

Discussion Paper No. 5

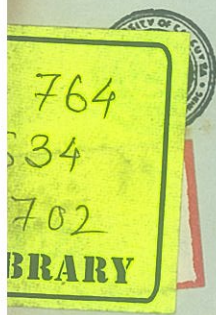
September 1992

WHOLESALE MARKET : STUDY OF A MARKET IN CALCUTTA

Projjwal Sengupta

CENTRE FOR URBAN ECONOMIC STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA



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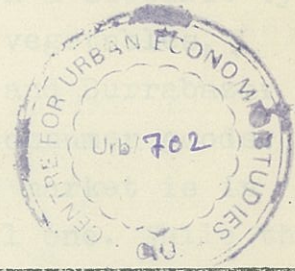
Calcutta : 700 027

INDIA

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION

There are 125 markets in the city of Calcutta, of which this study examines the functioning of a wholesale market in Calcutta, especially to analyse the volume and types of goods that are transacted, the extent of congestion inside the market area, the revenue generated, the overall effect of the market on the economic and civic life of the city.



The author is thankful to the Workers' Union and Vendors' Association of the Kolay Market for their cooperation in collecting information on the functioning of the market.

The objective of this study is to examine the functioning of a wholesale market in Calcutta, especially to analyse the volume and types of goods that are transacted,

WHOLESALE MARKET : STUDY OF A MARKET IN CALCUTTA

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INTRODUCTION

There are 185 markets in the city of Calcutta, of which 167 belong to private owners and the rest 18 are owned and run by the Calcutta Corporation. Out of these 185, nearly twenty are known as wholesale markets, though some of these also conduct retail trade, e.g., College Street Market or New Market. Among the leading wholesale markets are Burrabazar Market, Kolay Market, Chitpur Market etc., each of which specializes on a specific type of goods; for example, Kolay Market for vegetables, Chitpur Market for birds and livestock and Burrabazar Market for different types of finished consumer goods. The nature of functioning of a wholesale market is in some ways different from that of a retail one. While the retail markets organize directly sales to the ultimate consumers, the wholesale markets mainly cater to the needs of the traders, who then sale through retail outlets. Thus, there are many more retail markets in the city than the wholesale ones. A wholesale market requires more space than a retail market, both for storing goods and for transacting business. Thus, the problems they face, in terms of the amount of garbage generated, or the pressure exerted on traffic and transport, are more severe. Almost all the buildings of the private wholesale markets are in dilapidated condition.

The objective of this study is to examine the functioning of a wholesale market in Calcutta, especially to analyse the volume and types of goods that are transacted,

the extent of congestion inside the market area, the revenue generated, the overall effect of the market on the economic and civic life of the city and the economic relations between different agents involved in the market operations. Recently, some city planners have expressed the view that wholesale markets should not be situated inside the metro core. According to them, truck terminals should be located outside the city, and from these, goods should be distributed to the retail markets by way of lighter modes of transport. This approach would also be examined here. As a case study, a wholesale market, Kolay Market, would be examined in detail.

KOLAY MARKET

Kolay market is one of the twenty wholesale markets operating in the city of Calcutta, and is also one of the oldest and the biggest among those. It deals with all types of vegetables and puffed rice (muri). The total area covered by this market is 1.66 acres or approximately, 57,600 sq. ft. Established in 1933, by a rich businessman named Nafar Chandra Kolay, it has been named after the founder. The present building is about 50-52 years old; though it has been repaired in parts from time to time, its decay and dilapidated conditions are clearly visible.

Kolay market is situated in one of the most congested areas of Central Calcutta; the area being delineated by Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road, Serpentine Lane, B.B. Ganguly Street and Shashi Bhusan Dey Street. Situated in the ward No. 50 of Calcutta Municipal Corporation, this market enjoys considerable locational advantage as it is close to the Sealdah Station while Howrah Station

is only 5 km. away. A list of markets which are located in the periphery of the Kolay Market is given in Table 1. (see, also, Figure 1).

A four-storied building, situated in the portion facing B.B. Ganguly Street, covers nearly one-third of the total market area. In the ground floor of this building a room is used for dumping the garbage produced within the market. The offices of the market authority are situated in the first floor and all the other rooms of this building have been rented out to various types of shops and for residential purposes.

The actual market operations are done in the large compound of this building. This compound covered mostly by tinned roof, is divided into two parts : one for the casual vendors and the other for the aratdars (wholesalers), who act as middlemen in the markets of pavement traders and stall owners. The main advantage enjoyed by pavement traders is that, they do not pay any kind of taxes and can attract the customers very easily, when they pass through the road. In Figure 2, the locations of these informal markets are shown.

The informal concentration of onion-sellers (at 'A' in the Figure 2) is on the Serpentine Lane side, which serves as an important entrance for the loaded lorries coming to the Kolay market. The stalls here grossly encroach on the road space and, thereby, shorten the usable part of the road width. The other concentrations are on the B.B. Ganguly Street ('B') and on the eastern side and on the road which serves as the linkage for the daily commuters from Sealdah station to B.B. Ganguly street or A.P.C. Road ('C'). In 'B' and 'C' mainly

seasonal goods like cauliflower, cabbage, mango, cucumber and litchies are transacted.

FUNCTIONING

Now let us consider how the market functions. The private owner provides some basic facilities like electricity, sewerage and drainage, water supply and security to the palladars, casual vendors and aratdars (see Figure 3). For this the owner appoints about 150 employees. Table 2 gives the specific duties performed by the employees. Table 3 gives various items of cost and the corresponding expenses which the owner has to incur. The revenue that the owner gets can be divided into two parts. One part of it consists of rent that the owner receives from the rooms which have been rented out for commercial and residential purposes, and the other part, the bigger one, consists of taxes or tolls that he receives from each basket, or sack that enters into the market.

The wholesalers or aratdars are 60-62 in number, each of whom has his own arat, which is generally a one-storied or two storied wooden building, one part of which is used as office and the other part as store. Aratdars can be divided into three main types according to the commodity in which they specialise - potato, lemon, onion and other vegetables.

Besides these, there are 200 small to medium-sized stalls inside the market area. These stall owners also act as middlemen, but their hierarchical status (in terms of volume of trades) is not the same as that of the aratdars. The aratdars and these stall owners purchase

different types of vegetables from different parts of the country and sell them mainly inside this state. We have a list of products that are transacted inside the market, with the sources from where those come (Tables 4a and 4b). The area commanded by the casual vendors is a small one, compared to the big contracts that the aratdars generally receive. In fact, the aratdars themselves claim that they help the casual vendors in their bad times, that is, when they are unable to sell their commodities in the home market. In that type of crisis, which usually follows good harvests in case of some of the commodities, the aratdars buy the commodities from the casual vendors and sell those outside the home market, generally to the other states. Again, when the supply of some commodities from the local producers falls drastically, the aratdars try to import more of those commodities from other states to this market, to be traded.

The other important group is that of casual vendors. They are generally the direct producers of the agricultural commodities. They themselves come to the market with their products, mainly by train or by truck or tempo from the regions outside the city and sell their products. Kolay market is the only market in India, probably in the whole of Asia, where such a big number of casual vendors can sell their products. The number of casual vendors who come daily, is nearabout three thousand. The actual number will be less as a good portion of them can come twice even thrice a day, mainly due to the locational advantage of the market, being situated near Sealdah station, and therefore, are counted more than once.

The business of the casual vendors largely depends on the service provided by another group of persons named as palladars. The casual vendors can not bring the palla (balance) to weigh their commodities, as it is inconvenient to carry those along with the goods they trade, particularly in the crowded trains. It would also create the problem of space for the market authorities. Palladar is one, whose profession it is to weigh the products of the casual vendors. Palladars are not the direct employees of the market authority, but they are allowed to do this kind of business in the zone that is provided for the casual vendors. There are eight such palladars in this market and the total workable area is divided into eight more or less equal parts of these eight palladars. The palladars sometimes take the responsibility of both weighing and selling the goods, and charge from each casual vendor on a per palla or per basket basis. This enables the casual vendors to make double or tripple visits to the market, as the palladars accept the burden of selling the whole basket of commodities. What normally a casual vendor does is that, he comes to the market with his basket, gives it to his respective palladar and then returns home to bring another basket. The whole trade depends upon the faith that the casual vendor has on his palladar. Generally, the casual vendors who can use the local trains come to the market twice or thrice a day. Sometimes the palladars provide advances to the casual vendors to lease in gardens (generally of fruit), and so it is expected that, in turn, the casual vendor would choose that palladar for business. Sometimes there are open confrontations among the palladars regarding the control over casual vendors.

The modes of transport most popularly used for bringing goods into the market are mainly trains and lorries. If the weight of goods is greater than 20 quintals then the aratdars use trucks for transportation, as only two E.M.U. coaches are provided for carrying goods in local trains. As the aratdars deal with a large volume of goods, the most popular mode used by them is truck, while more or less all the casual vendors depend on local trains for transportation. The vendors who come from Dhapa or Tangra on the eastern fringe of Calcutta where train services are not available, also use truck or tempo.

Goods entering the Kolay market subsequently get distributed among the retail markets of the city. For the disbursement of goods within the city the most popular mode is thela - a large manually pulled cart. Some goods are exported to the other states by the aratdars and the most popular mode of transportation used for this purpose is truck followed by the train. The aratdars are more or less reluctant to use train due to some problems which will be discussed later.

Now we will examine the basic facilities that the market authority provides. There is no arrangement for staying overnight inside the market complex. The local vendors who come to sell their products, stay for hardly two to four hours inside the market and return after completing the day's transactions on the same day. But the farmers who come from comparatively distant places, have to spend the night sitting on the corridor of the first or second floor of the market building. There is only one room in the first floor which is rented out for staying and hardly two persons can be accommodated there,

at a cheap rate of Rs. 2 per night. But the aratdars do not have to face this kind of problems as they can take rest at their own arats (stalls). There is no bathing facilities inside the market: neither for the local vendors nor for the aratdars. But the market staff live in their own quarters within the market. There are five toilets and seven urinals inside the market area for the general public. There are also three hotels inside the market of which two are for the hindus and one is for the muslims. Besides these, there are five tea stalls from where muri (puffed rice) and telebhaja (snacks of fried vegetables) are also sold.

A MEASURE OF CONGESTION

Next we will try to get an estimate of the extent of congestion inside the market area in the unit time on the basis of the rate of toll collection. A group of toll collectors work for eight hours at a time, at the end of which they are replaced by another group. According to the toll collectors, in the peak season (from Viswakarma Puja to Saraswati Puja period), in a single shift (1.30 P.M. to 9.30 P.M.), 2,000 baskets (of 50 kgs.) get into the market. Assuming that a purchaser would buy, on average, 10 kilograms, for 2,000 baskets (50 kgs.) to be totally sold, there should be 10,000 purchasers inside the market in an 8-hour shift.

Again, for 2,000 baskets to be entered into the market, 2,000 porters are needed. So 2,000 porters, 2,000 sellers and 10,000 buyers, that is 14,000 heads, use the market in an 8-hour shift in the busiest time in the year.

This estimate is only for the standard baskets weighing 50 kgs. For other types of baskets or sacks we will make an indirect estimate. There are, in all, 267 big and small stalls inside the market area (including the stalls of the aratdars). If we assume that, on an average, six persons (buyers) come to each stall in an hour (the figure given by the market staff), then, in one hour, nearly 1,600 ($6 \times 267 = 1,602$) men come to these stalls. Now among these 267 stalls, 67 stalls are the so called arats which are generally manned by two persons and 200 stalls are of small to medium size, each with a single man as seller. So, the total number of heads of sellers becomes nearly 330 ($67 \times 2 + 200 = 334$). Thus, in an eight-hour span, the total number of buyers and sellers will be nearly 13,000 ($8 \times 1600 + 330 = 13,130$) heads. Adding the two types together (both the standard baskets and the other baskets or sacks), we can say that, nearly 27,000 ($13,000 + 14,000$) person stay inside the market area in eight hours, what is 3,375 persons per hour, in the total market area of 1.66 acres or 57,600 square feet.

PROBLEMS

Let us now discuss the problems that the market faces. For the sake of simplicity, we will discuss the problems of each group in turn. Let us consider, first, the problems of the market authority, that is, the owner. The main problem that the authority of the markets (specially those maintained by the Calcutta Municipal Corporation) generally face is that of law and order. In case of the Koley market the problem is not a serious one, as the authority keeps

45 durwans (guards) for this purpose. The market authority do not have to wait for police to come. The market complex is efficiently manned and, sometimes, the authority, as the owner said, have to apply 'third degree' coercive measures to tackle the problems (e.g., in cases of open confrontation between palladars). There are hardly any cases of robbery or pick-pocketing or snatching inside the market area. But the authority have no control over the anti-socials ruling outside the market premises. There, some groups of anti-socials force the casual vendors to sell their products to them at a nominal price and then sell those on the roadside at a higher price. It happens along the entire stretch of the B.B. Ganguly Street from Kolay market to Sealdah fly-over. These creates two types of problems for the market authority. Firstly, it reduces the amount of toll collected by the authority, as the vendors are prevented from entering into the market. Secondly, at the same time, the entire garbage created due to this type of trade goes into the credit of the Kolay Market authority, which pays Rs. 50,000 per year to Calcutta Corporation's Conservancy Department for this purpose. Surprisingly, the local police are totally indifferent to these types of informal and illegal activities.

There are four gates in the market and at each gate the market has its crop of toll collectors, who collect the toll from each basket that enters into the market (the rate being Rs. 1.50 or Rs. 1.00 per basket). The total toll collected by the market authority is, approximately, 10 thousand daily, which will be nearly 300 thousand monthly. This gives an idea of the monthly

profit that is earned by the authority, which is Rs. 55 thousand (Table 3) or Rs. 660 thousand annually, compared to Rs. 1200 thousand that Calcutta Corporation earns as annual profit from New Market.² Thus, the amount of profit generated in Kolay market is about a half of that earned in the New Market. But, the calculation will be totally different if we look into the profit earned per unit of market area. While Kolay market covers an area of just 1.66 acres, the New Market occupies an area of 11 acres. The rate of profit per unit of area is substantially higher in the case of Kolay market than in any other market in the city. This is because of the fact that, out of the total revenue earned by the Kolay market authority, 90% comes from the toll that is collected daily per basket whereas out of the revenue earned by the other markets (municipal or private) more or less the whole of it comes from the rents collected from the tenants which were fixed 50 to 60 years ago.³ Further, the Kolay market authority revise the toll upwards from time to time.

Garbage disposal is the main problem that the market faces. The market is kept open for 24 hours a day and, as it deals with agricultural commodity, the volume of garbage generated is greater than that in any other market in the city. The authority get three hours (5 A.M. to 8 A.M., when the market is not much crowded) to clear the garbage from the market. There are 32 sweepers to do this job. They collect the garbage from the market in their respective handcarts and put it on a room kept for dumping. The garbage consists mainly of agricultural refuse. The owner, when interviewed, said that nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lorry of garbage is produced daily from this market. As we have

mentioned earlier, the authority pay Rs. 50,000 per annum, as conservancy charge, besides other corporation taxes. But, another report says, that at least 50 trucks of garbage are generated daily from Kolay market and for which a nominal fee is paid.⁴ The authority feel that the aratdars or the casual vendors should be made responsible for the disposal of garbage and that the aratdars and vendors should be taxed annually or monthly by the Corporation for conservancy services.

Let us consider next the problems of the casual vendors. According to the Secretary of the All Bengal Vendors Association, the main problem that a casual vendor faces is that of carrying things on the train. Since the E.M.U. coaches provide only two coaches for this purpose, many of the vendors can not get into the vendor coaches with goods and are, therefore, forced to travel in the passenger coaches. Secondly, policemen (GRP) and ticket checkers harass them unnecessarily and frequently collect bribes from them. Thirdly, it was reported, that, sometimes, expired tickets are illegally resold from the booking offices; and are purchased by them unknowingly. This, when produced at the gates makes them liable to a substantial penalty. Fourthly, illegal constructions on the platform inside the station create problems in the movements of vendors and daily passengers. The fifth problem is that, the space inside the market provided to the casual vendors is too small compared to their number. The aratdars are occupying more and more space inside the market as they are the dominant group, and are favoured in most of the cases by the authority, which leaves little space for the casual vendors.

Coming to the aratdars, they say that they have no problem regarding the basic facilities provided by the market authority. Whenever any problem arises they raise it with the authority and the latter take action immediately. The aratdars use the trucks for the movement of goods. But, when the quantity of goods is less than about 20 quintals and they use the train, all kinds of difficulties arise. Firstly, the space provided is very small. Secondly, the guards and checkers make illegal exactions. Thirdly, the vendor coaches are sometimes get detached from the train and left stranded for several days, which makes the vegetables rot. Fourthly, all of them complain against the police who take no action when goods get snatched by anti-socials who organise an illegal market at Tandelbagan in Howrah. The fifth, and the most crucial problem that the aratdars face, is related to the road space for the trucks, which is too small. After the completion of the fly-over nearby, there is no adequate approach road towards the market. The Serpentine Lane entrance for the lorries is very narrow and it is subject to illegal encroachment by some stall owners from both sides. They complain that Corporation authorities do not take any action. The surface area of the road on the west side of the fly-over is too small; the width of the footpath is greater than the width of the road, but the entire footpath has been encroached upon by the hawkers. Finally, there is no parking facility inside or outside the market. The market authority say that they have no vacant space which could be used for parking purposes. The aratdars are using the vacant space in front of the Nilratan Sircar Hospital for the parking of their lorries and for unloading the goods. This type of parking is totally illegal, but they say that they are

left with no alternative. Due to non-availability of parking space, the export of goods from Kolay market is badly affected. This has a direct effect on the working of both the casual vendors and the araddars.

THE MARKET AND THE CITY

Now let us discuss the problems that the market creates for the civic life of the city. The first one to be considered should be the traffic and transport problem, as we can see that all the routes into the Kolay market pass through the Central Business District of the city (Figure 4). This problem can be reduced up to a certain level, particularly during office hours, if the time schedule for the movement of trucks inside the city is properly maintained. The Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) has tried to solve the problem related to the trucks. In one of its reports all types of wholesale trading have been discouraged inside the Central Business District of the city, while four major truck terminal-cum-wholesale trading centres have been proposed around the metro-core as also six intermediate truck terminal-cum-wholesale trading centres in some other places.⁵ However, of all these proposed terminals, work on only one, at Kona, has made some progress.

The second major problem is related to the garbage disposal. While Calcutta Corporation sends at least 50 trucks a day to collect the garbage generated at the Kolay Market, the cost involved for this is far in excess of Rs. 50,000 the market pays for this purpose per annum.⁶ Further, a great deal of garbage is generated by the informal markets, outside for which no charge is made, nor the disposal is undertaken on a regular basis.

NOTES

1. "Law and Order Problems Plague City Markets",
The Telegraph, 7th November 1983.
2. The Telegraph, 7th November, 1983.
3. The Telegraph, 7th November 1983, op. cit.
4. "City Markets to be Surveyed", The Telegraph,
30th April, 1986.
5. Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority,
Concept of Integrated Transportation System for CMD
(Planning Report No. 174), Calcutta, (n.d.).
6. The Telegraph, 30th April, 1986, op cit.

TABLE - I

TABLE - I (Contd.)

No. of Stalls	Name of Market	Area (in acres)	Nature	Principals
1
2
3
4
5
6

TABLE - 1

MARKETS LOCATED IN THE PERIPHERY OF THE KOLAY MARKET

Sl. No.	Name of the Market	Location	Ownership	Area (in acre)	Nature	Principal Commodities
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Baithakkhana Market	15/16, Baithakkhana Road, P.O. Amherst Street, Calcutta - 700 009	Private	2.00	Wholesale	Vegetable, Betel leaf, Fish, Wheat, Egg, Flowers
2	Bowbazar Market	84/A, 84/1A, 84/3A, B.B. Ganguly Street, P.O. Bowbazar, Calcutta - 700 012	Private	0.82	Retail	- Do -
3	College Street Market	77-85, College Street, P.O. Bowbazar, Calcutta - 700 012	Calcutta Corporation	7.66	Wholesale	- Do -
4	Entally Market	156, 157 and 158, A.J.B. Road, Calcutta - 700 014	Calcutta Corporation	1.00	Retail	- Do -

TABLE - 1 (contd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Rajabazar Market	296, A.P.C. Road, P.O. Amherst Street, Calcutta - 700 009	Private	2.00	Retail	Vegetable, Betel leaf, Fish, Meat, Eggs, Flowers
6	Taltala Bazar	49/1, S N Banerjee Road, Calcutta - 700 014	Private	0.82	Retail	- Do - and Grocery
7	Teritty Bazar	22, Rabindra Sarani, Calcutta - 700 014	Private	4.00	Wholesale and Retail	- Do - and Sugar and Dry Fish

Source : Govt. of West Bengal, Agricultural Marketing Department,
Report on the Markets of West Bengal.

TABLE - 2

STAFF POSITION IN KOLAY MARKET

	Name of the office	No. of Staff
1	<u>Security</u>	
	Security Officer	1
	Durwans	45
2	<u>Toll Collection</u>	
	Collectors	40
3	<u>Conservancy</u>	
	Sweepers	30
4	<u>Technical Section</u>	
	Electrician	1
	Electric Helper	1
	Plumber	1
	Mason	1
5	<u>Managerial Section</u>	
	Managerial Staff	11
	Cashier	3
	Accountant	1
	Supervisors	6
	Clerk	2
	Scavanging Assistant	2
	Toll Collection Inspector	5
TOTAL STAFF		150

Source : Office of the Kolay Market Authority.

TABLE - 3

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE INCURRED BY THE KOLAY MARKET AUTHORITY

Subject	Amount (in Rs. '000)
1 - Repairs and Maintenance	15
2 - Electrical Charges	35
3 - Medical Charges (For all the employees)	3
4 - Motor Car (Repair and fuel charges)	5
5 - Scavenging Expenses and Others	7
6 - Corporation Tax and Other Taxes	15
7 - Staff Welfare (Tiffin, mainly)	5
8 - Generator (Salary and fuel)	5
9 - Salary of the Staff	1,50
10 - Miscellaneous	5
TOTAL	2,45

Source : Office of the Kolay Market Authority

TABLE - 4a

GOODS THAT COME FROM OUTSIDE WEST BENGAL

Centres Outside West Bengal	Goods	Modes of Transport
<u>Uttar Pradesh</u>		
Lucknow	Tomato	Train/Truck
Baneras	Green Peas, Chilli	- Do -
Berili	Onion	- Do -
Agra Camp	Carrot	- Do -
Shajahanpur	Pumpkin	- Do -
Dehradun	Carrot	- Do -
Allahabad	Pumpkin	- Do -
Kanpur	Chilli	- Do -
Aligarh	Green Peas	- Do -
Etawa	Green Peas	- Do -
<u>Delhi</u>		
Delhi	Tomato, Carrot	- Do -
<u>Bihar</u>		
Ranchi	Green Peas, Tomato, Potato	- Do -
Bihar Sharif	Chilli	- Do -
Patna	Onion	- Do -
Shiekhpur	Onion	- Do -
Samastipur	Drum Stick	- Do -
Bursui	Sweet Potato	- Do -
Muzaffarpur	Sweet Potato	- Do -
Arrah	Drum Stick, Patol	- Do -

TABLE - 4a (Contd.)

Centres Outside West Bengal	Goods	Mode of Transport
<u>Andhra Pradesh</u>		
Raulopallam	Arum	Train/Truck
Tooni	Chilli	- Do -
Ellur	Lemon	- Do -
Rajmandri	Lemon	- Do -
Palkol	Lemon	- Do -
Tenali	Lemon	- Do -
<u>Rajasthan</u>		
Khartal	Carrot	- Do -
<u>Punjab</u>		
Amritsar	Carrot	- Do -
Jullandhar	Potato	- Do -
<u>Maharashtra</u>		
Nasik	Onion	- Do -
Nagpur	Lemon	- Do -
<u>Karnataka</u>		
Bangalore	Cabbage	- Do -
<u>Orissa</u>		
Ganjam	Patol	- Do -
Bhuvaneswar	Arum	- Do -
Cuttack	Arum	- Do -
Sambalpur	Patol	- Do -
Berhampore	Patol	- Do -

TABLE - 4a (Contd.)

Centres Outside West Bengal	Goods	Modes of Transport
<u>Gujrat</u>		
Baroda	Drum Stick	Train/Truck
<u>Tripura</u>		
Agartala	Kankrole	Plane
<u>Tamil Nadu</u>		
Koombatore	Cabbage	Train/Truck

Source : Office of Kolay Market Authority

TABLE - 4b
 GOODS WHICH COME FROM DIFFERENT CENTRES OF WEST BENGAL

Centres Inside West Bengal	Goods	Modes of Transport
<u>Bankura</u>		
Bishnupur	Sweet Gourd, Bitter Gourd	Truck
<u>Hooghly</u>		
Tarakeswar	Brinjal, Water Chestnut	Train/Truck
Manipampur	Cauliflower	- Do -
<u>Midnapore</u>		
Garhbeta	Gourd	- Do -
<u>Howrah</u>		
Howrah	Cauliflower	Truck
<u>24-Parganas</u>		
Canning	Brinjal, Cabbage, Guava, Star Apple	Train
Baruipur	Guava, Tamboline, Pine Apple	Train
Joynagar	Guava, Tamboline, Pine Apple	Train
<u>Nadia</u>		
Nadia	Chilli	Train/Truck
<u>Darjeeling</u>		
Darjeeling	White Chestnut	- Do -



TABLE - 4b (Contd.)

Centres Inside West Bengal	Goods	Modes of Transport
<u>Jalpaiguri</u>		
Jalpaiguri	White Chestnut	Train/Truck
<u>Malda</u>		
Malda	White Chestnut	- Do -
<u>Birbhum</u>		
Bolpur	Arum	- Do -
Sainthia	Arum	- Do -
<u>Murshidabad</u>		
Jangipur	Drum Stick	- Do -
Beldanga	Chilli, Drum Stick	- Do -
Berhanpore	Patol, White Chestnut	- Do -
Lalgola	Patol, White Chestnut	- Do -

Source : Office of Kolay Market Authority

KOLAY MARKET AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

0 1 2
SCALE IN KM.

-  KOLAY MARKET
-  OTHER MARKETS

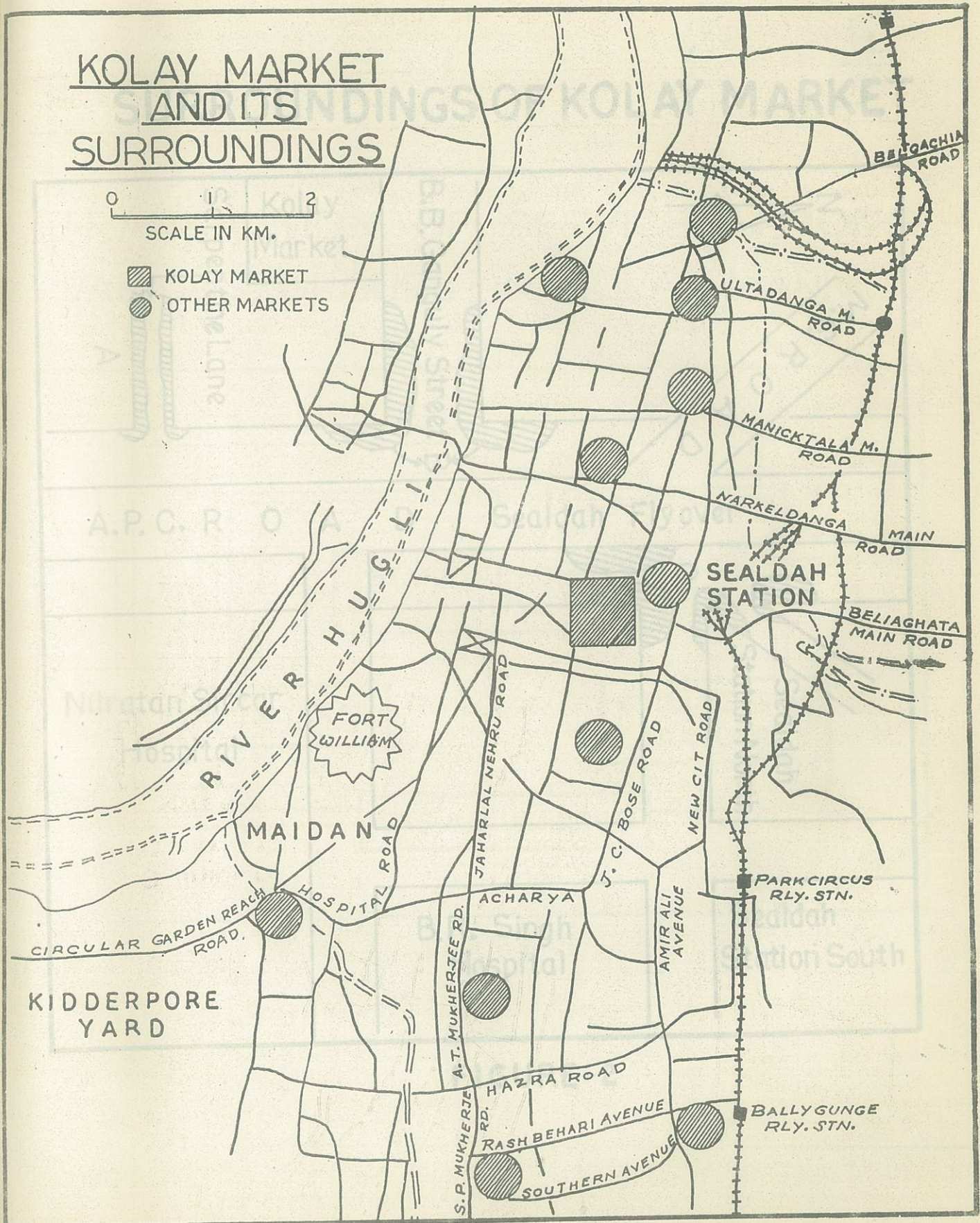


FIGURE-1

SURROUNDINGS OF KOLAY MARKET

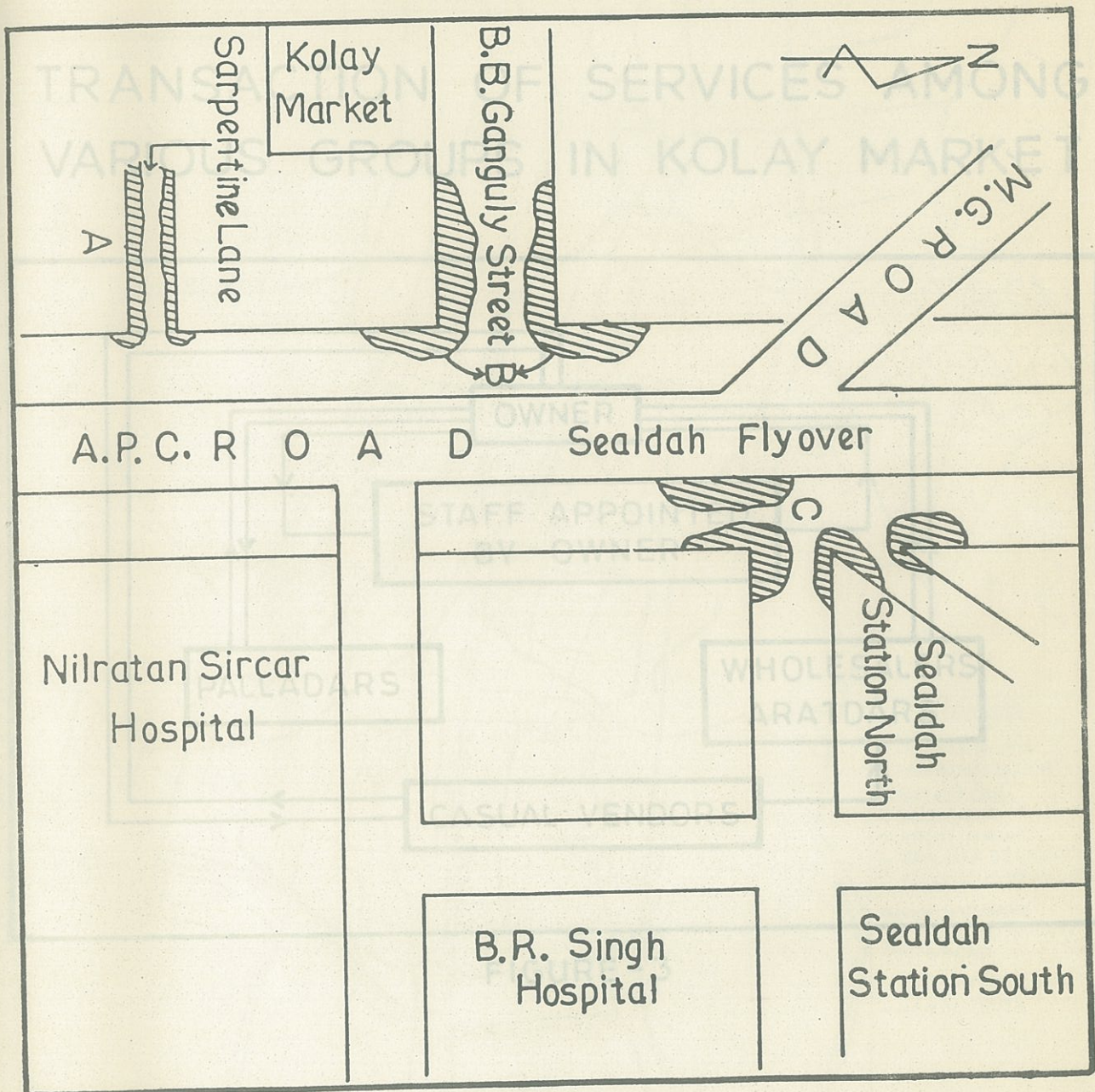


FIGURE-2



CALCUTTA CITY

TRANSACTION OF SERVICES AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS IN KOLAY MARKET

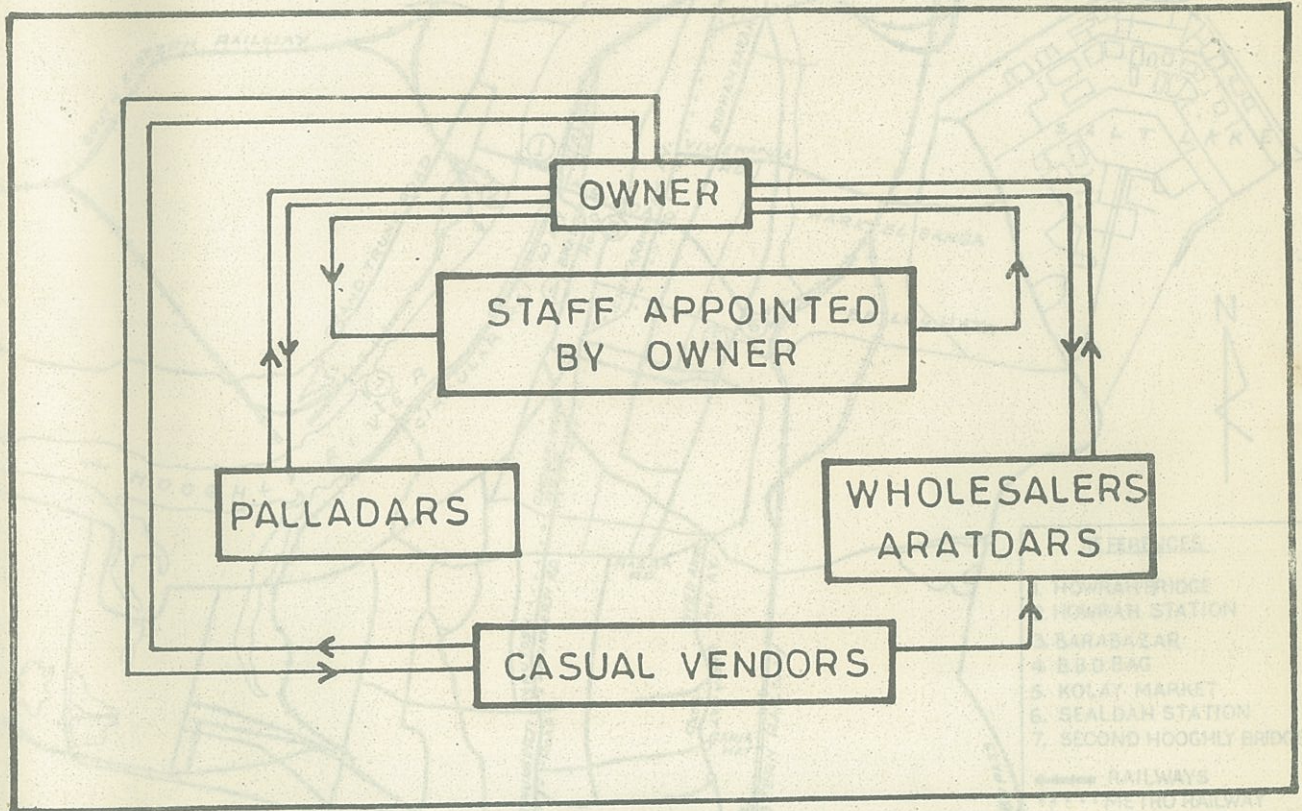


FIGURE - 3

- RAILWAYS
- ROAD
- WATER BODIES
- FLY OVER

