs how much built-up area is allowed, was being relaxed so that private developers could earmark most of the area for private commercial/residential space and make a killing, while the public utility of the market would be given short shrift. Due to intense lobbying by civil society, the 2002 policy was dropped. MCGM decided to develop a new market policy. However, due to much debate over the new policy among councillors (MCGM's elected representatives), the new policy has been stalled (see ICSF's 2013 study for more information).

³

Source: www.xe.com Conversion rate as on 22.05.14 was 1 USD = 58.57 INR

In 2011, MCGM had appointed consultants, M/S Groupe SCE (I) Ltd, to revise the city's development plan. The consultants, using existing data and maps available with MCGM and by conducting surveys, created an existing land use (ELU) map. Fishing villages, fish-drying yards, etc. were also included in the map. The ELU map was made available online for public comment until 30 March 2013.

In 2012, NGOs, spearheaded by Youth for Voluntary Action (YUVA) and the Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI), started a campaign (*Hamara Shahar, Hamara Vikas*, meaning "Our City, Our Development") to promote greater involvement of local communities in the planning process. They held meetings to encourage communities and NGOs to send in their comments on the ELU map. Consequently, the local fishworkers organization, MMKS sent in their comments on the land use plan to MCGM in a letter dated 18 September 2012. The women fish vendors pointed out that the ELU had not mapped all the formal and informal markets where the *koli* women play an active role. For example, neither the MCGM fish market in Khar Danda *Koliwada* nor the large wholesale fish market at Sassoon Docks are mapped. Sassoon Docks is shown only as a transport node. The women noted that it is very important that such markets be mapped in the ELU and that informal markets be recognized and formalized in the new development plan.⁴ Based on the 4,000-odd comments from the public, revisions were made to the map. The report and other information can be found on the MCGM website.⁵

In a meeting organized by NGOs, anchored by YUVA, on 8 May 2013, the encouraging response of MCGM to comments was welcomed as well as the MCGM's holding monthly meetings, but it was noted that the tight deadlines may be causing the state to skip public consultations which are required. Therefore, a public meeting was called at Azad Maidan on 23 October 2013 to gather community support and ask MCGM to hold public consultations. Up to this point, MCGM had not indicated any plans for public consultations and had only extended the deadline for the preliminary report on proposed land use to 15 July 2013. Finally, MCGM decided to hold a series of consultations on 14 themes at different venues in collaboration with several civil society organizations (CSOs). The consultations were planned between 17 December 2013 and 5 February 2014 and each consultation had an anchor CSO, depending on their expertise.

For MMKS, the consultations on *koliwad*as, gender, land use and transport were of utmost importance. The women were keen on the consultations as they felt that unlike in mainstream fisheries where their concerns get sidelined, this was a platform where they would be heard.

4

(<http://www.mcgm.gov.in/iri/go/km/docs/documents/Existing%20Land%20Use%20Survey%20Comments/General.pdf> refer SR no. 34)

⁵ 2013. Municipal corporation of Greater Mumbai, Development plan for Greater Mumbai 2014-34, Preparatory studies. Part 1

http://www.mcgm.gov.in/iri/go/km/docs/documents/MCGM%20Department%20List/Chief%20Engineer%20%28Development%20Plan%29/Preparatory%20Studies%20Report/PREPARATORY%20STUDIES_PART_1

Five women representatives of the women's wing of MMKS participated in the 'Consultative Workshop on Development Plan (2014-34) through a Gender Inclusive Lens' that was held on 20 January 2014, at a MCGM office. NGOs working on women's issues, namely, Kusumtai Chaudhary Mahila Kalyani, Stree Mukti Sangathana, Mahila Vikas Parishad, Mahila Sangathan Konkan, Swadhar, Aakar, G5A Foundation, CORO, Ambedkar Mission, CAT and YUVA; academic institutions, namely, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Kamala Raheja Vidhyanidhi Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies (KRVIA); media and MCGM officers were among the 78 participants. Issues like livelihood, transport, public transport, mobility on streets, housing, public services, and safety in public places were discussed from a gender perspective, and recommendations were made to make the city more gender-friendly. The recommendations highlighted the need to:

- reserve space for women vendors in markets and at street corners;
- ensure road connectivity from transport nodes to interior areas;
- allocate land for training centres where skill-based training can be imparted, to boost women's participation in the formal sector;
- create a separate space for small-scale production areas in slums as well as in the city ;
- incorporate these small-scale industries in the development plan; and
- recognize shelter homes for working women and allocate resources for the same.

MCGM was proactive and took some immediate measures, such as working towards reserving space for women vendors in markets. For this, MCGM needed data on the number and types of fish markets in the city. MMKS and ICSF were able to hold an independent discussion with the Chief Planner, MCGM, on fish vendor issues. The Chief Planner requested MMKS and ICSF to collaborate with MCGM officials and map fish markets. Thus began the mapping exercise.

Objectives

In addition to providing MCGM with much-needed data on the number and types of fish markets in the city, the mapping exercise would also help inform officials which areas of the city were in dire need of fish markets.

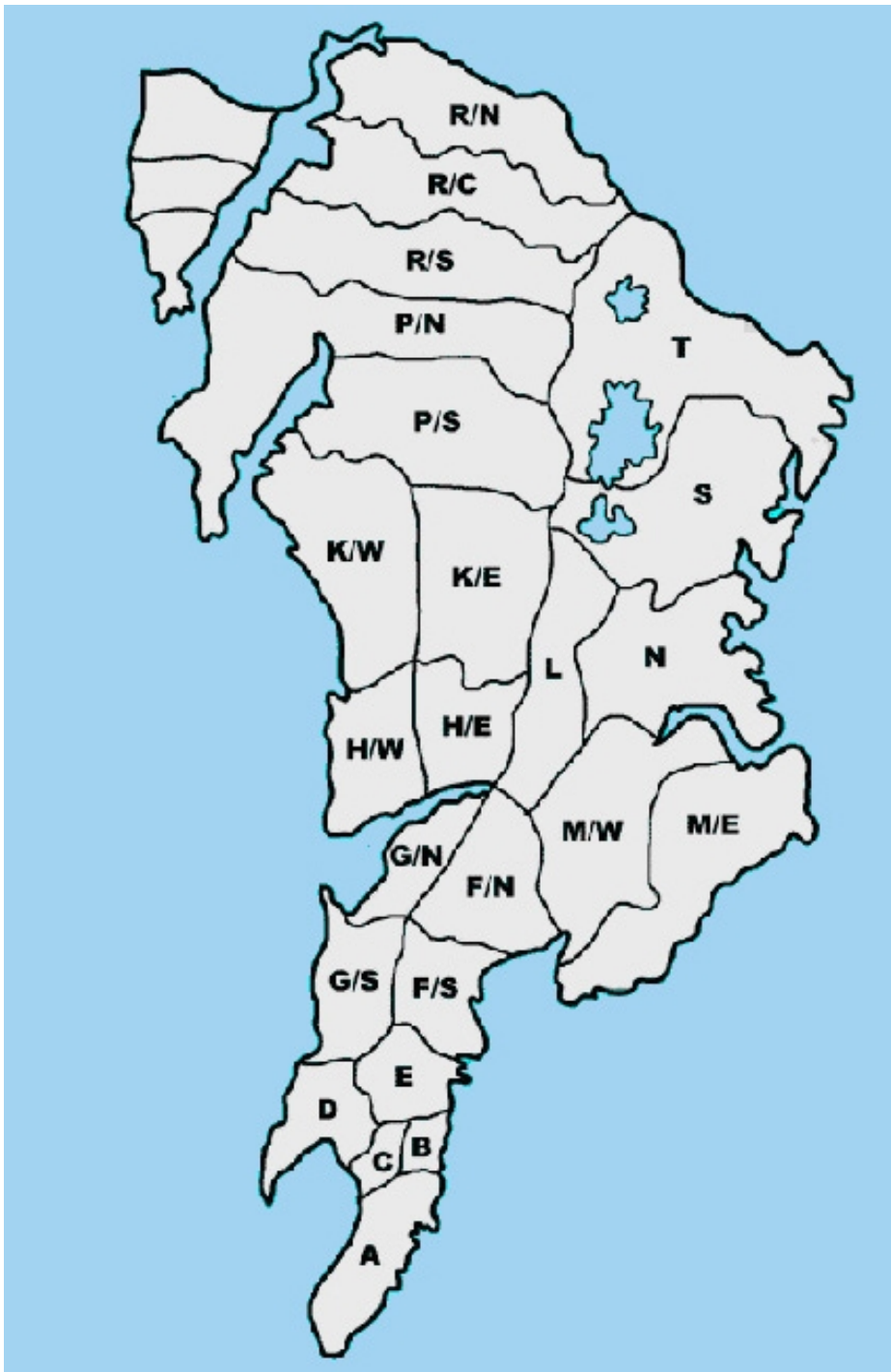
This report, a documentation of the process, it is hoped, will be useful for any similar plans in the future and as an aid to the state in its complex, but important and necessary, task of planning the city's development. It will, it is hoped, be of use to the fish vendors and MMKS, in keeping track of developments in fish markets and working with the state to improve management of fish markets.

Methodology

The mapping was carried out according to MCGM's administrative divisions; Mumbai is divided into Mumbai City, Mumbai Western Suburb and Mumbai Eastern Suburb. These are further divided into zones which, typically, comprise of three to five wards each. In each zone, the team was accompanied by the MCGM officials responsible for that zone. For a list of zones and wards, see Appendix I. The mapping exercise was done in one month, between February and March 2014.

Process

The mapping began on 5 February 2014, with wards D and E in Mumbai City district. An engineer, an architect and a surveyor (from MCGM) appointed for the area were part of the team. They had printed maps as well a GPS (global positioning system) device. However, the GPS was used only in Mumbai City. In addition, the GPS signal was not strong in some markets and therefore GPS data could not be recorded there. In the suburbs, printed maps, and pen and paper were relied on to record data. Photographic documentation was done by a representative from ICSF. MMKS organized a resource person from each zone who assisted in locating the markets. The mapping team also had a MMKS representative, Ujwala Patil, who collected information about the market. However, as this was not the focus of the exercise information was not always collected. In addition, the survey often coincided with times when women vendors were absent from the market.



Mumbai Ward map 1

In the first two weeks, fish markets in Mumbai City were mapped, followed by the Eastern Suburb over the next four days. Finally, the Western Suburb was covered in one-and-a-half weeks. After completing a zone, the team would update the Chief Planner of the development plan, who would then assign the next zone to be visited and introduce the team to the relevant MCGM officials. These officials would then work with the team on logistics.

Within the Mumbai City district, the New Ferry Warf wholesale market and landing centre (also known as Bhaucha Dhakka) and the Sassoon Docks in south Mumbai were not mapped by the team as they fall under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Port Trust and not MCGM.

Market Information

The formal (government-authorized) markets are well documented and governance systems exist. However, this is not the case with informal (unauthorized) markets. Vendors' issues, however, are the same in both types of markets. These concerns relate to access to basic facilities, registration and recognition of fish vendors. The Supreme Court had, on 9 September 2013, ruled that the National Street Vendors Policy 2009 and the Street Vendors' (protection of livelihood and regulation of street vending) Act 2014 be implemented. MCGM has developed its own byelaws for the same in 2010. Finally, in July this year MCGM started a survey for registration of street vendors and hawkers. But, at the time of the survey, new hawkers flocked the streets and got photographed to get licences; in Mahim, for example, where there are only 200 fish vendors, 2,000 forms were issued. The mapping exercise of fish markets was undertaken to gather data on informal fish markets and reservation of land for new markets, and for allocation of land to accommodate street vendors in nearby areas. For more information on the challenges faced by the women fish vendors of Mumbai, see ICSF's study.

Formal fish markets/Municipal fish markets⁶

Given below is data from the mapping exercise. Details of market name, type (MCGM categorizes markets into Class A, B and C, based on location, type of goods sold, etc.), and location were noted. In addition, when possible, the number of fish vendors functioning from the market and the issues that need to be addressed in the market were also recorded.

MUMBAI CITY

Ward A

1. Colaba Mandai

Location: MBPT Colaba Fish Market, Colaba Koliwada, Bhaucha Dhakka Rd, Azad Nagar, Colaba, Mumbai 400 005

No. of fish vendors: 70

⁶ <http://www.bcpt.org.in/mumbaiinfo/mumbaiinfo.asp>

Issues: A street fish market nearby, which has existed for some years now, is drawing customers away from the Colaba market. The seating arrangement for vendors is inadequate.

2. Fort Mandai

Location: Fort Mandai near RBI, Shahid Bhagat Singh Marg, Apollo Bandar, Colaba, Mumbai 400 001

No. of fish vendors: 102

Issues: The *koli* women's market organization says their main problem is that MCGM gives market licences to Muslim male vendors who do not operate in the market. Illegal licences are given for dry-fish vending when the market is exclusively for wet fish. The organization's chairperson says unlicensed women do not have any allocated space. Women who used to sell in the market were not given licences in 2006 when they campaigned against the entry of male vendors from Bihar. The women say funds for market repair are not managed well and there are irregularities.

3. Chatrapati Shivaji Mandai/ Crawford Market

Type: wholesale and retail fish market

Location: Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus Area, Fort, Mumbai 400 001

No. of fish vendors: retail vendors: 147; wholesale traders: 95

Issues: This British-era heritage building is in poor condition, prompting MCGM to issue evacuation notices to vendors. MCGM shifted its own offices out of the area. The fish vendors resisted evacuation. MCGM then asked them to move out temporarily to Kanjur Marg or Elphinstone Road. However, vendors preferred to be relocated near Crawford market itself or, alternatively, to Karnak Bandar, which is near the railway station and landing centre. There were concerns about the future of various interdependent workers connected to the market. In the end, they have agreed to move to Kanjur Marg, but have asked for written assurances from MCGM that they will be relocated to Crawford market once redevelopment is finished.

Ward B

4. Dongri Market

Location: Maheshwari Road, Near Sandhurst Railway Station (West), Mumbai 400 009

No. of fish vendors: 101 (in addition, 11 women have applied for licences)

Issues: The women have no major complaints. All vendors (except the 11 who have applied) have licences. The only issue is that women do not use the current seating arrangement and prefer to sit in the side alley.

5. Jivraj Bhanji Shah Mandai

Location: Yusuf Meharalli Road, Near Masjid Bunder Station, Mumbai 400 009

Ward C

6. Adamji Peerbhoy Mandai

Location: A.S. Gaikwad Marg, Dhobi Talao, Mumbai 400 002

No. of fish vendors: 43

Issues: Redeveloped by the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA), this market is not easy to locate, which affects customer flow. The redeveloped market has residential space above. The residents and vendors have clashed on various issues. In addition, after the redevelopment the market lost areas open to the sky, which reduced the entry of natural light, leaving the market dark and dreary. Women vendors who had been selling fish at this market for several generations were left out in getting market licences when space was allotted after the redevelopment.

7. Mirza Galib Mandai

Location: Null Bazar, S. V. P. Marg, Mumbai 400 003

No. of fish vendors: 143

8. Bhuleshwar Mandai

Location: Bhuleshwar Road, Opp. Surati Hotel Bhoiwada Lane, Mumbai 400 002

Ward D

9. Tardeo Fish Market/Jariwala Compound Market

Type: municipal fish market situated on the bridge near the Vasantarao Naik Chouk

Location: 1, Keshavrao Kadam Marg, near Vasantarao Naik Chowk bus stop, Jariwala compound, Mumbai Central, Mumbai 400 008

No of fish vendors: 36

Issues: This market is located near the Mumbai central railway station. Vendors have been given licences, but the infrastructure is inadequate. They sit on the roadside with semi-permanent structures. Male vendors are seen in significant numbers. Like with other street fish markets, this market too does not have proper toilet facilities, water supply and waste management systems.

10. Lokmanya Tilak Mandai

Location: Grant Road, Maulana Shaukat Ali Road, Opp. Novelty Cinema, Mumbai 400 007

No of fish vendors: 189

11. Babulnath Mandai

Type: redeveloped under a public-private partnership (PPP)

Location: Dadi Seth Rd, Babulnath, Khareghat Colony, Malabar Hill, Mumbai 400 004

No of fish vendors: 20 (data is 5 - 10 years old)

Issue: The market was redeveloped by the Birla private industrial group, and now has a number of small businesses while fish vendors are no longer in the area despite space marked for the sale of meat. Residents in the nearby Babulnath *koliwada* say that around 20 women used to sell from the market before the redevelopment.

Ward E

12. Babu Genu Mandai

Location: Opp. Dockyard Railway Station, Opp. Mazgaon Dock, Nabab Tank Road, Dockyard, Mumbai 400 010

No of fish vendors: 46

Issue: The dilapidated building adjoining the market was the residential quarters for MCGM staff until it collapsed. This led to the MCGM issuing evacuation notices to the market vendors for fear that this building too might collapse. MCGM cut off the water and electricity supply to the market. However, the market users feel that the market is in good condition, which is why the MCGM is not sharing the building's structural audit. The vendors also feel that the alternative location given to them is not acceptable as fish vendors there are already struggling to keep business going. Many women have switched to street vending.

13. Kamathipura Mandai

Location: Kamathipura, Mumbai

No of fish vendors: 26

Issue: This market has vegetable and other vendors in an adjacent wing. An alley connects the two wings. The women vendors feel the toilet facilities are not in a secure area. The women are concerned that men visiting Kamathipura, well known for its brothels, enter the market to use the toilets and as well as to indulge in their drug habit.

14. Madan Govind Pathare Mandai

Location: opp. Ray Road railway station, Mumbai 400 010

No of fish vendors: 18

Issue: Vendors have stopped selling here due to poor customer response. The other problem is that the market is tucked away, with low visibility from the main road, and has no parking facility. Here male meat vendors outnumber women vendors.

15. Sant Janabai Mandai

Location: Ghodap Dev Cross Road, No.1, Mumbai 400 008

Ward F North

16. Hemant Manjarejkar Mandai

Location: opp. Indira Nagar, G.T.B. Nagar, Sion Koliwada, Mumbai 400 037

No of fish vendors: 39

Issue: This market has male vendors as well. However, the vendors are mostly from non-fishing communities.

17. Wadala Mandai

Location: Under Wadala Railway Bridge

No of fish vendors: 61

Issue: The market requires artificial lighting even during the day; the market is in poor condition as well.

Ward F South

18. Jijamata Fish Market

Location: Jijamata Nagar, G. D. Ambedkar Road, Kalachouki, (Near Abhyudaya Nagar) Mumbai 400 033

No of fish vendors: 70

Issue: In spite of being located in a slum, sanitation is quite good at the market, thanks to the efforts of the chairperson of the women's market association and the women vendors. Redevelopment of the market was halted midway because of the change in market policy. The women vendors here come from as far as Belapur, Navi Mumbai, as well as from nearby Kalachouki. Both marine and inland fish species are sold here. There are also a couple of male vendors in the market. The vendors here do not have any problems, except that the customer flow has come down due to door-to-door and street vendors.

19. Parel Village Mandai

Location: Acharya Donde Marg, Opposite Haffkin Institute, Parel, Mumbai 400 012

No of fish vendors: 8

Issue: The market building is part of a larger residential space for MCGM staff. The market is located at the front of the building. Currently, the market space is used for other purposes such as a printing press business. Vendors said they had to use the roadside space near the market.

20. Dr. R. K. Shirodkar Mandai

Location: Jagannath Bhatnkar Marg, Parel, Mumbai 400 012

No of fish vendors: 111

21. C.J Shah Mandai

Location: Dr. Ambedkar Marg, Near Lalbaugach Raja, Lalbaug, Parel, Mumbai 400 012

No of fish vendors: 111

Issue: The market is famous for the idol of Ganesha, *Lalbaugacha Raja*, celebrated during Ganesh Chaturthi⁷. The idol was initially installed by the fisherwomen vending in the fish market, later it got fame and now attracts a huge crowd during the Ganesh Chaturthi festival. The women have to stop their business for the 10 days of the festival but are not compensated even though the Trust managing the festival is said to have enough money.

22. Comrade Ganpatrao Lokhande Patil Mandai

Location: Acharya Donde Marg, Sewri, Mumbai 400 015

No of fish vendors: 60

WARD G North

23. Gopitank Mandai

Location: L.J. Rd, Opposite CityLight Cinema, Matunga West, Mumbai

No of fish vendors: 308

Issue: The market is in a posh locality near the main road. Redevelopment has been planned here but without the consent of the fish vendors as the market also has a vegetable vendors' association. There are claims that a few have consented, including a woman who claims to be a chairperson of the women's organization. There is much dissent over this and there are accusations of misdeeds over licence allocation.

⁷

Ganesh Chaturthi is a 10-day festival dedicated to Lord *Ganapati* and celebrated with much enthusiasm in Maharashtra at the family and public level. *Lalbaugcha Raja* is quite famous for the publicity it gets every year in terms of visitors, gold, money and other grants it receives.

24. Veer Savarkar Mandai

Location: Dr D'Silva road, Dadar West, Mumbai 400 028

25. Vinayak L.Waghdgare Market/Agar Bazaar

Location: S.K.Bhole Marg, Prabhadevi, Mumbai 400 025

Ward G South**26. Prof. Dadasaheb Khamkar Mandai**

Location: Dadasaheb Khamkar Mandai, N.M. Joshi Marg, Lower Parel, Delisle Road, Mumbai 400 013

No of fish vendors: 88

27. B.R. Gawade Mandai

Type: under construction under the PPP model

Location: Worli Naka, Worli, Mumbai 400 018

No of fish vendors: 84

Issue: It is said that some fish vendors, middlemen and the builders who are redeveloping the market conspired to get the vendors to consent to the redevelopment. MMKS' women's wing fought against the demolition of the market. Currently, some vendors are getting compensation while others are planning to sell their space to the builder (though this is not legally allowed). The post-redevelopment market situation is unclear.

28. Smt. Shantabai Hule Mandai

Location: Gokhale Rd, Lower Parel, Mumbai 400030

No of fish vendors: 33

Issue: The women complain that fewer customers come to the market because of the street vendors in the area. In general, the market is in good shape but, like most municipal markets, the platform on which the women sit is too high.

29. Dr. Dharmaji Hari Kharude Mandai

Location: Adarsh Nagar, Dr. A. B. Road, Worli, Mumbai 400 025

No of fish vendors: 70

Ward H East**30. Vakola Mahanagar Palika Mandai**

Type: redeveloped under the PPP model

Location: Manthan Plaza, Nehru Road, Chian Baug, Santacruz /Kurla Road, Santacruz East Mumbai 400 051

No of fish vendors: 80

Issue: This was the first market to get redeveloped under a PPP model. Redeveloped by the Manthan Group, the fish market is on the ground floor, MCGM offices are on the ground and first floors, and the second floor and the space above the parking area is for the builder

to use as he deems fit. The fish market is air-conditioned but the vendors' stalls follow the old design of having a continuous raised block with no proper demarcation of areas and little storage space. The MCGM's market policy requires maintenance and governance of markets to be managed by the private party redeveloping the market until the vendors' association has been formed. The women here are now struggling with high maintenance costs in the market

31. Kalina Municipal Mandai

Location: Kalina, Near Military Camp, Kurla-Santacruz Road, Santacruz East, Mumbai 400 051

No of fish vendors: 15

Issue: The redevelopment has been halted midway and there is no indication of when it will resume, let alone be completed. The women vendors are selling in a transit camp that has no facilities.

32. Shastri Nagar Mandai

Location: Govt. Colony, Shastri Nagar, Near Aram Hotel, Bandra (E), Mumbai 400 051

33. Patel Narsinha Nathu Chauhan Mandai

Location: Kherwadi Road, Near Nirmal Nagar Police Station, Kher Wadi, Bandra East, Mumbai 400 051

Ward H West

34. Bandra Town Municipal Mandai

Location: Bazaar Road, Bandra West, Mumbai 400 050

No of fish vendors: 120

Issue: The space is inadequate for the number of vendors. In addition, there is no toilet facility for men and women.

35. Mahadeobuo Dandekar Market/ Khardanda Mandai

Location: Khar Danda village, Near Sea Face, Khar West, Mumbai 400 052

No of fish vendors: 111

Issue: This market was reconstructed by MCGM when a fishing community member was the market committee chairperson in MCGM. It is in good condition but has high seating arrangement for vendors. So getting up and down to sell fish is not so easy. Some of the older women have not been issued licences while some 20 women have applied for licences through their committee.

36. Pali Mandai

Type: under redevelopment through the PPP model

Location: Pali Mala Road, Pali Junction, Bandra (W), Mumbai 400050

No of fish vendors: 20 (women from Khardanda and Chimbai *koliwada*)

Issue: Manthan, the developer, started redevelopment work in 2006 but stopped in 2007. They received compensation (under the market policy, the private party/developer has to give either compensation to those who choose not to do business until the market gets redeveloped or allot the transit camp for those who choose to carry on fish vending) for the first few months only.

37. Atmaram Bhau Lad Mandal/ Khar Market

Location: Between Road No. 2 & 5, Chitrakar Dhurandhar Marg, Opp.Khar Railway Station, Khar West, Mumbai 400 052

No of fish vendors: 80

38. Santacruz Mandai

Type: Class B

Location: 1st Hasanabad Lane, Near Santacruz Station, Santacruz West, Mumbai 400 054

Ward K East

39. Dinanth Mandai

Location: Tejpal Road, Near Vile Parle Station, Vile Parle East, Mumbai 400 057

Issue: The street fish vendors are so abundant in the area that few customers come to the market.

40. Marol Village

Location: Marol Church Road, Marol Village, Andheri East, Mumbai 400 059

41. Squatter Colony Market

Location: Janata Colony, Badruddin Tayabat Road, Joghewari East, Mumbai 400 060

42. Marol Weekly Bazar/ Dry Fish Market

Type: municipal wholesale dry-fish market

Location: Marol, Kurla Andheri Road, Andheri East, Mumbai 400 059

No of fish vendors: varies each week. There are permanent retailers but no licence system for them.

Issue: The British-era market was demolished in 1991 and, for many years, the market functioned in the open area under the rain and sky. Finally, the vendors, through the chairperson of the Marol market association, and the community leaders, pushed for, and got, the reconstruction of the market. There are shades built for each *koliwada* or nearby fishing villages. Nobody uses these shades to sit under; instead they sit on the street. Also, on Wednesday, the market becomes a wholesale one, well-known for dried Bombay duck from Gujarat. The market needs to be redeveloped with participatory planning.

WARD K West

43. Versova Municipal Market

Type: developed with MCGM funds

Location: Versova Koliwada, Versova, Andheri West, Mumbai 400 058

Issue: It is one of the better reconstructed markets by MCGM, thanks to the involvement of an active corporator of the area who is strongly supported by the fishing community. Yet, hygiene and facilities for cold storage and proper display are still inadequate.

44. D N Nagar Mandai

Location: D.N.Nagar, J.P.Road, Opposite Apna Bazaar, Near Sitladevi Temple, Andheri West, Mumbai 400 058

45. Andheri Mandai

Location: S.V.Road & J.P.Road Junction, Andheri West, Mumbai 400 058

46. New Jogeshwari Mandai

Location: Navalkar Plot, Near Jogeshwari, Railway Station, Jogeshwari (E), Mumbai 400 060

Issue: The market is rundown and lacks basic facilities. The vendors have to buy water from nearby residents. There is a conflict between nearby meat vendors and women fish vendors.

Ward P North

46. Sainath Road Market

Type: wholesale-cum-retail municipal fish market

Location: Near Natraj Market, station road, Malad West, Mumbai 400 064

Issue: This is a major retail as well as wholesale fish market. Fish comes daily from nearby suburban and urban fishing villages/*koliwad*as like Malvani, Madh, Manori, Vasai, etc. Many fishing co-operative societies have their wholesale units in this market. Retail vendors operate in a open space adjacent to the market in a very unorganized way.

47. Somwar Bazar

Type: weekly and daily municipal fish market

Location: Somwar Bazaar Road, Malad West, Mumbai 400 064

48. Malvani Mandai

Location: Malvani Colony, Gate No. 7, Malvani Road, Malad West, Mumbai 400 064

Ward P South

No municipal fish market in the area

Ward R North

No municipal fish market in the area; two markets have been proposed.

Ward R South

49. Carter Road Mandai

Location: Opp. Borivili Railway Station, Borivili East, Mumbai 400 066

50. Kandivili Village Mandai

Location: M.G. Road, Near Dahanukarwadi, Kandivili West, Mumbai 400 067

51. Akurli Mandai

Location: Akurli Road, Lane No. 2, Kandivili East, Mumbai 400 101

Mumbai Eastern Suburb

Ward L

52. Laxman Rao Yadav Mandai

Location: L.G. Barve Marg, Kurla West, Mumbai 400 070

No of fish vendors: 47

53. Bazaar Ward Mandai

Location: Bazaar Ward, L.B.S. Road, Bail Bazaar, Kurla West, Mumbai 400 070

No of fish vendors: 48

54. Devi Ahilyadevi Holkar Mandai

Location: Surveshwar Road, Takiya Ward, Opp.Kurla Court, Kurla West, Mumbai 400 070

No of fish vendors: 42

Ward M East

55. Laxman Babu More Market

Location: Shivaji Nagar, Near Municipal School No.1, Gowandi Station, Baji Prabhu Road, Mumbai 400 043

No of fish vendors: 23

Ward M West

56. Bhaurao Harishchandra Chemburkar Municipal Market

Location: Chembur Naka, Sion-Trombay Road, Opp. Kamat Hotel, Chembur, Mumbai 400 043

No of fish vendors: 77

57. Cheetah Camp

Type: Municipal fish market

Location: Cheetah Camp,Trombay

58. Govandi Station Market

Type: municipal fish market

Location: Adjacent to Gowandi railway station, Gowandi (East), Mumbai 400 088

Ward N

59. Pantnagar Fsh Market

Location: Pantnagar, near Ghatkopar station, Ghatkopar West, Mumbai 400 086

No of fish vendors: 35

60. Hutatma Babu Genu Mandai

Location: S.G.Barvenagar, Bhatwadi, Ghatkopar West, Mumbai 400 086

No of fish vendors: 35

61. Ramabai Ambedkar Nagar Mandai

Location: Ramabai Ambedkar Nagar, Eastern Express Highway, Ghatkopar East, Mumbai 400 077

No of fish vendors: 17

Issue: The market is in poor condition.

62. Park Site Market

Location: Behind Vikhroli Bus Depot, Shastri Lane, Park Site, Vikroli West, Mumbai 400 070

No of fish vendors: 1

Ward T

63. Mulund Mandai

Type: municipal fish market

Location: Near Shree Ganesh Talkies, Opp. Mulund Station East, Mulund, Mumbai 400 079

No of fish vendors: 34

Ward S

64. IIT Mandai

Location: Kopri Village, IIT, Powai, Mumbai 400 076

Private Fish Markets

MUMBAI CITY

Ward E

1. Gujarati Fish Market

Location: Near Byculla Fruit Market, Byculla East, Mumbai 400 008

No of fish vendors: 67

Issue: This British-era market is in a dilapidated condition. The owner wants to get the market developed but has stopped accepting rent from market users. The vendors say that the water bills are excessive and the owner has not paid them for long. This market is also slated for redevelopment.

Ward C

2. Chira Bazar

Location: Chirabazar Fish Market, JSS Rd, Kalbadevi, Mumbai 400 002

No of fish vendors: approx. 35

Issue: The market is in a deplorable condition; there are no toilet or water facilities for women. The women have built a partial roof out of their own money.

3. Habib Fish Market

Location: Kamathiura, Mumbai 400 008

No of fish vendors: NIL

Issue: The owner evacuated the fish vendors 15 years ago. The market is used for other purposes now.

4. Mahim Bazar

Location: Mahim, Mumbai 400 016

No of fish vendors: 15-20

Issue: The market is in a deplorable condition.

5. Sion Macchi Market

Location: Sion Dadar highway, Sion Circle, Sion, Mumbai 400 022

No of fish vendors: 25-30

Issue: This is built on private land but from corporators' funds, that is, public money. The facilities are inadequate.

6. Saibaba Mandai (private fish market)

Location: GTB Nagar, Sion Koliwada, Sion, Mumbai 400 022

No of fish vendors: 20-25

7. Worli Koliwada (private fish market)

Location: Worli Koliwada, Worli, Mumbai

No of fish vendors: 35-50

Issue: This market has been set up by the fishing community and exists inside the Worli *koliwada*. Street vendors in the area have the advantage as the market is away from the main roads and cannot be easily located.

8. Wadala Fish Market

Location: Sadashiv Wadi, Katrap Road, Wadala West, Mumbai 400 039

No of fish vendors: 35-50

9. Shetye Market

Location: Parel, Mumbai 400 012

MUMBAI WESTERN SUBURB

Ward K

10. Koldongari

Location: Koldongri, Andheri West, Mumbai 400 053

No of fish vendors: 50-70

Issue: The building is in poor condition. In addition, the land is actually not earmarked for a market.

11. Juhu Church Market

Location: Church Road, Juhu, Mumbai 400 049

No of fish vendors: 20

Issue: Women prefer to sell door-to-door since few customers come to the market.

12. Chakala Market

Location: Chakala, Mumbai 400 099

No of fish vendors: 30-35

Issue: The market building is in poor condition.

Ward P

13. Orlem Church Market

Location: Near Orlem Church, Goregaon, Mumbai 400 104

No of fish vendors: 35-40

14. Haji Allaudin

Location: Near Goregaon railway Station, Goregaon, Mumbai 400 063

No of fish vendors: 50-70

15. Pushpa Park Market

Location: Goregav, Mumbai 400

MUMBAI EASTERN SUBURB

16. Swayambhu Ganesh Market

Location: Kannamwar Nagar No 2, Vikroli East, Mumbai 400 083

Comment [ICSF1]: These are private fish markets which are categorized wardwise under their heading

Comment [h52]: Are these formal markets and is there no comment?

Street Fish Markets

MUMBAI CITY

Ward A

1. Colaba Market

Location: Near Colaba Mandai, Colaba Koliwada Apollo Bandar, Mumbai

Ward G North

2. St Xaviers Market

Location: Near St Xaviers Technical Institute, Macchimar Colony, Mahim, Mumbai

3. Pickle Market

Location: Near Pickle Hospital, Mahim, Mumbai

Comment [ICSF3]: These are street fish markets there is heading under which list of markets is categorized wardwise

Comment [h54]: Are these formal markets and is there no comment?

Ward L

4. Chunabhatti Market

Location: Near Chunnabhatti railway station, Kurla, Mumbai

Ward G South

5. Nagruchi Wadi Worli

Location: Worli, Mumbai

Ward F North

6. Sion Market

Location: Sion, Mumbai

7. Ganesh Nagar Wadala

Location: Bhakti Marg, Wadala, Mumbai

MUMBAI EASTERN SUBURB

Ward T

8. Gawanpada Market

Location: 90 Feet Road, Gawanpada, Mulund East Mumbai 400 081

No. of vendors: 12

9. Gawdevi Market

Location: Gawanpada, Mulund East Mumbai 400081

No. of vendors: 12

Ward S

10. Main Market

Location: Main market, Kanjur Marg East, Mumbai 400 042

No. of vendors: 9

11. Vikroli Station Market

Location: Outside Vikroli Station, Vikroli, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 10-15

12. Hema Park Market

Location: Kamala Nehru Nagar, V.S Marg, Bhandup West, Mumbai 400 042

No. of vendors: 20

13. Ashok Nagar Market

Location: Ashok Nagar, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 10

14. Gathav Naka Market

Comment [h55]: Are these formal markets and is there no comment?

Location: Ashok Kedare Chouk, Gathav Naka, Bhandup West, Mumbai 400 042

No. of vendors: 40-50

15. Kannamwar Nagar Market

Location: Kannamwar Nagar, Vikroli, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 7

16. Vaishali Nagar

Location: Vaishali Nagar, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 22

Ward T

17. Mulund Street fish market

Location: Mulund, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 15

Ward M West

18. Maravali village

Location: Maravali Church, Chembur, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 20

19. New MHADA bus stop

Location: Vashi Naka, Chembur, Mumbai

20. Anik Garden Macchi Market

Location: Vashi Naka, Chembur, Mumbai

21. Chembur Station Road

Location: Near Chembur Station Road, Chembur East, Mumbai

22. Entrance to Mahul Village

Location: Mahul Koliwada, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 150

23. Near Vetalddev Temple Open Market

Location: Trombay Koliwada, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 50-60

Ward M East

24. Adarsh Nagar Fish Market

Location: Jai Bhavani Marg Vashi Naka Chembur, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 15

25. Nagababa Nagar Informal

Location: Vashi Naka, Chembur, Mumbai

26. Vishnu Nagar

Location: Vashi Naka, Chembur, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 2-5

27. Mandala Village

Location: near the village entrance, Trombay, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 3-5

28. Mankhurd Railway Station

Location: Near Mankhurd Railway Station East, Manchurd, Trombay, Mumbai

29. PMG MHADA Colony

Location: Mankhurd, Mumbai

30. Mankhurd Shivshahi

Location: Mankhurd, Mumbai

31. Lumbini

Location: P.L Lokhande Marg, Chembur, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 15-20

32. Lallubhai Compound

Location: Mankhurd, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 3-5

Ward T

33. Mahakali Fish Market

Location: Opposite KIDZEE, Sarvoday Nagar Mulund West, Mumbai

34. Tagore Nagar Market

Location: Tagore Nagar, Vikroli East, Mumbai

35. Mulund Goregav Link Road

Location: Mulund Goregav Link Road, Mulund, Mumbai

Ward N

36. Milan Nagar Market

Location: near Moula Chawl, Ghatkopar, Mumbai

MUMBAI WESTERN SUBURB

Ward P

37. Parwadi Street Fish Market

Location: Near Mangalmurti Hospital, Goregav, Mumbai

38. Chincholi Gav

Location: Chincholi Gaon, Goregav, Mumbai

39. Mahatma Gandhi Road Bazaar

Location: Goregav West, Mumbai

40. Bhagatsingh Nagar Fish Market

Location: Near Bhagat Singh Nagar bus stop, Goregav West, Mumbai

41. Riddhi Siddhi Market

Location: opposite Topiwala municipal Hospital, Goregav West, Mumbai

42. Madh Fish Market

Location: Madh Koliwada

43. Bhati Koliwada

Location: Bhati Koliwada, Malwani, Malad

44. Marve Beach

Location: Marve Beach, Manori

45. Kharodi Chapel

Location: near Chapel Church, Malwani, Malad, Mumbai

Ward R

46. Lokmanya Tilak Machli Bazar

Location: Ketki Pada, Dahisar (E) Mumbai 400 068

No. of vendors: 6

47. Vaishali Nagar

Location: Vaishali Nagar, Dahisar (E), Mumbai 400 068

No. of vendors: 4

48. Motibai Desai Chal

Location: Balaji Nagar, Dube Road, Rawal Pada, Dahisar (E) Mumbai 400 068

No. of vendors: 6

49. (market name not known)

Location: Opp Sai Shradha, Ashok Van, Dahisar (E) Mumbai 400 068

No. of vendors: 6

50. Nancy Colony fish market

Location: Dahisar (E), Mumbai 400 068

No. of vendors: 25

51. Kaju Pada Machhi Market

Location: Kaju Pada, Borivali (E), Mumbai

No. of vendors: 30

52. Magathane Masli Bazar

Location: Borivali, (E), Mumbai

No. of vendors: 10

53. Samta Nagar Market

Location: Kandivali (E), Mumbai

No. of vendors: 30

54. Yung Star Kridamadal

Location: Kridagan M G Road, Kandivali Village, Dhanukar Wadi, Kandivali (W), Mumbai 400 067

55. Gandhi Nagar

Location: Gandhi Nagar, Kandivali (W), Mumbai 400 067

56. Patil Nagar Machhi Market

Location: Patil Nagar, Bandar Pakhadi Road, Kandivali (W), Mumbai 400 067

57. Gorai Jethi Market

Location: Gorai, Borivali (W), Mumbai 400 091

58. Babai Market

Location: Babai Naka , L T Road, Borivali (W), Mumbai 400 091

59. Sigma Tower Plot No. 32

Location: Opp Suvidhya School, Sigma Tower Plot No. 32, Rdp - 1 Gorai, Charkop Road, Borivali (W) Mumbai 400 091

60. Eksar Talepakhati

Location: Eksar Talepakhati, Near Municipal School, Dattatray Narayan Mhatre Marg, Borivali (W), Mumbai 400 091

61. I C Colony Fish Market

Location: Borivali (W) Mumbai 400 103

62. Dahisar Machhi Market

Location: Lokmanya Tilak Marg, Dahisar (W) Mumbai 400 068

63. Our Lady of Remedy Church Market

Location: Poisar, Borivali (W), Mumbai

64. Charkop Market

Location: Kesar Building, Charkop Market, Kandivali (W) Mumbai 4000 67

Ward K

65. Daulat Nagar

Location: Juhu Tara Road, Juhu, Mumbai

66. Shastri Nagar

Location: Santa Cruz West, Mumbai

67. Juhu Koliwada

Location: Entrance to Juhu *koliwada*, Juhu Tara Road, Juhu, Mumbai

Issue: The women sit on the footpath as the *koliwada* does not have a market inside.

68. Moragav Koliwada

Location: Near Ruia Park, Moragav Koliwada, Juhu, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 10-15

Issue: The women sit on the footpath as the *koliwada* does not have a market inside.

69. Versova Koliwada

Location: Versova, Andheri West, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 25-30

Issue: There is a landing centre here, a wholesale market and an MCGM retail market inside. This is a fish-trade hub but the women sit on the roadside for better visibility. There are some conflicts with the fish co-operative on whose land the women used to operate.

70. Char Bungalow

Location: Andheri West, Mumbai

71. Sahargav

Location: Santacruz West, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 15-20

Issue: The women moved to the street due to the construction of the airport. Now they operate out of a small market as well as off the streets.

72. Shardhanand Road

Location: Behind Saibaba Mandir, Vile Parle East, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 10

Issue: Street markets should be given proper recognition and planning.

73. Dayaldas Road

Location: Vile Parle East, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 15

74. Vakola Bridge

Location: besides Nullah, Bandra, Mumbai

No. of vendors: 20

Issue: The area has been reserved for a playground and so a new area is needed for the market.

75. Near Kehrwadi Pipe Line

Location: Bandra, Mumbai

In sum, the market mapping exercise found a total of 64 municipal fish markets (as against the figure of 62 mentioned earlier), 16 private fish markets and 75 street fish markets. Though MMKS and MCGM have tried to locate all the fish markets, some might have been marked as “unknown” by the resource persons. Also, in the case of street fish markets, only those serving more than at least three vendors were considered for mapping.

Conclusion

There are 64 formal/municipal fish markets and 91 informal (private and street fish markets) in Mumbai. Additionally, Mumbai is also home to door-to-door fish vendors who were not surveyed during this mapping exercise. Fish vendors, whether they inhabit structured or unstructured fish markets, have to face pitiable working conditions, unsupportive government authorities and poor representation at decision-making bodies. Fish vendors form a significantly large part of the country's large force of informal labour, which is unorganized and vulnerable to the forces of development.

Fish vendors in Mumbai seem to be particularly more connected with the municipal corporation than with the fisheries department of Maharashtra, unlike in other coastal states of India. The fisheries departments of Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka, for example, get actively involved in the development and management of fish markets. The Maharashtra Fisheries Development Corporation (MFDC) has recently started to utilize the National Fisheries Development Board (NFDB) fund for building fish markets in Tier II and III cities, except in Mumbai.

MCGM has declined proposals by MFDC to develop markets under the NFDB fund to utilize the land potential and manage the space crunch in the city; perhaps, as some critics say, they simply want to protect the private interests that have been eyeing the city's valuable commercial land given over to fish markets. ICSF's earlier report on women fish vendors in Mumbai has covered the privatization of fish markets by MCGM through the PPP model as well as the situation of women fish vendors.

Informal fish markets in Mumbai, such as street fish markets and private fish markets, do not have basic facilities nor do they afford official recognition to fish vendors. They are thus the most vulnerable section, prone to harassment by various administrative bodies. This mapping exercise was done keeping in mind to document their spaces and also to further identify needs for new reservation of markets to accommodate these street vendors and to provide facilities in areas bereft of public market facilities.

In the case of the informal fish markets, there are seven street fish markets and nine private fish markets in the Island city district. The Mumbai suburban area has 66 street fish markets and six private fish markets. MCGM officials who surveyed the fish markets accepted the fact that Mumbai suburban district needs more fish markets. The reason they gave for such unequal development is that the island city is an old city that got developed first, following the crunch of space for settlement in and around the eastern and western suburbs. Public amenities in the suburbs were not developed to keep pace with population growth. Also, officials felt that the proposed reservations for the fish markets should be in areas where there are fish-eating populations, as in western suburb of Mumbai.

The new development plan for the city led to campaigns by CSOs, NGOs, citizens, community organizations and workers from all sections of the city. Recently, MCGM invited public suggestions through ward-level consultations, organized in August 2014 simultaneously in different wards. Many issues were debated, with the relatively well-off focusing on open spaces, parking slots and the weaker sections demands for basic facilities needed for survival, like toilets, drainage and schools. But the corporators and elected public representatives attending the consultation drew the MCGM officers' attention to the situation of the existing markets. The issue of markets was discussed with equal enthusiasm across all classes.

Considering the grim situation of urban spaces in cities like Mumbai, the Ghar Bachao Ghar Banao Andolan team has captured the reality well in its report, which says: "Documents obtained under the Right to Information (RTI) Act show that in the last two years, the Government of Maharashtra changed/deleted the reservations of 60 plots and handed over most of them to private builders to build high-rise complexes. More than that, in the last 15 years, the government and municipal authorities have only acquired one-tenth of the total space meant for schools, hospitals, gardens and playgrounds."

Further, when it comes to the market redevelopment policy, MCGM has been paving the way for private developers to slowly get out of its responsibility of governance and management of these markets.

Whether it is reservation of land for fish markets, repairing of existing markets or redevelopment of markets, most of the Mumbai women fish vendors remained unaware of the process. Clearly, to protect their rights they need strong organizational support. Since fish vendors are workers and come under the purview of labour rights legislation, independent fishworkers' unions ought to be the right organizational base to protect their rights. Some members of the fish vendors' union, which had mostly male members on the committee, and had once fought for fish vendors' rights within MCGM, used the platform to

wrest money from women and the developer with the promise of grant of licences or consent, respectively. This fish vendors union is not active now and vendors in formal markets especially have lost organisational support. In Maharashtra cooperatives movement in fishing villages is successful than in other coastal states. There is at least one fisheries cooperative in each fishing village. Mumbai is also no exception in some tiny fishing villages there are 2-3 fisheries cooperatives are existed. All these cooperatives are general fisheries cooperatives which may or may not have women membership. There is women specific Mumbai district level women cooperative in the city but with no substantial work to its credit till date. With these weak women organisations demands for their rights has not been put forward by male centric fishers movement. This has resulted in— total neglect from fisheries department of Maharashtra towards women in fisheries issues and weak women leadership within mainstream fishworkers organisation make situation more than worse. Womens wing of Maharashtra Macchimar Kruti samittee is working since 2010 more actively by following up with various government authorities and directly working with womens groups in fish markets. This mapping survey is the collaboration between DP department of MCGM and womens wing of MMKS pointed out that

Mumbai city clearly needs more retail fish markets; most importantly, MCGM has to recognize street fish vendors and officially register them through identification of genuine street fish vendors, demarcation of spaces for street fish markets, provision for new fish markets in areas like the eastern and western suburban areas of Mumbai, and regulation and maintenance of all formal and informal market activities. This is a huge task for the women fish vendors and MCGM.

Currently, there are only six plots reserved for retail markets as per the documentation received from MCGM under the RTI: four have been allotted to the eastern suburban area, while two are located in the western suburban area. These figures seem incongruous if we compare them to the population served and the number of vendors in these markets. There is an urgent need to reserve more spaces for fish markets in the suburban city, which has 66 informal fish markets. The reservation of proposed markets in **DP** is not the only solution to the issue. MCGM needs to strictly follow the guidelines of the National Street Vendors Policy, 2009. Though MCGM started the survey of hawkers and met with a huge response, not all of those surveyed were genuine vendors.

MCGM also has to remember that, while planning for fish markets, fish is mostly sold in the fresh and perishable form. Hence, vendors need proper water facilities and waste management to keep the premises clean and functional. Some activists within the MMKS feel that fish vendors are not hawkers but are primary producer groups doing this business for generations and so they ought not to be categorized as hawkers and should, instead, be given spaces in existing or new fish markets. However, considering the sheer numbers of informal street fish markets, the only solution would be to accommodate and regularise them in existing spaces through innovative planning techniques with the participation of MCGM, vendors, citizens and CSOs.

Most of the private fish markets operate under age-old dangerous conditions. As they are based on lands given on long lease to private parties or on those belonging to trusts or

religious bodies, or are completely owned by private persons, the provision of facilities and maintenance of such markets depend on the whims of the owner. The future of these 16 private fish markets is uncertain as MCGM, though it supplies water and electricity, does not take responsibility for such markets. There should be guidelines for the redevelopment and day-to-day management of these markets in the coming development plan and in the market departments' policy document.

The main objective of this mapping exercise was to help MCGM officials locate informal and formal fish markets in Mumbai city for new reservations of spaces in the upcoming development plan. Each and every market had its own story; during the mapping exercise, many issues came out while talking with the vendors, which were not documented in the earlier study on fish vendors done by ICSF. A common concern in every formal fish market was the poor condition of basic facilities, and the threats and harassment to their market spaces by MCGM authorities, which led to loss of livelihood. Consider these examples: The owner of the Habib private fish market evicted fish vendors many years ago to explore more profitable pastures; the fish vendors at Babulnath market could not ply their trade in the plush multi-storeyed building developed by a famous business group and so got obliterated over time; fisherwomen residing at Mahim *koliwada* were thrown on to the streets overnight as their reserved plots were forced to be shared with a hospital; and fish vendors in the Gujari market and Chira bazasr are struggling without water and electricity.

The women's wing of MMKS is trying not to lose its foothold in all the confusing chaos of urbanization and privatization that fish vendors are witnessing. Nonetheless, they understood the importance of first collecting rigorous data and were more than happy to help MCGM to carry out this exercise. Women fish vendors participated in public consultations on gender, which resulted in this mapping exercise. Also, with the influence of MMKS, they participated in most wardwise consultations. In suburban Mumbai, though MCGM failed to impart formal structures, women vendors, with the help of their councillors, got themselves permanent or semi-permanent structures on the street or near their vending spots.

The participation of women vendors in deciding their future is slowly increasing. If the MMKS women's wing becomes successful in forming an independent women's movement and initiating an ongoing process of separate co-operative byelaws for women fish co-operatives, that will impart a collectively organized voice to the women fish vendors' struggle. Only then can there be hope that their spaces in fisheries will be reserved, protected and well-maintained.