

A photograph of fresh produce including green kiwis, purple eggplants, and green beans on a banana leaf. The kiwis are the central focus, showing their characteristic fuzzy texture and small stem scars. The eggplants are dark purple and glossy. The green beans are thin and vibrant. The entire arrangement is set on a large, green banana leaf, which provides a natural and rustic backdrop. The lighting is soft, highlighting the textures and colors of the vegetables.

MARKETS

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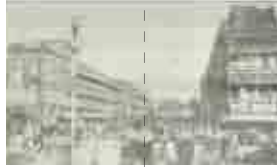
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Burra Bazar existed before British arrived. It is one of the oldest markets in India.



British East India Company was the first company to establish organised trade between India and other countries.

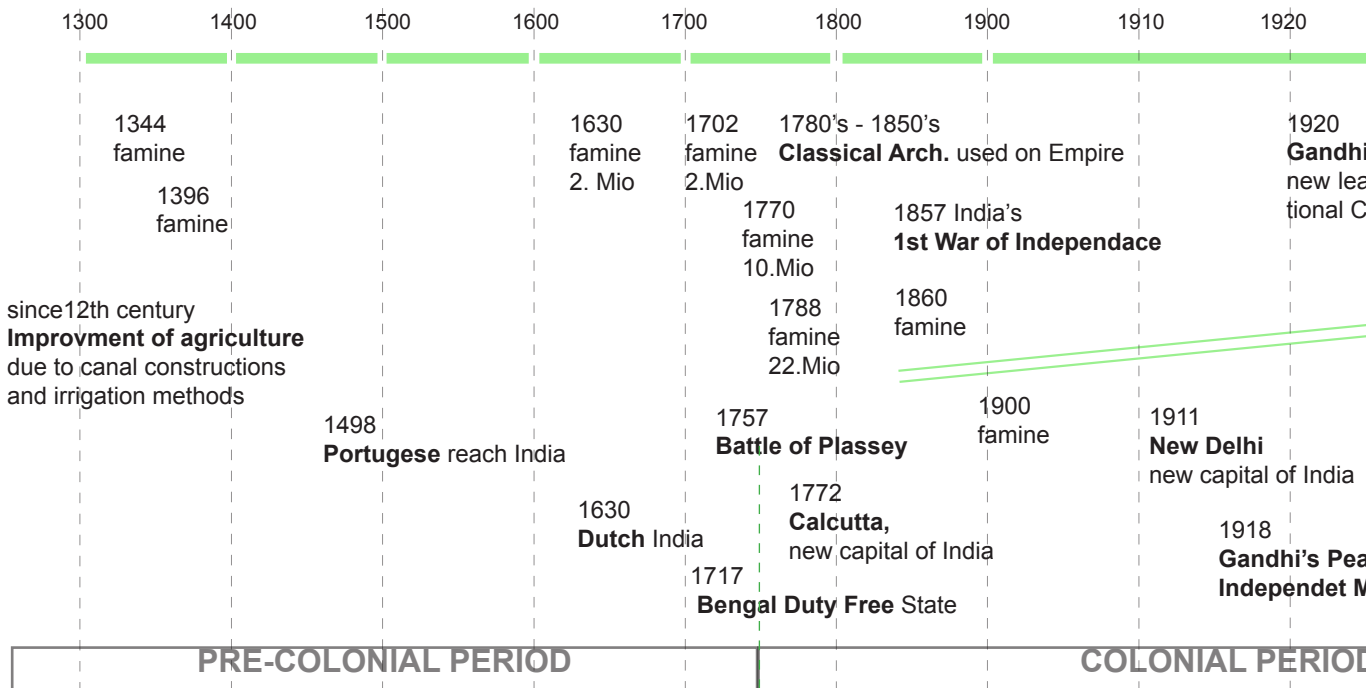
Marwari inhabitants of Kolkata numbered only a handful in the late 18th century. Bengali dominated Kolkata's economy until the mid 19th century, when their decline in fortunes was matched by the arrival of the Marwari. From mid 19th century, Burra bazar began to grow as a stronghold of Marwari businessmen.

After the **Revolt of 1857**, the British rapidly extended their commercial network all over India. Indigo, opium, cotton and tea were developed as export crops.



In early 20th century British built several **new roads**, which opened up new trade opportunities for Kolkata. Connections to rural areas became faster and more reliable.

In 1847 **New Market** was opened. Designed by R. Bayney for East India Railway Company became Kolkata's first municipal market.



TIMELINE OF ECONOMY AND TRADE

in 1930s' Gariahat area developed very fast, due to several historical events. And within **Gariahat market** was formed.

After independence in 1947, **refugees** from west Bengal arrived in Kolkata looking for jobs. Most of them ended up on the streets, working as street vendors. This was the first big wave of new hawkers on the streets of Kolkata.



In 1950 **the first trade union** was formed, Bengal Hawker's Association.

1957 - 15th Indian Labour Conference was held. it had laid some norms and regulations, one of the most important was a **minimum wage**.

In the 60's India's **Green Revolution** began. After centuries of famine, the government and the country decided to organize production of rice and wheat, so no one should die of hunger in the future.



1968 Green Revolution saw annual wheat production rise from 10 million tonnes to **17 million t. of wheat** virtually overnight.

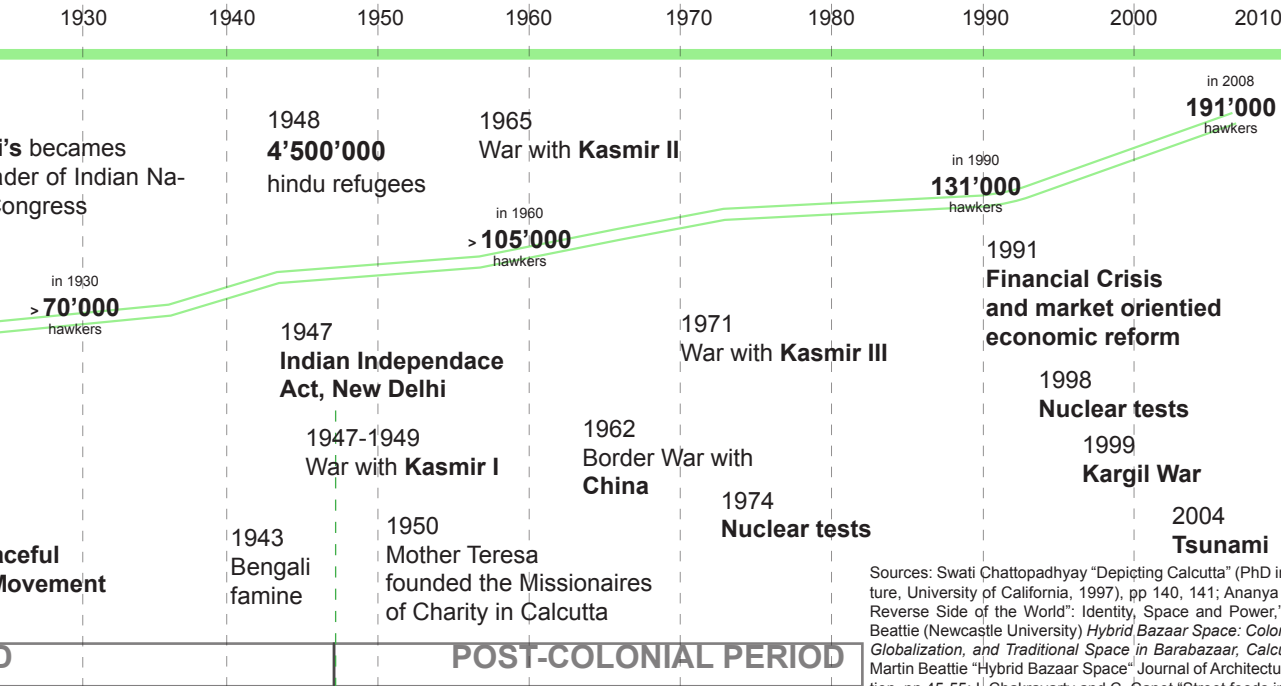
in 1971 the **Kolkata Hawkers' Men Union** was started, affiliated to AITUC

Since the 70s after the major part of the **industry** workers lost their job, the number of hawkers increased rapidly, as they started working as street vendors.

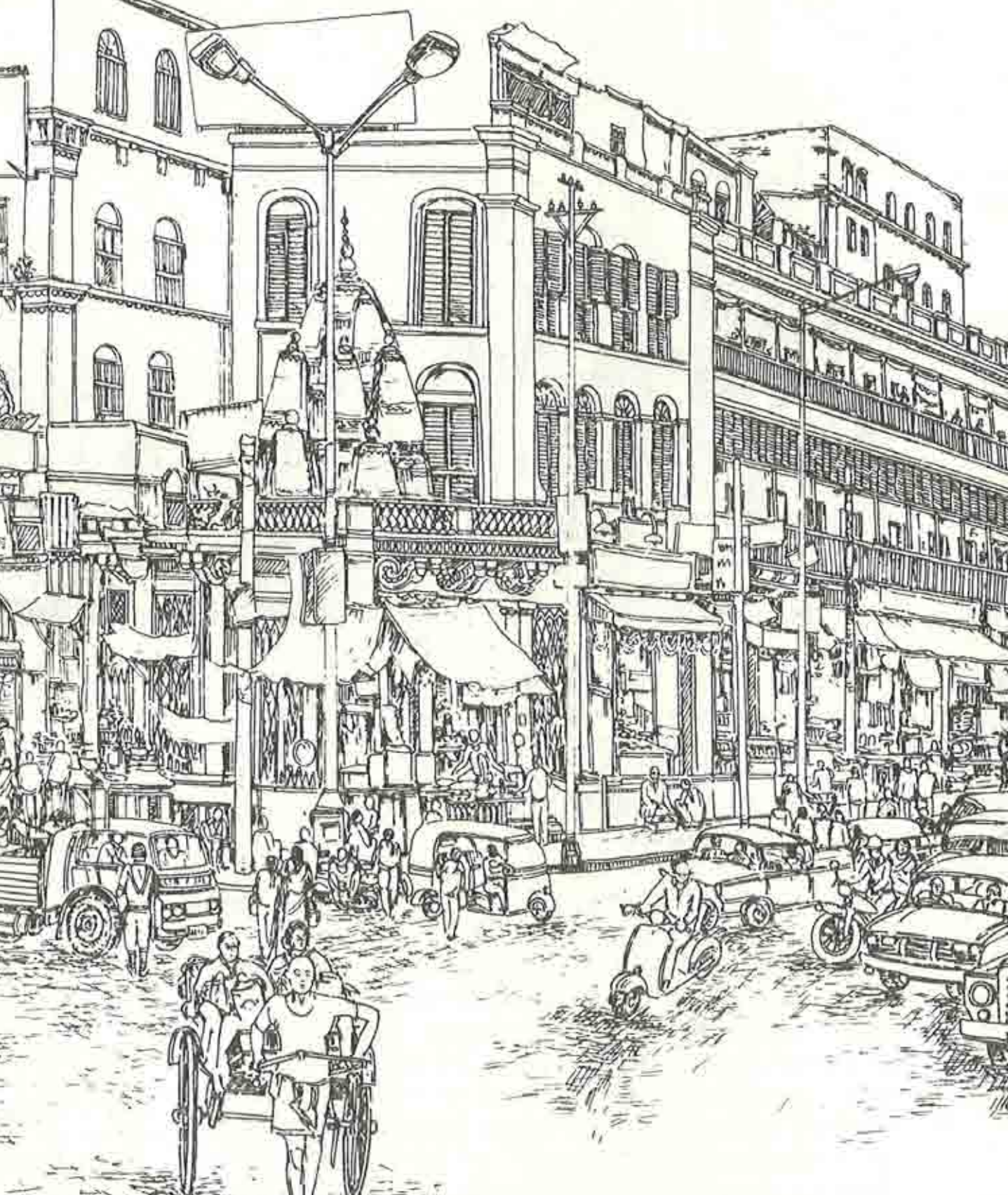
Operation Sunshine in 1996, when Police Corps of Kolkata and hundreds of members of the Left Front took part in a state government initiative to "clean up" the streets of Kolkata through the violent removal of street vendors. 1640 stalls were destroyed and 102 hawkers were arrested

After Sunshine Operation in 1996 **The Hawkers' Sangram Comitee** was started. There are 36 unions, and they represent all trade union federations except those affiliated to

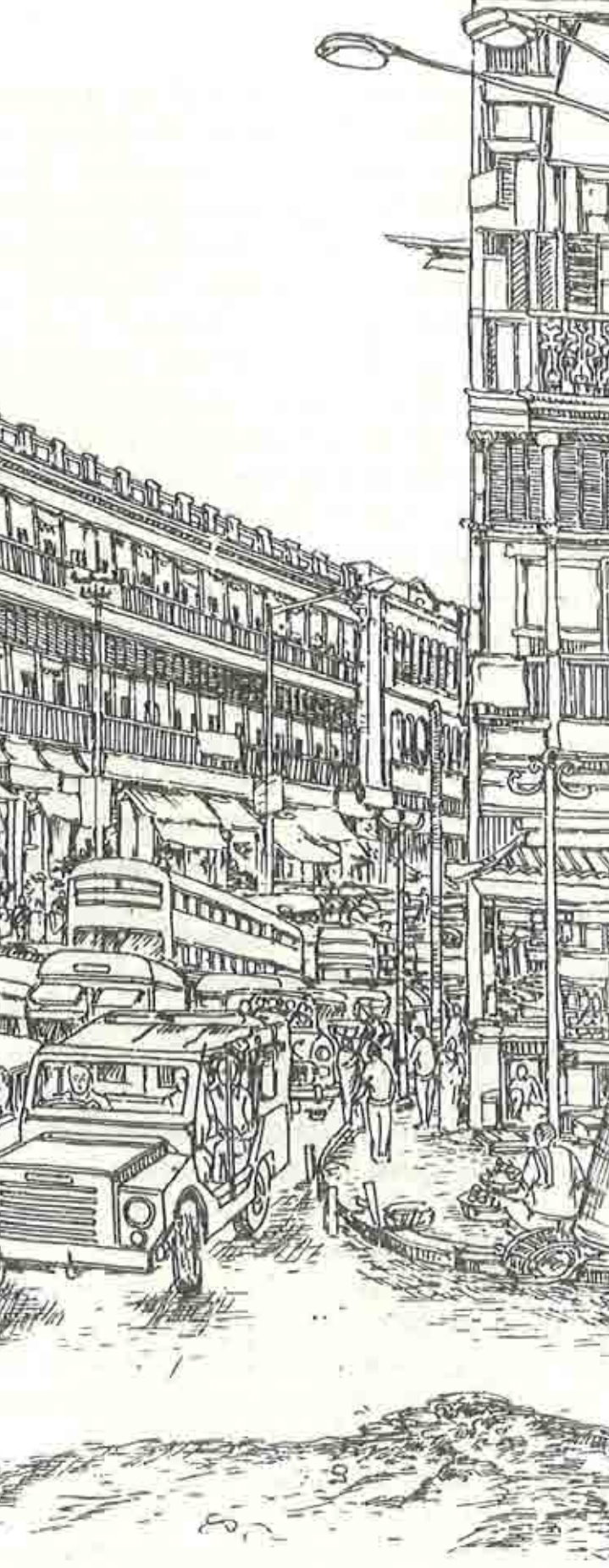
Since 2000 it is getting harder for **farmers** to sell their products as rice and wheat. They start changing profession and becomes street vendors.



Sources: Swati Chattopadhyay "Depicting Calcutta" (PhD in Architecture, University of California, 1997), pp 140, 141; Ananya Roy, "The Reverse Side of the World": Identity, Space and Power," in Martin Beattie (Newcastle University) *Hybrid Bazaar Space: Colonialization, Globalization, and Traditional Space in Barabazaar, Calcutta, India*; Martin Beattie "Hybrid Bazaar Space" *Journal of Architectural Education*, pp 45-55; I. Chakravarty and C. Canet "Street foods in Calcutta" *FNA / ANA* pp.17-18, 1996



Burra Bazaar
Around 1945



DEVELOPMENT OF MARKETS

Bazars in Kolkata

Whereas Burra Bazar was one of the first and the oldest markets in the city, the number has grown rapidly. After the revolt of 1757, the British extended their commercial network all over India. Indigo, opium, cotton, and tea were developed as export crops. The construction of the Delhi-Calcutta railway in 1857-1860 gave a new momentum to the trade. The growth of Kolkata towards the south in the early 1900s created a need for a new market in the area. The junction at Rashbehari Road/Gariahat Road became the location for the new KMC building in 1939.

In the rural community certain areas became natural trading hubs, which later developed into commercial clusters in the cities. *Mohalla* or neighbourhood was a mixed-use area, residential and commercial, that contained its own mosque, temple and market. In Kolkata, a *Para* was defined as an area "deriving its sense of identity from a garden, a pond, or a bazar." The markets could thus provide identity for the whole area, making its borders fleeting and creating a kind of mixed-use hybrid space.

Immigrants and unemployed

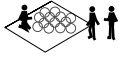
After the Independence of 1947, racial division of the colonial city was redefined by differences in classes. The city faced urban problems that the government tried to hide for decades. In Pakistan, the immigrants belonged to the middle income class and were of the same cultural background as the Kolkata's intelligence. Well-informed about their political rights, they demanded fulfilment of their right to be resettled in the city. They settled in the areas very close to affluent South Kolkata neighbourhoods, such as Behala, Kasba, Baligunge and Gariahat. Due to this it became physically impossible for them to be overseen. Goswami wrote in 1990: "The new urban poor could not be put out of sight in unmentionable parts of north Calcutta". Soon after they had settled down, they started their own businesses. Eventually they became hawkers.

Some decades later another wave of the new hawkers overflowed the city. Kolkata was known as an industrialised city, famous for its jute mills and engineering industries, which provided employment to a large number of workers. As the industry broke down in the 1970s almost all fabric workers were forced to find a new employment. One of the most common alternatives was street vending. It was a period when possibility to find a new job was almost non-existent, when opening a new shop was the easiest way to earn money and it did not require some great start capital.

The new post-colonial city space retained its division on black and white with further division into quarters or ghettos. Black and white city became class-divided city.

MARKET TYPOLOGIES

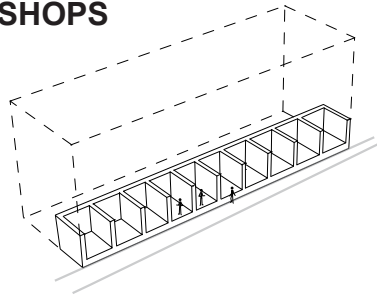
HAWKERS



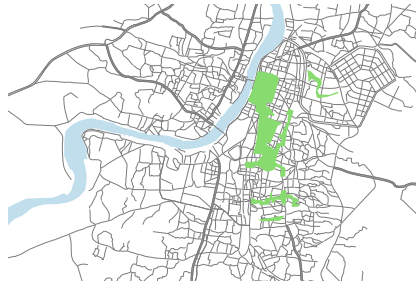
Temporary vendors selling their goods on the street, on a simple blanket or at a street stall. The hawkers are mostly from the outskirts of Kolkata or from the countryside. They are members of the Hawkers Union, to which they pay a token amount of money every day. The Hawkers Unions are run by political parties and elected every year. Hawkers are sometimes primary producers of vegetables or fish. There are stalls selling cooked fast-food to affordable prices. Located wherever there are people. They return to the same place every day but are unauthorised by the government.



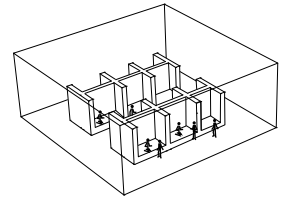
SHOPS



Small permanent spaces along streets, sometimes with a raised floor to keep water out during the monsoon. There are shops almost everywhere, but especially clustered in the central areas. The same type of shops are often gathered along one specialized street (Bow Bazar: jewelry, College Street: books)

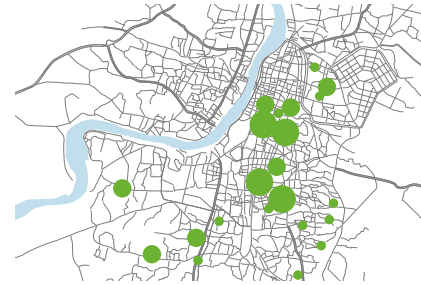


KMC MARKETS

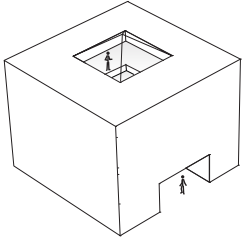


26 buildings set up by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation, scattered over the city. The buildings contain stalls and small shops, and the vendors are recognised by the government. They earn more than the street hawkers and pay a monthly rent to the KMC.

- > 10 000 sqm
- 5 000-10 000 sqm
- < 5 000 sqm

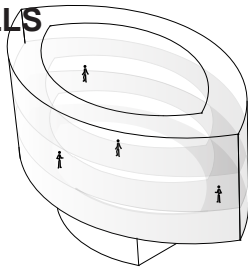


AC MARKETS



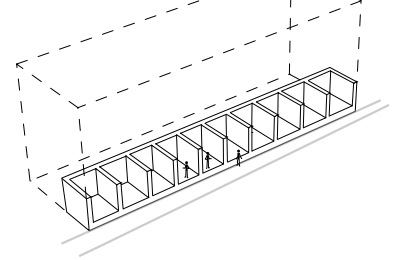
A hybrid of market and mall. A collection of shops inside an air-conditioned, often multi-storied building. Like an upgraded market. There are no hawkers in these spaces, and the prices are fixed. Often located at the large market areas like New Market and Gariahat.

MALLS

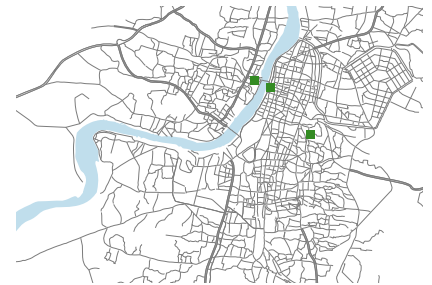
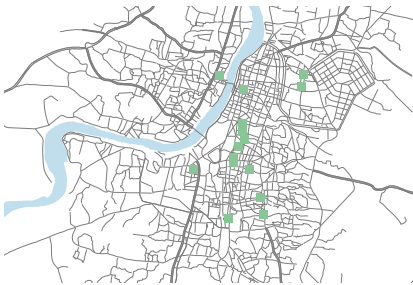
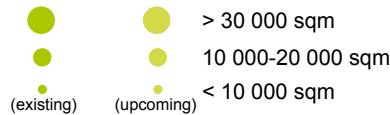


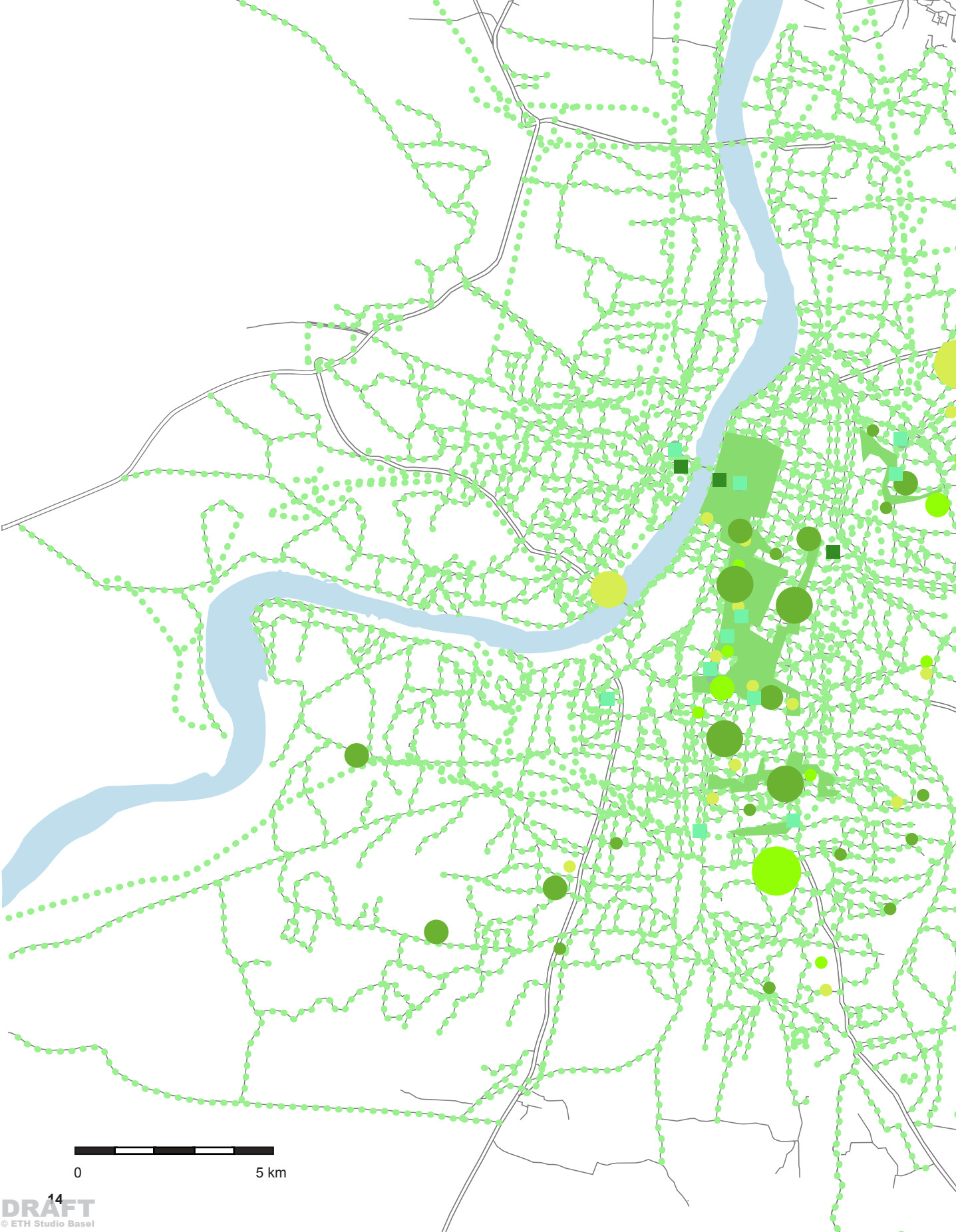
New and trendy places for the young and wealthy. Multi-national labels are represented in clean, spacious and air-conditioned buildings. With cafés, restaurants and hygienic facilities. The entrances often have guards, probably due to protests against the malls. No hawkers are allowed in these spaces, and the prices are fixed. Organized retailer claim that the supply chain gets more effective with some links of middle men at wholesale markets eliminated.

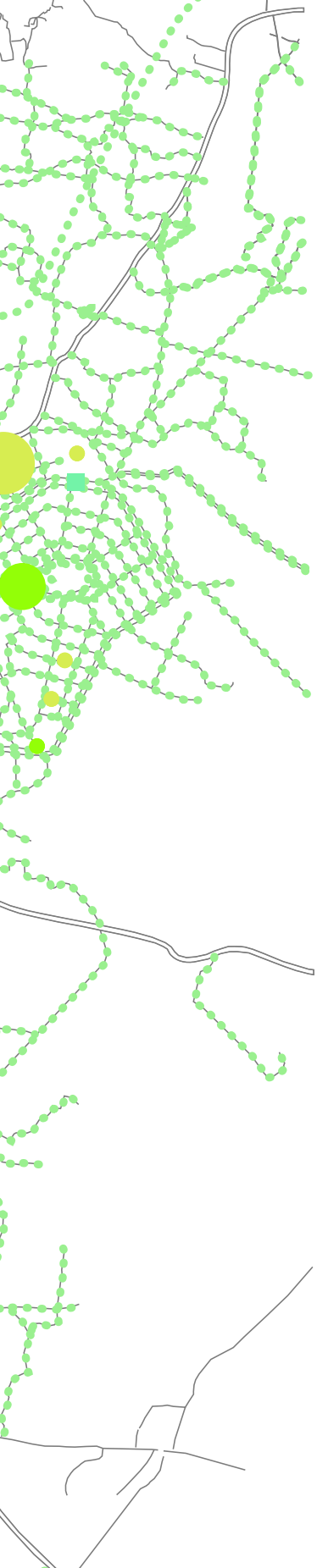
WHOLESALE MARKETS



Importing goods in bulks and selling to other markets. There are different spatial configurations; offices in Burra Bazaar, vegetables in a vast building at Kolay market. Transport to the market by truck or rail, from market by truck, bike or hand-ricksha. Located close to main traffic junctions like railway stations.







TYOLOGIES

● ● ● The different market typologies are more or less spread over the city. As for hawkers, they are difficult to locate exactly, since they are temporary and mobile.

■ The shops are also located almost everywhere, but for clarity, we have chosen to indicate only the areas with the highest density of shops.

10 000 m² < ● ● ● As for KMC markets, there are about 26 of them all over the city. The number is diminishing due to privatization. There are other markets than KMC markets, almost every block has its own for daily needs. However, we are limiting this overview to the major markets.
 5 000-10 000 m² ● ● ●
 5 000 m² > ● ● ●

30 000 m² < ● ● ● The number of malls is increasing rapidly in Kolkata. The upcoming malls are mostly in construction and will be opened soon. The new malls are located predominately in Salt Lake City and Rajarhat (not on map).
 20 000-30 000 m² ● ● ●
 10 000-20 000 m² ● ● ●
 10 000 m² > ● ● ●
 (existing) (upcoming)

■ The AC markets are located close to the KMC Markets, as a complement and because large numbers of people are passing by.

■ The wholesale markets are located close to the railway stations, but are hubs also for transport by truck.

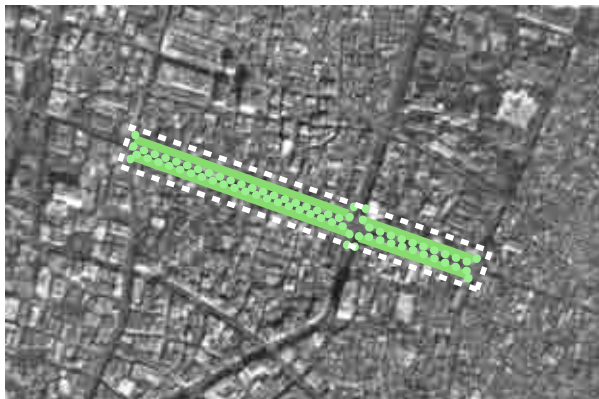
In general one can say that there is a belt of shopping stretching through the most central parts of the city, with Hoogly River and Maidan Parc as western limits, and less well-off areas as eastern. The affluence is spread quite far south, over Ballygunge and Gariahat all the way to South City Mall in the south.

OVERVIEW OF 4 MARKETS

BOW BAZAR



Founded to suffice the needs of the well-off Indian area in northern Kolkata. Shops in buildings about one kilometre along Bipin Behari Ganguly Street (former Bow Bazaar Street), selling jewellery, saris and furniture. The raw gold is imported through Europe and manufactured in Kolkata. The shops are rented on a monthly basis from private landlords. Closest metro connection is Central Station, closest railway station is Sealdah.



250 m



BURRA BAZAR



Very lively historic area close to the Howrah bridge and Mahatma Gandhi Road. Wholesale market with offices selling machinery and steel in bulks on Kalakar Street. Wholesale shops for textiles. Commission agents receive fish from fisherman and auction them to the whole-salers who carry the fish to retailers in the markets of the city. Very congested area with streets full of Hawkers.



250 m



NEW MARKET



Located in the heart of Kolkata and one of the biggest markets. It was the first KMC market in the city and founded as an "european" market. The original market building from 1874 has several additions and is surrounded by hawkers and AC Markets. A kind of juncture spot for distribution to other markets. Selling everything for general needs; clothes, food etc.



GARIAHAT MARKET



Located at the Gariahat flyover in south Kolkata. At the Rashbehari Avenue passing under the flyover, a street market is stretching for some kilometers. At this intersection there is also a KMC building, at least two malls and some hybrid markets. Gariahat is the major market in the large and wealthy Ballygunge area and well connected to the rest of the city. Rail station is Ballygunge, metro connection Kalighat, accessed easily by an autorickshaw.



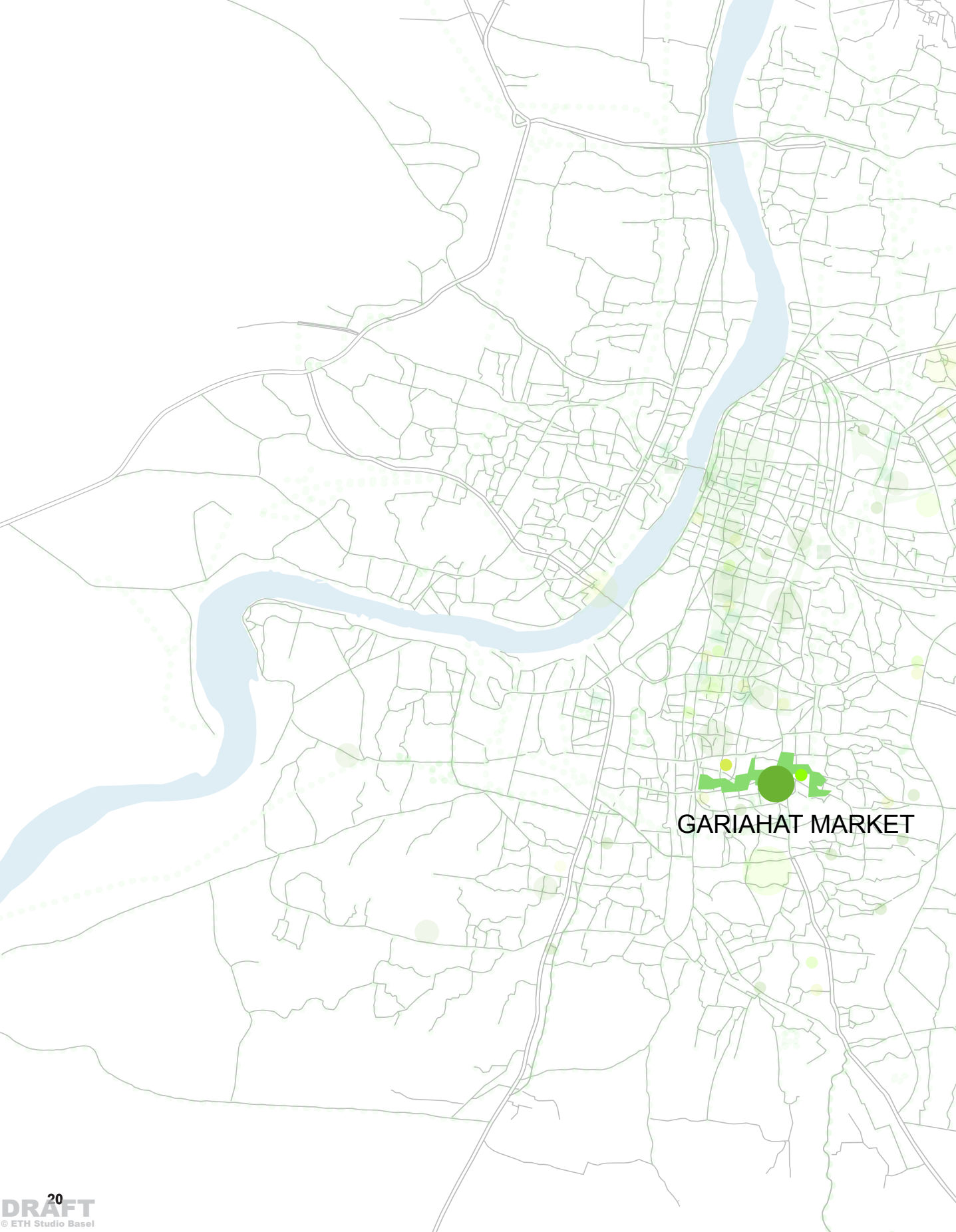


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GARIAHAT MARKET



GARIAHAT MARKET

Gariahat Market is the name of a commercial hub in the south of Kolkata, between Ballygunge station and Kaligahat. The market is situated along the Rashbehari Avenue under the Gariahat flyover, and along the Gariahat Road, with trade through hawkers and small shops extending some kilometers in each direction. There are also a KMC market and other typologies represented in the area.

● ● ● HAWKERS

■ SHOPS

KMC MARKETS

● > 10 000 m²

● 5 000 - 10 000 m²

● < 5 000 m²

MALLS

● > 30 000 m²

● 20 000 - 30 000 m²

● 10 000 - 20 000 m²

● < 10 000 m²

UPCOMING MALLS

● > 30 000 m²

● 20 000 - 30 000 m²

● 10 000 - 20 000 m²

● No information

■ AC MARKETS

■ WHOLESALE





CASE-STUDY Or How We Decided Upon Gariahat

Located in very south of Kolkata, it takes about 30 minutes to reach Gariahat Market from the city center. While visiting Kolkata, we were staying at the YMCA near Park Street and visited the central markets: New Market, Burra Bazar and Bow Bazar. On our way we stopped at Flower market, walked along College Street and visited the mall at Salt lake city. Thanks to persuasion of some new friends, we went to Gariahat market. On every step we were overwhelmed by its **DIVERSITY** which was presented in numerous ways. We saw, felt and admired different mixtures of urban and rural, of tradition and modernity. This was the place where we experienced a very strong **RURAL INFLUENCE** on a market in Kolkata. So we returned. Day after day. And the longer we stayed, the more we discovered. The city best and biggest fish market, old fashioned tailors and hand-made gold products. These are just some of numerous unique things we discovered. And not to forget the business of this place. The life that happens on the street, during the whole day. So it was also its own **SPECIFICITY** that influenced our decision to choose Gariahat market for a case study.



RENE

RENE



DIVERSITY

The market has an urban diversity. It represents a cross-section of the Indian society, as mixed as it gets. There is a mix of income classes, mix of retail types, and those are constantly increasing. The market follows changes in lifestyles of people, upgrades as the people does. The size changes with the seasons, like the shopping habits. The monsoon can pose problems for vendors as well as for consumers, and during this period the amount of temporary structures diminishes.

The large and sturdy constructions of the globalization present a new possible lifestyle, a potential for well-off people to reinvent themselves. The coexistence of several typologies is striking. The markets are as homogeneous and heterogeneous as the Indian society. Homogeneous given that there are few ethnical and predominately one religious group. Heterogeneous in an economic sense - all levels of society tolerate each other in close proximity.

In the case of Gariahat it is difficult to define the exact limits of the market. It is an area without clearly drawn borders, growing and shrinking according to time of the year, it is merging and emerging. In a way, the whole city can be regarded as a limitless market, and the market can be seen as a city in itself. The traditional shops meet the shiny new commercial temples, with multi-national brands and lifestyles challenging the domestic ones. The most charming aspect of urban life can be said to be the mixing of people, the interaction and the diversity. This is very much the case at Gariahat where people from all paths of Kolkatan society rub shoulders. Even in the most well-to-do areas, there are less fortunate destinies represented. The market is open for all, it has no guards and no fences.





RURAL INFLUENCE

There is a rural influence that adds a layer to the urban culture. The countryside is pouring into the city; the streets of Kolkata are squatted by informal settlements. The city structure is undergoing densification due to the natural population growth, which is shaping something of an urban village. The natural method of dealing with space challenges the formal urbanity: trading, living, sleeping, eating, and washing in the streets. Strike back of the power clashes with formal society. The Indian cities are islands of urbanity on a vast countryside. But it seems that the cities in themselves contain islands of rurality and urbanity. The question of definitions arises: what is urban if the way of life can be described as rural? What is rural life if it takes place in the city? The borders are truly vague in Kolkata where several layers of culture merge.

Migration

Even though the urbanization is not as rapid in India as in the other developing countries, there is still a fair amount of people from the countryside seeking better livelihoods in cities by selling their crops or other goods on the streets. The coming together of rural and urban is often beneficial for both parts - whereas the inhabitants of the city are provided with goods at affordable prices and at convenient locations, the vendors get a chance to earn some money, making it possible to ease the severe poverty that has held the Indian countryside in its grip for a long time.

Clashes

The market is the place where the rural meets the urban, and the formal the informal. These two roles are played by the informal street vendors of Kolkata on one side, and the state authorities on the other. The policy has shifted through the years, with the first eviction taking place in the 60s. At the moment, there seem to be warmer feelings, when the KMC sits together with the hawker representatives to discuss the threat of new trade typologies in Kolkata.

Trade and Politics

The history of markets might even be longer than the history of the cities. Trading hubs are often the reasons for development of the cities in certain locations, and Kolkata is no exception. Since the invention of political power there has been a need to deal with the relation between trade and politics. Tradesmen and rulers have sometimes fought, and sometimes lived in symbiosis with each other. The persecution against tradesmen has several historical examples, such as the trading city in Piraeus outside Athens, the law against the display of goods on the Agora, and Christ driving the tradesmen out of the temple. But given that business means wealth and development, a way to co-exist has most often prevailed.





SPECIFICITY

There is a significant feeling of specificity at the markets. In spite of challenges posed by the modern ways of shopping, the tradition and uniqueness prevail. A very small part of the population turns its back to the markets, but the majority has no choice but to continue patronizing them, as they depend on them. Even to those who can afford going to the malls once in a while, the malls are often not more than a complement to the traditional markets. As an example, McKinsey states that the Indian women are generally not tempted by mass-produced clothing. The goods on the small stalls at the markets are definitely unique. Until recently, there have existed some strict policies against multi-national companies, and plenty of the restrictions for the non-Indian brands still do exist. The people will guarantee that the bazar keeps its identity.

Ananya Roy gives a definition of “hybrid space” that can be applied to the markets; “fluid spaces with nodes of articulation, the spatio-temporal points at which pure and authentic are distilled from amidst cultural corruptions.” This is a striking description of what is happening at Gariahat. The market can well be called a distillate of Kolkatan identity. What takes place here, could happen nowhere else.





Figure Ground Mosaic
Gariahat Market

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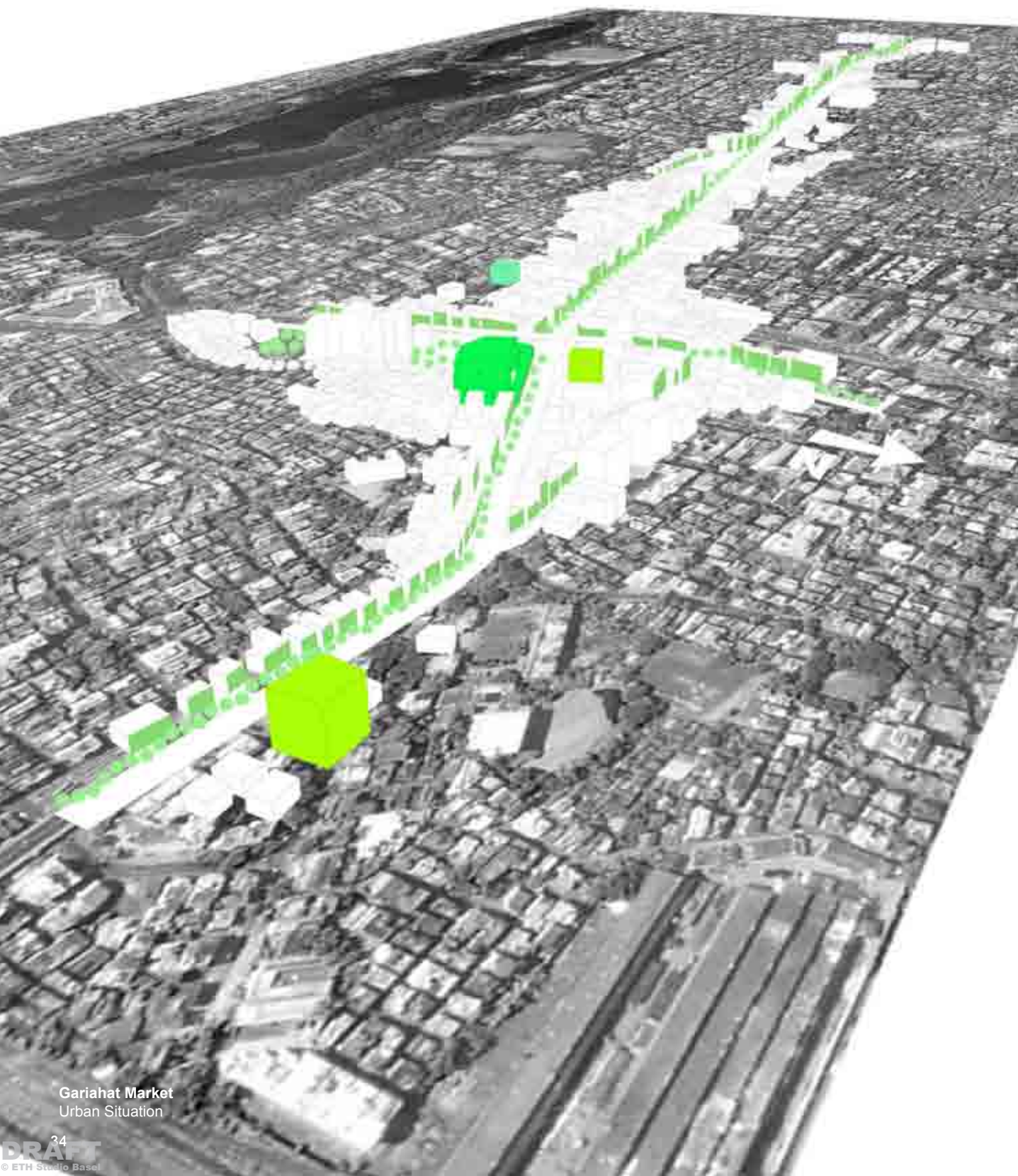
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Portraits of Hawkercs

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Reshaping Gariahat - Gariahat Reshaping
The Future



Gariahat Market
Urban Situation

GARIAHAT

- MARKET TYPOLOGIES

These are the typologies present at Gariahat:

Hawkers

- ● ● Direct at the crossroad, under the flyover, is the Gariahat KMC Market located. It is a structure with the oldest part dating from the 1930's but with later extensions. The market is surrounded by the stalls of several hawkers selling vegetables, flowers and utensils such as plastic buckets. These are temporary but there on legal terms, paying a daily rent to the KMC. Outside the market there are also temporary street vendors who are informal, that is not recognized by the KMC. The governments attitude towards these hawkers have shifted through the years, with eviction-raids being replaced by a more quiet acceptance. The hawkers are popular amongst the public since they are convenient, and they provide a significant profit to the government through informal fees. The number of hawkers in the area has been estimated to 6000 people.

Shops

The Shops of Gariahat are located on the two crossing main roads, and on bylanes. They sell saris, shoes, jewelry, textiles etc.

Gariahat KMC Market

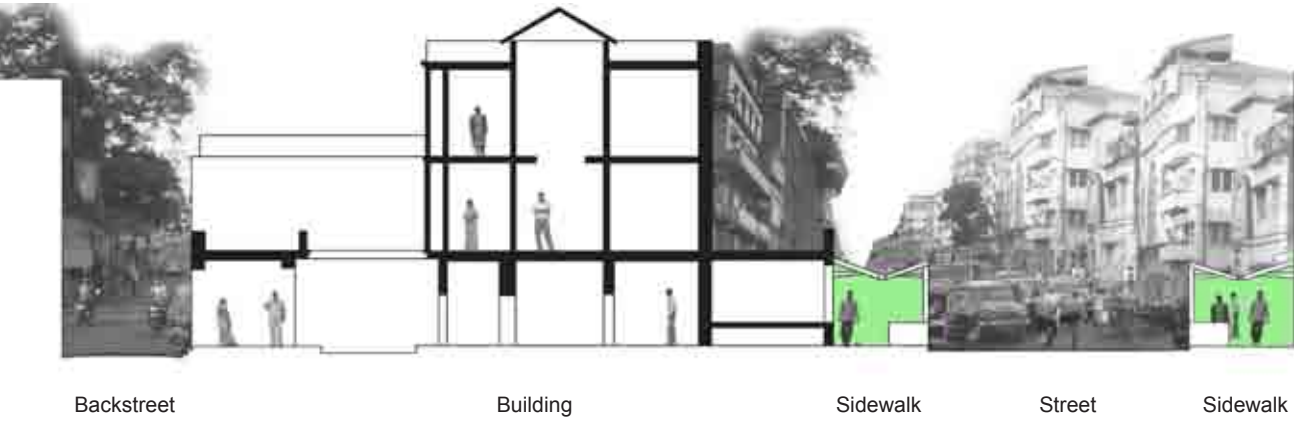
The Kolkata Municipal Corporation Market at Gariahat is one of 26 market run by the government. The market is a fairly independent unit run by the local office, connected to the KMC through the budget proposals and one annual monetary transaction. It is located inside three buildings, two of them larger and with 300 permanent stalls.

AC Market

The Shopping Complex is a collection of small shops, but multi-storied and with other characteristics that are reminiscent of malls. For instance, it is not expected to bargain for the prices (fixed price-signs for the interior). In the case of Shatadeep, it is a cooperative market, meaning that the shop-keepers own the building and are in charge of it.

Malls

There are two malls at the market, Citi Mart and Gariahat Mall. These new additions to the commercial flora has resulted in some unrest among the hawkers.



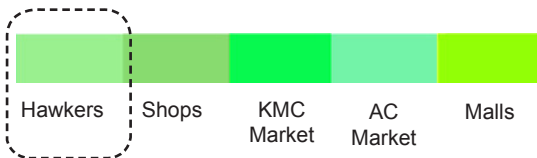
Backstreet

Building

Sidewalk

Street

Sidewalk



Hawkers

Shops

KMC Market

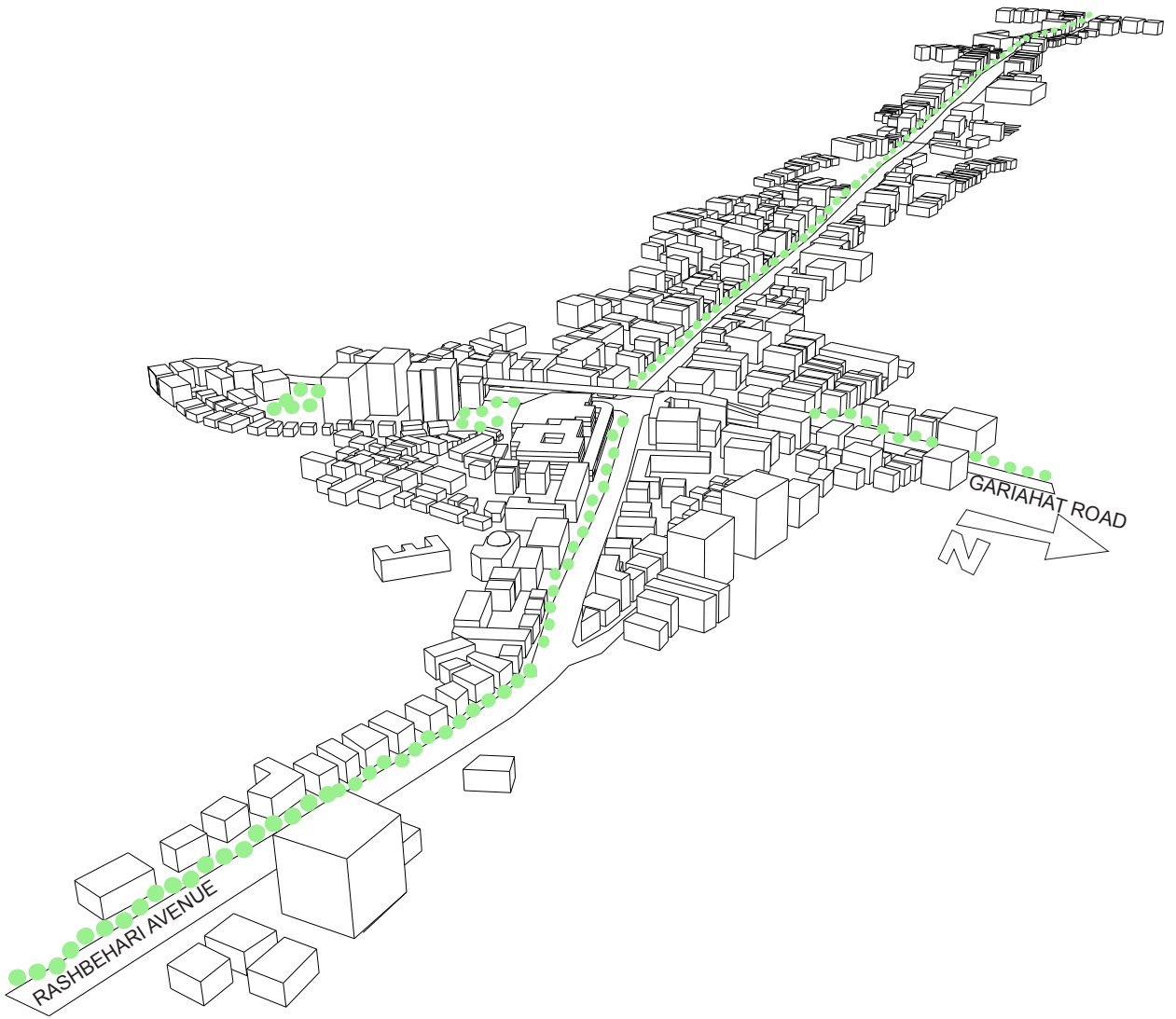
AC Market

Malls



0 m

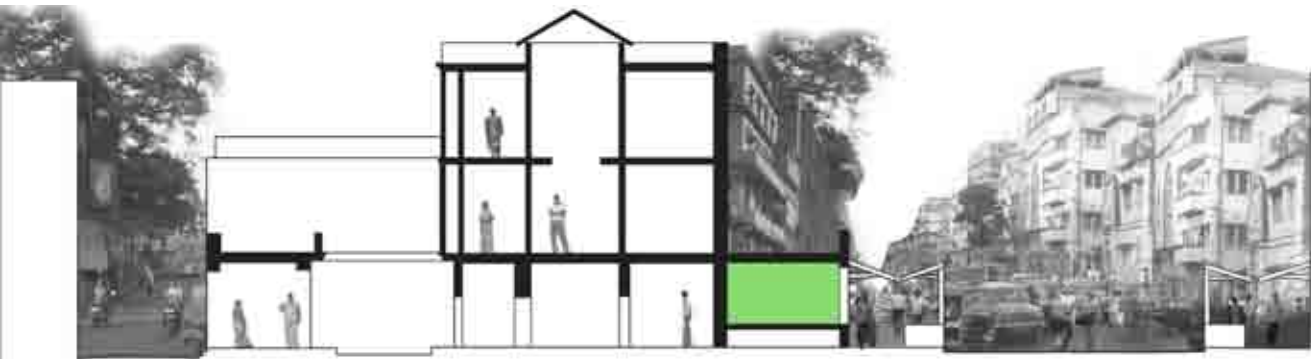
25 m







Gariahat Market
Fish vendors



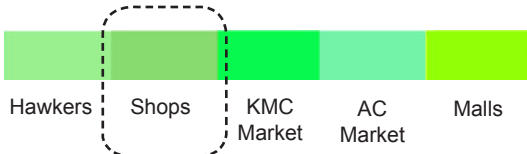
Backstreet

Building

Sidewalk

Street

Sidewalk



Hawkers

Shops

KMC
Market

AC
Market

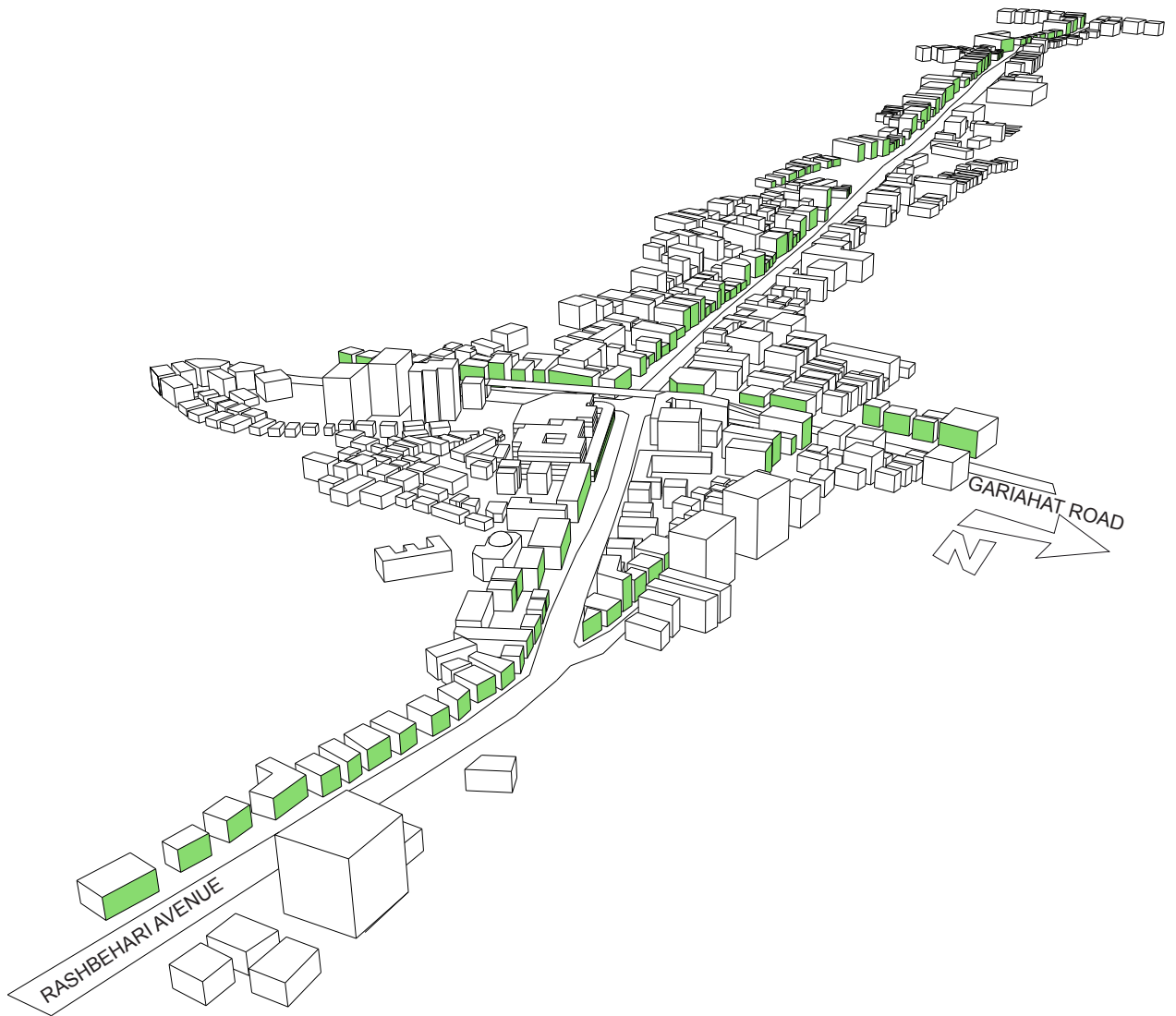
Malls



0 m

25 m

SHOPS

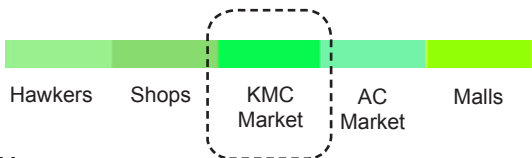
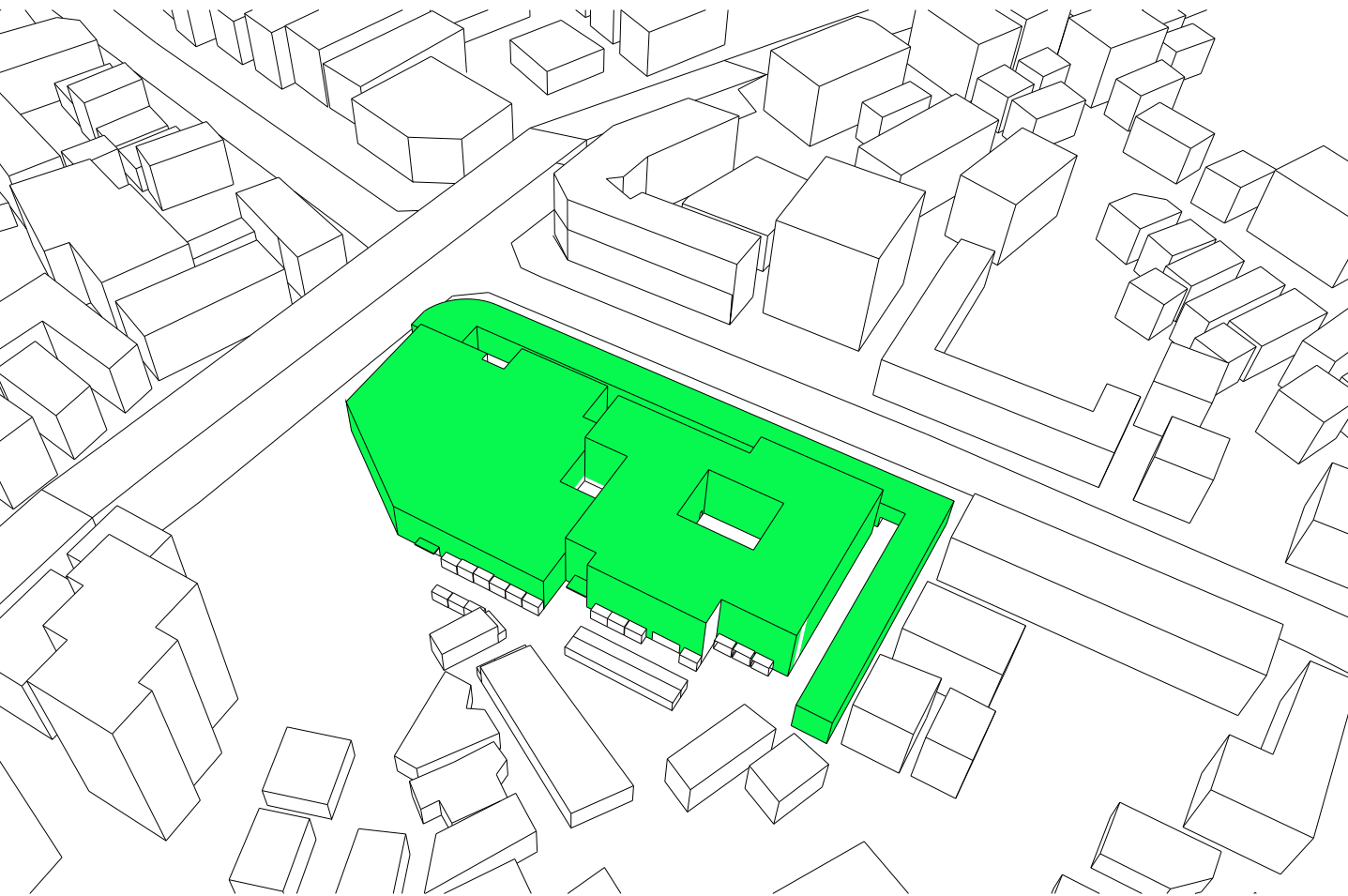


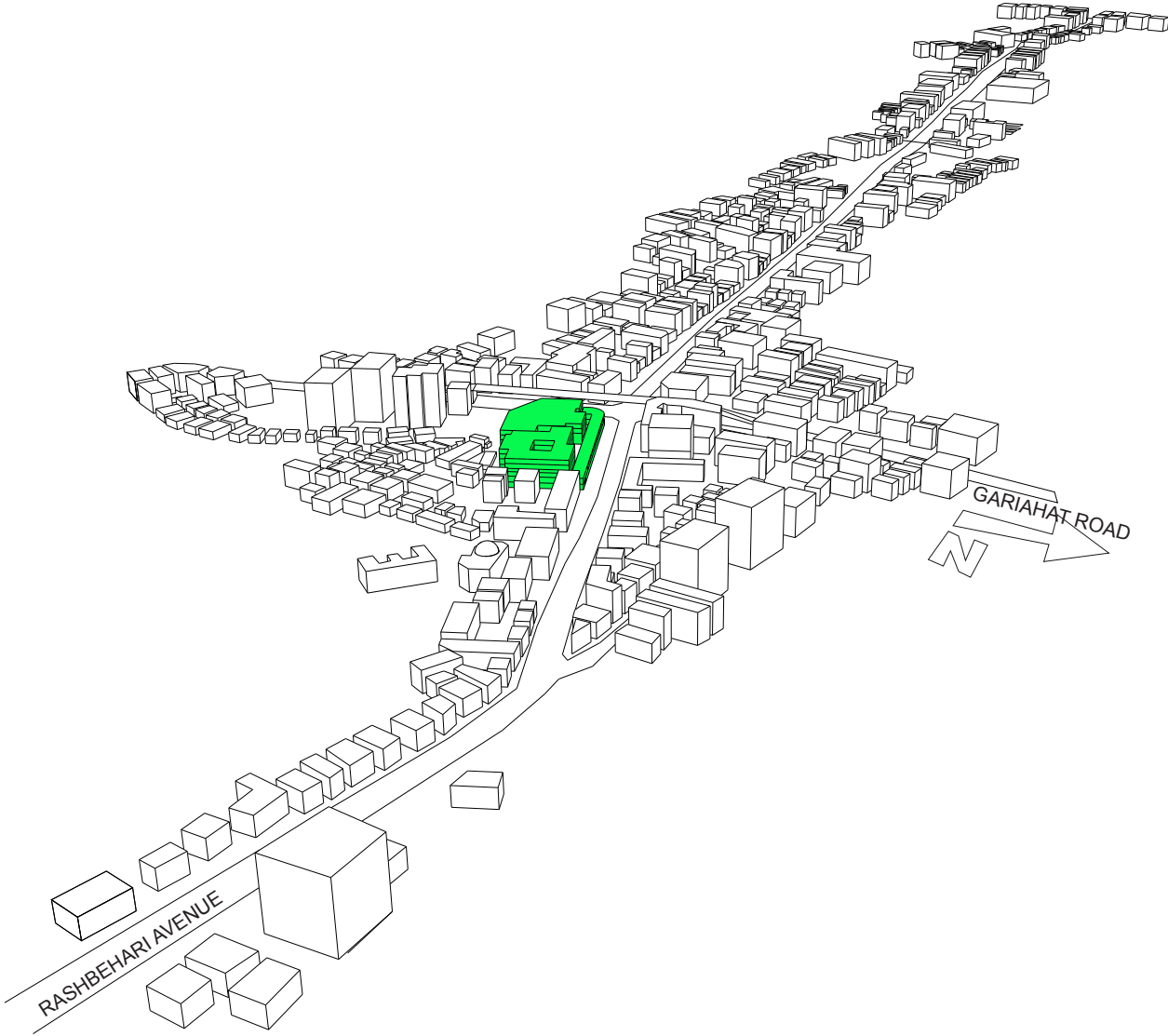
Gariahat Market





Gariahat Market
Book binding shop





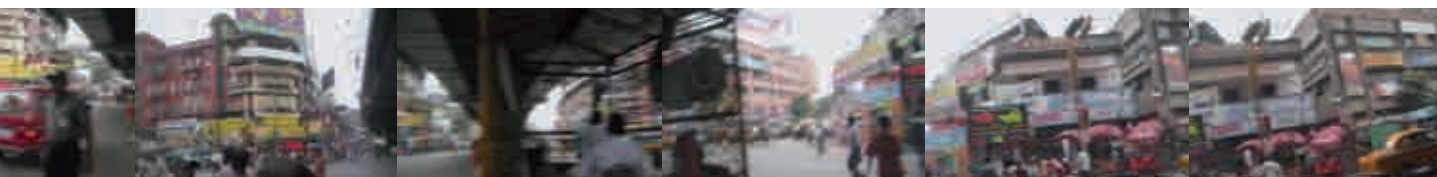
Gariahat Market



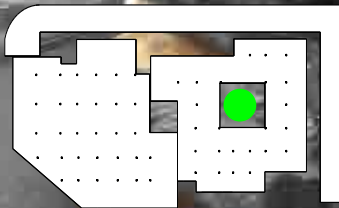
Gariahat junction

Rashbehari Avenue

KMC MARKET



Gariahat Market
Snap-shots



Gariahat Market
Firsh court yard



KMC MARKET

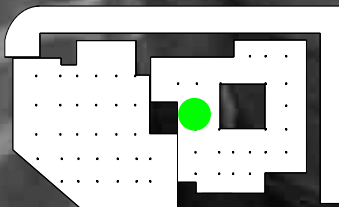
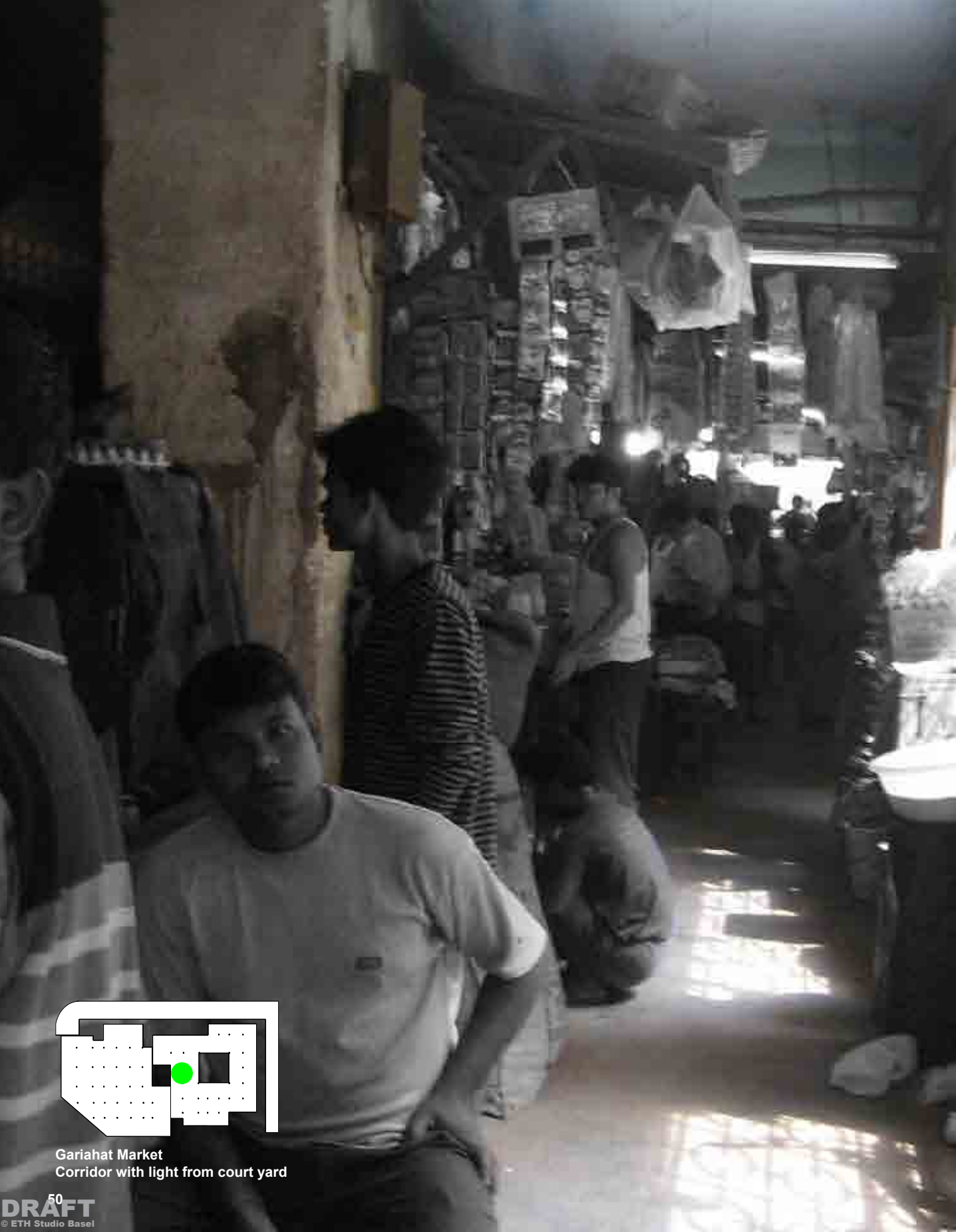
There Kolkata Municipal Corporation building at Gariahat really consists of three different structures. It is likely that the south-western part is the oldest, with later additions of the eastern (yellow) building and the flanking northern building stretching along Rashbehari Avenue. The collection of buildings consists of a range of material, from rough concrete to red marble tiles.

Exterior

The exteriors facing the junction are covered with billboards and big advertisements, sometimes supported by bamboo-structures. Behind the northern flanking building there is an open corridor-like space where stalls selling fruit, flowers and vegetables are located. These are partly covered with blue and black plastic sheets hung up between the surrounding buildings, to protect them from the weather.

Court yards

The interior is lightened up by the two inner courtyards. The first courtyard is a square shape between the two main buildings. Some temples are located here and it seems to be a place for leisure and informal conversation. It is characterized by the facades of the two buildings, the older three-stories of concrete, brick and grey plaster and the newer in yellow plaster with four floors of balustrades. The other courtyard is bigger and also quadratic. It is used as a fish market, with live fish in bowls and buckets. The vendors are sitting on low levations of ceramic tiles on a red concrete floor. This area is also partly covered by plastic sheet, and has details of metal fencing.



Gariahat Market
Corridor with light from court yard



KMC MARKET

Interior

Inside the two main buildings one is struck by the dusky atmosphere due to the depth of the building volumes. For working light there are light bulbs suspended from the roof, lighting up the stalls like islands. The contrast creates a specific ambience. This is further strengthened by the blue light pouring from the windows in the facade. The light is coloured blue by the reflections of the plastic sheets. The structure is straight-forward with sturdy concrete pillars supporting the joist.



Gariahat KMC Market
Between Buildings - Plastic sheets covering the vegetable stalls





Snap-shots from the fish market at Gariahat KMC



Small tempel hung up on a beam



The ice shop

Blue light colored by plastic sheet





Best fish in Kolkata, on stainless surface



Live chicken in cages

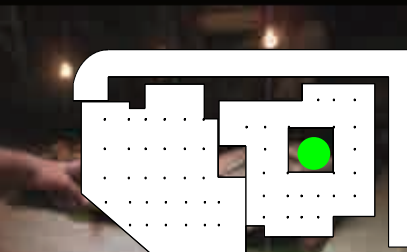




Snap-shots from the fish court yard at Gariahat KMC Market



Low levitations of white ceramic tiles





Large blades are used to cut the fish

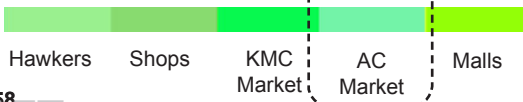
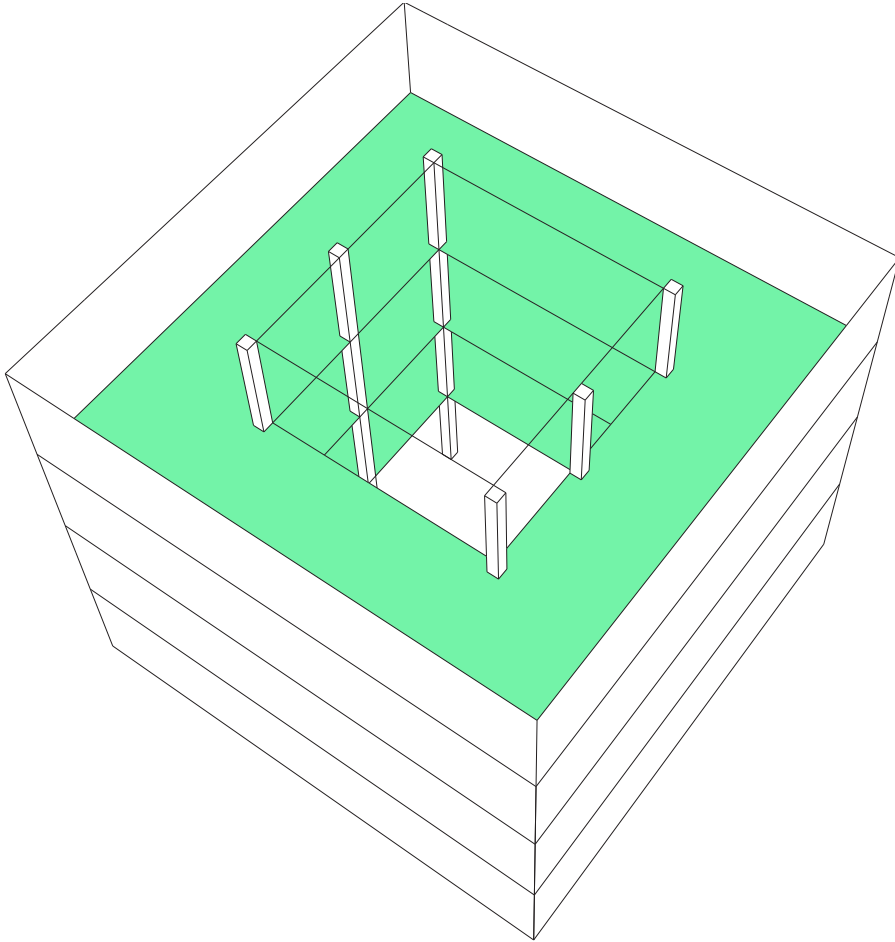


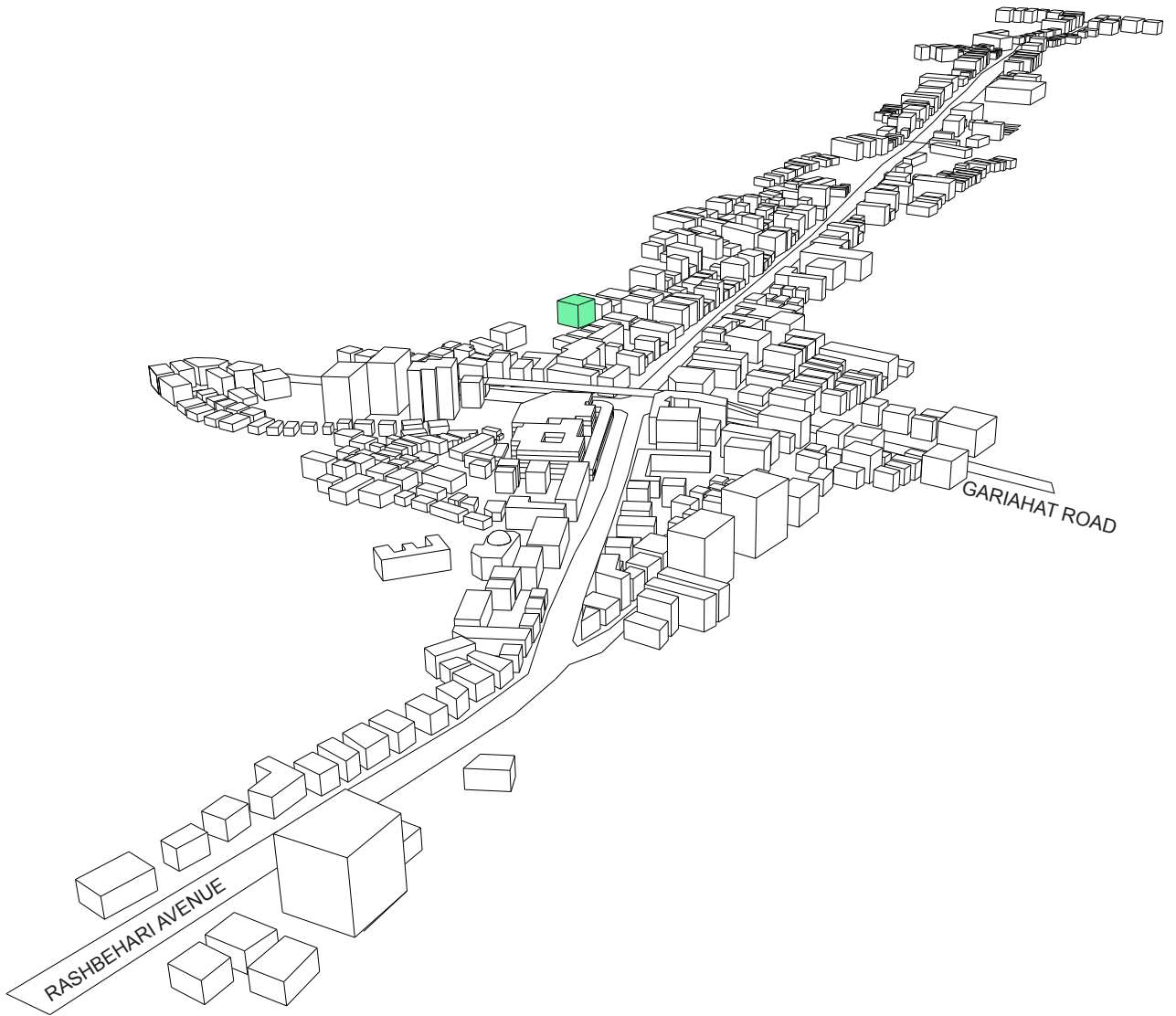
Plastic sheets



Live fish in bowls













AC MARKET

Shatadeep Shopping Complex

The building is a concrete construction with white paint. A corrugated plastic roof is carried by a steel beams. The building has a rather complex set of stairs connecting the four floors, with hand railings out of wood and spiral-shaped rods. The shops are small, only a few m².



Gariahat Market
Shatadeep Shopping Complex

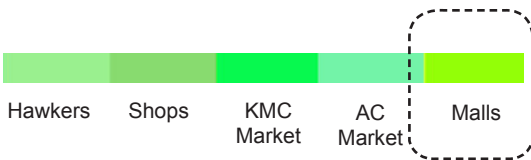
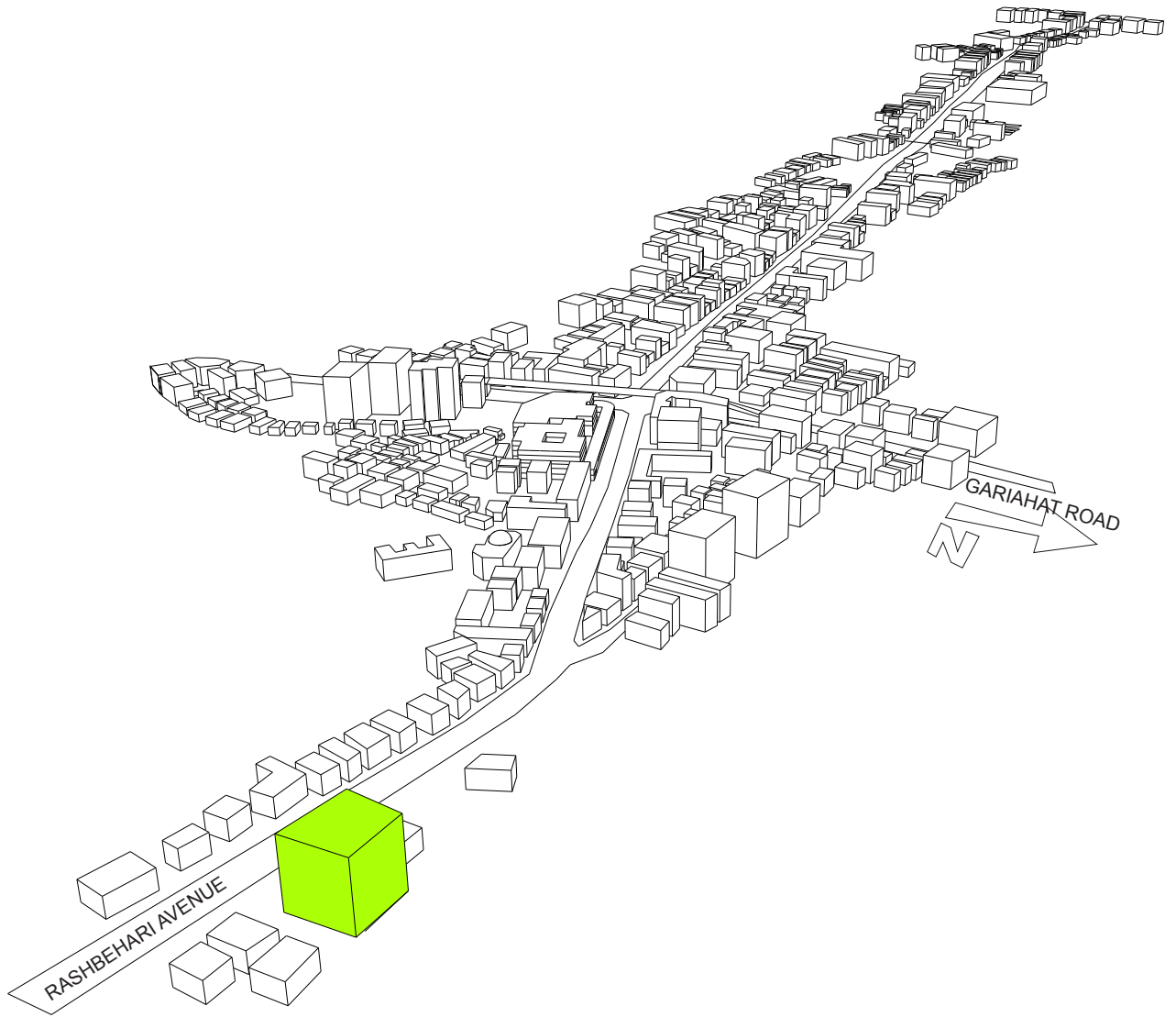


The
Gariahaat
Mall

WESTSIDE

WESTSIDE

MALLS



Gariahat Market
Gariahat Mall

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Portraits of Hawkercs

6. CONCLUSION

Reshaping Gariahat - Gariahat Reshaping
The Future



"India is a geographical term. It is no more an united nation than the equator"

Winston Churchill



CASTE AND ORIGIN

Caste

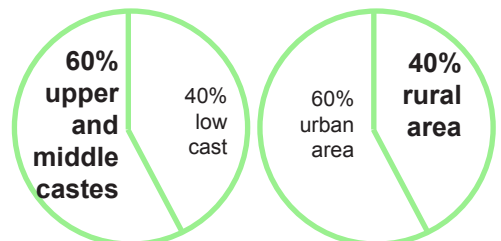
There are five different castes in the Indian society: Brahmins or priests, Ksatriya or warriors, Vaisya or merchants, Sudra or artisans, and the untouchables or Scheduled Castes. Concepts of purity and pollution are at the base of the system. Unclean occupations are traditionally clustered on the periphery of the bazaar, whereas the clean or the dominant groups occupy the central locations.

Rural origin

Vicinity of rural area has an important impact on ethnicity of Gariahat market. Street vending provides a medium for integrating rural and urban areas not only economically and socially but also culturally. One of the most striking examples are street foods, which represent mixed cuisines including foods from the different Indian states.

Street vendors are partially from rural area. Most of the consumers are resident in the area of Gariahat market or surrounding areas. Their families have lived there for two generations, since the beginning of the 1930s.

Casts and origin of street vendors in Kolkata



Martin Beattie "Hybrid Bazaar Space" Journal of Architectural Education, pp 45-55; I. Chakravarty and C. Canet "Street foods in Calcutta" FNA / ANA pp.17-18, 1996; Sharit K. Bhowmik "Hawkers and the Urban Informal Sector", National Alliance of Street Vendors of India

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২০০, বিজয়ন হাটবিল্ডিং, কলকাতা - ৭০০ ০০০ (শিশু পূর্ব মেডিকেল সিশিয়ার সেন্টার)
ফোন : ২৫৫৫ - ৮২৭১, ২৫০০ - ৫৩৭১, ফ্যাক্স : ২৫৫৫ - ৫২৫০

"It is a poverty to decide that a child must die so that you may live as you wish."

Mother Teresa



SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Population

There are about 30,000 people living in the Gariahat market area. Our impression is that the population is young, and more than half of the average households are under 30. Even though there are no available data on population increase in this area, it is a common impression that the community grows. Not only is the number of wealthy families growing, but so is the number of poor families. A very common story is the one of leaving rural areas looking for a job. According to that, younger members settle in Gariahat leaving their older family members behind. This also helps create the impression of Gariahat as a young society.

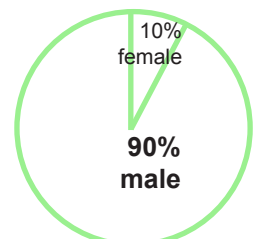
Social-age structure

Social-age structure can be divided into four larger generally accepted groups. The first is the most invisible group of wealthy families with members of all ages. They live in Gariahat and Ballygunge, leaving this area only for work, studies or leisure. The second are the vendors who live and work in this area. In most cases the whole families are settled in Gariahat and involved in family business. Usually they come from other parts of Kolkata, and have some level of education. The third group consists of young families, with small children. They typically come from the rural areas, and work and live in Gariahat. Most of them go back home only once a year. The fourth is made up of single males working in Gariahat at different jobs. They often share accommodation with people they work with or friends from the same native area.

Gender

The age of male vendors ranges between 20 and 45 years, whereas the age of female vendors is from 30 to 45 years. Among the stationary hawkers there are almost no women. This is particularly so because the stationary hawkers earn more than mobile vendors, as they can display more goods for sale. Women usually sell fruits, vegetables, flowers and incense outside the municipal markets. Women get threatened by men if they try to occupy space on the pavements. They also feel insecure and get more harassment by other vendors and by the police. They usually switch in a role of invisible vendors. Almost all edibles sold on the market are made by the hardworking females at home.

Gender of street vendors in Kolkata



Martin Beattie "Hybrid Bazaar Space" Journal of Architectural Education, pp 45-55; I. Chakravarty and C. Canet "Street foods in Calcutta" FNA / ANA pp.17-18, 1996; Census 2001



"When it comes to food, religion or caste does not matter. We all eat some mixture which is known as Indian cuisine."

Chadnar Ghosh

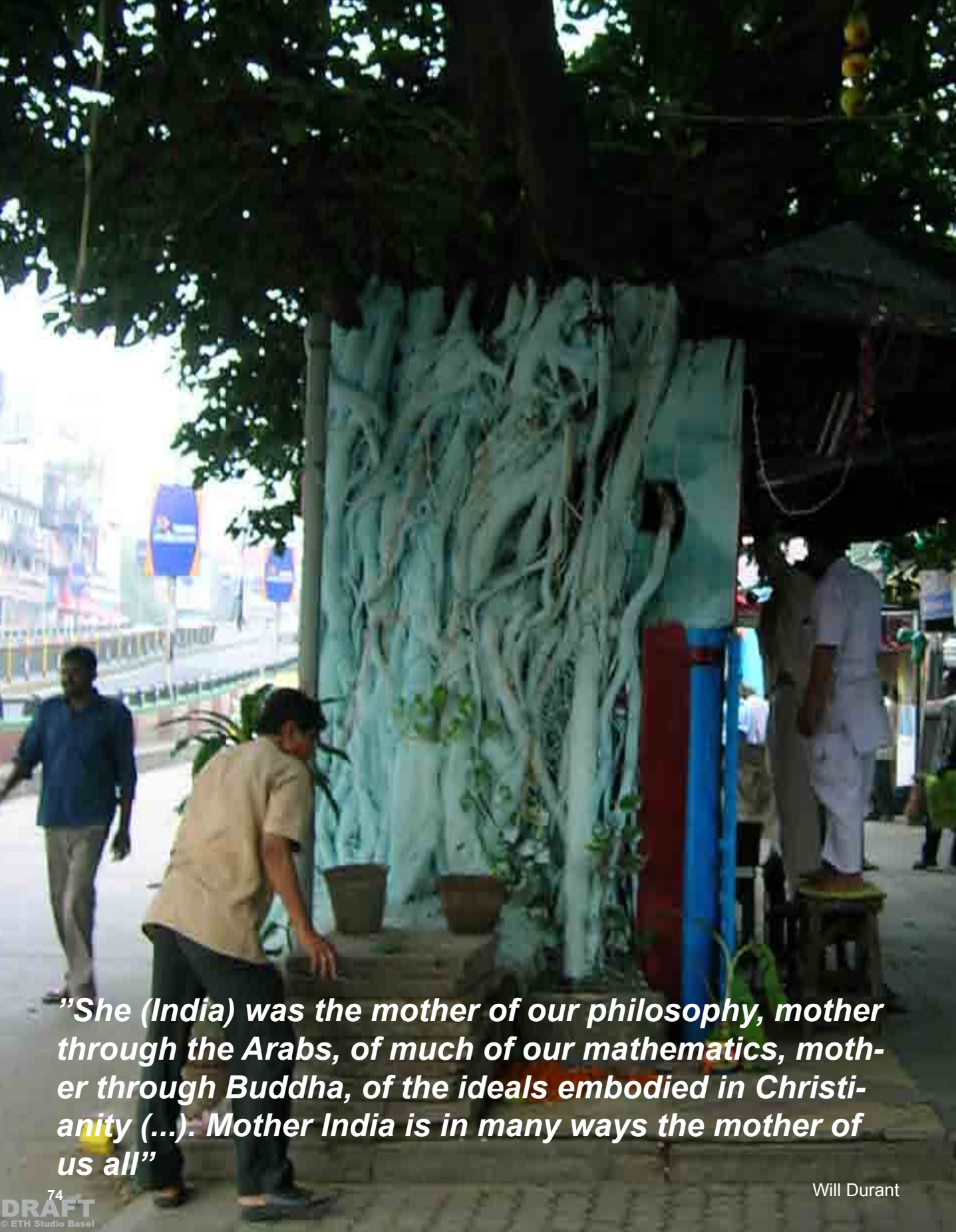


INCOME CLASSES

Affluent area

Consumers at Gariahat market are predominately affluent people from the surrounding residential areas. According to the AllIHPH research - "Improving Street Foods in Calcutta"- they spend around 250 Rs per month on street foods. That is a bit more than 60\$. A small percentage, around 2% of them, spends twice as much because these foods provide their total daily diet.

Vendors belong mostly to the lower income classes. Next to them it is possible to see very poor people, although in our experience this was not very common. After addressing several persons about this matter, we came across a paradoxical situation. After all, it is well known that people employed at the fish market at Gariahat are doing quite well. And therefore it is not uncommon that they can afford a proper level of education for their children. Sari vendors present yet another example. Even though saris are not products of everyday need, the profit is good enough that most of vendors can afford to build themselves proper houses, buy a car and even do some travelling.



"She (India) was the mother of our philosophy, mother through the Arabs, of much of our mathematics, mother through Buddha, of the ideals embodied in Christianity (...). Mother India is in many ways the mother of us all"



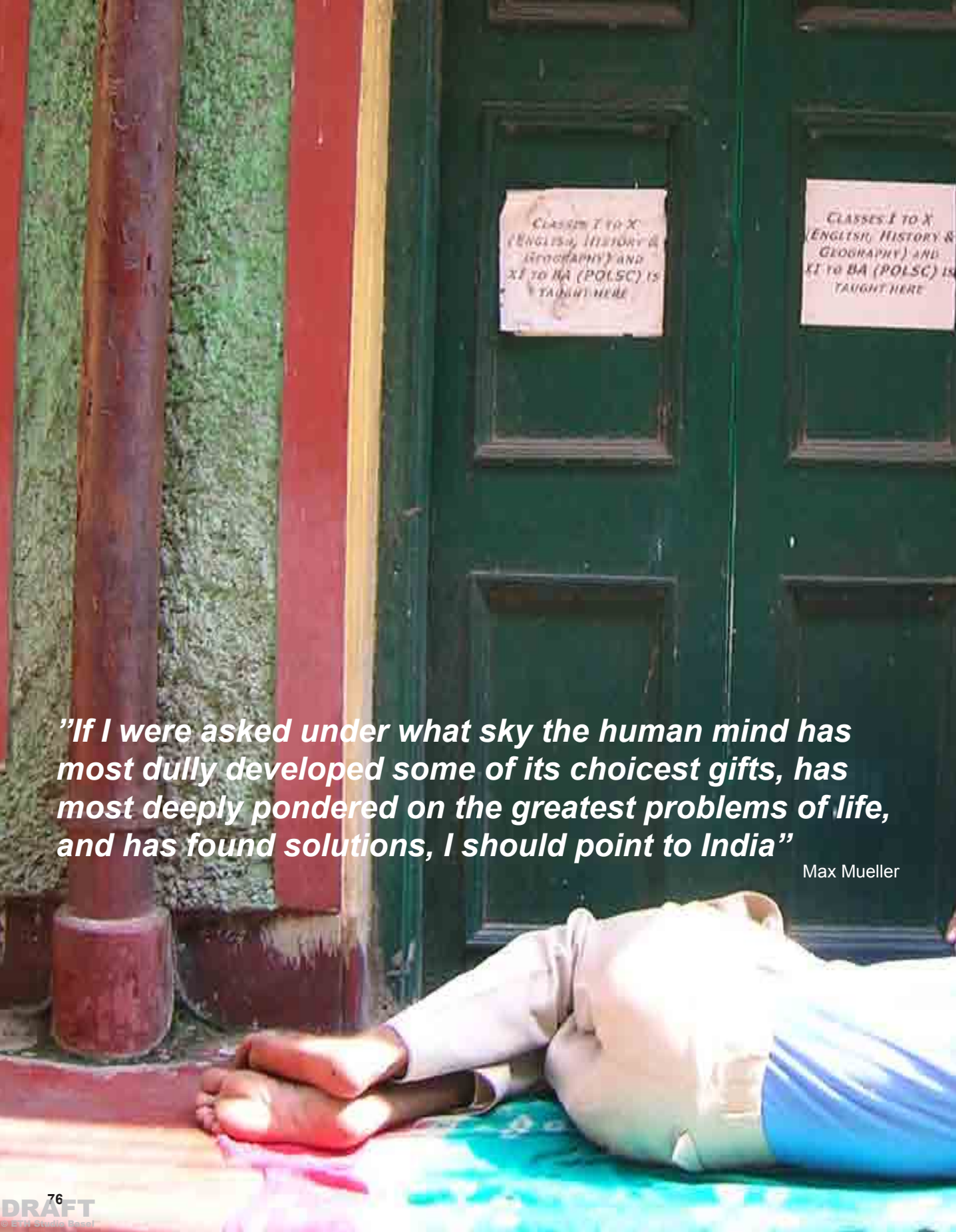
RELIGION

Religion

Gariahat market does not consist from the representatives of all ethnical groups. It is very common to see Hindus, Christians, Sikhs but it is not that common to see the second largest religious group Mosles. This is the result of the historical development and intolerance among people. However, the market is open for everyone to do business, although in practice it is fairly homogeneous.

Appearance

Hindu temples are spread all over Gariahat area. Almost every building at the Gariahat market has its own small temple. It is a custom to pray to their particular god or gods before they start working. They are usually placed before the entrance on small concrete podest and surrounded with grid, coloured in strong colours. In the KMC market building, small shrines in boxes are hung up under the roof.

A photograph of a school building with a green door. Two signs are posted on the door. In the foreground, a person is lying on their back on a blue and green patterned mat on the ground. The person is wearing a white shirt and blue pants. The scene is brightly lit, suggesting a sunny day.

CLASSES I TO X
(ENGLISH, HISTORY &
GEOGRAPHY) AND
XI TO BA (POLSC) IS
TAUGHT HERE

CLASSES I TO X
(ENGLISH, HISTORY &
GEOGRAPHY) AND
XI TO BA (POLSC) IS
TAUGHT HERE

"If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most dully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions, I should point to India"

Max Mueller



EDUCATION

Level of education

Consumers, who belong to the high or middle income level groups, have the same educational level as the other persons of their group in Kolkata. They are all employed or students (according to AIIHPH questionnaire).

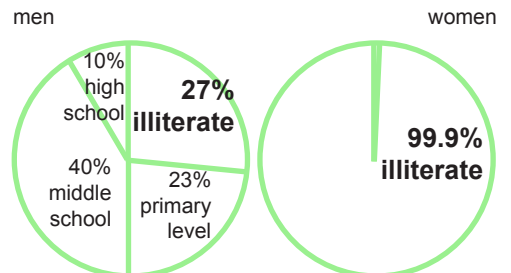
Hawkers

21% of the vendors are illiterate. This figure is higher than the average for urban people but lower than the one for rural areas. Male hawkers are 27% illiterate and 23% studied the primary schools. Around 40% studied up to the secondary level. The others completed the high school and there are even about 3.33% who are graduates, which means that in Kolkata with the total of 131,000 vendors about 3,390 of them graduated.

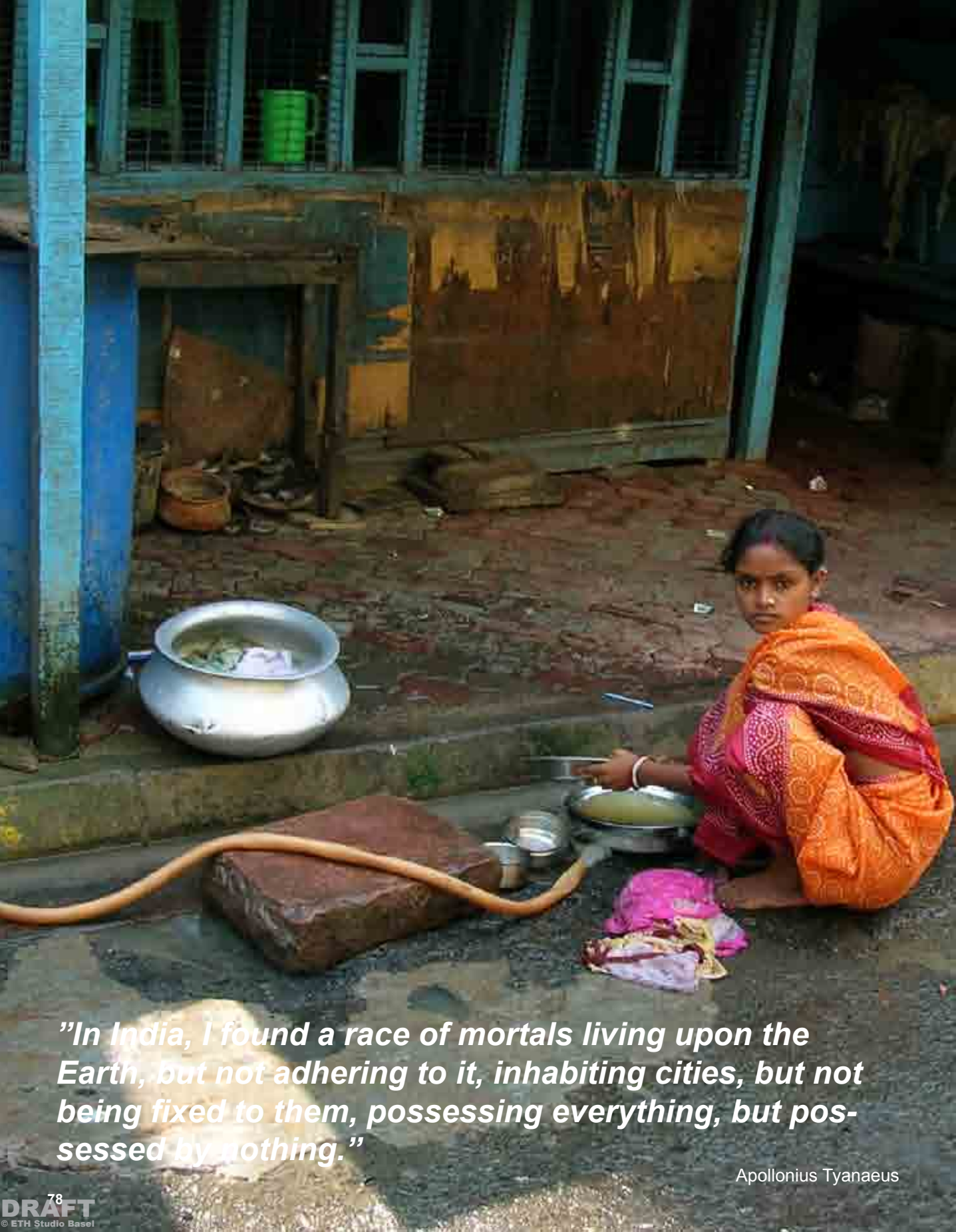
Female vendors are almost with no exception all illiterate. On one hand, they were not sent to schools, so they had no chance to gain any education. On the other hand, some of them got some basic education only from the men in their families.

It is interesting to notice that all vendors with post-primary education (with the exception of graduates) were factory workers earlier. They use their knowledge to sell more expensive goods such as ready-made garments, electronics, leather goods, etc. Hawkers selling fruits, vegetables, cooked food and other perishable products have lower educational level and they earn less.

Level of education among vendors



Martin Beattie "Hybrid Bazaar Space" Journal of Architectural Education, pp 45-55; I. Chakravarty and C. Canet "Street foods in Calcutta" FNA / ANA pp.17-18, 1996



"In India, I found a race of mortals living upon the Earth, but not adhering to it, inhabiting cities, but not being fixed to them, possessing everything, but possessed by nothing."

Apollonius Tyanaeus



HEALTH

Water supply

Water for washing, cooking and drinking is provided by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation. Washing of utensils has not been allowed on the pavements since 1996. Therefore, one of the most common sources of diseases is reduced. It is important to understand that water is safe coming from the source but in 47% it becomes contaminated through poor handling practices.

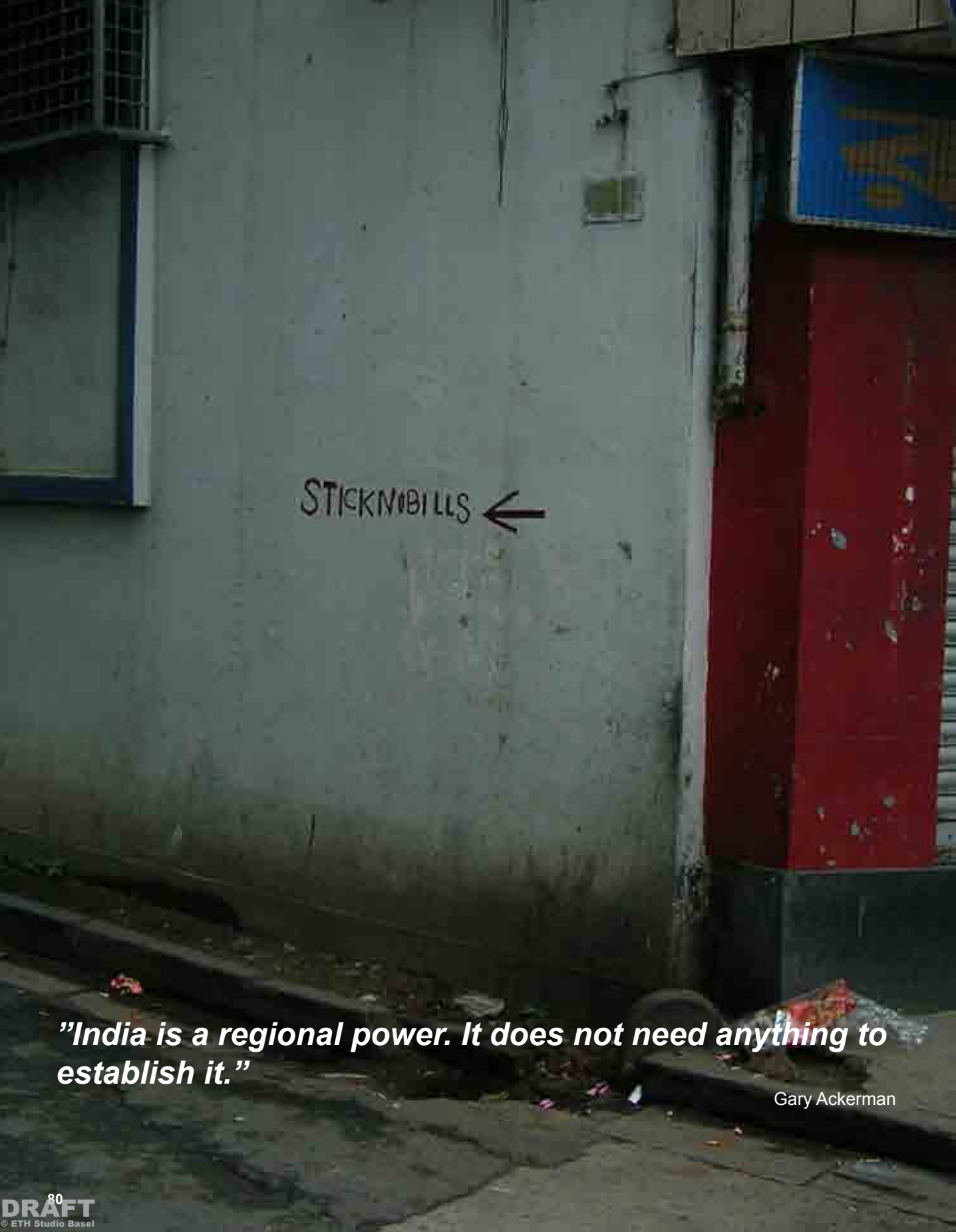
Training programmes

All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health together with the other academic institutions and FAO started a series of training health programmes for street vendors. They provide them with better knowledge of proper hygienic practices and the use of food additives. It improves the safety of the foods prepared and sold by vendors. However, it is unknown how often these programmes are held and if all shop vendors were or are really included and educated.

Annual Controls by Food Regulation

Food is still contaminated, although far more less than it was 10 years ago. The biggest problem is the lack of information about forbidden ingredients. There have been several attempts to inform the population about what is not to be eaten, but unfortunately a significant part of it either cannot read or understand what is written. Common people might not know what exactly metanil yellow is and therefore will continue to use it. It is also forbidden to use more than 100ppm of saccharin. Of course, this rule is not being followed, mostly because people do not know what it means or do not possess proper equipment to measure it.

Contaminated food is mostly bought by extremely poor people. This is because it either contains a lot of sugar and other stimulators or because it is affordable.



STICKMOBILS ←

"India is a regional power. It does not need anything to establish it."

Gary Ackerman



SECURITY

Absence of the official police

Security is an important issue of Gariahat market. Officially, the police should be present on the Gariahat market. But all we saw was a traffic policeman. They do help regulate the traffic, but any other problem you are to resolve yourself.

Private security initiative

It began 20 to 15 years ago. At the time various small vendors decided to put up their own protection system. They hired professional security that were fully employed and even better paid than the police. Nowadays cooperation between non-governmental security organisations and vendors at the Gariahat market still exists.

The policy recognizes that due to the lack of jobs in the civil sector, activities in the informal sector must not be thwarted by the municipal bodies in the name of maintaining the population's health and the city environment.

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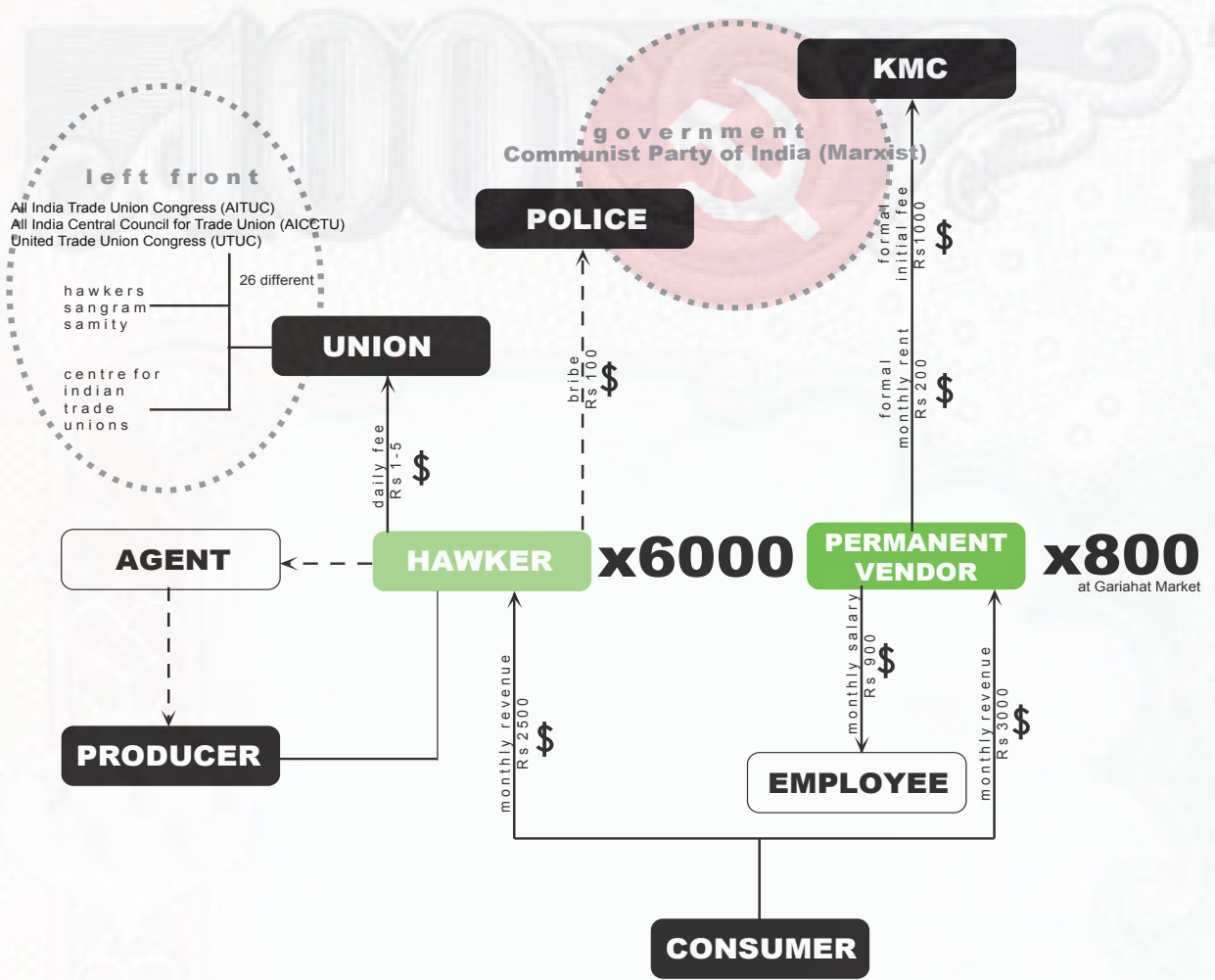
Hawkers - Formal and Informal
Shops - Family business
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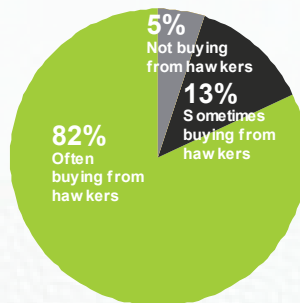
Reshaping Gariahat - Gariahat Reshaping
The Future



The Relationship to Hawkers



The Relationship to Hawkers



HAWKERS

In October 1996, hawkers were evicted from 21 thoroughfares, including Gariahat Road, Shyambazar and Sealdah. The aim was to change the image of the city and to clear the pavements for the pedestrians. 80% of the pavements of Kolkata are occupied by hawkers and informal settlers. There are between 100 000 and 275 000 hawkers in the city, generating a business of about Rs 87 billion (2 billion \$) in 2005.

Hawking Rules

In February 2006, the municipality decided to allow hawking, since it gives a large number of people a way to support themselves. However, a few rules were set up to make life easier for pedestrians and traffic:

- Keep two-thirds of pavements free
- Conduct business at least 50 metres from all major traffic intersections of the city
- No permanent structures

Corruption

Even though hawking is once again allowed in Kolkata, they are still not officially recognized by the authorities. Because of this, there is no formal way of making them pay taxes. However, it seems that the local police is doing what it can to make the hawkers pay for their use of public space. A common estimation is that the hawkers pay a total of Rs 2 660 billion as bribe each year.

"These malls are killing us. They sell at throwaway prices what we sell, and make their profits on goods we don't sell. Now I can not even make a margin of Rs. 100 a day."

Prabash Saha,
owner of a garments stall on the pavement for 15 years

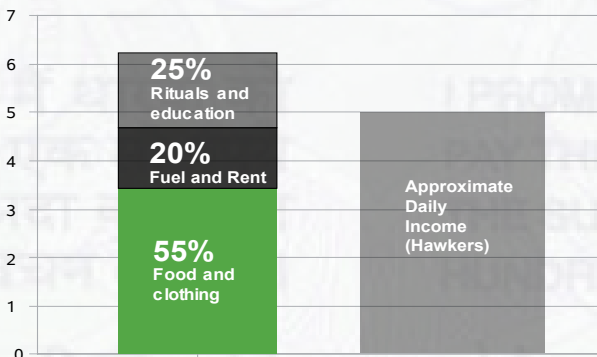
"A group of hawkers in south Kolkata decided not to continue their membership in the union. Instead they collect money every day and hand over to the police. The police informs them in advance whenever the municipality plans a raid."

National Alliance of Street Vendors of India

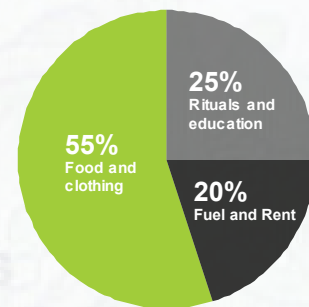
"Hawker are exploited by the agents of trade union leaders, politicians, police, civil councillors. They have to pay to earn their bread."

Hawker Sangram Committee

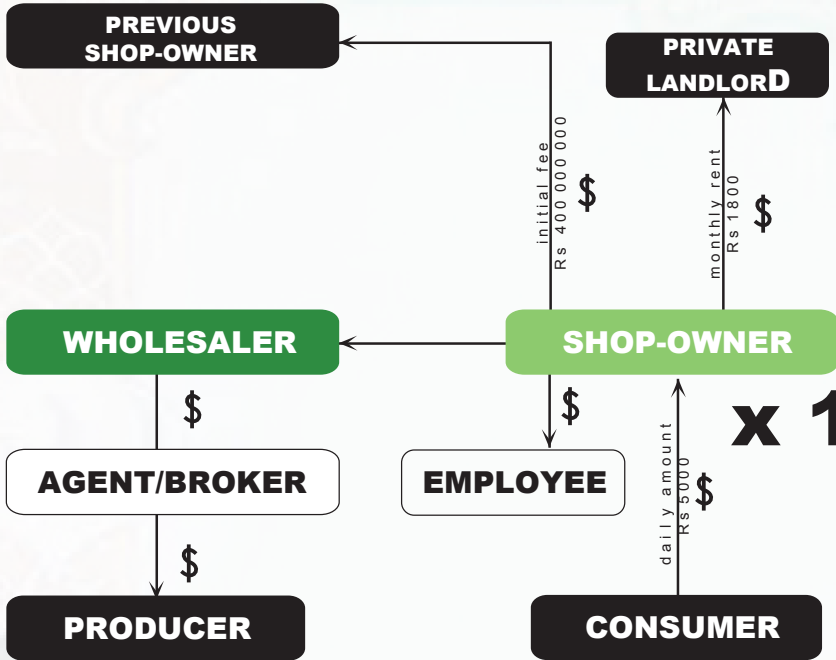
Calculated Minimum Daily Needs, US \$



Calculated Minimum Daily Consumption, %



Sources: AIIPH "Improving Street Foods in Calcutta", All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, 1996; Aman Sethi "Curious Practises", Frontline, McKinsey July 2007; "KMC lens on errant hawkers", The Times Of India, September 14th, 2008; Santanu Banerjee "Calcutta Hawkers back in business" Indian Express, 27 July 1997; Deepankar Ganguly, "So Long Sunshine, Hello Hawkers", The Calcutta Telegraph, Feb 2006;



x 15/1000
inhabitants of Kolkata

SHOPS

"It is my personal relationship with the consumers that brings them to me"

Sukumar Chatterjee, Chatterjee Stores

"The agents of the supply chain are known to be rather corrupt; in several instances, they have been accused of colluding with the buyer to the detriment of the farmer, which often explains why farmers run into debt"

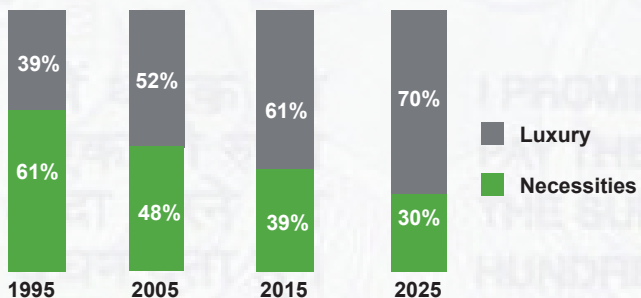
Martin Beattie

"In India, 45 % of the cost of throughput produced by small manufactures is on account of the inefficient supply chain."

McKinsey

"The shift from necessities, such as food and clothing, is already under way - and taking place at lower income levels than we have seen in other countries."

Development of household consumption, %



The shops are acquired by a single payment to the previous owner, then a monthly rent is paid to the private landlord. These rent are often quite low due to political reasons. The shops are often run by one family for generations. They are most often unique and not part of any larger chain.

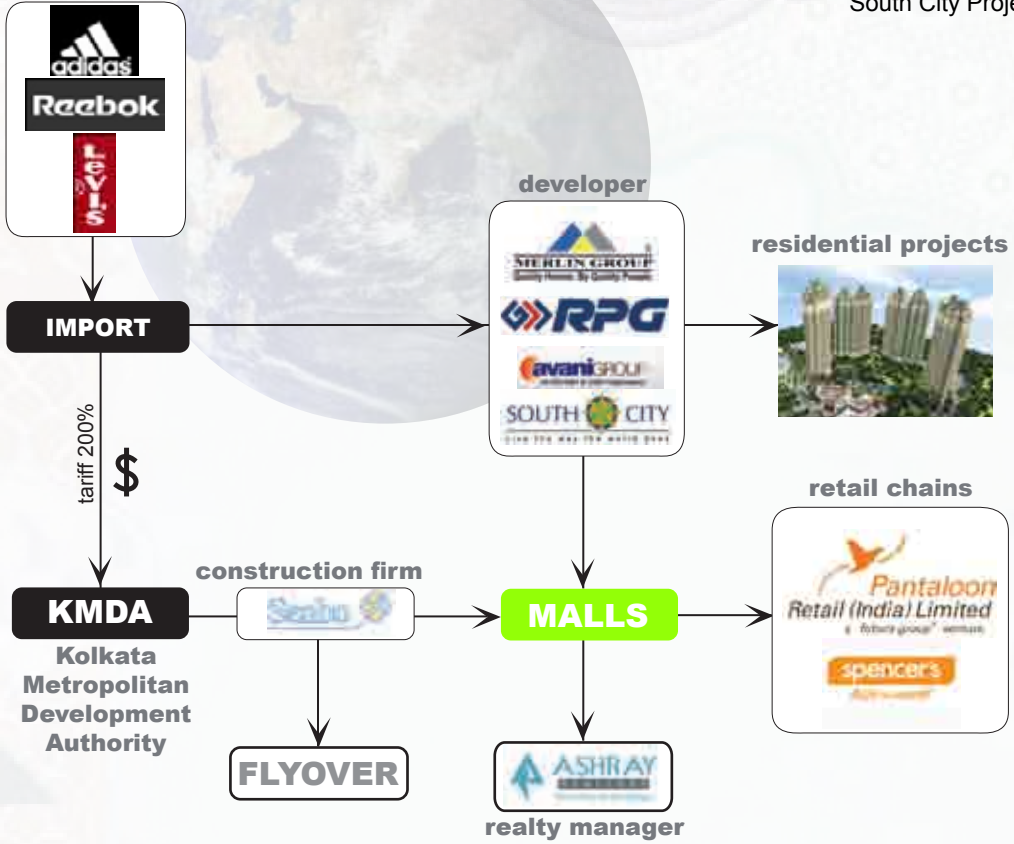
The small shops seem to be favoured by the government. The Communist Party of India has released a set of proposals, to limit the number of large-format retailers in West Bengal (West Bengal Agricultural Produce Marketing Regulation Act). The family-owned shops still seem to be a winning concept, at least when it comes to protecting political interests.

When it comes to effectivity, there might be some positive sides of big retail chains. For small shops the retail chain involves products being taken from the manufacturing unit to the clearing and forwarding agent, then to the distributor, and then to the wholesaler and the semi-wholesaler before reaching the retailer. For larger organized trade, the supply chain often gets shorter since the distribution is not depending on several middle-men, who all take their share of the profit. A negative aspect is the mass-production and lack of uniqueness.

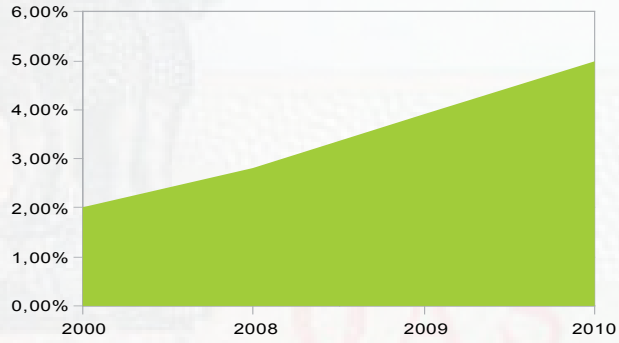
Sources: "Unique Coexistence", *Frontline*, *McKinsey Quarterly*, July 2007, Fernandes, Michael "India's Retailing Comes of Age", *McKinsey Quarterly*, 2000 Number 4; Sridhar, V, "Retail Invasion", *McKinsey Quarterly*, July 2007; *The Times Of India* September 2008; <http://www.indianexpress.com/res/web/pla/ie/daily/19970728/20950583.html> *Indian Express*; "Tracking the growth of India's Middle Class", *McKinsey Quarterly*

“Live the way the world does”

South City Projects



Growth of Modern Shopping, %



“Standardized clothing is not for the Indian woman: she wants the cloth, cut, and finish to be unique.”

McKinsey

“The Mall will be surrounded (...) by new upcoming housing projects all residential complexes housing the upwardly mobile, who want to make a lifestyle statement. The residential complex within South City will house 1600 families. So the footfalls are assured.”

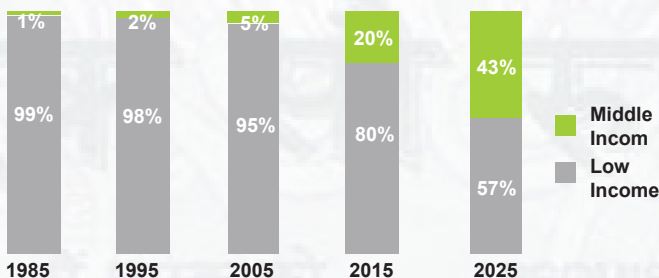
South City Projects

“Indians are trusted to choose their own government. But, until recently, they were not free to choose what they wanted to buy.”

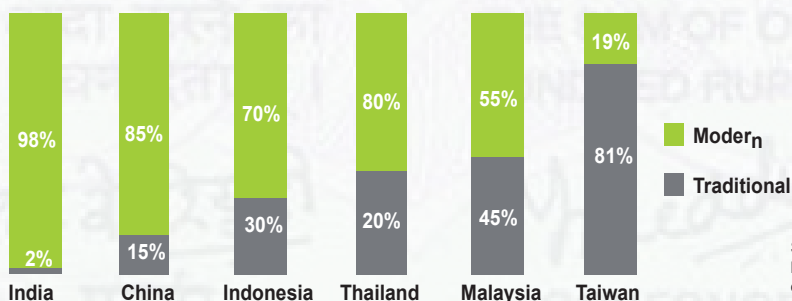
McKinsey

“Regulations restricting real-estate purchases remain, along with a tax regime that favours smaller business.”

Development of the Middle Income Class, %



Modern and Traditional Shopping, %

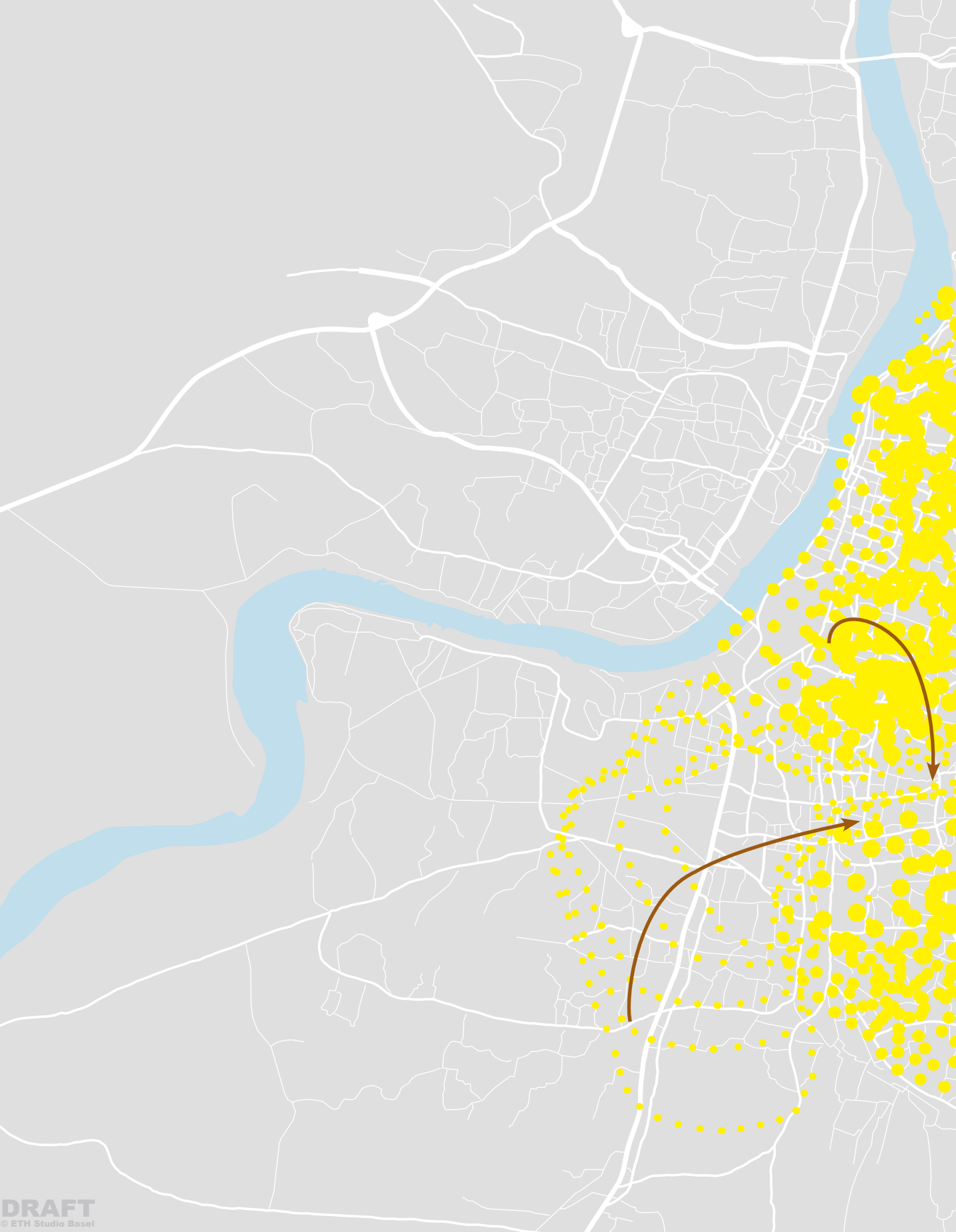


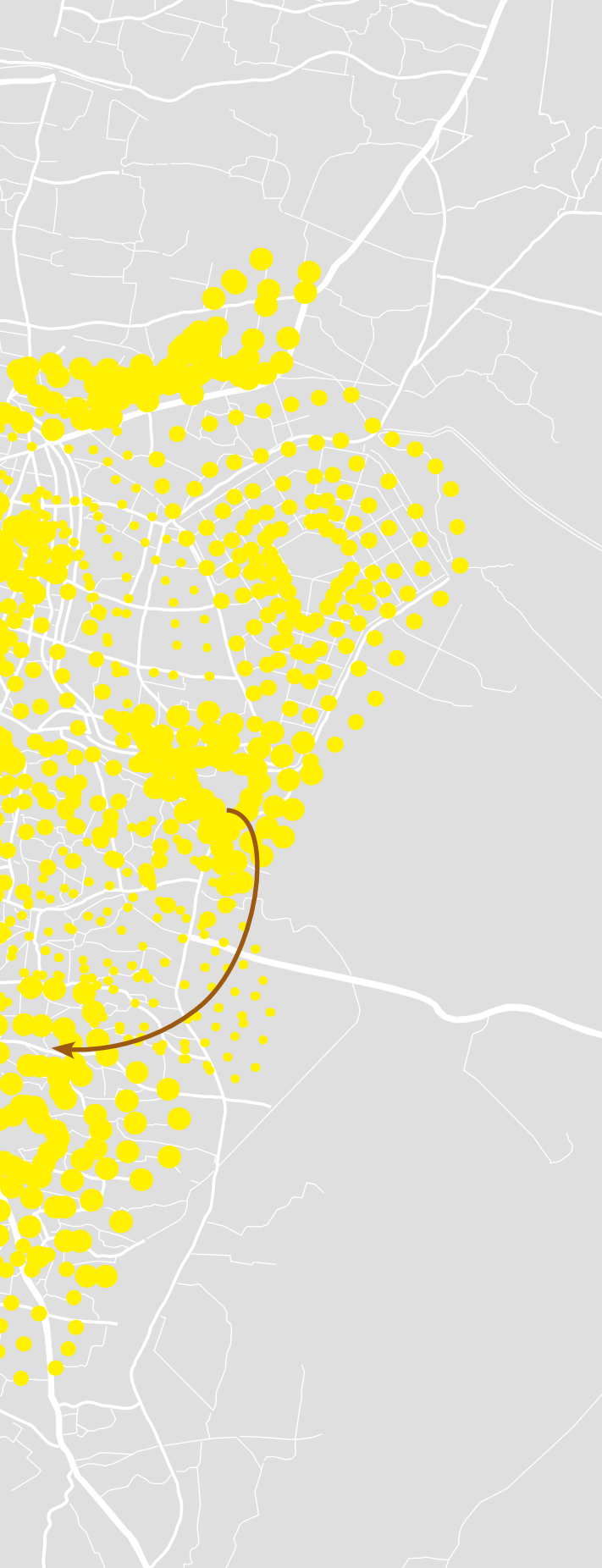
DEVELOPMENT OF MALLS

When the retail chain Spencer's opened its hyper-mart store at the Citi Mart Mall, there were fierce protests from the hawkers and their unions. After sitting together with the civic authorities to discuss this matter the head of Spencer's agreed on a set of rules. The conditions were:

- Not to sell any kind of garment having a price of less than Rs. 300.
- Potatoes and onions can be sold in the quantity of 6 kg or above.
- Other vegetables cannot be sold under 3 kg.
- Oil not less than 5 liters.

Sources: South City Mall, http://www.southcityprojects.com/sc_mall.htm, 20 November 2008; Hawkers meet to set terms for Spencer outlet, *Express India*, July 2008





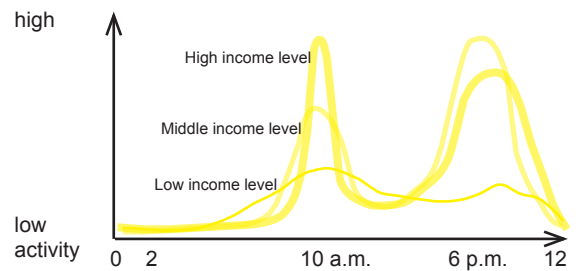
INCOME MAP

Who is shopping at Gariahat market

As already mentioned Gariahat is an affluent area. People are coming from all parts but not on a daily basis. Visitors from Salt Lake are coming only on purpose, probably not to buy food, as they can afford it in their own area, but for some special products such as fresh fish, or saris. More or less only people who live near Gariahat market are shopping there on a daily basis.

Because of its position near the Easter Metropolitan Bypass and Ballygunge Metro Station it is common stop on the way to work, or after work on the way home. Because of this, street food vendors are very numerous around this area in evening and early morning.

Timetable for Daily Shopping Habits



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AC Malls - Hybrid space

Malls - Modern Shopping

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Caste and Origin

Social Structure

Income

Religion

Education

Health

Security

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Hawkers - Formal and Informal

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Malls - Increasing popularity

5. RURAL-URBAN SITUATION

Goods Supply

Portraits of Hawkercs

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Reshaping Gariahat - Gariahat Reshaping

The Future

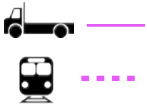
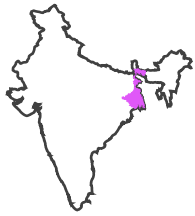


Collage
Goods

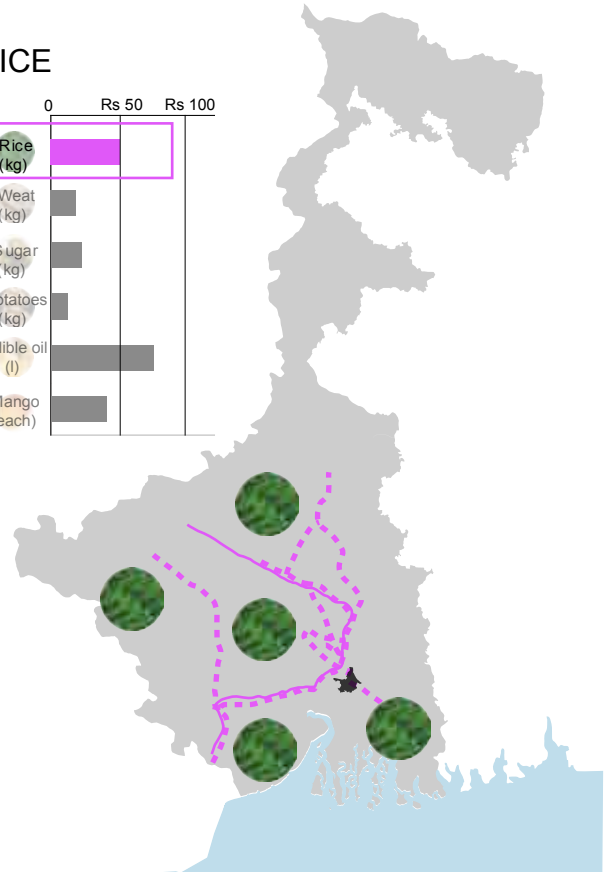
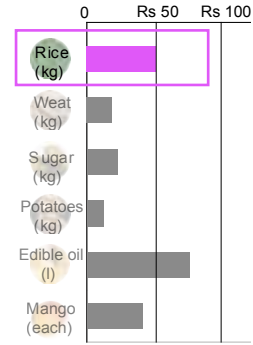


GOODS SUPPLY - WEST BENGAL

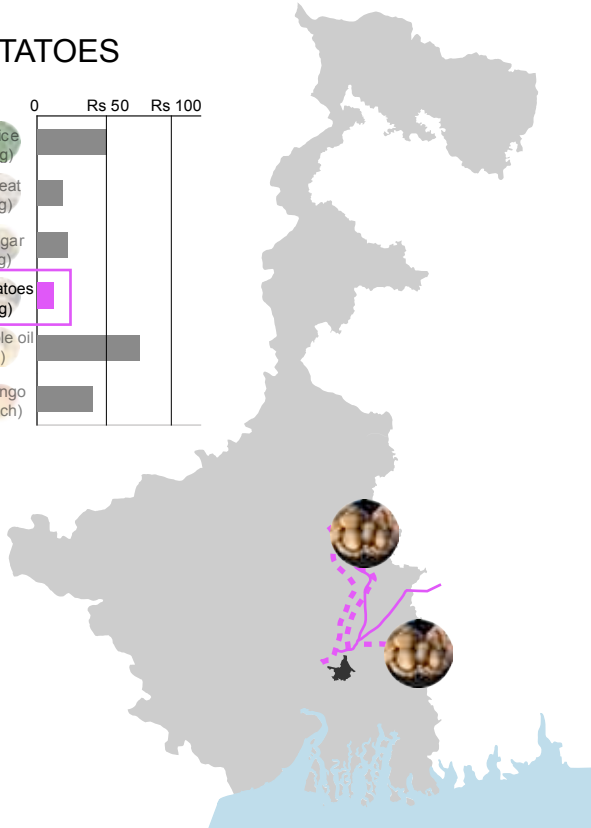
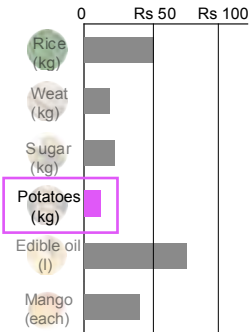
SARIS



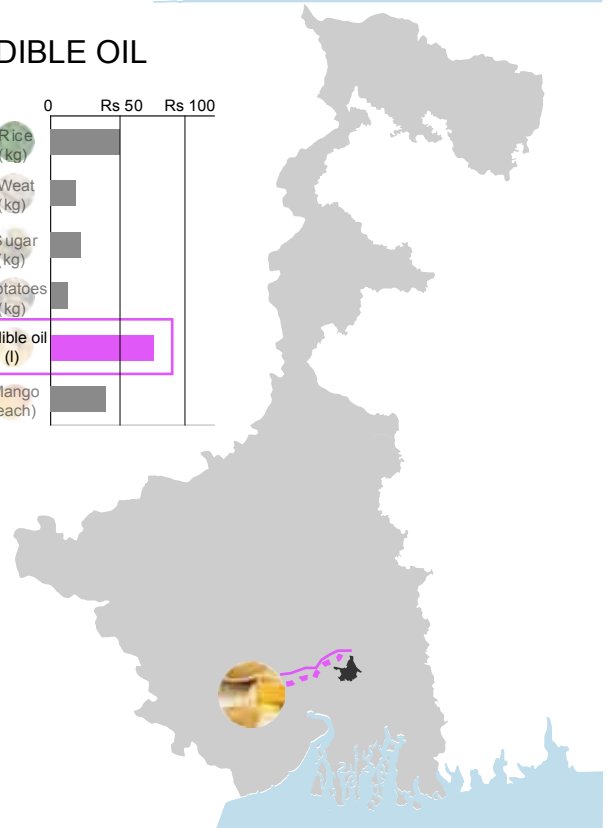
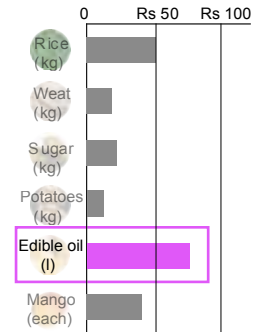
RICE



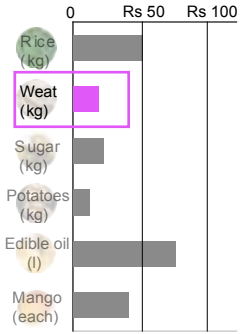
POTATOES



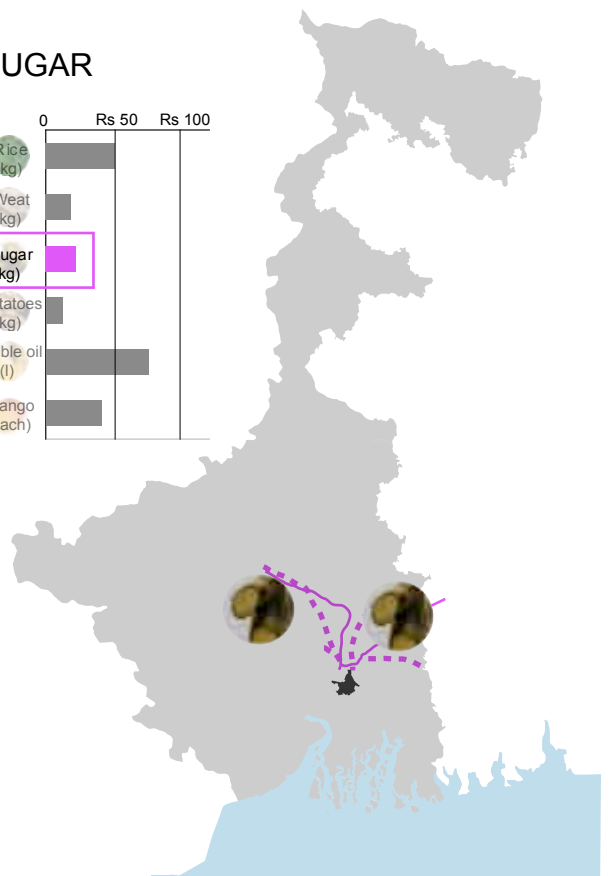
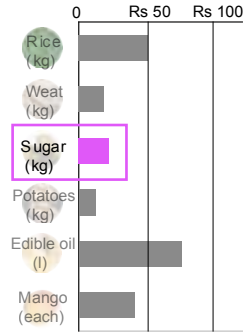
EDIBLE OIL



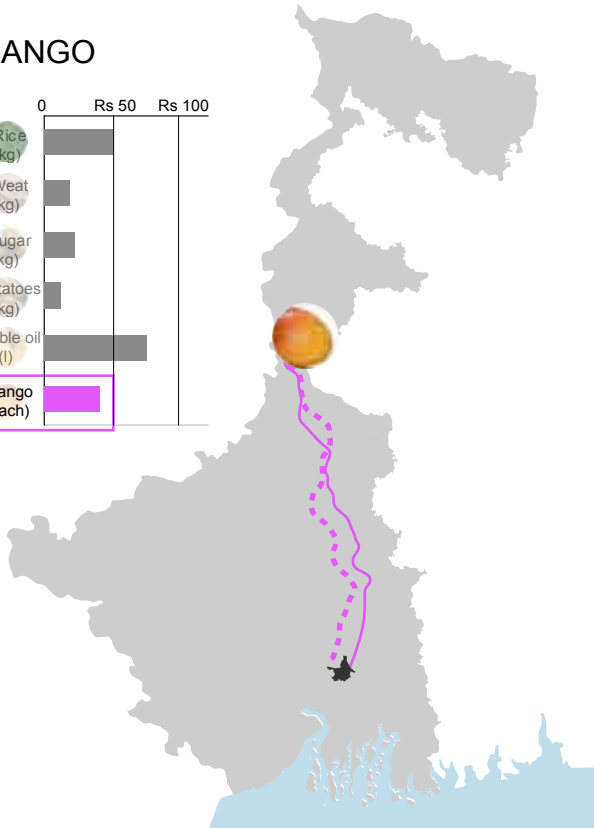
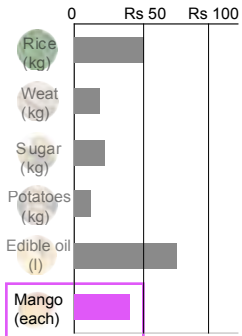
WHEAT



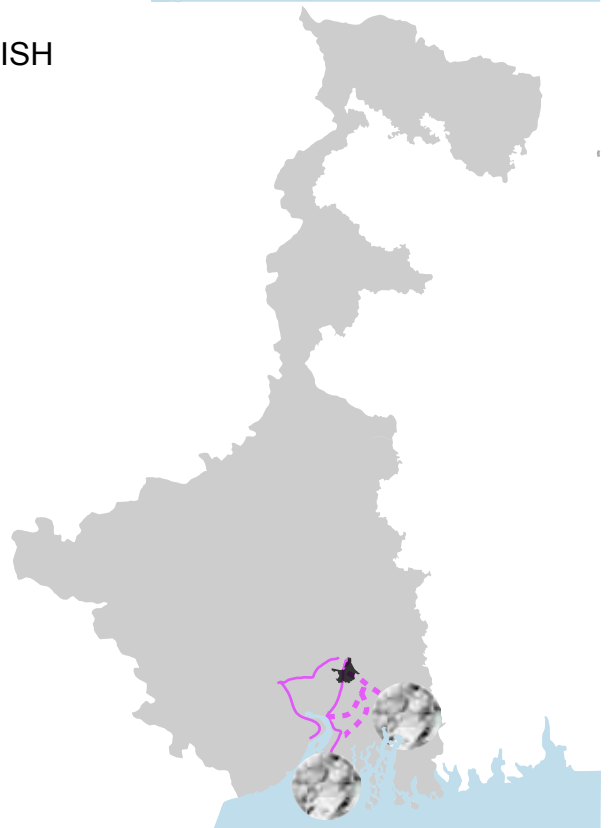
SUGAR

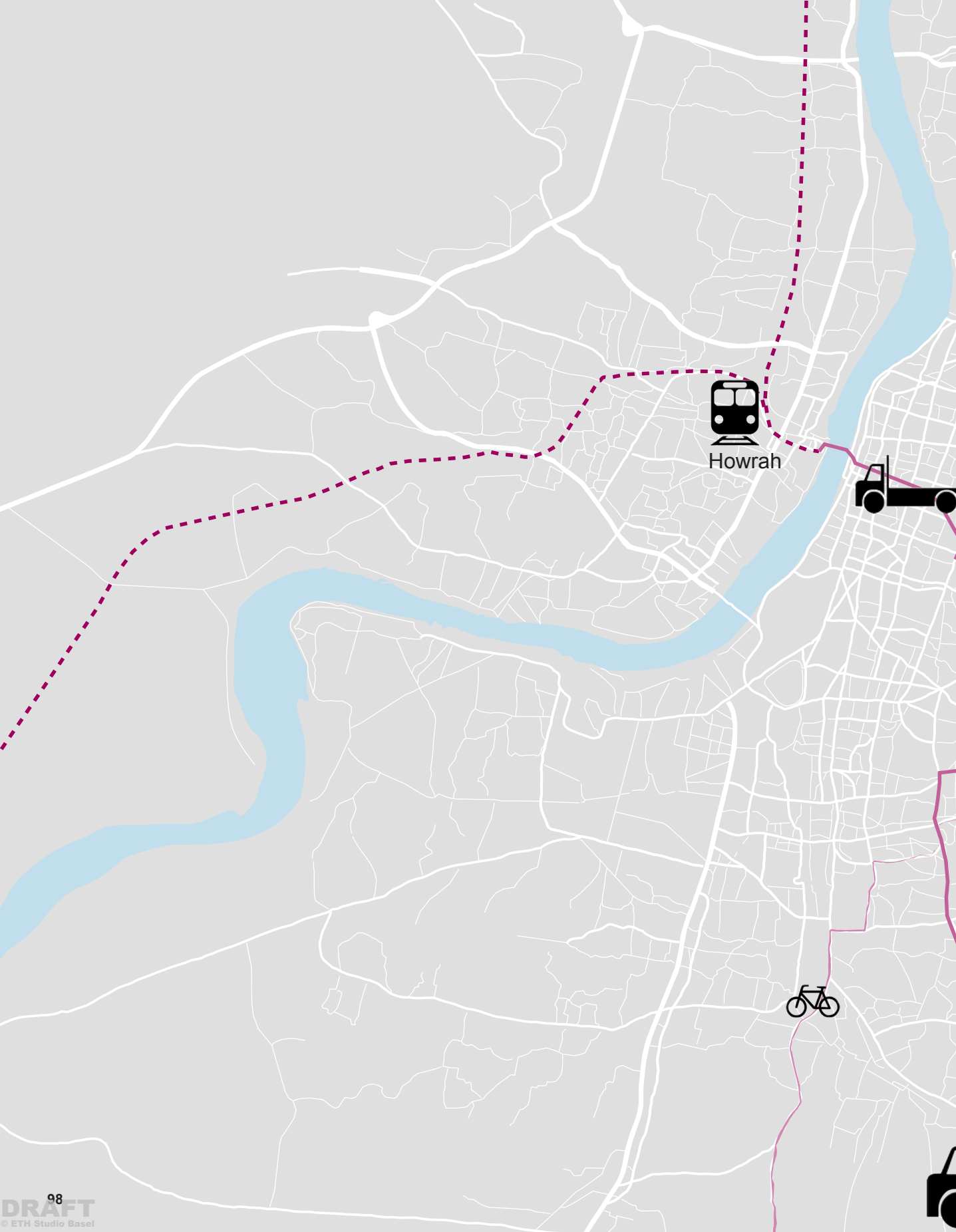


MANGO

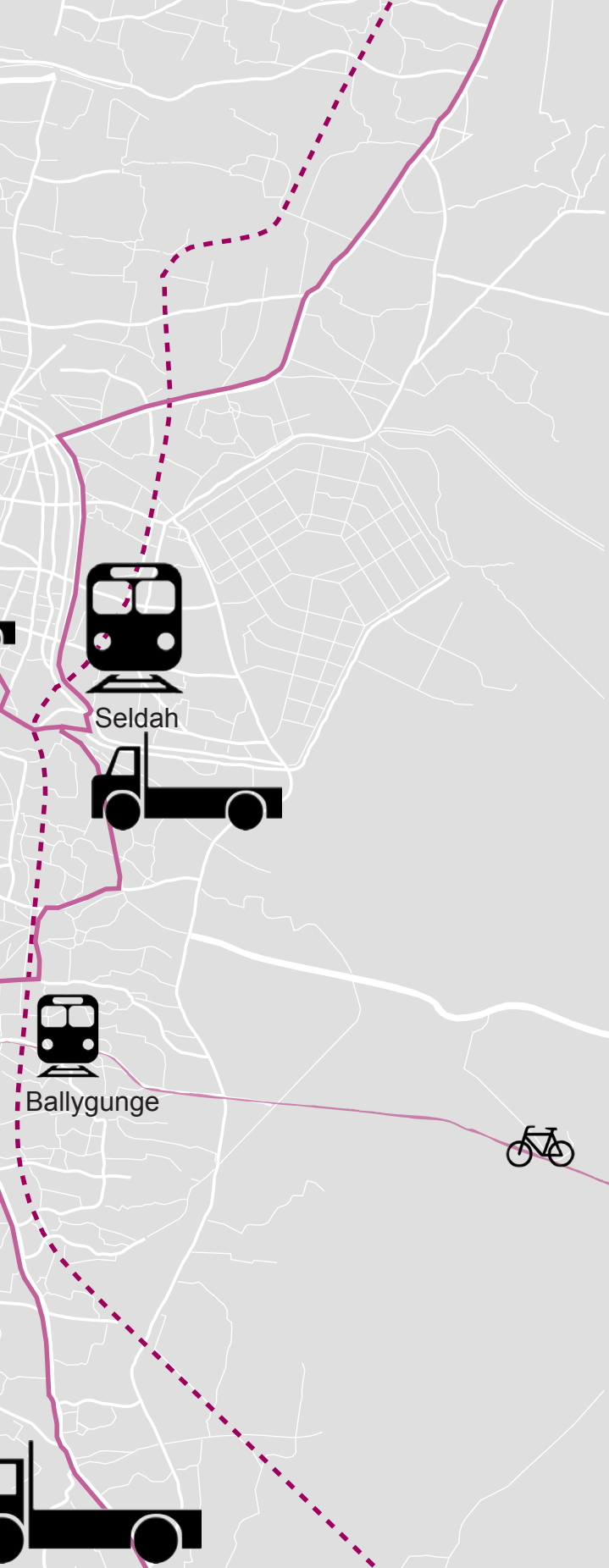


FISH





Howrah



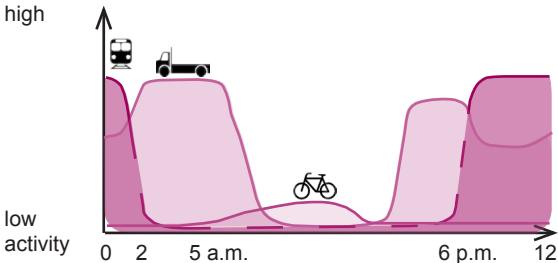
GOODS SUPPLY - KOLKATA

From Howrah and Seldah Station to Gariahat

Depending on what is transported and in which quantity, different means of transport will be used. For example if there is a need to bring a large amount of fresh vegetables, a truck will probably be used. It would be brought from Kolay market, which is a wholesale market at Seldah station. It is one of the important joints in goods transport from West Bengal to Kolkata. Various goods are coming by truck or train to Seldah station. From there they are transported to different markets, and also to Gariahat market. Some vegetable transport is also by train to Ballygunge station.

If however there is a need for rice or sugar it will be imported through Howrah station. It arrives there by train, and will later be distributed by truck. Small amounts of various goods, such as fish, vegetables or chicken, are transported by the vendors on trucks or even bikes. They are coming from the rural areas around Kolkata.

Timetable for Daily Goods Delivery





HOWRAH STATION





KOLAY MARKET
AT SELDAH STATION





ব্রহ্ম বজ্রনয়

CENTRAL ELECTRICAL SERVICES
সর্ববিধ বৈদ্যুতিক সেবা

Advertisement signs on the right side of the street.

BALLYGUNGE





Upendra Tkmur, 41, married, 3 people in the household
Fruit vendor
Gariahat, 2008

What are you selling?

- Fresh fruit

How do you obtain the fruit?

- I buy them at the Kolay market every two or three days. As far as I know, the fruit comes from the very north of West Bengal.

How often do you come to Gariahat and why?

- I am at Gariahat 5 or 6 days a week. I only come to work here. Other days I am with my family or friends at home.

How much do you earn? How does it help your family? How high is your rent?

- I earn about 70 to 80 Rs a day. I earn more on weekdays than on weekends. The fee is Rs 2 every day.

Where do you live? With whom do you live? How do you get to Gariahat?

- I live with my wife and brohter at Yalamanchilli, it is about 10 min south from here. I go by bicycle, after I have bought the fruit on Kolay market.

Where do you shop?

- Oh, I don't. My wife does, but it's not here, it's near our home. Well, medicine she buys here, but that would be all.

The fruit is coming from the northern parts of West Bengal

Vendors 
Products 



"The rent is Rs 2 per day"





Dasghosh Utmarkhan , 29, married, 8 people in the household
Fruit vendor
Gariahat, 2008

What are you selling?

- Fresh fruit and vegetables.

How do you obtain the fruits?

- I buy fruit and vegetables from farmers in my village and sell them later at Gariahat.

How often do you come to Gariahat and why?

- I come here every second day, my brother is coming the other days. We have this business together. The days I'm not here, I collect products from the farmers.

How much do you earn? How does it help your family? How high is your rent?

- I earn about Rs 300 each day. I have a prime position for my portable table, and our regular costumers buy from us every day. The fee is Rs 8.

Where do you live? With whom do you live? How do you get to Gariahat?

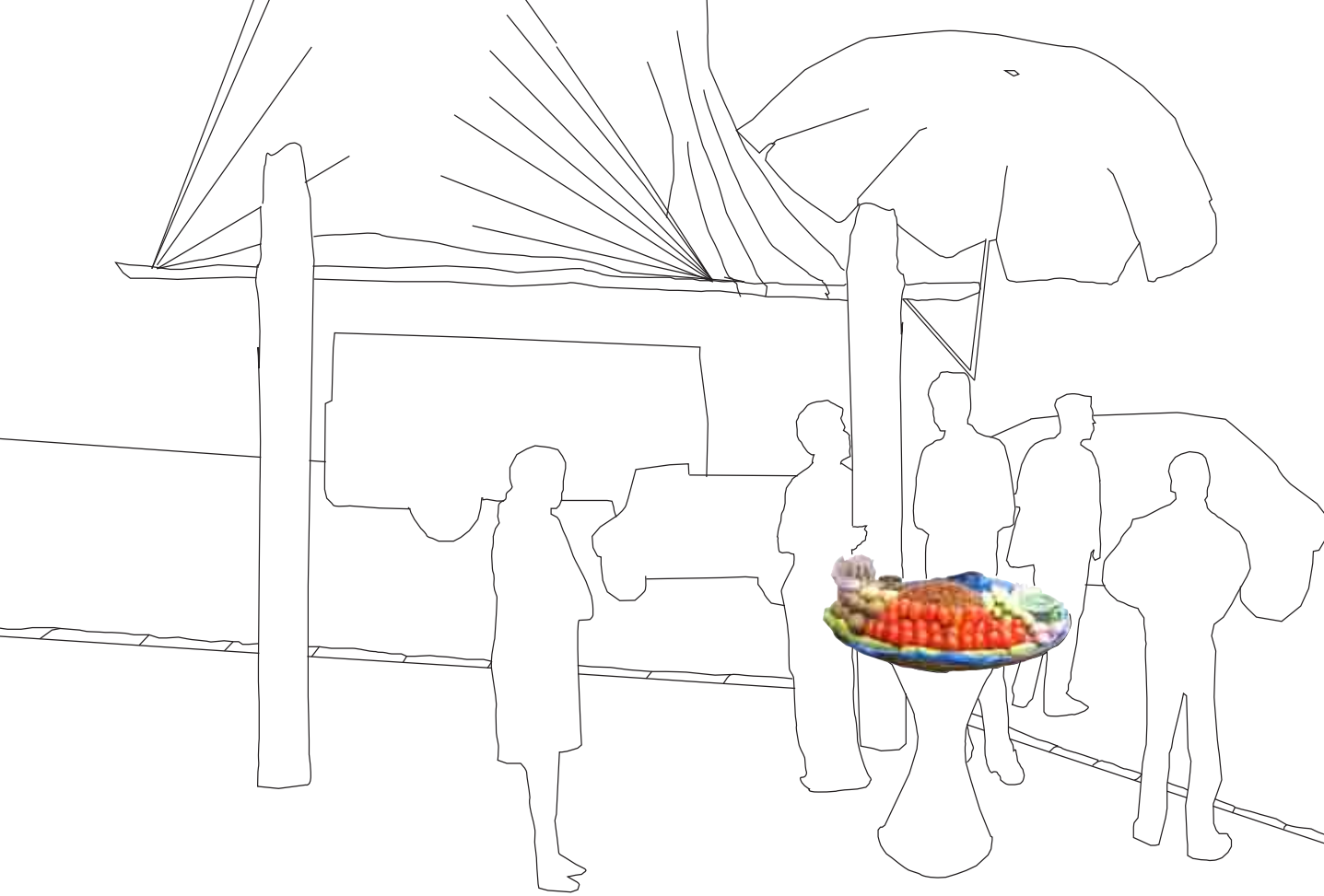
- I live in an extended family, my wife and I are staying with my parents and siblings.

Where do you shop?

- Where I live.

The fruit and vegetables are from his village





"I buy fruit and vegetables from farmers in my village and sell them later at Gariahat market"





Narajana Mirajkar, 46, married, 5 people in the household
journals and newspapers
Gariahat, 2008

What are you selling?

- Daily newspapers, journals and magazines

How do you obtain them?

- I buy them in the center of Kolkata and bring them here.

How often do you come to Gariahat and why?

- Everyday, because I have to work.

How much do you earn? How does it help your family? How high is your rent?

- I earn about 300 Rs, it helps us a lot. But as we have two small babies now, there is always need for more money. My rent is 15 Rs.

Where do you live? With whom do you live? How do you get to Gariahat?

- I live with my family in the south of Gariahat.

Where do you shop?

- On small markets near our home.

Sells newspapers and magazines



Vendors 
Products 



“What I earn here, helps my family a lot. But as we have two small babies now, there is always need for more money”





Shandra Kasgosh, 34, married, 6 people in the household
Fish vendor
Gariahat, 2008

What are you selling?

- Fish, sometimes also vegetables.

How do you provide the fish?

- I and my younger daughter catch fish every morning, in the river next to our home.

How often do you come to Gariahat and why?

- I come every day, if I can't go, I send my daughter, or we come together when we have more fish. Sometimes I take my sons with me... you see there they are (sleeping on the stairs next to the ice-breaker shop). We have regular customers, and they pay well.

How much do you earn? How does it help your family? How high is your rent?

- We earn about Rs 150 every day. It is enough for us, and sometimes we earn even more. We buy some eggs and vegetables. The rent is Rs 10 every day.

Where do you live? With whom do you live?



How do you get to Gariahat?

- I live with my family at Suoranaham (about 14km from Gariahat). I come by bicycle or by train.

Where do you shop?

- If the price is right I shop here. But we mostly rely on our own crops. Sometimes I shop at the market in the village.

Every day from Suoranaham to Gariahat and back..

Vendors 
Products 



"This fish is everything to me. My children eat it, we sell it and buy other food. We come to Gariahat every day"





Chandrak Gowd, 27, single, 5 people in the household
sells plastic products
Gariahat, 2008

What are you selling?

- Plastic products.

How do you obtain the plastic products?

- My younger brother buy them from Chinese in China town. And they import them from China.

How often do you come to Gariahat and why?

- Oh, every day. Because I work here, I have to sell these products.

How much do you earn? How does it help your family? How high is your rent?

- We earn about Rs 200 every day. On weekends even more. It is helping our household a lot. The rent is Rs 15 every day.

Where do you live? With whom do you live? How do you get to Gariahat?

- I live with my younger brother and friend from Jindal. We share an accomodation, near Gariahat. It takes us only 20 minutes to come here. We come by bike. It is fast and cheep. My parents are still in Jidal.

Where do you shop?

- Next to the place where we live. On our market, here it is too expensive for us.

Sells imported plastic products from China



Vendors 
Products 



***”My younger brother buy it from Chinese in China Town.
And they import it from China”***





Ujjwala Maleshi, 38, married, 3 people in the household
sells eggs and omelettes
Gariahat, 2008

What are you selling?

- Fresh eggs and omelettes

How do you obtain the eggs?

- We have chicken in our backyard. 8 of them, we have them since we moved here about 5 years ago.

How often do you come to Gariahat and why?

- We live here, so we are here every day.

How much do you earn? How does it help your family? How high is your rent?

- We earn Rs 300, and that is what we are living from. We sometimes sell the chicken, when they don't lay eggs any longer.

Where do you shop?

- Oh, not here, it is very expensive. Sometimes we buy fish here, but usually outside of Kolkata.

Sells eggs from her own home production

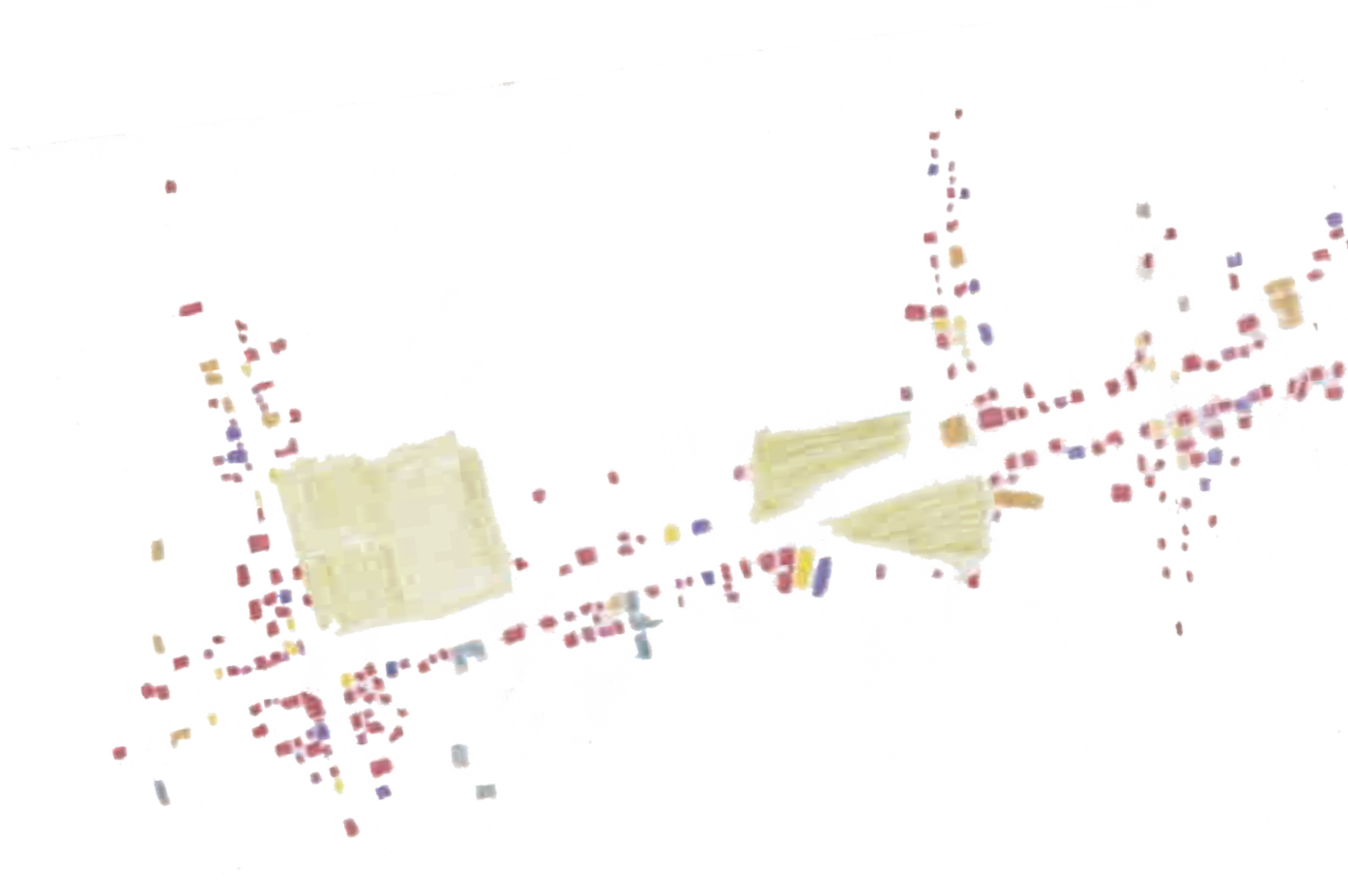


Vendors 
Products 



“We have chickens in our backyard”





- Shops
- Banks
- Accomodation

- Park
- Education
- Missionary facilities

“GENTRIFICATION“

Upgrading as we know it?

Gariahat spreads along Rashbehari Avenue. Not only geographically, but also in our view it has two quite different ends, like oppositely charged poles. As there are no data on investments, increase in population and buildings, we can only speak of what we saw.

The eastern part of Gariahat market seems to develop faster than the other. One look at the façades is enough. They are brand new dwellings, residences, apartments and also some new shopping malls. They have been built in the last 5 years. This may be a result of its closeness to the Eastern Bypass.

The western part is also growing, but a bit slower. There are still accommodations built, and people are still living there. There is life, but our impression is that there is not that much interest to invest in this part of Gariahat, if there is any at all. We can only try to explain this by the less good infrastructural-connections.







"East End"



"West End"





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Malls - Modern Shopping

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Health
Security

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5. RURAL-URBAN SITUATION

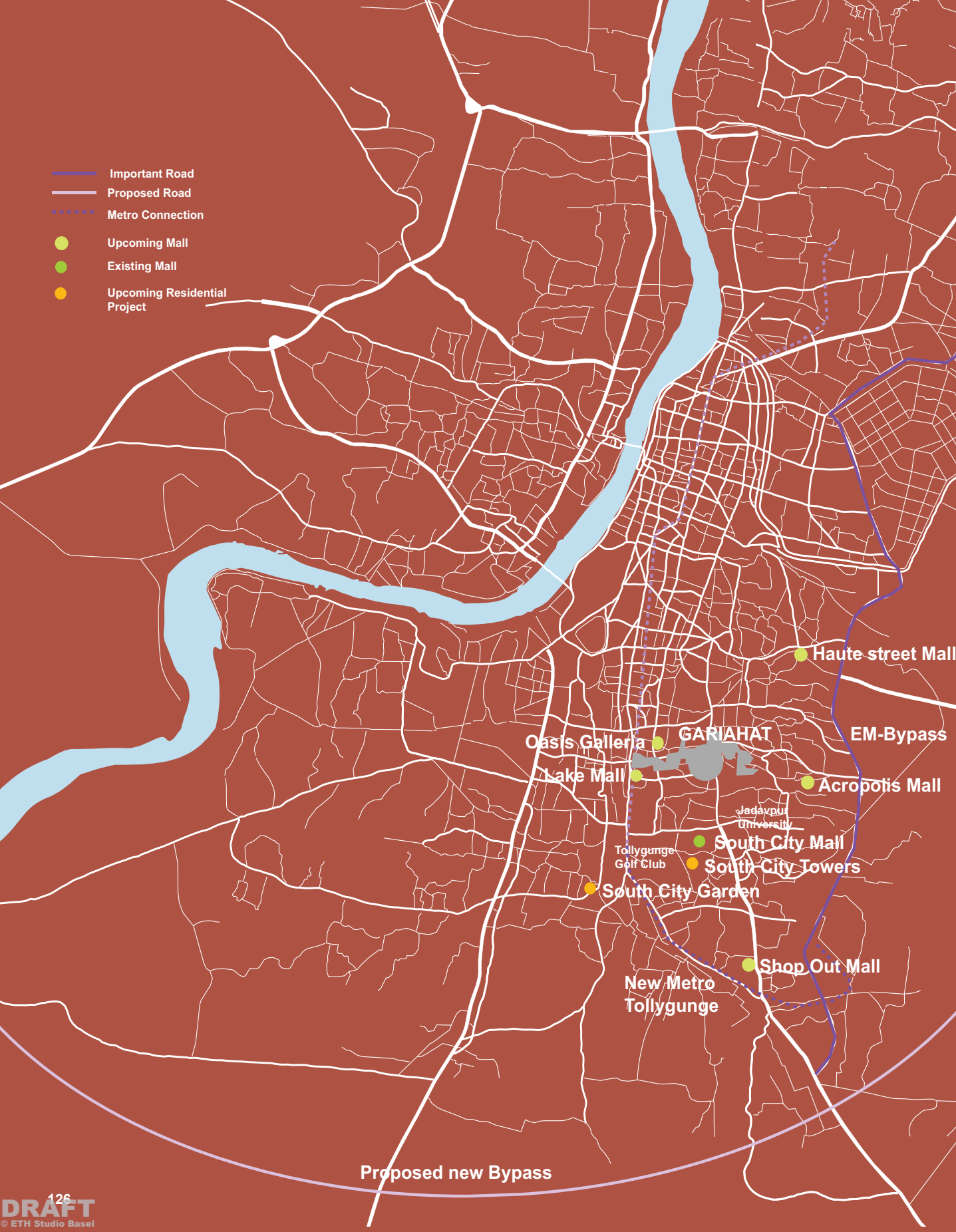
Portraits of Hawkercs
Goods Delivery

6. CONCLUSION

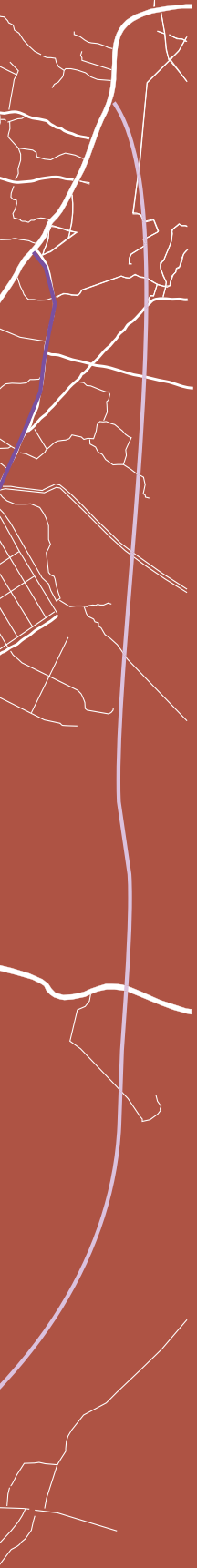
Reshaping Gariahat - Gariahat Reshaping
The Future

- Important Road
- Proposed Road
- Metro Connection

- Upcoming Mall
- Existing Mall
- Upcoming Residential Project



Proposed new Bypass



RESHAPING GARIAHAT - GARIAHAT RESHAPING

The **Diversity, Rural influence and Specificity** is forming the strong identity of Gariahat Market. This special character has a great impact on its surroundings, it is a main actor of making things move in the area, and also the reason why people are coming from all parts of Kolkata and from the villages. The location of the market is crucial for its development.

Gariahat is connected to Kolkata center by train, metro and main roads, and is one of the parts of Kolkata with best connections to other parts of the city. In 5 to 10 years Gariahat will be connected by new proposed and planned bypass with Rajarhat and other suburbs.

Not only has it good connections, it has a very high activity during every day of the year. It has an energy and a momentum, what we would call speed, things happening, changing, moving, remaking, developing. It is an active space. It is today an urban space, but the influence from the countryside makes it show rural spatial qualities, adding a relaxed and natural flavour. This coming together is not always without friction; the city authorities are changing their attitude towards the hawkers depending on the political situation. The malls are representing a new challenge to both formal and informal markets.

In spite of this, people are still attracted to Gariahat, by its character and by the opportunities it contains. The identity of the market grows stronger by more and more people spending their time there; eating, sleeping, shopping, working, studying and enjoying the atmosphere. There is no other market in Kolkata with this varied use of spaces overlapping simultaneously. It poses a certain number of people, ethnical groups, religions, professions, lifestyles, languages, and merchandise that we can easily speak of diversity. Even complexity.





THE FUTURE

The area is experiencing the development of several residential projects that are supposed to present the modern "western" way of living. This lifestyle includes shopping at the new malls and living in posh apartment buildings. The same companies investing in shopping malls are simultaneously building housing to ensure the necessary footfall of the middle class population.

This development means a new challenge to the traditional way of shopping in Kolkata. Opinions differ whether or not the malls present a real threat to the old bazars. There is a notion of the marketplace as a symbol for traditional India; the old colonial view on the oriental market as an unchanging world, inhabited by backward people. This is far from the truth. Gariahat is making the future its own.

SOUTH CITY
BEL-AIR

SOUTH CITY
garden
Your dream life. At a dream price.

SOUTH CITY
Villa



Our thanks go to

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