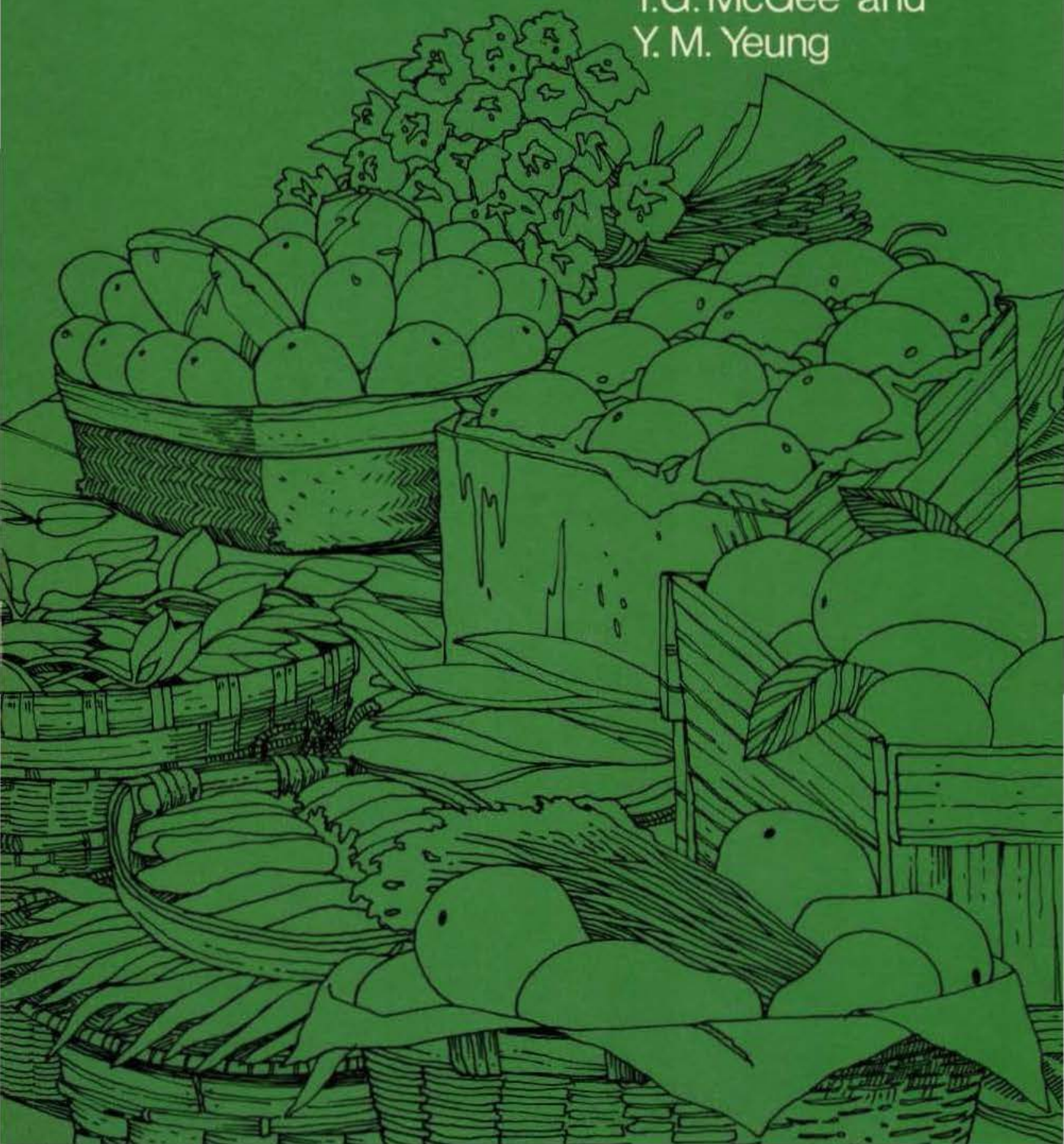


Hawkers in Southeast Asian Cities

planning
for the
Bazaar
Economy

T.G. McGee and
Y. M. Yeung



Hawkers in Southeast Asian Cities:

planning for the bazaar economy



**Hawkers in
Southeast
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Cities** planning
for the
Bazaar
Economy

T.G. McGee and Y. M. Yeung

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Foreword

Hawkers and vendors have long been a common feature of the sidewalks and markets of Asian Cities. Their continued presence in the urban marketplace produces a variety of conflicting opinions about the usefulness of their retailing activities in the overall economy of Third World cities. As well, judgments about the importance of hawker activities are complicated by concerns about the traffic and health hazards attributed to them.

Policymakers, who have the responsibility for planning and managing the commercial sector for urban areas, have generally not had the benefit of accurate and reliable information on street traders and petty merchants. Having this information would allow them to design responsive programs that would serve the needs of this special group as well as the needs of the poor consumers they serve.

It was in part to meet this need that the International Development Research Centre undertook, in 1973, support of a study on hawkers and vendors in Jakarta and Bandung in Indonesia, Kuala Lumpur and Malacca in Malaysia, and Manila and Baguio in the Philippines.

The country studies and the summary report have now been completed and the comparative study presented here draws together the results of this two-year investigation. In addition, the study has attempted to integrate some of the findings of other researchers interested in the street vendor and his role in the bazaar economy.

It is the hope of IDRC that this report will be of practical use to national and local planners and administrators, and that it will make a useful contribution to the continuing policy discussions concerning the role of hawkers and vendors in the cities of Asia and elsewhere.

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Acknowledgments

This monograph presents the results of a comparative study of street vendors in six Southeast Asian cities: Kuala Lumpur and Malacca in Malaysia; Manila and Baguio in the Philippines; and Jakarta and Bandung in Indonesia. Additional material drawn from studies of street vendors in Hong Kong, Penang, and Singapore is also included where relevant. The research was funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada, coordinated by Dr T. G. McGee, Senior Fellow, Department of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University (formerly Professor of Geography, University of Hong Kong), and carried out by three country teams under the direction of Prof Lam Thim-Fook in Malaysia, Profs Sylvia Guerrero and José Guerrero in the Philippines, and Ir Tb. M. Rais and Ir W. J. Waworoentoe in Indonesia. Dr Yue-man Yeung, formerly of the University of Singapore, assisted Dr McGee in coordinating functions. The research developed out of proposals made to the IDRC in October 1972 and final reports were presented to this organization during the latter part of 1975.

This is an attempt to emphasize the major comparative findings of the study. Findings that are of more value to specific cities have been excluded from this report, but are included in the reports of the various countries.

The major data collection phase of the study was in 1973. At this time, the following exchange rates were current in the three countries: Philippine peso 6.78 = \$1.00 Canadian; Malaysian dollar 2.56 = \$1.00 Canadian; Indonesian rupiah 413 = \$1.00 Canadian.

A research project of this type rests upon the support and help of many people. First of all, we are grateful to our fellow researchers in the project, Sylvia, José, Thim-Fook, Rais, and Hanny who carried out the country surveys. Secondly, our thanks are extended to Mrs. R. K. Zagorin, Director, and Dr Aprodicio Laquian, Associate Director, Social Sciences and Human Resources Division of the IDRC for their constant help and encouragement. Dr Harry Cummings, formerly of IDRC, was responsible for the computer processing of the survey results. Farida Shaikh and Roberta Borg contributed to the preparation of the results of the study for dissemination to government officials. We must also thank the many government officials in the respective Southeast Asian cities who helped with the study. In Canberra, Claudia Sherman deserves our gratitude for help with the processing and presentation of the results. Hans Gunther prepared Fig. 1-9. Figures 10-14 are reproduced with the kind permission of Timothy Lam Thim-Fook. Merlie Macabulos typed the final draft of the manuscript. We are grateful to them all for their help.

Preface

On the morning of Monday, 16 October 1972 a small group of people gathered in the conference room of a Hong Kong hotel. They were an extremely mixed group: two Indonesians, one a technologist from the Bandung Institute of Technology, the other a planner working for the City Planning Office of the largest city in Southeast Asia, Jakarta; a Filipino from the University of the Philippines with a doctorate in mass communication; a Malaysian urban planner working at the University of Malaya; two geographers, the first a Hong Kong Chinese who was lecturing at the University of Singapore, the second, a New Zealander, based at the University of Hong Kong; and finally several representatives from the International Development Research Centre.

It was perhaps appropriate that the conference room of the hotel was most frequently used as a gambling venue for local business men, for this disparate group was engaged in something of a gamble. It was attempting to formulate a cross-country research study into the role that street sellers played in the commodity distribution systems of some of the cities in their various countries.

The time did not seem auspicious. Martial law had only recently been declared in the Philippines and one of the Philippine researchers had been unable to leave the country. The Indonesians had arrived at the last moment, and there had been problems with accommodation and conference rooms.

But during the next 3 days, the group gradually began to thrash out a common research strategy for the project. First, there had to be common agreement that the proposed project was of importance. So little research had been carried out into the role of street vendors in these cities that this agreement had to be based upon observation rather than statistical information. However, the group agreed that hawkers played an important role in the commodity distribution systems of their cities. They also agreed that in the present situation of these cities, where populations were growing so rapidly both from natural increase and in-migration as to cause grave problems of unemployment as well as of providing an adequate infrastructure of housing, transport, etc., the street vending system offered opportunities of employment and the cheap distribution of commodities. Government policy toward street vendors was found to vary considerably from one city to another. In some cities street sellers were encouraged; in other cities they were seen as traffic obstacles and a source of food carried disease. What was clear as the discussion progressed was that very little was known about street vendors in these cities. Government policy was very much a pragmatic reaction to the problems that street vendors created to the efficient running of their cities. It was soon obvious that the provision of information on hawkers to policymakers might, even if only in a small way, help them formulate long-term policy toward hawkers. This was adequate justification for the project.

Once the central justification of the project was clarified the group turned to the discussion and formulation of specific research strategies. One of the first

problems to be tackled was finding a common definition of street vendors that would apply to all countries. Which cities should be surveyed? How were the data to be collected? How would the results be presented in a manner that would be of most benefit to policymakers and street vendors of the respective countries? What would be the relationship between the various country teams and the coordinator? What would be the relationship between the funding organization (International Development Research Centre, Canada) and the participants?

In the course of these 3 days of discussion the participants began to realize that they were engaged in a unique experience in which the research was defining our experience. For 3 days we ceased to be Indonesians, Filipinos, Malaysians, or New Zealanders. We ceased to be practitioners of particular disciplines: planners, geographers, economists, or sociologists, and developed an interdisciplinary approach. We became researchers with a common identity defined by the dimensions of our research. We were forced to accommodate the differences between countries and to define a common core of our research. This experience was repeated on three more occasions in Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, and Baguio and Manila. In each of these cities we had the opportunity to talk to, and observe hawkers. We also spoke with city officials concerned with hawker administration. This opportunity broadened our perspective and allowed us to gain a dimension on our own societies, which we had not previously possessed. We emerged richer as a result of the experience. In the course of the research we established close friendship with each other and built up a much wider network of personal contacts in the three countries of Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

This, then is a romantic vision of the experience of our research project. It represents a personal statement and it glosses over the difficulties of making such cross-country studies work effectively. There were always problems with communications. The difficulties of running a project financed from Ottawa, coordinated from Hong Kong and Canberra, and carried out in six cities of three Southeast Asian countries were considerable and, at times, seemed almost insuperable. The researchers engaged in the project were all working in a part-time capacity. All were busy individuals engaged in teaching, administration, and other time-consuming responsibilities. Despite these problems the project was successfully carried out, and the data collected and presented in a form in which it could be disseminated to interested policymakers. We do not make grand claims that the results of the research will lead to radical revision of government policy, but we hope it will lead to modest changes that may improve the lives of the hawkers in the various Southeast Asian cities we investigated. We certainly hope that, where outdated, existing hawker policies can be modified to fit the real situation and that such modifications can be effected on the basis of reliable statistics rather than intuition. The present research project signifies only a beginning; it is an experiment and a gamble in which we are proud to have taken part.

1

Hawkers of Southeast Asia

The pedlars, whether carrying their wares around on a pole or setting up stalls along the street, have but small capital, make but a meagre profit and do not earn enough to feed and clothe themselves. They are not much different in status from the poor peasants and likewise need a revolution that will change the existing state of affairs.

Mao Tse-tung (1926)

You see we hardly earn enough to keep us alive. The vegetables we get from the Divisoria get dearer every day and when we sell them we cannot raise our prices as much. When the police start arresting hawkers, we either lose our cabbages and sayote while running, or they are taken away from us. When I hear that familiar whistle, my arms automatically wrap around my vegetables and my feet run as fast as they can, while my heart drowns me with its fast and loud beats.

Juanita: a Manila street vendor (1974)

Casual labour and petty trading are highly important not only as a source of employment but also for the economic functioning of the cities and the economizing of scarce resources, in reuse of products as well as in reduced needs for equipment and buildings. Though productivity is low compared to the modern sector it is far superior to unemployment and in all probability exceeds productivity in marginal employment in agriculture.

World Bank (1972)

These three quotations are drawn from a diverse range of sources, but the quotations are apt for they encapsulate some of the main themes we wish to develop in the study. Juanita, the Manila street vendor, cries from the heart of the poverty of the rapidly growing urban populations of the Third World. Mao advocates one solution to her cries: “a revolution that will change the existing state of affairs.” The World Bank proffers another solution — a recognition of the fact that while such activities as petty trading may have low levels of productivity, the existence of such occupational sectors offers employment opportunities and aids the economic functioning of the cities in the less-developed countries of the world. Implicit in the last-quoted statement is the assumption that the low productivity occupations in Third World cities do contribute to the process of economic growth. Both Mao’s and the World Bank’s statements represent broad policy judgments about the activities of

occupational groups within these cities. Juanita's statement is that of a participant. City governments in the Asian region generally adopt policy positions toward such groups as street vendors based upon a more pragmatic set of needs than the broader policy issues raised in the introductory quotations. Such policies, moreover, are not always based upon reliable information concerning the activities and roles of street vendors in the cities. Rather, they are developed in response to certain situations such as traffic congestion in which street vendors find themselves involved. The point to make out of all this complexity is that attitudes toward street vendors in the majority of Asian cities generally evolve without adequate information on this occupational group. They are formulated instead out of set images and planning ideals, generally imported from abroad, and often not suitable for Asian cities. These images and ideas suffer from a lack of information from the people who are the receivers of policy decisions — the street vendors themselves.

This report presents the results of a study of the activities and personal features of street vendors in six Southeast Asian cities, a review of city government policies and attitudes toward street vendors, and some recommendations for revisions of city government policy based on surveys of street vendors and interviews with government policymakers concerned with hawker policy. It is *an attempt to feed information upward from the hawkers to government policymakers*. No judgments are intended upon government policies and actions toward street vendors at present. The study simply presents results and draws what appear to be reasonable conclusions.

Taking up the theme of information flowing upward from the street vendors, the study commences with three vignettes of hawkers in the three large Southeast Asian cities that were surveyed: Manila, Jakarta, and Kuala Lumpur. This procedure is adopted to set the scene for the presentation of results about the much larger group of street vendors that were surveyed. In choosing these hawkers, it is not argued that they are typical. Simply, the study should begin with a picture of the hawkers as individuals rather than as abstract statistics, which remove some of their quality as human beings.

A Manila Hawker

Juanita is 28, married to Mario, and has five children. She works with her husband 7 to 9 hours a day selling vegetables. Together they net 5 pesos a day. One approaches Juanita's home along a narrow lane that runs parallel to a large public market. In the dry season it is dusty; whereas, in the rainy season it turns into a dirty ditch. Suddenly you turn abruptly through a dark corridor that serves as a passageway into an old rotting market building that has been converted into a type of apartment house by the use of partitions. In this building live some 15 or so families totaling approximately 100 people. There is no toilet, bath, or water. The inhabitants use toilets in the public market close by and carry water from a faucet some 20 metres away. Most of the adults work as hawkers.

The corridor that serves as a passageway for all the families that live in the slum is always full of people. It is cluttered with dirty naked children with unscrubbed faces and men in their soiled trousers lounging against the walls. The room Juanita's family rents is some 4 metres by 4 metres in size and is dark and musty. There are no windows to let in the air and sun and a feeling of being smothered by the dust and smell envelops the newcomer. This is the

smell of the nearby market — dead fish, rotten meat and vegetables, and unwashed bodies. In this bad smelling box of a room live Juanita, her husband, and their five children.

An inventory of the room yields very little. On one wall a small cupboard is nailed and on another there is a clothes cabinet. In the centre of the room there is an improvised rough table with three chairs and against one wall a narrow bed. The children sleep on mats on the floor. In one corner of the room are an old kerosene stove and some pots and pans. Perhaps the most noticeable objects in the room are the carefully, almost reverently hung membership certificates from religious organizations, Cursillistas' diplomas, and framed faces of saints.

Mario leaves this room early in the morning each day to collect from Divisoria market the vegetables that he and Juanita will sell in the streets surrounding the public market close to their home. By 7 a.m. he will be back and then he and Juanita will sell vegetables until they have sold all their goods. Sometimes Juanita takes a child with her to sell goods, but usually they are left

Jakarta: push-cart hawker selling food to school children. Such semi-itinerant hawkers usually have different locations every day.



behind to be looked after by older children or other women. Mostly she sells vegetables to housewives from the surrounding district and with some she has built up a good customer relationship, a skill Mario has found difficult to acquire. Juanita and Mario have no licence to sell vegetables and their greatest fear is of the police raids that result in the confiscation of their goods, for they have no spare capital and rely on their daily earnings to finance their next day's purchases. However, sometimes Mario can get vegetables on consignment from the wholesalers in Divisoria. Thus, as Juanita says, they live a "hard and hectic life."

Their condition of poverty has not quelled their hopes for the education of their children. Juanita says, "All that we can spare goes to the children's education. Nenita, our eldest, is in Grade 1 and Mario Jr, who is seven, is in Grade 2. The others are too young to go to school." Juanita thinks that she will always be a hawker. "It is a hard occupation but it is better than nothing. I do not know of any other way of making money." She speaks like many other hawkers — resigned to her fate and having no real desire to struggle to change the kind of life that has been forced upon her.

A Jakarta Hawker

Kartomo is 30 years of age and is married with five children. The eldest is seven years old. Kartomo, the second of three children, was born in Tegal, some 240 kilometres from Jakarta, but when he was four his mother died and his father married again. He did not get on well with his stepmother and at the age of 13, after leaving school, he tried to earn money by selling chickens he purchased in the rural areas to take to Jakarta. He did not leave permanently for Jakarta, however, until 1959 when he worked as a labourer on the Asian Games complex, and saved enough money to go to Kalimantan where he got a job as a timber cutter. In 1965 he returned from Kalimantan to his home village in Tegal, married, and then moved to Jakarta with his wife. They moved into a small one-room hut with matting walls and thatched roof, located on one of the small lanes that run into the settlements alongside the By-Pass at Rawamangun. In this small house all the domestic activities of the family are carried out; in 1973, Kartomo claimed he was paying a rent of 1000 rupiahs a month.

Shortly after Kartomo arrived in Jakarta in 1965 he bought a pushcart for 13 000 rupiahs and with a capital of 5000 rupiahs he set up a business selling cooked rice. Within one year he had the opportunity to purchase another pushcart from a Sundanese merchant in Jatinegara for 12 000 rupiahs, which enabled him to become an ice-drink vendor and allowed his wife to operate alongside him. Most of their customers pay in cash, although regular customers like rickshaw drivers and prostitutes are extended credit. Each credit transaction is carefully recorded by Kartomo. Although Kartomo regards his business as prospering, he still thinks of his life as one of poverty. This is surprising for his net daily income from the two operations is in excess of 800 rupiahs a day, which is well above the Jakarta poverty line. This daily net income earns them 24 000 rupiahs a month. While they generally sell from 4 p.m. until 12 p.m., part of the remainder of the day is spent in preparing food. This makes a long and tiring day. They live frugally, however, spending as little as possible. They have few belongings; Kartomo's proudest possession is a transistor radio that is always switched on and hangs from a peg on his cart.

In the last few years, Kartomo's sister and brother have come to Jakarta; the former to live with her husband in the Senin area, and the latter to take a job as a servant in a coffee stall. Even his father came to Jakarta after selling his rice fields. Sometimes his father helps him with the hawker business, but at the time of the interview he had returned to Tegal, having become ill in Jakarta. Kartomo's view of life in the rural areas of Java is pessimistic: "If you have no job in the village," he says, "there is no possibility but to come to the town." "In Jakarta," he continues, "one can live if he wants to try."

Kartomo has few ambitions for his children: he would like them to read and write. For himself, he would like to practice his religion more fervently, but it is difficult for the poor to live a full religious life; one has to work too hard. The chief problem he faces as a hawker is from the clearing-up operations of teams from the Jakarta Municipality. He must be careful always to remove his pushcarts after each night's selling and push them the 100 metres back to his home. He says that he pays a licence fee (the amount is not specified) to an individual who says he is from the Municipality. But the administration regards him as unlicensed and claims no knowledge of the licence-collecting official. Kartomo says he would like to be left alone by administration officials to continue his work.

A Kuala Lumpur Hawker

Ahmad is 28 and unmarried. He lives with his mother, brother, and sister in one room in a Malay kampong house in Kampong Bahru, Kuala Lumpur. His father, who has established a second household, lives in a squatter area 1.5 kilometres from Kampong Bahru. The house in which Ahmad lives is occupied by three households, with one section taken up by the landlord, the second by another tenant, and the third by Ahmad's family. The room occupied by Ahmad's family is approximately 2.5 metres by 3 metres and is used as living room and bedroom. At the back there is a small kitchen, really a tin-roofed lean-to that protects the kerosene cooker placed on a concrete slab. The family shares with the other households the bathroom and toilet facilities. The room is sparsely furnished, with worn pandanus mats for people to sit on and Information Department pictures of the Malaysian King and Queen on the walls. However, the house does have electricity and a piped water supply.

Ahmad first came to Kuala Lumpur in 1967 but was unable to get a job. He returned home where he managed to get some work on the small rubber-holding of his family, and worked for some time in an estate rubber-processing factory close to Teluk Anson. When he had completed 2 years of postprimary education, he found that his educational background had helped him little in Kuala Lumpur. He returned to Kuala Lumpur in 1970 and tried various jobs: working as a construction worker, a shop assistant, and in the factories. Finally, in 1972, he started work as a hawker, investing some M\$300 of his savings in the purchase of a cart and crockery for the *soto* (a type of soup) he sells. He now operates in Chow Kit road about 0.8 kilometres from his house, in a part of the street that has been set aside for Malay-operated cooked food stalls.

His normal working day is well established and only changes at festival and holiday times when he expects more business and has to start work earlier. Normally he goes to the market about 9 a.m. to buy the ingredients for the *soto*, takes them home for his mother to prepare, and then after lunch sets

forth at about 4 p.m., selling his cooked food until one or two in the morning. He works 7 days a week, making about M\$35–40 net profit per week. This gives him an income that is sufficient to support his family. His younger brother at present helps a friend who is a hawker in the Chow Kit road area, but he receives only food for his task. Ahmad's sister is still in school, so he must also support her. As his father contributes nothing to the family, Ahmad's earnings are the sole basis of the family's income. Although M\$35–40 is a low income, which allows him very little opportunity for saving and just meets the family's outgoings, Ahmad regards hawking as a fairly satisfying occupation. The income earned compares very favourably with that of an unskilled factory worker or a shop assistant and he is his own boss. It is useful, too, to get a daily income, for this allows purchasing of household items with cash and avoids the problems of credit, which one may have if paid weekly or monthly.

Ahmad feels hawking as an occupation offers opportunities for advancement; his ambition is to own a permanent stall and then perhaps a restaurant. He enjoys telling the story of "Madjid Satay," a man who started hawking *satay* in the cooked food market in Campbell Road and built up his food catering business to be one of the biggest in Kuala Lumpur. He is encouraged in this ambition by his membership in the Kuala Lumpur Malay Petty Traders Association, a very strong interest group pressuring government to increase its loans and encouragement for Malay participation in the commercial activities of the city. Furthermore, there is no trouble from the Municipality, which has encouraged hawkers throughout the city by lowering licence fees and giving space on city streets.

Allowing for the differences that do exist among the cultures and societies of which these individuals are part, what do these three individuals have in common? First, they are engaged in the same occupation — street vending — an economic activity that in all cases is organized on a family basis, and yields low but sufficient incomes to allow them to subsist in the city. Indeed, in the cases of the Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur hawkers, their incomes appear to compare more than favourably with wages earned by unskilled labour in the wage-earning sector. Second, these individuals live in conditions of considerable poverty. Their living space is cramped, they have few possessions, and they have little money for saving or expenditure on items other than necessities. Third, these individuals are young and, with the exception of the Manila respondent, relatively recent entrants to hawking. Also, while there is an acceptance of the hard work that hawking entails, they are not without some ambition for advancement for themselves and their families.

The major element these individuals do not have in common, however, is their *relationship to the authorities* in the cities in which they live. In Manila and Jakarta, Juanita and Kartomo live in fear that their source of livelihood will be taken away from them and their poverty further exacerbated. On the other hand, Ahmad in Kuala Lumpur is encouraged in his activities by the city authorities and is ambitious to increase his business and turnover. The insecurity of the hawkers in Jakarta and Manila is simply part of a broader policy adopted by those city administrations attacking various aspects of informal activities in their cities, ranging from illegal squatting to small cottage industry. In so doing, poverty is simply being exacerbated at a time when national goals are designed to eliminate it.

Parenthetically, Jakarta and Manila, in their efforts to improve the image of the city and to dampen rural-urban migration by curbing traditional economic activities, are not alone in the developing countries in their policies unfavourably disposed toward the informal sector. Of significance in this regard, however, is the recent spate of interest shown by international bodies (for example, the World Bank) and scholars in the role of the informal sector in developing economies. A range of policy prescriptions advocating policy reorientation to integrate and recognize the positive developmental effects of the informal sector have been offered. Later chapters in this study will refocus on this discussion.

It is one of the assumptions of this study that the provision of more empirical information on groups such as street vendors will aid in government policy formation. For lack of information, as well as the effects of historical inertia, city governments in Asia are prone to adopting policies that are, in essence, a continuation of those originated during colonial rule or inspired by experience in the Western developed countries. Implicit in the strategy of the study is the belief that the provision of information collected in Southeast Asian countries by local researchers could lead to the formulation of "indigenously derived" policies developed out of the particular situation of Southeast Asian cities.

Basic to these broad assumptions concerning the value of providing information pertaining to street vendors was still another assumption. It was our conviction that a comparative study would enable more useful policy formation. The advantages of the comparative approach are threefold. First, by comparing the "hawker situation" (encompassing the whole complex of factors ranging from information on hawkers and their operations to government policy toward them) in a variety of cities, the special characteristics

In many cities, hawkers have been established so long in one location that their stalls have become permanent, as is the case with these fixed-pitch flower stalls in Baguio.



of each “situation” can be delineated. The results of the surveys show some differences in the “hawker situation” in each of the cities investigated — differences that have great relevance to policymaking. Second, a comparative study throws into relief the common elements that characterize the activities and personal features of hawkers. The existence of common elements is hardly surprising, but their existence enables questions to be asked about the social and economic features of the urbanization process occurring in the nonsocialist cities of Southeast Asia. This process appears to be inducing the same problems in many urban centres in all of the countries. Thus the comparative research experience extends the horizons of the researcher and the policymaker, forcing a widening range of questions that might not otherwise arise from one country-specific study. Third, examining the hawker situation in a series of city frameworks having a variety of socioeconomic factors, gives a much stronger foundation for assessing the interlocking and causative roles of these elements.

The aim of this study, then, is very modest: it is to present information on the personal features of street vendors and the characteristics of their economic activities in selected but contrasting Southeast Asian cities as a basis for recommendations to city governments for their consideration in policy formation or revision.

As such, the study falls into four main parts. Initially we discuss the broad background to the study and the problems of defining street vendors, elaborating the research strategy that was developed for the study. The major features of government policy toward hawkers are outlined, and later chapters are devoted, respectively, to a discussion of the spatial features, economic aspects, and personal characteristics of hawker operations. Recommendations for policy and planning for hawkers are summarized. Also highlighted are the major features of the surveys and the problems with data collection. Finally, there is a bibliography that includes references to the role of street vendors in the marketing systems of Third World cities.

2

Development of a Research Strategy

Though the problems faced by the cities of the Western world seem grave, they appear small beside those of many cities in Southeast Asia. Caught in a population spiral caused by a combination of natural increase and rural in-migration, these Southeast Asian cities lack both the developed urban infrastructure of Western cities at comparable periods of growth and the large amount of capital needed to provide these facilities. This situation is further aggravated by the fact that the national goals of these countries often emphasize the development of rural areas where the majority of the population live. The prevailing picture is one of urban governments of the region with miniscule budgets grappling with the problems of creating efficient and viable cities. The result is all too obvious in proliferating squatter areas, inadequate and often chaotic transport systems, the lack of water and sewerage systems, high levels of unemployment, and numerous other problems that persist in the cities.

Of course, there are considerable differences among cities in various countries, or for that matter even within one city in the extent of these problems. A city-state such as Singapore, which has been able to control in-migration and reduce natural increase, is in a much more fortunate demographic situation than a rapidly growing metropolis such as Jakarta, where the rates of in-migration and natural increase are high, and efforts to plan for the future often appear to be negated by the inexorable flood of people into the city. In the decade 1960–70 Jakarta grew at an annual rate of 4.6 percent and by 1971 its population reached 4.5 million. Over one million of the population increase was attributable to immigration and in a desperate effort to check this influx of population, Jakarta was declared a “closed” city (Critchfield 1971). Nevertheless, the evidence to date does not suggest any diminution of its growth rate. Jakarta is actually growing at 6.5 percent per year (see Suharso et al. 1975; Gathonton 1975). Many cities in the region are faced with similar problems, although the dimensions are not as large. With this generally gloomy picture of rapid population increase in the cities in mind, it is tempting to ask why bother to expend funds trying to solve urban problems, for attempts at improvement appear to be undermined by population growth. This study does not take such a pessimistic position because underlying the approach of this project is the assumption that it is possible to provide solutions to many of these so-called urban problems of the Southeast Asian cities. These problems can be solved if adequate information is provided to enable the dimensions of the problems to be delineated and indigenously derived solutions developed. This assumption implies that many of the existing

measures to cope with urban problems have been inadequate because they have been introduced from abroad without prior testing in the Southeast Asian milieu.

Hawkers are a ubiquitous feature of the retailing and service structures of the cities of Southeast Asia. They are visually omnipresent as they move along the streets calling their wares, as they cluster about public markets, or as they line streets in various parts of the cities. What inhabitant of, or visitor to, these cities is not attracted by the colour, noise, and vibrancy of these street markets. They add to these cities a texture and feel that has largely disappeared from the cities of the industrialized West. But to many of the administrators of these Southeast Asian cities, hawkers are conceived solely as a “problem” that inhibits the efficient functioning of their cities. Hawklers clutter up streets that are needed for automobiles; they cause problems of hygiene and sanitary control; they cause congestion and prevent the access of service vehicles such as fire engines and ambulances to all parts of the urban area. In the eyes of many city administrators, this “problem” aspect of hawker operations greatly outweighs the advantages that hawkers provide to these cities’ economies by performing a major role in the sale and distribution of foodstuffs and other commodities.

It may also be argued that planners and administrators do not understand this role of hawkers because they do not realize that their cities have some elements that distinguish them from their Western counterparts. This is hardly surprising for cities of Southeast Asia are faced with the onslaught of a “universal technology” — symbolized, for example, by automobiles and containerization — that demands a uniformity of response, so that Southeast Asian cities appear to have little alternative but to develop freeway systems and container ports imitative of the West. But it may also be true that there should be more choice and selectivity in planning to accommodate this technology. For instance, a certain temporal and spatial regulation that would allow the retention of more traditional modes of transport or economic activity may provide reasonably efficient services as well as sources of employment.

Although these cities are the outposts of modernization in their societies, they often contain sizeable traditional sectors in which the pattern of economic activity and life are very different from the so-called modern sector of the cities’ activities. In the traditional sector, small-scale production and distribution are often organized on a family basis and are labour-intensive. In the modern sector, large firms dominate where people are employed for regular wages. Between these two polar types many Southeast Asian cities have intermediate forms of economic organization that are owned and operated largely by local Chinese or Indians. Most of the planners’ and policymakers’ dilemmas stem from the fact that the traditional and modern sectors often make conflicting demands upon urban space (see McGee 1970c). Generally, they have adopted the view that the traditional sector is less efficient and will have to give way to the increased operation of the modern sector.

However, the use of the modern-traditional dichotomy in disaggregating the urban economies of developing countries is increasingly recognized as being ill-adapted to the real situation. Weeks (1975, p. 2) for example, has noted that the enumerated labour force is typically characterized as constituting the urban “modern” sector; whereas, the remainder of the urban population of working age, unaccounted for in such labour force surveys, is lumped under the “traditional” sector. Moreover, the term “traditional,” often



Baguio: hawkers also provide low-cost outlets for the products of local cottage industries, such as these brooms.

suggesting an absence of dynamism, is inconsistent with reality because the unenumerated small establishments are in fact more efficient in the employment of labour in the generally capital-scarce economies of the Third World. In the place of modern-traditional polar types, the use of a formal sector and an informal sector has gained currency (see Singer 1975, p. 161-8; Elliot 1975, p. 306-9). Under a broader definition¹ the informal sector encompasses features of occupations accessible to the poor although it must not be identified only with the urban poor (Rao 1974, p. 137).

The activities of the hawkers in Southeast Asian cities are an excellent example of the conflict between the modern and traditional sector. The traditional practice of hawkers selling from streets and public space brings them into headlong confrontation with the needs of the modern sector for space (motorcars, etc.), and the urban administrator has to mediate in this conflict. It is the contention of this study that this task of mediation would be greatly aided if the role hawkers play in the cities' distribution system was more clearly understood.

¹According to an ILO report, informal activities are characterized by: (1) ease of entry; (2) reliance on indigenous resources; (3) family ownership of enterprises; (4) small scale of operation; (5) labour-intensive and adapted technology; (6) skills acquired outside the formal school system; and (7) unregulated competitive markets (quoted in Rao 1974, p. 137, note 3).

Definition of Hawkers

All meaningful discussions concerning hawkers by government authorities and researchers must necessarily rest upon a clear recognition of an acceptable definition of hawkers. This is a difficult problem within each country and much more difficult when one is attempting to find a working definition of hawkers in a comparative context. The project group devoted considerable time at its first two meetings to arrive at a working definition. Beginning with a threefold perspective of hawkers, which looked at a definition of hawkers from an economic, cultural, and legal position, the project group eventually arrived at a definition that enabled cross-country comparison (see McGee 1973b, p. 2-16, for a detailed discussion of the definition of hawkers).

From the point of view of the findings of the study, it is of importance to consider these initial perspectives because they provide essential information on the nature and role of hawking activity. From the economic perspective, hawkers are often considered as part of a broad grouping of "petty traders" who operate in these cities. In an attempt to differentiate the nuances of the term, Wong (1974, p. 9-17) was able, through a number of in-depth interviews, to discern a preference among Chinese hawkers in Singapore to attach to an explanation of their occupation an operational meaning to the term "hawker." It is related to a business sense as distinct from the Western interpretation of the word "hawker" usually associated with the notion of itinerancy and calling his wares. Wong thus called hawkers "little businessmen" in her Singapore study. There is often a pejorative connotation attached to the phrase suggesting that such trading is inefficient and unproductive. The well-known economist, W. Arthur Lewis (1958, p. 402), summarizes this line of reasoning when he writes:

These occupations usually have a multiple of the number they need, each of them earning very small sums from occasional employment; frequently their number can be halved without reducing output in this sector. Petty retail trading is also exactly of this type; it is enormously expanded in over-populated economies; each trader makes only a few sales; markets are crowded with stalls, and if the number of stalls were greatly reduced the consumers would be no whit worse off — they might be better off, since retail margins might fall.

A far more concrete approach to defining the economic role of hawkers is to attempt to define them in terms of the several dimensions of their activities in any city. This involves consideration of the functional role that hawkers play in the market distribution systems of any city. In the presentation that follows, a *market distribution system* is defined as a "mechanism to facilitate the exchange of goods and services"; whereas, *market places* are defined as "the locations where this exchange takes place." These definitions emphasize the functional role of the market mechanism in the exchange process, both within cities, and in the interaction between city and countryside. A further distinction can be made between the types of goods and services, and the distribution system through which these goods and services flow. There are two types of exchange: the *horizontal* exchange of goods, which results in their consumption by much the same class as the producers, and the *vertical* exchange of goods, which results in their consumption by a class different from that of the producers (Mintz 1959, p. 21). In the latter category there is an

important distinction between the upward and downward flow of goods. For instance, imported goods that flow from the wholesale importer to stores and from there to the city or peasant population, illustrate the downward flow of goods; whereas, fresh foods and craft goods that pass from the peasant to urban middle and upper classes represent an example of upward flow of goods.

Most of the research in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the larger countries of Asia suggests that the majority of petty traders are engaged in horizontal exchange in a system of periodic markets located outside the cities. These periodic markets play a major role in the articulation of the rural-urban exchange systems of these societies. These markets have been studied by Fogg (1935), Spencer (1940), Yang (1944), Stine (1962), Skinner (1964, 1965), Hodder (1965a,b), Eighmy (1972), Jackson (1971), Bromley (1974a,b), Good (1975), and many others. Within the cities, on the other hand, hawkers are generally thought to be characterized by less mobility and limited periodicity of operation. Examples of urban periodic market studies are provided by Pyle (1970), Bromley (1974a), and Yeung (1973, 1976b). Hawkers are generally engaged in vertical exchange systems either selling urban-produced goods or foodstuffs from the countryside. Within the cities, they form part of the often complicated distribution networks involving wholesalers, distributors, and many types of retail outlets. Some researchers have suggested that within the cities hawkers may be distinguished from other retail outlets by the fact that they tend to be mobile, moving from place to place offering their goods or services for sale. This distinguishes them from static retail stores. However, the research in the Southeast Asian cities suggests that this is a most inadequate definition because a large proportion of the hawkers are located in fixed selling locations.

More fruitful from the point of view of a working definition, are attempts to define hawkers on the basis of the scale of their operation, the types of low-order goods and services offered, and the lack of overhead costs, such as rent or electricity which business operation in a permanent building would entail. By contrast, the retail store is characterized by a capacity for storage and display of goods, higher-order goods and services, and greater security for goods. Thus hawkers, with their lower overheads and their desire to maximize customer contact, serve the low-income populations of these cities.

More interesting from the standpoint of the project is the revelation that all the urban trading cultures of the cities reflect, in their own language, a descriptive variety of country-specific retailing types. In Indonesia, the researchers reported a continuum of five hawker types: the *pedagang pikulan*, the peddlers who carry goods around on baskets at the end of a carrying pole; the *jongko* (static pikulan), people who lay goods out for sale in baskets at a fixed site; the *kaki-lima*, hawkers who sell goods from mats laid out on the pavement; the *roda*, which is a type of pushcart; and the *kiosk*, which is a permanent stall. There appears to be some overlap between kiosk and *warung*, which may be physically very similar, although the *warung* is much more like a store. In Malaysia, Lam discovered a more complicated typology of hawkers, which ranged from mechanized itinerant hawkers using motorvans and motorcycles, to those using foot and bicycle. A gradation of types similar to Indonesia was recorded, including a group of hawkers who sold from private property and were often located in coffee houses operated by Chinese proprietors. In the two Filipino cities, Guerrero found a much smaller range in

the types of hawkers: the itinerant hawker, the semistatic hawker selling goods from baskets; and a small proportion selling from legally operated kiosks that were permanent stalls dealing in such items as newspapers, lottery tickets, etc.

Although the project did not carry out research into the city populations' image of hawkers, some fascinating work, which has considerable relevance to the Southeast Asian context, has been carried out on this topic in Hong Kong. Tse (1974a,b,c,d) has shown how the traditional Cantonese term for small seller, *siu fan*, which was most frequently used in the rural context of South China to apply to the small traders who gathered at the periodic markets, has lost some of its analytical quality. Although people in Hong Kong still use it for small peddlers, they are uncertain as to whether it is appropriate for larger hawker stalls to be considered "permanent." Yet they still would not use the term *po tau* (store) for street hawkers. It is thus clear that while the growth of many types of retailing outlets prevents any neat definition of hawkers, most of the urban population have a fairly clear understanding of the distinction between hawkers and stores.

Finally, we must turn to the legal definition of hawkers adopted by various city authorities. This is perhaps the most important element in any definition for it is on this legal definition that policy for or against hawkers is implemented. Nevertheless, in view of the conceptual and semantic difficulties involved in defining hawkers, legal definitions are not always adequate. According to Waworoentoe no legal definition of hawker exists in Indonesia, although, as is indicated later, the activities of hawkers are subject to action through proclamations that define where they may, or may not, trade. In Manila, the legal definition of hawker, which rests upon an ordinance enacted in 1924, defines hawker, peddler, and huckster on the basis of mobility. The common definitional element in the various types of commodity seller is that the goods must be carried to the buyer either by the hawker himself or in some form of conveyance. Such a definition would exclude the substantial population of hawkers who sell from permanent stalls. In Malaysia, the term "hawker" is defined as any itinerant who sells goods; the term "street stall" is used in the sense of the unit on which goods are displayed. The Hong Kong and Singapore legal definitions of hawkers have rather similar elements in that they define hawker in a much broader manner. The Hong Kong Public Health and Urban Services Ordinance of 1960 defines hawker as follows:

- (a) *any person who trades in a public place —*
 - (i) *by selling or exposing for sale any goods, wares or merchandise;*
or
 - (ii) *by exposing samples or patterns of goods, wares or merchandise to be afterwards delivered; or*
 - (iii) *by hiring or offering for hire his skill in handicraft or his personal services; and*
- (b) *any person who itinerates for the purpose —*
 - (i) *of selling or exposing for sale any goods, wares or merchandise;*
or
 - (ii) *of hiring or offering for hire his skill in handicraft or personal services.*

The Hong Kong and Singapore definitions are significant because they bring into the legal definition the sense of trading from some public place, which many of the other definitions do not include.

In the light of this complex of economic, cultural, and legal definitions of hawkers, the project teams attempted to formulate a definition of hawkers that would be adequate for cross-country research. Considering the fact that the data were to be collected for policymakers, it was decided to define hawkers as *those people who offer goods or services for sale from public spaces, primarily streets and pavements*. This definition excluded truly itinerant hawkers who move from house to house selling goods or offering services.

Hawkers and the Urban Marketing System

Clearly this definition of hawkers excludes large numbers of small-scale traders who are involved in the marketing system, but it is equally obvious that it is this group of hawkers selling from static locations in streets who are conceived as the principal problem-makers by urban administrators. This is not to deny, however, that they play an important role in the marketing and distribution systems of the cities under investigation. All the cities surveyed have elaborate and efficient distribution systems by which foodstuffs and other commodities flow into their cities, and imported and city-manufactured goods flow within the cities and into the surrounding rural regions. Economists and planners differ in their views toward the role of these marketing systems. Some regard the marketing system as an adjunct to production (Anderson 1970); others recognize the catalytic function it plays in economic development (Moyer 1965; Moyer and Hollander 1968). Efficient marketing holds down costs of commodities and, by increasing demand, encourages the expansion of farming and other employment prospects. Whatever viewpoint experts may adopt about the marketing systems there is no doubt that they are essential for the effective functioning of the cities of the region. A most obvious case is the distribution system for foodstuffs. Inadequacies in this marketing system would lead to rapidly escalated costs as well as to food shortages, both capable of disastrous effects on the city population.

To examine the role of hawkers as previously defined, it is necessary to describe in broad terms the marketing systems that characterize the selected cities. Here we are principally concerned with the delineation of the physical features of these systems, which involve four main elements. These comprise the *channels* through which goods flow from producer to consumer; the *processes* that may be involved in the transformation of the goods so that they are produced in a form acceptable to the consumer; the *forms* of transport that are utilized to move the goods through the marketing channel; and the *storage facilities* that exist beyond the time of marketing. Studies on the economics of these marketing systems in various Southeast Asian countries are limited in number (see, for example, McIntyre 1955; McGee 1970a, 1973b; Bellett 1969; Yeung 1973, 1976a) although many similar studies in the Western world have been made.

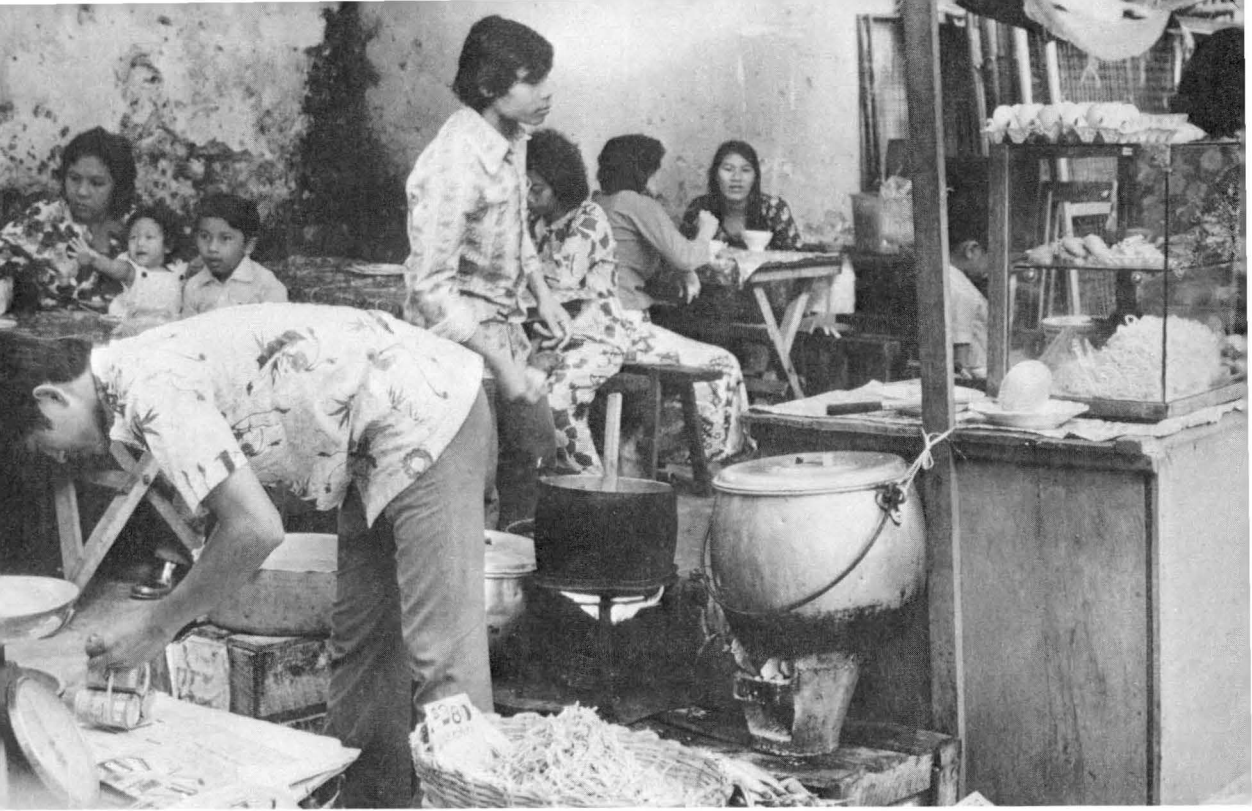
There are marked differences between the marketing systems for foodstuffs and nonfoodstuffs. Despite remarkably common features in the marketing of foodstuffs in all the cities under discussion, considerable difference exists in the volume of foodstuffs flowing through the distribution systems. The larger cities such as Kuala Lumpur, Manila, and Jakarta, all draw their foodstuffs from a wide variety of regions. For instance, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, and Jakarta receive most of their temperate vegetables, such as tomatoes and cabbages, from the upland areas of the Cameron Highlands,

Mountain Province, and the Bandung regions. It was for this reason that Baguio and Bandung were selected in the attempt to establish the role of hawkers in the foodstuff chains between the main cities and these smaller centres. Fruit, too, comes from many regions. In Manila most is provided from Southern Luzon, particularly Cavite and Batangas, but even from as far away as Mindanao by ship. Fruit arrives in Kuala Lumpur from all over Peninsular Malaysia but, at peak seasonal periods, Perak and Johore states are important suppliers. Similarly, Jakarta is characterized by an extensive source region from which it draws its fruit supply. Other important raw foodstuffs, which are both locally produced and imported, are various root crops such as cassava and potatoes, and of course, the major staple rice. In addition, there are important flows of fish and meat foodstuffs to all these cities. Fresh leafy vegetables, which form important components of urban diets, are often grown in market-gardening rings surrounding the cities because the produce must be transported quickly over short distances to avoid loss due to perishing.

Nonfoodstuff marketing channels are no less complicated. They cover a wide range of items from imported materials to goods manufactured in the cities and elsewhere in the country. All of these goods enter into, and are consumed in, the cities. The sources of these nonfoodstuffs are exceptionally diverse.

Most marketing systems in the countries of Southeast Asia are characterized by the large number of intermediaries who are involved in the marketing channels and the wide variety of possible outlets. This is well illustrated by the pattern of foodstuff distribution in the Philippines described by Guerrero (1973), which involves four possible chains from producer to consumer. Chain A is the most direct involving the movement of the product from producer to processing firm and then to either export or local consumption through retail outlets. In Chain B, foodstuffs are purchased from the producer by a buyer or *viajero* and taken direct to retail outlets such as markets, stores, or hawkers. Another type of chain sees the goods pass through the hands of a series of buyers to a wholesale outlet, and then to institutional and retail outlets. Finally, the fourth chain involves direct purchase by the wholesalers who pass the goods on to retail outlets. Lam (1974) has described similar patterns with respect to fish and cabbage marketing in Peninsular Malaysia.

A second characteristic of these marketing chains is the limited provision for storage and processing of foodstuffs. Although this does vary from commodity to commodity — for instance, rice milling is very well developed and cold storage facilities exist for such products as fish — lack of processing and storage facilities encourages a rapid movement and turnover of foodstuffs, which allows the proliferation of intermediaries and retailers. In virtually all the cities under review, city governments have made efforts to intervene in the marketing chains by the provision of public markets for foodstuffs. Thus, a Greater Manila Food Terminal has been built to act as the major wholesale outlet for Manila's foodstuffs in addition to other regular markets such as Divisoria and the Central Market. Kuala Lumpur has one wholesale market and nine retail markets, whereas Malacca has two municipal markets. Likewise there are wholesale and retail markets in Jakarta and Bandung. Even allowing for this provision for foodstuffs outlets, hawkers still perform an important function as retail outlets for foodstuffs in most of the cities, as the results of the study reveal. One of the major processing activities in which hawkers are



Kuala Lumpur: hawkers selling cooked food provide inexpensive meals for many of the city's low-income population.

involved is the preparation and retailing of cooked food and drink. Both foodstuffs and nonfoodstuff commodities reach the final consumer through many diverse outlets: the department store, the store, the public or private market, and the hawker.

One of the assumptions underlying the research project was the belief that the various proportions of these commodities reaching the consumer through each of these outlets would change with the growth of household income and the changing economic features of a city. This assumption was based on the Western experience that had seen a historical pattern in which street markets had been a major part of the preindustrial Western city, but had gradually disappeared in the course of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, to be largely replaced by the store and department store (Scott 1970, p. 139). Unfortunately, the lack of comprehensive data on all retail outlets made it impossible to test this hypothesis, which could have only been accomplished had there been a survey of commercial establishments. However, the limited data suggest that there are sharp variations among the various cities in terms of the proportions of the total number of these outlets. These variations do not bear close resemblance to either household income or economic structure. In Hong Kong, which at the time of the survey had a level of per capita income that was only exceeded by Singapore, and certainly not by any of the cities surveyed, the number of street stalls was in excess of retail establishments on the Hong Kong Island urban area. It seems probable that the number of street hawker operations also exceeds the number recorded in the surveyed cities with the lowest per capita income levels. Manila, on the other hand, had a very

low ratio of hawkers to retail establishments. There is thus no consistent relationship between economic growth and the decline of street sellers. At present they seem to exist in most cases as only one of the many possible commodity outlets that coexist in the mixed economic systems of these cities.

Changing Features of Southeast Asian Urbanization

Of course, this situation in which hawkers coexist with other retail outlets in the urban distribution systems of Southeast Asia is unlikely to remain unchanged. The processes that are changing the cities of Southeast Asia are also inducing changes in the distribution networks. None of these changes is of greater importance than the continuing increase in the proportion of a country's population resident in urban areas. In the decade 1950–60, while the total population of Southeast Asia increased at an annual rate of 2.4 percent, the urban population grew at 5.7 percent per year. In the succeeding decade overall population increased at an accelerated rate of 2.8 percent per year, with the rate of growth of the urban population slightly moderated at 5.0 percent. Even at this reduced rate, the 1970 urban population will double in just over 14 years.

Additionally, Table 1 shows that urban populations have been growing more rapidly than total populations in virtually every country. The point to be underlined in these population trends is that, although the proportion of total population resident in urban areas may not have generally registered a remarkable upward shift, the increase of urban populations in absolute terms in every country is most remarkable (see Yeung 1976b). The consequences of a population explosion in urban areas in particular, will have to be faced.

One particular consequence of these growing urban populations, particularly in the larger urban centres, is the need for expanding the distribution systems that provide their daily needs; they also place a growing demand on the physical infrastructure of these cities as well as on the provision of greater employment opportunities. It has been estimated that the Southeast Asian population of 283 million in 1970, along with the labour force, will more than double between the years 1980 and 2000. Thus the labour force, which increased by 48 percent in the 1950–70 period, is expected to increase by 106 percent between 1970 and 2000, which will exert severe pressure on the labour market. With all Southeast Asian countries now having more than 40 percent of their population below 15 years of age, there are grave implications in the pressure they will exert on the labour market (see Yeh and You 1971). In the same vein Bairoch (1973, p. 48–63) indicated that in the 1960s urban unemployment in Southeast Asia was among the highest in Asia, running in West Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore at above 10 percent. He further showed that urban unemployment rates in the 15–20 age group in Southeast Asia was especially high, up to one-fifth of the group, which was double the national rate. Similarly high rates of urban unemployment were reaffirmed by Edwards (1974, p. 13).

Because of a different mix of historical and social preconditions, any economic or technological change in Southeast Asia in the near future is unlikely to produce a new socioeconomic order in which many of the urban poor will become middle class, as occurred in Western societies (Eames and Goode 1973; Ornati 1968). However, the urban poor and the urban

Table 1. Urban populations in Southeast Asia.

Country	1960		1970		Annual growth rate 1960-70	
	Urban population (millions)	Percentage of total population	Urban population (millions)	Percentage of total population	Urban	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Brunei	0.04	43.5	0.05	44.1	3.6	3.5 ^a
Burma	3.20	14.3	4.33	15.8	3.1	2.1
Cambodia	0.55	10.1	0.88	12.8	4.8	3.2
Indonesia ^b	15.03	15.5	20.77	17.4	3.3	2.0
Laos	0.20	8.6	0.40	13.4	7.2	2.4
Malaysia:						
West ^c	1.67(1957)	26.5	2.53	28.7	3.3	2.6
East ^d	0.17(1957)	14.0	0.26	15.8	3.3	2.4
Philippines ^e	8.17	30.2	11.68	31.8	3.6	3.0
Singapore ^f	0.91(1957)	63.1	1.25	60.1	2.5	2.4
Thailand	3.00	11.4	4.66	13.0	4.5	3.1
North Vietnam	2.29	14.2	5.28	23.9	8.9	2.8
South Vietnam ^g	3.08	21.9	6.06	34.9	6.8	2.6

Source: Y. M. Yeung (1976b). Columns (1) to (5) Davis (1969); column (6) IBRD (1973) unless otherwise indicated.

^aDavis (1969: 151)

^bMilone (1966: 3-4); Central Bureau of Statistics (1972)

^cChander (1971); Ooi (1975); Saw (1972)

^dChander (1969, 1970)

^eMijares and Nazaret (1973: 23)

^fArumainathan (1973: 231)

^gGoodman and Franks (1974: 26)

unemployed or underemployed will loom ever larger in the life of Southeast Asian cities in the light of expected demographic trends. This further emphasizes the urgency for concerted developmental strategies to cope with population growth, urbanization, and unemployment in Southeast Asia (see Healey 1973; Edwards 1974; Jolly et al. 1973). Against this background the labour absorption capacity of the informal sector, of which hawking is one activity, should be critically reevaluated in its role in mitigating the pains of development and the impending unemployment crisis (Grant 1971; Keddie 1973). Rao (1974, p. 138) classifies hawkers (self-employed) as one of the five groups of the urban poor, although Papanek (1975) observes in his study of the poor in Jakarta that they are in fact the generally better-off among the urban poor. Pleading drastic policy reorientation, recent studies have prescribed a range of strategies for developing countries (Singer 1975, p. 163-4; Rao 1974; McNamara 1975; Bhagwat 1974). Whatever policy change can be brought about in Southeast Asia, the process of shift from informal to formal economic systems will likely involve a protracted transitional period during which considerable employment will have to be created in the informal sector.

Physically the cities of Southeast Asia are changing rapidly. Many have expanded their boundaries in the period since World War II. For instance, Jakarta expanded its boundaries from 180 square kilometres in 1950 to 577 square kilometres in 1969 and Kuala Lumpur experienced a very large

increase in 1974 from 93 square kilometres to 243 square kilometres. Population growth has occurred outside city boundaries and has led to the creation of new city administrations that form part of the larger metropolitan area, as is the case in Kuala Lumpur. In many of the cities there have been important internal morphological changes, which are most obvious in the larger of the study cities. Changes in land use often have in turn far-reaching effects on the livelihood of the vendors. The expansion of office buildings and tourist complexes from the centre of the city into the surrounding residential areas is an example of displacement of low-income populations who had been customers of hawkers. Similarly, the building of freeway systems cuts through these areas creating blockages for pedestrian customers and hawkers.

A second feature of morphological changes of these cities is the growth of residential settlement on the outskirts of the cities. Whether this is through schemes of public housing, as for instance in Singapore, or through private residential suburban style housing in satellite towns such as Petaling Jaya or Kebayoran, or squatter areas on the urban fringe, it has the common effect of decentralizing the population and causing population densities to fall in the inner urban areas (see, for example, Yeung 1973; McGee and McTaggart 1967).

The overall effect of declining densities in the inner cores of these cities is to create a situation less favourable for hawkers because the number of customers is decreasing. At the same time the lower population densities in the outer fringes encourage itinerant hawkers who travel on regular routes. The evolution of an articulate system of traveling night markets in Singapore from the early 1950s may be ascribed in part to a response to a marketing need occasioned by the development of new housing estates (see Yeung 1973, 1977). The success of their operations is closely related to the provision of static retailing facilities and the socioeconomic level of the population. These morphological changes predictably are occurring on a much more modest scale in the secondary provincial urban centres of Southeast Asia, but even in a comparatively slow growing city like Malacca incipient development along these lines is noticeable.

Data on the changes in the economic structure of Southeast Asian cities are difficult to acquire. Like Hong Kong, Singapore shows the most remarkable growth of industrial activities. The structure of employment in these two cities has undergone considerable change in the 1960s, the relative proportion of employment in manufacturing industries and construction rising sharply and the proportion in commerce decreasing. These patterns occur despite the fact that much of the industrialization has been capital-intensive. The changes in the economic sector of most other Asian cities have not been so remarkable although most have experienced some growth in industry and employment opportunities. Such growth has not been sufficient to absorb all the population into full-wage employment. The result is the persistence of urban poverty. The real question of whether economic growth accompanied by widening income inequality is a rational development strategy has to be carefully considered (see Papanek 1975; Pang 1975).

Significant differences have emerged during the decade of the 1960s in patterns of Southeast Asian urbanization (see McGee 1976a,b). First, in the city-states of Singapore and Hong Kong, the closing of boundaries has cut off in-migration. Concomitantly, natural increase has begun to fall and overall rates of population growth are low by Southeast Asian large city standards.

This slow down in population growth has been accompanied by a growth in industry, tourism, and other sectors of the economy, all of which have enlarged employment prospects. As a result, the governments of these city-states have been able to proceed with ambitious schemes of low-cost housing and other infrastructural developments that no other Southeast Asian city has been able to approach (Yeh 1975; Yeung and Drakakis-Smith 1974).

A second grouping of cities is the large cities, often the capitals of their countries. Most of them have continued to grow at rates considerably in excess of the rates of national population increase and often above the rates of some of the smaller secondary urban centres (see Yeung 1976b). They have experienced greatly differing patterns of economic growth, ranging from comparatively slow economic growth in the case of cities such as Rangoon and Jakarta in the sixties (although this has begun to change in the case of the latter in the seventies), to mixed rates of economic growth in such cities as Bangkok, Manila, and Kuala Lumpur. It is in these cities that infrastructure problems have developed and squatter populations have increased considerably. In addition, traditional economic systems have persisted to varying degrees as important sources of employment.

Finally, there are the secondary urban centres that have recorded a slowing down in population increase. In part, this represents their relationship to the surrounding region and the functions that they offer. Thus, those in regions of comparative economic backwardness have experienced stagnation while those in regions of economic growth have progressed well. Overall, the general pattern of secondary urbanization in the Southeast Asian region appears to be developing toward an increase in the importance and role of secondary urban centres (see Osborn 1974) although they still contain a smaller proportion of the total urban population than in Western countries.

The Research Strategy

In developing a research strategy to investigate hawkers, the researchers had to take into account the elements that have just been discussed: the overall patterns of Southeast Asian urbanization; the definition of hawkers; and the role of hawkers in the marketing system.

Selection of cities

It was obvious that no general assessment of hawkers in all Southeast Asian cities could be attempted; therefore, a range of cities had to be chosen. In the light of the pattern of urbanization observed in Southeast Asian countries, cities were selected so as to:

(1) exhibit some variation in the level of economic development, particularly as it was reflected in the relationship between the traditional and modern sectors;

(2) allow comparison between the large, primate cities and the smaller, regional centres — an important decision since overall urban policies at a national level are often devised on the basis of the largest cities' experiences and may not be entirely applicable to the smaller cities in the same region;

(3) allow some attempt to assess the role of hawkers in the marketing networks that exist between secondary centres and the larger urban centres.

On the basis of these considerations, six cities in the project region were chosen — Jakarta and Bandung in Indonesia, Kuala Lumpur and Malacca in

Malaysia,² and Manila and Baguio in the Philippines.³ Each of these cities exhibited certain special features that encouraged the research team to choose them for the study. The broad profiles of these cities, together with those of Singapore and Hong Kong, are set out in Table 2. The figures that are presented must, however, be treated with considerable caution, particularly those referring to density, numbers of hawker units, ratio of hawker units per 100 population, and estimated number of hawkers. First, although the figures for the population of the cities are based upon reasonably reliable census enumerations, the wide variety in the manner in which city boundaries are drawn means that the density figures must be treated with great care. In some cases city boundaries approximate the limits of built-up area; whereas, in others they include large areas of urban land that spill into surrounding areas. Thus, in the cases of Singapore, Baguio, and Jakarta the densities are lower than the true urban densities. Second, the estimates of hawker units and populations are also subject to estimating errors that affect their validity in some cases. These problems will be discussed later.

With these cautionary remarks in mind, Table 2 does provide some insights into the relationships among the various cities selected and the role of hawkers. There is a clear distinction in the ratio of hawkers between the cities in which Chinese make up more than 50 percent of the total urban population and the “non-Chinese” cities. The “Chinese” cities are commonly distinguished by a ratio of 1.4 hawkers per 100 of city population, which is much higher than the other cities. The only exception to this observation is Malacca, which has experienced very slow population and economic growth rates over the last 20 years. There are also wide disparities in the size of population, growth rates, and the population densities of the various cities, which appear to bear little relationship to the number of hawkers in these cities. Although this conclusion is to some extent the consequence of crude statistics, it does suggest that patterns of historical development, government policy, and other factors are important variables affecting hawkers.

This point can be elaborated by brief reference to the patterns of historical development of the six study cities. Malacca, Manila, and Jakarta have very long histories of being important precolonial towns and then continuing as significant trading and administrative centres for the Portugese, Spanish, and Dutch during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Malacca passed through periods of Portuguese, Dutch, and finally British control, but in the nineteenth century its importance as a port declined as the newer cities of Georgetown, Singapore, and Kuala Lumpur became the main centres of British control and trade in what is now Peninsular Malaysia. Manila and Jakarta continued to grow as the largest centres of trade, administration, and education in the Spanish and Dutch Southeast Asian empires, until by the end of World War II, they had populations in excess of a million people. Malacca, however, continued its decline as the Kuala Lumpur–Klang urban complex grew rapidly in the postwar period. Details of the evolution and early history of Manila, Jakarta, and other Southeast Asian cities are available in the works by Doeppers (1972), Cobban (1971), and Reed (1976b).

By contrast, the three towns of Kuala Lumpur, Bandung, and Baguio were more recent creations of the nineteenth century when they played

²Including Petaling Jaya, a satellite town of Kuala Lumpur.

³Manila excluding the remainder of the metropolitan area.

Table 2. Profiles of selected Southeast Asian cities.

	Singapore	Hong Kong	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Size of city area (square miles)	37.5 ^a	17.6 ^a	36.0 ^a	4.2	14.3 ^a	18.8	223.7 ^a	20.9 ^a
Population	1247064 (1970)	3136945 (1971)	451728 (1970)	86351 (1970)	1323000 (1970)	83304 (1970)	4576056 (1970)	1158096 (1970)
Rate of increase for last intercensal period (%)	36.6	23.2	42.8	23.6	29.5	65.1	50.1	19.0
Yearly rate of increase (%)	2.8	2.3	3.2	1.8	2.9	6.5	5.1	1.9
Density (ppsm)	33200	178235	12458	20559	92517	4431	20447	55411
Proportion Chinese (%)	>50%	>50%	>50%	>50%	<50%	<50%	<50%	<50%
Major functions:								
Commerce	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Port	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	-
Manufacturing	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-
Administration	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tourism	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-
Estimated number of hawker units	18334 ^b (1969)	44592 ^b (1971)	6468 ^b (1973)	756 ^a	4880 ^b	765 ^a	50000 ^b	10204 ^b
Ratio of hawker units per 100 population	1.47	1.42	1.43	0.87	0.36	0.91	1.0	0.88
Estimated number of hawkers	46340 ^c (1970)	53510 ^c (1971)	13582 ^c	1436 ^b	12688 ^b	1530 ^b	100000	20408

Notes: Singapore ^aCity area. ^bYeung 1973, p. 36, excludes market sellers. ^cWong 1974, p. 18, census figure includes market sellers.

Hong Kong ^aMetropolitan area. ^bTse 1974b, p. 18. ^cTse 1974b, p. 18.

Kuala Lumpur ^aExcludes Petaling Jaya. ^bLam 1974, p. III.11, includes market sellers. ^cCalculated on basis of 2.1 persons working in hawker units.

Malacca ^aLam 1974, p. II.11. ^bCalculated on the basis of 1.9 persons working in hawker units.

Manila ^aGuerrero and Guerrero 1973, p. 21. ^bCalculated on the basis of 2.9 persons working in hawker units.

Baguio ^aGuerrero and Salih 1973, p. 16. ^bCalculated on the basis of 2.0 persons per hawker unit.

Jakarta ^aWaworoentoe 1973, p. 6. ^bCalculated on the basis of 2.0 persons per hawker unit.

Bandung ^aWaworoentoe 1973, p. 7. ^bCalculated on the basis of 2.0 persons per hawker unit.

important roles as regional administrative centres, transport foci, and servicing nodes. Bandung was established in the first decade of the nineteenth century as a vital urban link on the trans-Java road. Kuala Lumpur was established 40 years later as a major mining centre and, with the extension of British control over the Malay Federated States, it soon began to assume greater importance as an administrative and trading centre. Baguio began its history much more recently in the early 1900s when the American military government created the town as a summer resort in the mountains. It gradually took on other functions as a regional distribution centre for vegetable and fruit produce from the surrounding mountains and as an administrative and commercial centre (see Davis 1973, Reed 1976a).

The site, area morphology, and social and economic features of the study cities also vary widely. Two of the urban centres, Baguio and Bandung, are located in upland regions, characterized by “cooler mountain climates.” Although they vary markedly in size of population this is more a reflection of the population resident in their hinterland than an indication of different levels of economic development. Both towns sprawl over a large area. Baguio looks much more Western with the spires of churches looming on top of the hills, and the extensive areas of Western-style suburban housing. The commercial area of the town consists of little more than two streets that intersect at the main market around which the majority of hawkers are located. Bandung is more spread out with large areas of middle-class housing and recently also low-income/squatter settlement. Its location, central to a large and important agricultural region, makes it a very important marketing and processing centre for rubber, tea, and market foodstuffs. The high densities of population are evident in the crowded streets cluttered with pedestrians, becas, and cars.

Malacca shares some of the features of the two above-mentioned towns in spite of its coastal location. Its early main function as a port has, however, largely been downgraded, to be replaced by administrative and trading functions. The town is located in a comparatively small area centred on the old preindustrial site of the town prior to Western impact. The area to the south of the river that bisects the town is the chief commercial area consisting of the typical Chinese shophouses, some of great beauty, which are today being replaced by newer, less attractive buildings. Surrounding this commercial and administrative core are suburban-style developments and some small squatter settlements. The limited extent of the latter reflects the slow rate of population growth and the restricted economic possibilities that exist in the town. Thus, Malacca has become something of a backwater.

The three remaining towns, although varying somewhat in size, have many features in common. First of all, they are the largest urban centres in their countries. This fact becomes more obvious when it is realized that both Kuala Lumpur and Manila are parts of a much larger metropolitan area, which in the case of Kuala Lumpur extends through the Kelang valley to Port Kelang in a series of satellite towns such as Petaling Jaya, and in Metropolitan Manila outward from the core of Manila in a number of cities stretching 20–30 kilometres away from the core. Jakarta is the only city in which the boundaries effectively encompass the urban area. All cities are characterized by rapidly growing populations that place pressure on the available infrastructures. Thus, substantial squatter housing areas can be found in all three cities juxtaposed against the towering buildings of the central business district and the middle- and upper-class suburban residential areas. Densities vary sharply within the

cities and bear close relationship to these patterns. Hawkers are found located in the most dense population areas of the Chinatowns, squatter areas, and as close to the major shopping areas as the authorities will allow. Conventionally it has been argued that it is in these large, primate cities of Southeast Asia that the urban problems of the Southeast Asian region are most polarized, for despite the fact that they have experienced considerable expansion in the administrative, commercial, and industrial functions, which has been reflected in an increased number of jobs, this has only served to attract even more migrants causing unemployment and leading to a growth of underemployment (see Todaro 1969; Brutzkus 1975; Fryer 1972). In such situations the possibility of employment, even if incomes are low, in such activities as hawking or cottage industry offers very real possibilities for the short-term absorption of rapidly growing urban populations.

The cities chosen for the investigation of the hawker situation therefore provide a wide spectrum of urban milieux that satisfies the pre-stated conditions for selection of the cities.

Data collection

Once the cities were selected a fivefold research strategy was adopted to collect information on the hawker situation.

(1) The project coordinators carried out an overall review of the literature on marketing systems and hawkers in developing countries with particular reference to the Asian region.

(2) The country researchers carried out reviews of their country's literature relating to hawkers and government policy (see Lam 1973a,b; Guerrero 1973; and Waworoentoe 1973).

(3) A survey designed to collect a wide variety of information on the activities of a sample of hawkers in each of the cities was planned and administered by each country team. This involved the enumeration of hawkers, the selection of a sampling frame, the development of cross-cultural definitions for the questionnaire, and the administration of the questionnaire (see Appendix for a sample questionnaire).

(4) The collection of a series of life profiles of selected hawkers to give an extra human dimension to the survey data (see Appendix for a sample of life profile schedule).

(5) Interviews with government officials and other individuals concerned with hawker policy. In addition, published and unpublished material relating to hawker policy was collected and evaluated (see Appendix for a checklist of items for discussion on hawker policy).

Timetable of the project

The data were collected according to the following timetable:

October 1972: Preliminary meeting on hawker project in Hong Kong.

October–December 1972: Collection of information on hawkers in selected Southeast Asian cities by each country's participants.

January 1973: Meeting in Jakarta of project participants to prepare survey questionnaires, life profiles, and government interview schedules.

February–June 1973: Hawker surveys, life profiles, and government interviews carried out by project participants in the selected Southeast Asian cities.

July–November 1973: Computer analysis of survey results and preparation of first reports on the results by project participants.

November 1973: Meeting of project participants in Kuala Lumpur to present reports on results of hawker surveys and other information.

December–May 1974: Further computer analysis of hawker survey data and preparation of report for final meeting of hawker project in Manila.

May 1974: Final meeting in Manila of project participants to present reports on the hawker project, concentrating on information that will be of value for policy formation.

September 1975: Policy conference for dissemination and presentation of study findings to policymakers from a large number of Asian cities.

Problems of cross-country comparison

Because this study, unlike the country reports, is concerned primarily with identifying the cross-cultural dimensions of the hawker situation in the study cities, it is necessary to draw attention to any differences in the nature of the data collected from the six cities.

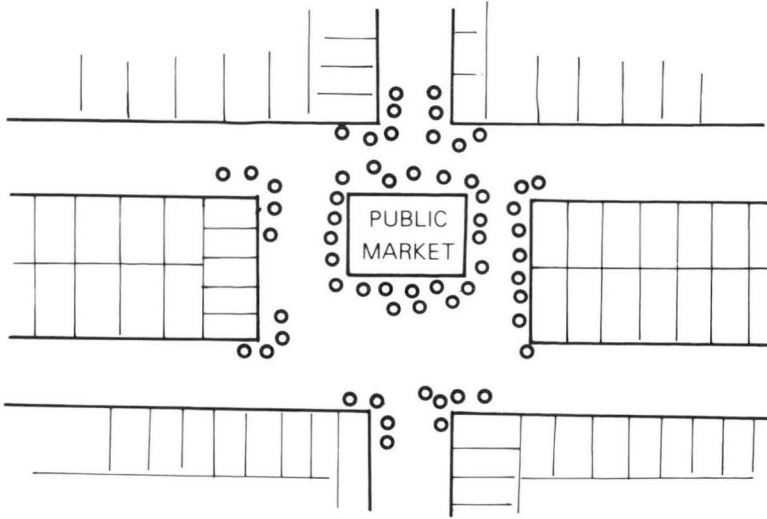
These differences stem from two major sources of variation: differences in survey data explained by variations in systems of enumeration and survey procedures; and differences in definition of data. These are discussed in greater detail below.

Differences in survey data explained by variations in systems of enumeration and sampling procedures will be considered first. Discussion in the October 1973 and January 1974 meetings of the project participants made it clear that it was impossible to arrive at a system of enumeration and sampling that would allow a *truly* representative sample of hawkers in each of the cities. This was attributable to at least four factors.

First, a considerable difference in the number of hawkers exists in each of the cities. Estimates and counts of the number of hawkers ranged from as many as 50 000 in Jakarta to approximately 765 in Baguio. Incidentally, the Jakarta figure approximates closely an independent estimate of 45 000 by Papanek (1975, p. 1). Sample sizes would therefore have to vary greatly to ensure the statistical validity of the sample. A second factor was the wide variety in the type of hawkers, as reflected in their degree of mobility. Consequently, the proportion of mobile, semistatic, and static hawkers studied varied from one city to another. Third, the distribution of hawkers within the cities differed immensely. For instance, Manila exhibited a concentration of hawkers in certain areas, while Jakarta, besides possessing concentrations of hawkers, was characterized by a proliferation of smaller hawker markets and mobile hawkers spread throughout the large area that the city encompasses.

Lastly, somewhat different definitions of hawkers existed among the cities of the three countries and this posed some difficulties in the selection of hawkers to be interviewed. This was particularly the case with respect to the definition of sellers from public and private property. Most of the participants in the study reported that the cities of their countries had systems of public markets from which lower-order foodstuffs, such as vegetables and fruit were sold by petty operators who were little different from street hawkers in terms of the scale and type of economic operation. Although it was clear that this latter category was of basic significance in the total marketing structure, it represented a group that had been accommodated already by the

A MARKET FOCUSED AGGLOMERATION



B STREET CONCENTRATIONS

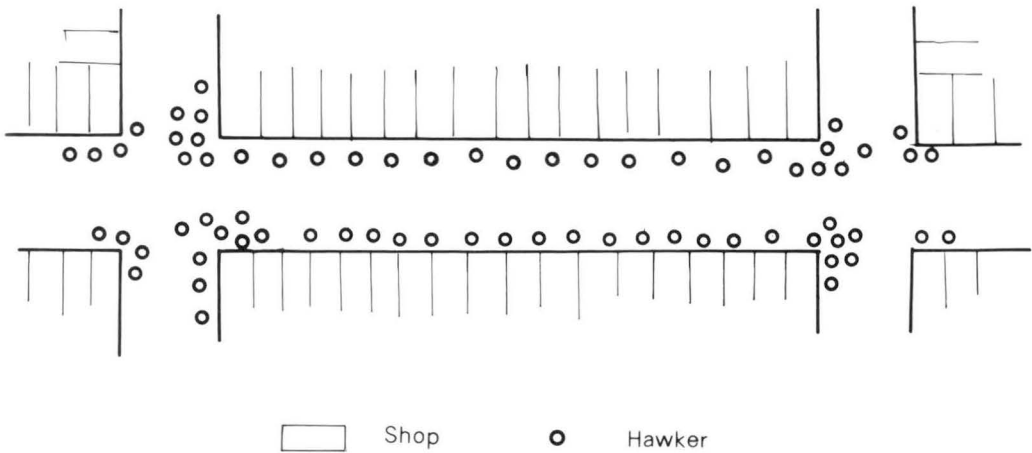


Fig. 1. Types of hawker concentrations.

policymakers, and therefore it was decided to omit them. However, hawkers who had penetrated illegally into markets or were selling goods from their fringes were included.

In response to these cross-country dissimilarities, a *survey strategy* was devised that attempted to minimize these differences. It was decided, for survey efficiency, to enumerate hawkers who were found in the principal hawkers concentrations in each of the cities rather than attempt to enumerate

all hawkers, a task that we believed impossible to accomplish given the logistic and financial provisions of the project. In general, this meant that the hawkers who were enumerated were concentrated in two main types of hawker groupings as indicated by Fig. 1: the agglomeration of hawkers around the fringes of the public foodstuff markets and the linear concentrations of hawkers along pavements or roads. The stages of enumeration involved a three-step sequence.

To begin with, the major concentrations of hawkers were identified by field observation and reconnaissance, information available from city governments, and hawkers themselves. A selection of these concentrations was then carried out. The degree of coverage of the number of hawker concentrations enumerated varied markedly from city to city. Thus, whereas the Malaysian enumerations were most comprehensive, Jakarta, with its many hawker concentrations, was least adequately covered. In general, the policy followed was to exclude small concentrations of below 25 hawkers and to focus on the larger concentrations of hawkers who presented problems of traffic congestion, public hygiene, etc. It was reasoned that this is the hawker population about which city governments need the most information. These preparations led to the actual enumeration of hawkers, which was carried out over a period of 2 weeks with counts of hawkers being made in the morning and afternoon on each day. The hawkers were also enumerated by type of hawker unit (mobile, semimobile, and permanent) and major categories of goods sold (namely, unprocessed food such as vegetables; semiprocessed and processed food like coconut juice and cooked food; nonfood durables that consisted of goods bought occasionally to last a long time such as records and mats; nonfood nondurables intended for rapid consumption such as toothpaste, medicine, etc; textiles and clothing; and finally, services such as barbers, shoe menders, etc.).

The enumerations showed that there were considerable variations in the number and type of commodities sold by hawkers at different times of the day as well as between days in the individual cities. Factors such as government interference, rainfall, etc. had a crucial effect on the regularity of hawker operations. Therefore it was necessary to arrive at a figure for total number of hawkers enumerated by taking the average number of hawkers that had been enumerated over the period. This average figure, which was tabulated by type of hawker operative and goods sold, was subsequently used as the basis for the drawing of a random stratified quota sample of up to 1000 hawkers in the larger cities and 500 in the secondary centres. In fact, while the internal consistency of the sample were generally well adhered to there was variation in the total number of interviews completed. Thus, only 644 interviews were completed in Manila, whereas 1250 were completed in Kuala Lumpur and the adjacent satellite town of Petaling Jaya. These interviews form the basis of the survey data in the following chapters.

As a result of this survey strategy, several limitations on the interpretation of data were inevitable. First, the choice of hawker concentration generally focused attention on the static and semistatic categories of hawkers as opposed to itinerant hawkers who are constantly on the move. Although the types of hawkers and commodities they sell still remain quite diverse in this group, it may be argued that their static and semistatic character enables them to carry a greater range and volume of stock and, in a priori terms at least, it can be



The variety of goods available from hawkers is almost limitless — this stall offers a selection of live fish.

suggested that they are rather better off than the itinerant hawkers from outside the principal hawker concentrations who were not included in the surveys.

The second limitation pertains to the fact that the hawkers surveyed were of major policy interest to the authorities. This means that some of the surveys faced real difficulties because government action against hawkers, in the form of clearance operations, delayed the completion of surveys. Certainly the field work in Jakarta, and to a degree in Manila, encountered this kind of experience.

Third, the vast differences in the ecology of the cities, as reflected in the incomes and occupational patterns of the populations, are important explanatory factors in accounting for the different activities of the hawkers.

Differences in the cross-country definition of the data were also considered. The data that the survey was designed to collect can be classified into three main categories. The first group refers to data that, using the same cross-country definitions, were based on clearly understood and defined categories, such as units of time or distance. Even so, some of these data categories allowed for variation of interpretation from one country to another. The interpretation of, for example, the question on the trade area of hawkers depended upon the assessment of the neighbourhood by the hawkers as well as by the interviewer. Nevertheless, most of the data in this category are capable of rigorous cross-country analysis.

Secondly, there were data for which it was impossible to establish similar cross-country definitions. For instance, while all participants agreed that it was possible to think in broad conceptual categories of the definition of types of

stalls on a continuum from the mobile to the static, the actual variety of often overlapping types in their cities meant that country-specific definitions had to be utilized. Seven types of hawkers were thus distinguished in Indonesia compared to only three in the Philippines. Similar variations of definition were adopted for transport, income, etc. Difficulties also emerged in the open-ended questions. An example is the rather numerous "other reason" answers in Bandung to the question on reasons for hawker location. This is not a general problem, however, and would seem to indicate that the survey has been fairly successful in separating motivations in this type of question.

Finally, the third group of data is city-specific and is primarily concerned with locational aspects. In the analysis of the survey results to be conducted later, this group of data was highly generalized and in some cases it was not easy to group locational data in a manner that allowed rigorous comparison. Where this occurred it is indicated in the text.

This chapter has set forth the salient features of the hawker situation in Southeast Asia generally, and in the study cities specifically. In addition, the methodology that was employed to collect information on this situation has been outlined. In the remaining chapters the results of the data collection are presented in terms of the major aspects of city government policy formation that are presented in the next chapter. In general, attention is focused on the results that seem to have the greatest cross-cultural relevance, and specific-city conclusions are treated more sparsely.

3

Policies for Street Vendors: An Evaluation

One of the three main thrusts of the research was aimed at gathering information on policies adopted toward street vendors in the cities under study. This involved: (1) a review of existing legislation for hawkers; (2) the identification of various government departments and agencies concerned with street traders, and interviews with individuals in these departments; (3) an attempt to identify any nongovernmental institutions or associations that were associated with street traders, or represented their interests; and (4) a description of the measures that were adopted to implement the broader policies relating to street traders.

In our attempts to conceptualize government policy and action, a framework was designed and developed to answer the following questions: (1) what are the underlying assumptions of government policy and action toward street vendors? and (2) what actions may governments take toward hawkers? It is possible to answer these questions within the following framework.

The first question may be evaluated within a continuum ranging from positive to negative assumptions. The most *negative* assumption that governments can adopt is that hawkers have *no right* to operate in the cities. This assumption postulates that hawkers are *antidevelopmental*, hindering the efficient operation of the city and generally preventing progress. Conversely, the most *positive* assumption that governments can adopt is that street vendors have *every right* to operate in the cities; that they are helping development and aiding in the efficient operation of the cities.

In fact, most administrations have widely varying sets of assumptions concerning hawkers, which represent various points along this continuum, and their assumptions fluctuate greatly at different points in time.

Secondly, the question of government action toward hawkers can be broadly portrayed as falling into three spheres of activity.

First are the locational actions designed to interfere with the ecological patterns of hawkers. The most obvious example of this type of activity is a clearance operation that removes hawkers from an area in which they have been operating. A less direct form of action might be a squatter clearance scheme that removes customers from the hawkers operating in the area.

There are broader structural actions aimed at either eliminating or developing the economic base of the hawkers. An example of action designed to eliminate the economic base of hawkers is government takeover of marketing chains and enforcement of distribution through public outlets. Other

examples, of a less direct form of structural action by governments, are efforts to encourage the growth of alternative employment opportunities at higher incomes than hawkers now make in an attempt to encourage them to leave the profession. Actions designed to encourage the growth of hawking could well take the form of government monetary credit for expansion of hawker operations.

The third type of government action is of an educational nature intended to change attitudes among hawkers or toward hawkers. For instance, efforts to educate the public on hygiene may benefit the food hawkers for they may not have the resources or knowledge to operate the stalls in the most hygienic manner. On the other hand, education can be applied positively to hawkers by providing training for them in the use of hygienic practices in their operations.

The wide range of possible actions concerning hawkers is set forth in Table 3, which indicates the range of actions that government agencies could adopt to deal with hawkers. In discussing government actions in the cities under investigation we shall make reference to this model. However, it is necessary at this point to review the legislation relating to street vendors in the various cities and the many departments and agencies in one way or another connected with their activities.

Hawker Legislation

Throughout the Asian region, legislation regarding street vendors was generally enacted during the colonial period, often from the earliest period of colonial occupation. An excellent example is provided by Hong Kong, where four years after the British had established themselves an ordinance was passed making a person liable to a fine of 5 pounds if he should:

... expose anything for sale in or upon, or so to hang over any carriageway or footway, or on the outside of any house or shop, or who shall set up or continue any pole, blind, awning, line of any other projection from any other window, parapet, or other part of any house, shop or other building, so as to cause any annoyance or obstruction in any thoroughfare . . . (Hong Kong Sanitary Board, Laws Relating to Public Health and Sanitation in Hong Kong. Ordinance No. 14 of 1845).

In Manila, the city ordinance, passed on 10 February 1924, that designates the places where vendors may sell their wares is also very much dated. This states that no hawker, pedlar, or huckster shall be permitted "to sell or offer to sell his articles, or stop in any public place or street of the City, which the Mayor may, from time to time designate as improper places for plying his trade" (see Guerrero 1973). Lam reports that much of the legislation pertaining to hawkers in Malaysia originated in the nineteenth century when a series of ordinances with respect to urban organization and control in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States were passed (see Lam 1973a). Similarly in Indonesia, legislation dealing with hawkers was passed during the Dutch period of control. The common feature of these examples of colonial legislation is that they were essentially prohibitive, geared to creating cities that were near replicas of those that existed in the homelands of the colonial administrators. The legislation was directed at discouraging street vendors who, to use the words of a 1947 Hong Kong government report, ". . . should have no place in any ideal state of affairs in a properly regulated modern city of

Table 3. A policy paradigm for hawkers (the policies range from positive to negative going from left to right in the table).

Policy actions	A	B	C	D
Locational	Allow hawkers to sell legally from locations they desire	Allow hawkers to sell legally from <i>some</i> of their locations but remove from others to public markets or approved "sites"	Relocate hawkers in locations chosen by government authorities	Clear hawkers from all locations in city and do not allow them to sell within city
Structural	Encourage hawkers by: (a) Government loans (b) Inducements to enter hawking profession, e.g. no military service if a hawker (c) No legal action against hawkers for employing children on stalls (d) Allow existing marketing chains to remain (e) Make large firms distribute commodities through hawker outlets	Limited encouragement of hawkers by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Column A	Limited discouragement of hawkers by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Column D	Discourage hawkers by: (a) High licence fees (b) Make hawking punishable by many legal restrictions (c) Offer high salaries to hawker enforcement agencies' employees
Educational	Encourage hawkers by: (a) Typifying them as examples of successful entrepreneurs (b) Educating public to utilize services of hawkers (c) Encouraging philosophy of education that emphasizes experience as against schooling	Limited encouragement by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Column A	Limited discouragement by small-scale operation of measures put forward in Column D	Discourage hawkers by: (a) Emphasizing the immorality of hawking (b) Stressing the possibilities of corruption, petty crime that exists in hawking (c) Stressing the dangers of hawkers from the point of view of hygiene, etc.

metropolitan status like Hong Kong” (cited in McGee 1973b, p. 43). The colonial administrators regarded the hawker phenomenon as archaic and traditional, something that was the antithesis of the modern city. Interestingly, the results of interviews with government officials in the six Southeast Asian cities suggest that despite some recent modifications of the legislation in those countries, notably in Malaysia, this essentially colonial attitude still prevails among some administrators. This hangover of colonial attitudes is an important hindrance to developing any innovative, indigenously derived ideas for Asian cities as well as to more positive policies toward hawkers and other so-called “unsightly” elements of the city. Three main elements ran through much of the colonial legislation with respect to street vending. They comprised: (1) an attempt to establish hygienic standards for street vendors; (2) a desire to confine their activities to certain parts of the city; and (3) an attempt to gain some revenue from street vendors by licencing their activities. All these elements remain in contemporary legislation concerning hawkers in most Asian cities with scant adjustments to the vastly different socioeconomic order that has emerged.

Implementation of Legislation

The task of implementing legislation regarding hawkers is characteristically spread over a plethora of departments. Thus hawkers’ activities impinge upon the administrative fields of the police and/or the military who are directly responsible for controlling crime and keeping order; the traffic planners who are charged with the task of improving traffic flows on the streets; the agencies and departments identified with commodity distribution systems; the health departments concerned with the cities’ standards of health and hygiene; and other city governments interested in making the cities run as efficiently as possible. Sometimes hawker policy directly relates to national policies, as, for instance, in the case of attempts to redirect migration flows away from a particular city through schemes of regional decentralization.

There are sharp variations among cities and countries in the manner in which these various departments implement hawker policy. This is often a direct reflection of the overall administrative and political structure of the city. Equally, it is an indication of the manner in which the “hawker situation” in each city has been assessed. Consequently, in Manila, where sidewalk vending has been defined as primarily a police enforcement problem, the Manila Metropolitan Police is the agency most concerned with hawkers. Indeed, in the first 9 months of 1973 they arrested an average of 2723 vendors a month who were fined between 10 and 50 pesos for obstruction and peddling without a licence (see Guerrero 1974). Other city divisions and bureaus directly or indirectly bearing on hawkers’ activities include: the Licence Division of the City Treasurer’s Office, which issues licences to vendors after the permit to operate has been granted by the Mayor’s office, and also assesses and collects payments for licence fees; the Market Administration, which licences vendors within public markets, collects market rents from vendors and hawkers, and maintains the market; the City Health Office, Division of Health, which enforces the ordinances and laws pertaining to the sale of food; the Department of Social Welfare, City of Manila, which takes an active hand in the relocation of hawkers by informing them of vacant stalls; the Better Business Bureau of the Office of the Mayor, which grants and issues permits

and formulates policy for hawkers in the Central Business District and assumes a centralized coordination of all matters pertaining to hawkers; the Department of Public Services, which takes charge of garbage collection in the markets and sidewalks; the Engineer's Office, which is responsible for road construction and reports on roads or pavements illegally occupied; the Office of the Military Supervisor, which watches for violations of laws and ordinances by both hawkers and nonhawkers; and, finally, the Secretary to the Mayor who directly executes some policies formulated by the Mayor.

In the smaller provincial town of Baguio in the Philippines, where the attitude to street vendors is more relaxed, there are still over 17 government or government-approved agencies or groups that are concerned with hawkers. Many of them are the same as in Manila but one interesting organization is the Baguio Market Vendors Association (BAMARVA), which takes charge of the maintenance of market sanitation and has the power to apprehend peddlers and thus prevent them from competing with regular stall holders. Outside city government, some civic organizations, such as the Rotary Club, Lions, etc., cooperate with the city in cleanliness drives and suggest areas for hawker activities.

In Jakarta, the largest city of those surveyed, there are also a wide variety of departments connected with the activities of street vendors. The size of Jakarta is only one complicating factor, for, like Kuala Lumpur, it also has a special status as national capital. Thus in administrative terms Jakarta is extremely complex. The administration of Jakarta is carried out by the Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibu Kota Jakarta of which Governor Jokro Pranolo is presently the chief executive (during the period of the study Ali Sadikin was Governor). Jakarta is a special district equivalent in the administrative hierarchy to the various provinces of Indonesia. The central administration is divided into several directorates of which the Directorate of Security and Order is the one primarily responsible for clearance operations against street vendors. Other directorates with similar interest in hawkers are Physical Development and Economic Development; furthermore, the Law Bureau and the Planning and Development Board have responsibilities in hawker policy. Spatially, Jakarta is subdivided into five *wilayah*, each under the control of a Mayor and his officials, that are responsible for implementing policy toward street vendors. In addition, there is a private firm called the Perushaan Pasar Jaya Jakarta that is responsible for building and operating markets, some of which are intended as sites for relocated hawkers. Once again we see a pattern of administrative overlap and functional complexity in the formulation and implementation of policies.

On the other hand, the city of Bandung is administered by a Mayor and a Council of Representatives whose policies are executed through a series of directorates and bureaus. The Inspectorate for Supervision appears to be the most powerful with respect to hawkers because it is entrusted with enforcing city regulations. Other administrative structures that are of importance are the Bagian Perushaan (Department of City Operations), the Dinas Kebersihan Kesehatan dan Keindahan Kota (Office for City Cleanliness and Beauty), and others such as the Traffic Board. Thus the street vendors are the concern of many departments and no central coordinating body is specifically responsible for hawker activities.

The administrative structure of the two Malaysian cities is such that different departments deal with street vendors. In particular, Kuala Lumpur has

experienced, since its foundation in the mid-1850s, a bewildering series of changes in its administration. In 1960 the administrative control of the city passed from the Selangor State government to the Federal Parliament; this shift involved the abolition of the elected Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council and its replacement by a Commissioner of the Federal Capital who is assisted by an Advisory Board consisting of six official and five unofficial members, also federally appointed. The Commissioner (now the Mayor or *Datuk Bandar*) is responsible to the Minister for Local Government and Housing, and administers the city through a chief administrative officer and a variety of departments such as Health and Engineering. Petaling Jaya, which was also included in the survey, is a satellite town adjacent to Kuala Lumpur and is administered by a Town Board with similar departments to those of Kuala Lumpur. Malacca, another study city in Malaysia, formerly had an elected council with a President, but experienced a change in its administrative structure in 1966 when the City Council was abolished and the powers transferred to the State Government, which appointed a Commissioner to administer the city. The organization of its municipal administration is similar to that of Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya. The branch of local government most directly concerned with hawkers in Malaysia is the City Health Department, which is responsible for the licencing of hawkers and maintenance of markets. Since 1969, enforcement officers in Kuala Lumpur have been employed to control hawkers as well as to ensure cleanliness in the city. Above all, there is the Hawkers' Advisory Committee, which is a standing committee of the city administration in Kuala Lumpur that includes in its membership representatives of hawkers' associations as well as politicians.

The surveyed towns of Malaysia, particularly Kuala Lumpur, are distinguished because of the existence of national agencies with specific powers to foster development in the urban areas. Prominent among such agencies is the Urban Development Authority, set up in 1971, which has plans for the provision of facilities for hawkers. MARA is another institution that has provided help to Malay hawkers in the form of loans. The reasons for the growth of these agencies will be discussed in a later section, but their existence and evident success emphasize the need for creating national agencies that transcend local urban-rural boundaries and for developing policy toward occupational groups such as hawkers. In addition, in both Kuala Lumpur and Malacca, strong hawker associations exist. In Kuala Lumpur there are two hawkers' associations with their membership aligned along ethnic lines. The Kuala Lumpur Hawkers and Petty Traders Association caters mainly for Chinese, while the Persatuan Penjaja-Penjaja dan Peniaga-Peniaga Kecil Ibu Kota (National Association of Hawkers) has mainly Malay hawkers. Because the presidents of these two associations sit on the Hawkers' Advisory Committee of the Kuala Lumpur Municipality, an appreciable upward flow of hawkers' concerns to the policymakers is assured, leading to the formulation of a more viable policy for hawkers.

Policies and Attitudes Toward Hawkers

In attempting to describe and review the policies for hawkers in the surveyed Asian cities one must be careful to distinguish between official policy, departmental policy, and attitudes of individual government officers toward hawkers. The interviews with government officials in both the Philippine and

Indonesian cities, where official policy toward hawkers at the time of the survey was inclined to be negative, indicated that there was considerable ambivalence. While officially indicating that hawkers need to be restricted and controlled, government officials were also willing to admit that hawkers did play a positive role in the commodity distribution systems of their cities. This ambivalence appears to reflect a transition in the thinking of indigenous administrators and planners about the functional roles of their cities. Hopefully, out of this shift in thinking more genuinely indigenous solutions will gradually emerge.

Before dealing with the broader aspects of policy and action toward hawkers in the six cities, it may be useful to enumerate the oft-cited advantages and disadvantages of hawkers as perceived by government officials.

Among the advantages that hawkers provide, and one of the main elements in the *raison d'être* of their operation, is the fact that they provide goods at cheaper prices than retail stores because they do not have the expensive overheads, such as rent or heavy mortgages. Hawkers can offer cheap meals to residents in the crowded living areas of many of these cities where cooking facilities are inadequate. Goods are also cheaper because hawkers are in intense competition and are therefore willing to cut their profit margins substantially. In this way, the cheap goods hawkers provide help keep down the cost of living and temper growing inflation.

In some cities hawkers provide an important outlet through which shippers and merchants may dispose of "broken cargoes" or merchandise that is not suitable for export or sale through more conventional retail outlets. Unquestionably, this aspect of hawkers' activities is more important in the leading cities and industrial centres of Singapore and Hong Kong, but it is also significant in Manila and Jakarta. Additionally, hawkers provide a service to the public by seeking locations that are easily accessible to the customer, thereby cutting down on the transportation costs that would otherwise be incurred. Hawking also performs an important social role. By providing employment for many of the unskilled, the less educated, and others with little capital, it reduces unemployment and its attendant evils of crime and delinquency. Hawking also provides an "economic cushion" in situations of fluctuating employment in sectors such as the construction or manufacturing industries. People can move backward and forward between these two forms of employment if necessary. Hawkers, furthermore, are part of the atmosphere of Asian cities. To some people, hawkers contribute to the "picturesqueness" of the cities and their activities may be regarded as an attraction to local residents and tourists alike. The most famous, of course, is the floating market in Bangkok, but many other hawker concentrations offer similar tourist possibilities in Southeast Asian cities. Finally, hawking offers training for the kind of entrepreneurial skills that help economic growth.

As to the disadvantages associated with hawkers' activities, the foremost among these is traffic congestion caused by hawkers congregating at points where there are very heavy flows of pedestrian and motor traffic. Another equally common complaint stems from potential problems of hygiene and sanitation. It is difficult to enforce sanitary laws on prepared food hawkers who, occasionally, are responsible for the transmission of fast-spreading diseases such as cholera and typhoid. Still another negative factor is that hawkers pose unfair competition to legal sellers both in public markets and shops because of their readiness to reduce prices. Lastly, depending on one's notions of aesthetics, hawkers are "unsightly" and give the city a disorderly image.



Too many hawkers congregating in one location result in crowds of shoppers, and congested roads and sidewalks, complain city authorities.

A diverse set of positive and negative attitudes exists concerning hawkers, which is indicative of the lack of precise information about them. Policy toward hawkers is formulated from an amalgam of such attitudes and policies developed toward hawkers in the colonial period. In discussing the policy positions of various city governments we have incorporated some available data with respect to policy toward hawkers in the two city-states of Singapore and Hong Kong (see Wong 1974; Yeung 1973; and McGee 1973b). The cities thus represent a range from the city-states represented by Singapore and Hong Kong, to the largest national cities of Manila, Kuala Lumpur, and Jakarta, to the three provincial cities of Baguio, Malacca, and Bandung. With reference to the policy paradigm (see Table 3) it is possible to summarize broad policy positions adopted by various city administrations along the continuum from positive to negative policies.

The most positive policies encouraging hawkers are those that have been in practice in the Malaysian cities since 1969. Prior to 1969, city governments followed restrictive policies of issuing a limited number of licences to hawkers, confining their activities to specific locations, and heavily fining any vendors if they infringed on these regulations. Limited attempts to build hawker emporiums did not widen the scope of hawker activities. Since the unfortunate events of May 1969, the Malaysian government has realized that it must adopt policies designed to increase employment opportunities for all people in the cities, but particularly the Malays who had been disadvantaged by the pattern of colonial development. This enlightenment represents part of a broader set of policy measures arising from the New Economic Policy developed under the

Second Malaysia Plan (1971–75). Among other objectives, the new policy aimed at eradicating poverty by raising general income levels, and at accelerating the restructuring of Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance among ethnic communities. The implementation of this plan was reflected in much more liberal licencing policy; the enforcement of law through education, not prosecution; the provision of loans and other inducements, particularly for the *bumiputra*; and the recognition that hawking provided an important avenue for employment and entrepreneurial development. Such policies were a pragmatic reaction to the fact that in the face of a rapidly increasing urban population in which Malays were forming a growing component (see Ooi 1975; Osborn 1974), previous policies had restricted opportunities for low-income city populations. Somewhat similar policy revisions occurred in Malacca, although the slower rate of economic growth together with the relatively diminished opportunity for increasing the number of hawkers meant that these policies were pursued on a much smaller scale.

Given the unprecedented high rates of growth of the urban labour force in Southeast Asia, the need to reexamine the role of informal sector activities seems imperative. Despite the existence of urban poverty in Western cities, its dimension and depth are multiplied in the developing countries (Bloomberg and Schmendt 1968; Jolly et al. 1973). In Southeast Asia, as elsewhere in the developing world, urban problems are to a large extent a reflection of poverty problems. Rivulets of separate evidence from the past three decades of development experience in the developing economies have started to coalesce into a torrent of development thought that casts severe doubts on the value of continued reliance only on the expansion of the modern sector to solve urban poverty and employment problems in developing countries (Rao 1974; Singer 1975; McNamara 1975). It is increasingly believed that the informal sector has been unfairly starved of scarce resources of credit, capital, cost-reducing technologies, and so on, to the extent that the dualism between the formal and informal sector prevailing in developing economies is accentuated and artificially perpetuated (Myint 1970; Singer 1970; Yeung 1975). Thus, the pattern of development in Malaysia is of great importance.

Singapore, while falling outside the surveyed cities, offers a similar example of rapid change in policies toward hawkers. The evolution of policies in Singapore is especially interesting because it was concomitant with the period of rapid economic and ecological change in the 1960s. Singapore, in the late 1950s, still remained a prototype of many Southeast Asian cities, with the bulk of its population concentrated in overcrowded tenements in the central city or in squatter areas on the urban fringes. Hawkers provided an important source of foodstuffs and commodities for this population. However, during the 1960s Singapore introduced a series of bold policy measures designed to improve the welfare of its population. Principal among these were the introduction of public housing programs on a very large scale, which were primarily located in a ring around the city proper; the commencement of urban renewal schemes aimed at ridding the inner core of the city of the older substandard housing; the pursuit of (or drive for) rapid industrialization; and very stringent measures intended to enhance the cleanliness of the city (see Ooi and Chiang 1969). On the face of it, these programs should have adversely affected the source of livelihood of hawkers, but coupled with these developments, the government adopted an ambitious policy of creating hawker centres in the new housing estates and attempted to move hawkers

into public markets. Although attitudes among government officials toward hawkers were ambivalent, this positive policy of moving hawkers into established hawker centres meant that they continued to provide an important service to the Singapore public. Indeed, at a time of significant change in the location and employment of the population, Singapore's marketing system, with hawkers playing a positive role, has remained remarkably efficient (see Yeung 1973).

Hong Kong, on the other hand, adopted a much more restrictive policy toward hawkers at a time of similar ecological and social change. This included a considerable investment of funds in a Hawker Control Force that was remarkably unsuccessful in either controlling or reducing the number of hawkers. In the 1970s a different set of actions geared to limiting the number of hawkers was adopted, with the stabilization of hawkers on selected pitches with higher licence fees; the prevention of inheritance of hawker operations; and the freezing of new licences. All these measures were employed to prevent the expansion of hawker numbers, but they still rested upon the need for costly enforcement (see McGee 1973b). Thus, the two city-states have adopted policies that are rather different with respect to hawkers. Singapore's may be described as one of *incorporating* hawkers into the *legal marketing system* by taking them off the streets, but limiting their expansion by making infrastructural provisions and by refusing to give new licences to people under 40 years of age. Hong Kong's policy may be described as one of attempting to *squeeze* hawkers out of the marketing system by limiting licences, stabilizing them in certain street areas, and not providing sufficient off-street markets to allow their adoption as a permanent feature of the total marketing system.

In the two cities surveyed in the Philippines, policies varied considerably. In Manila, unquestionably the official policy is one of eventual elimination of hawkers by clearing them from the streets. This is regarded as a necessary part of the beautification plan for the city. This does not necessarily mean that the policy is vigorously adhered to and implemented, particularly in the areas north of the Pasig River where the poorer populations are located. Many officials do realize that hawking is a necessary occupation that offers some form of employment in a situation where unemployment is high. In the period 1965-71 unemployment in metro Manila averaged over 10 percent of the labour force (Guerrero 1974, p. 25). In the mountain resort of Baguio, however, policy toward hawkers is somewhat more relaxed. To a large extent this is because the problem of traffic obstruction created by the Manila hawkers is not so prevalent in Baguio and occurs only during the Christmas and Holy Week festivals, and to a degree, during the peak of the tourist season in the summer. In addition, the important role that hawkers play as tourist attractions and in selling the popular native handicrafts from the surrounding areas is recognized. As a result, policy tends to be directed toward limiting hawkers to certain areas and controlling health and sanitation.

In the two Indonesian cities rather dissimilar policy positions have been developed. In Jakarta it would seem that the official policy is one designed to eliminate hawkers from the city by clearance operations, but there is also an ambivalence similar to that apparent in Manila. On the one hand, these clearance operations are seldom successful in the long run, and on the other, it is increasingly realized that hawkers provide a service to the low-income populations of the city. Some efforts have been made to provide hawker emporiums, but the rents have generally proved too high for most street

vendors. In Bandung, although the basic official policy resembles that of Jakarta, various officials have different viewpoints on hawking. Waworoentoe reports that the official in charge of the city revenue office perceived the hawkers as an untapped source of city revenue; whereas, the officer in charge of city order wanted to sweep the streets clean of hawkers. Generally, however, hawkers appear to be tolerated and efforts have been made to incorporate them into stabilized markets (see Waworoentoe 1974).

Actions Toward Hawkers

It is a difficult task to separate the actions designed to implement overall policies for hawkers from the policies themselves. In this section an attempt is made to organize the discussion within the framework of ideas presented in the policy paradigm (see Table 3) to review the major actions of city governments toward hawkers. Broadly speaking, these actions may be distinguished into locational and structural types.

Locational actions

It is readily apparent that the major thrust of government action toward hawkers is *locational* in nature. No city government has allowed hawkers complete freedom to sell from any location they desire. Some have attempted to remove hawkers completely from their cities and prevent them from setting up business again, but such a policy is impossible to carry out effectively. Most city governments have adopted policies that fit into the B and C boxes, which can be grouped under three types — relocation, stabilization, and removal.

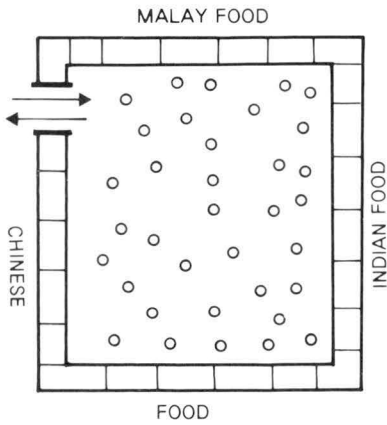
Under the heading of relocation three types of locational strategies may be identified. The first type refers to *schemes of temporary relocation*. These are adopted to shift hawkers for a period of time while the area they formerly occupied is being upgraded or rebuilt. Ideally, the hawker desires to be as close to the previous site as possible, but this does not always occur. This type of temporary relocation has been practiced quite widely in Jakarta. From the point of view of the hawker it is quite acceptable as long as the locational disruption is not so great that he loses contact with his customers. These schemes also should provide for the incorporation of hawkers into the redeveloped area, but again this does not always occur. The second type of strategy involves the *permanent shift* of hawkers from one location to another. A multiplicity of locational shifts are being carried out in the Asian cities under investigation. A most positive form of relocation is the movement of hawkers into legal markets. This has been an important part of the policies adopted in Singapore in the 1970s. To a lesser extent the same policy has recently been applied in Malaysian cities, notably Kuala Lumpur and Georgetown. In fact, virtually all cities have attempted some schemes of relocation of hawkers into markets. *Removal schemes* designed to disperse hawkers, *but not offering alternative locations* from which to sell, constitute the third type of strategy. Jakarta and Manila have both attempted to disperse hawkers from locations by fining and imprisonment, or simply by taking hawkers away from the city. These schemes seem to be most negative because they attack the hawkers' very source of livelihood and offer them nothing in return (for Jakarta, see Papanek 1975). More important they are, it would appear, very unsuccessful because the hawkers return to the areas from which they have been taken and attempt to set up business again.

Efforts to move hawkers permanently into markets encounter three main problems. First, building design appears to be an important factor in the failure of some schemes. A multifunctional, high-rise market building in Kuala Lumpur may be cited as an example: on the ground floor provision for a bus station was made, car parking was provided on some floors, with hawker activities on others. This project has not been very successful for customers were unwilling to move up the stairways and therefore business activity was lower than expected. The physical design of markets is also of crucial importance with respect to the varying needs of different types of commodities. The Malaysian and Singapore authorities seem to be most progressive in this direction, as attested to by several excellently designed cooked-food markets. As an example, one can cite the Medan Selera, built by the Petaling Jaya Town Board, which basically consists of an area about the size of a soccer pitch enclosed by a square of cooked food stalls. Tables are set out in front of the stalls and also in the enclosure, and different parts of the rectangle of stalls offer a wide variety of Chinese, Indian, and Malay foods (Fig. 2 A). The same principle of grouping by ethnic elements is put into operation in the cross-shaped complex shown in Fig. 2 B. In Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, and Hong Kong the authorities have regulated the different temporal demands for land space most effectively by utilizing public car parks, which are in considerable demand during the day but not at night, for night cooked-food markets. This multifunctional use of space is a most efficient use of city space and gains sizeable revenue for the city authorities.

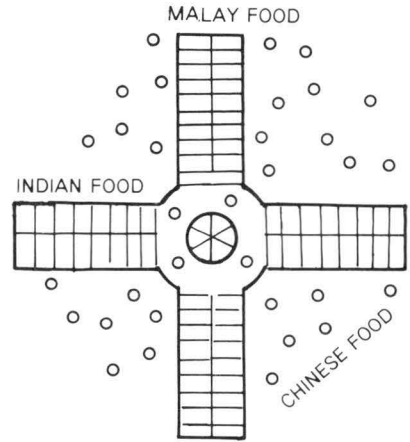
Markets designed for uncooked food must be different again because of the types of goods being offered and the daily fluctuations in customers. Most public markets for uncooked food in the larger cities under study are poorly designed. The rectangular character of the urban lots means that most markets are square and the stalls laid out in a checkerboard fashion as is shown in Fig. 2 C. Stalls may be located within this checkerboard, and a possible variation is shown in Fig. 2 D. These arrangements would allow separation of the various commodities, such as fish, meat, and vegetables into various sections. Unfortunately, the narrow passageways in such markets cause extreme congestion arising from cross-flows of customers at intersections. The resulting confusion for vendors and customers is accentuated by the fact that daily marketing is concentrated in two main periods, namely between 8 and 11 a.m., and 4 and 6 p.m. A more successful example of market design is that of the Central Market in Manila, which is designed on a linear principle allowing a free flow of customers. Most of the older markets in Jakarta, Singapore, and Hong Kong are built to a rectangular design and they all experience, to some degree, the phenomenon of an emptying out of the middle stalls where vendors cease to operate because they make insufficient sales. Often, if they can afford it, operatives will keep the inner stalls as lock-ups for their commodities (if they can be stored) and take the goods to be sold on pavements around the markets, a practice that further increases the congestion in the surrounding areas. A similar problem of emptying also occurs in multistorey markets where customers are reluctant to walk up stairs to the upper stories. This can be alleviated to some degree by the installation of escalators, as in the Central Market in Georgetown, but these are costly to build and maintain.

Still a third type of commodity market may be considered: these are *hawkers emporiums* offering a diversity of commodities including textiles,

COOKED FOOD MARKETS

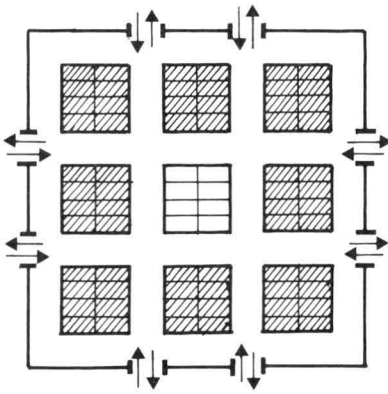




A



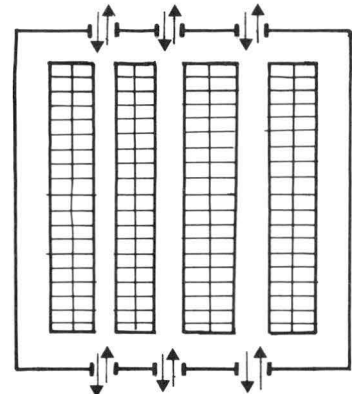
B

UNCOOKED FOOD MARKETS



 Occupied stall
 Unoccupied stall

C



D

 Stall
  Table
  Entrance
  Customer flows

Fig. 2. Types of markets designed for hawkers.

hardware, etc. These are often combined with such activities as cooked food selling. Perhaps the most successful example of such a hawker emporium is the People's Park in Singapore, which includes many floors of selling activity apart from cooked food stalls on the ground floor. Although the scheme was originally launched to relocate hawkers, the scale of retailing has been upgraded substantially (see Yeung 1973, p. 97-99). Several large emporiums have also been built in Jakarta, as typified by the Pasar Senin.

A second reason for the failure of some of the public markets built for the relocation of hawkers is a financial one. Often rents charged for space within the market are too high for the street hawker who has been accustomed to low overheads. This phenomenon has been occurring in Jakarta. One solution to this problem may be the renting of space by unit area so that smaller operators can rent less space for a cheaper price. However, this solution is complicated by the type of commodity, as exemplified by green vegetable sellers who generally earn low incomes and yet need a lot of space. Also, there are sometimes difficulties in the allocation of selling locations within these market complexes, but this can, to some extent, be overcome by balloting. Overall, it would seem that if city governments are to adopt policies designed to move hawkers into permanent market structures, the success of this program hinges on careful physical design of markets, setting up of an adequate but not high rental structure, and detailed planning of the location of these markets.

A variant of the permanent shift of hawkers involves their relocation, not into a market building but into some other street or place. This form of relocation has the advantage of being relatively cheap, and it does not involve the heavy capital investment that is necessary for market buildings. It has been practiced to some degree in virtually all the cities under review. Once again, the success of this form of relocation depends greatly upon the type of commodity being sold. In most of the cities under discussion sellers of unprepared foodstuffs appear to have the greatest reliance on a locational symbiosis with their customers. For this reason, in very heavily crowded Hong Kong, most of the customers purchasing unprepared foodstuffs came from within 10 minutes walking distance; whereas, those for nonfoodstuffs travelled in excess of 20 minutes walking distance to reach the stalls (see McGee 1973b). Similar patterns were exhibited in the results of the surveys of Southeast Asian cities, although the survey question did not allow the same preciseness because no customer survey was carried out. This means that for sellers of unprepared foodstuffs, a relocation, even if it is only a block away from their old site, can be very disruptive to their business and they will therefore leave the new site and attempt to infiltrate the old site. Many examples of this have been collected in the cities under study. This ready return to old selling sites involves an additional expense to city authorities attempting to force the hawkers back into the new location.

The obvious solution to this kind of problem would be first to carry out customer surveys in the hawker location prior to relocation and attempt to establish the extent of the area from which customers come, and then look for a suitable relocation site. Greater consultation with the hawkers about to be relocated might also help in such exercises because they invariably have a close relationship with their customers and are very knowledgeable about the district. The location of individual hawkers on the new site is often a problem. Most city authorities opt for systems of balloting, as is practiced in Hong Kong, or for systems of daily tickets that can be purchased from the market authority. Still another system, which has been suggested in Hong Kong, is the installation of metered spaces where the hawker can take the selling space at a fixed price for a certain time. Furthermore, it seems obvious that hawkers have informal systems of control that often allocate selling spaces fairly effectively. For the cooked food sellers and nonfood sellers relocation may not be such a great problem, as long as the relocation does not take them too far away from their present site, because they draw on a much greater area of customers and

their reputation and goodwill are often something that is known throughout the entire city.

Under the broad heading of *stabilization* a wide range of locational policies can be considered. Basically, policies of stabilization are fashioned to tie the hawker to one spot. They are applied specifically to the mobile and semimobile hawkers who move about these cities from one selling location to another. Among these types of hawkers are those who attach themselves to the already existing hawker concentrations that cause the greatest problems of congestion and obstruction to the authorities. A multitude of actions may be adopted to cope with these groups. One of the most common actions is the clearance and rearrangement operation. In Hong Kong, for instance, hawker locations were often cleared during the 1960s, stalls realigned, and some of the semimobile vendors given selling spaces in the rearranged hawker concentration. But once again, physical design and the type of commodity being sold were of crucial importance in the success of these operations. In Hong Kong there are two main types of hawker concentrations: the first refers to market agglomerations where hawkers cluster around a public market, or as close to it as they can, so that they can sell their foodstuffs; the second comprises linear concentrations of hawkers occupying entire pavements or streets, often selling nonfood commodities and sometimes food.

In the first type of concentration, proximity to the market and distance from the next food-selling hawker concentration are factors basic to the hawkers' operations; access to the flow of customers who are going to and from the market is equally important. This is the reason why hawkers in this type of concentration habitually throng around the edges of the market and at the intersection of the streets that lead to the market. Stabilization policies must be charted to mediate between the needs of the hawkers and the problems of congestion and obstruction they cause. In the case of linear street concentrations, semimobile and mobile hawkers tend to congregate at intersections causing obstruction to the customers moving in and out of the streets. A likely solution is to either incorporate them into the street market or expand the market so as to allow more hawkers to sell.

Many actions have been taken to stabilize hawkers in the various cities. Perhaps the most interesting can be seen in Kuala Lumpur, where within the city boundary (prior to its expansion in 1974) the city authorities identified some seventy locations where hawkers could sell from designated pitches. Various methods were utilized to create this space: (1) the closing of roads at certain times of day and night to allow hawker activity; (2) the setting aside of back lanes and little used streets for hawkers; (3) the utilization of any open spaces besides markets, within built-up urban areas such as those adjacent to cinemas, and in areas of high and medium density low-cost housing development; (4) the use of car parks from 6 p.m. to midnight; and, finally, (5) the location of isolated stalls throughout the city at places where they did not cause obstruction. This policy was able to offer space for some 6963 vendors, although Lam's studies appear to suggest that only two-thirds of these were permanently taken up (Lam 1974). This indicates that there are still a considerable number of hawkers trading from nondesignated locations.

In Hong Kong the new hawker policy launched in the late 1960s took a much harder line, attempting both to limit the number of hawkers and to stabilize the hawkers in designated pitches by a series of tough licencing and enforcement measures. But despite the fact that a large number of streets and

locations were set aside for hawking activity, doubt has been expressed as to whether there is sufficient space for the majority of hawkers (see Tse 1974d). If this skepticism is justified, then hawkers will still have to hawk illegally in locations that they most desire, and the problem of mobile hawkers will not be solved.

Other cities have adopted a host of measures to stabilize hawkers. In the Thonburi area of metropolitan Bangkok, street hawkers have been given pitches on pavements that have iron pipes concreted into the pavement; in these are placed large colourful umbrellas, which can be removed at the end of the day and which give excellent protection from the sun. This arrangement avoids the necessity of constructing stalls and appears to work very well. Outside some of the markets in Kuala Lumpur, so-called "squatter pitches" have been demarcated and hawkers sell for a certain time in the mornings. After this they must clear away their goods, and the road is cleaned and used for traffic. In Jakarta there are similar temporal patterns of hawking, although these seem to have arisen spontaneously rather than having been directed by the city authorities.

Structural actions

Although it is clear that the majority of city governments in the region adopt primarily *locational* actions toward hawkers, it is also obvious that such locational action is unlikely to meet with success unless it is premised upon an understanding of hawkers' locational preferences and accompanied by positive structural measures. Structural actions are defined here as those measures devised to eliminate or encourage the economic base of the hawkers' operations.

A multiplicity of structural actions have been adopted by city governments throughout the region. Briefly, they can be grouped under three broad headings: (1) the licencing of hawker operations; (2) actions meant to encourage or discourage certain parts of the city population from entering the hawking occupation; and (3) fiscal encouragement or discouragement of hawkers.

Of these three types, licencing is the primary structural policy instrument undertaken by city governments in the region. Two main reasons are usually advanced for adopting policies of licencing hawkers: (1) it enables the hawker population to be identified and therefore it is a method of limiting their numbers; and (2) licencing provides another source of revenue. However, given the city authorities' point of view, it must be remembered that large administrative and financial costs are involved in instituting efficient licencing systems. The effectiveness of these systems depends, moreover, upon adequate enforcement of the conditions governing the issuance of the licences. Most city governments adopt sliding fee scales for different types of hawker operations, as well as a wide range of time periods for the validity of the hawker licence. For instance, Manila hawkers need a licence to operate within the city except those who sell "only native vegetables, fruits, or goods personally carried by the pedlars." They were classified into six categories ranging from those hawkers who for selling goods manufactured outside the city, were charged 25 pesos a quarter, to the peddlers who were charged the nominal fee of 1 peso per quarter for selling small articles. In fact, these licence fees were very low and raised very limited revenue. However, in most months more than

2000 vendors were arrested in Manila and fines ranged between 10 and 50 pesos per person. If it is assumed the mean fine was 25 pesos in 6 months it meant, in theory, that half a million pesos were paid in fines, representing a considerable city income. Of course, some of the vendors would choose imprisonment instead of paying fines.

By contrast, in Hong Kong a new hawker policy, based on the assumption that hawkers should pay for their use of public space, was recently introduced. It imposed moderate licence fees that were coupled with an allocation fee of HK\$50 per annum for pitches less than 12 square feet (1.1 m²) and a 10-fold increase to HK\$500 per annum for pitches above this size. Tse's analysis of Hong Kong commercial rents indicates that "... the rate charged on street trading in square foot terms, is even higher than commercial rent" (Tse 1974d, p. 211). The effect of such a policy, Tse suggests, is to discourage the physical expansion of hawker operations and to encourage mobility and illegal selling, both of which will increase the costs of enforcement. In addition, because the average actual operating size of street stalls is 20.2 square feet (1.8 m²) most hawkers will have to pay the large allocation fee. As well, these fees will fall very unequally on different types of hawkers. Those who are in the low-income groups, such as vegetable sellers, may find these expenses excessive, for they represent well over one month's income. Finally, infringement of these laws recently entailed sharply increased fines to over HK\$500 in some cases, which, in Tse's view, increases the possibility of corruption. The Hong Kong example has been discussed at some length for it represents probably the toughest structural policy adopted in the region to undermine the economic base of hawkers.

In Indonesia, the country researchers report that at the time of the survey in the two study cities, there were no licencing systems in operation for hawkers, although market vendors had to buy tickets to operate daily. The Malaysian cities, particularly Kuala Lumpur, adopted a quite liberal policy toward hawker licencing in the post-1969 period, making hawker licences more readily available. From 1 January 1974, street stalls in Kuala Lumpur that were less than 18 square feet (1.7 m²) in size had their licence fee reduced by 30 percent. These moves were partly in response to inflationary rises in foodstuff prices but they were completely in tune with the development of the New Economic Policy discussed earlier in this chapter. It should be stressed that while the Malaysian licencing policy was very permissive as compared to that of Hong Kong, it was also associated with restrictive policies of locating hawkers in certain areas, making them punishable by fine if they hawked in prohibited areas.

Indeed, all the cities investigated have policies of prohibiting hawkers from trading in certain areas whether this is made a condition of a licence or licencing does not exist at all. Accordingly, in Manila, hawkers are not allowed within a 200-metre radius of public markets, or in the crowded streets of the Central Business District, such as the Avenida Rizal, Escolta, etc. Similar ordinances or proclamations forbidding hawkers to sell in certain areas are found in other cities. From all accounts of the existing hawker policy in the surveyed cities, it does seem that this attempt to limit hawkers locationally is only of limited success; there is a continual battle between the enforcement authorities and hawkers. Typically, a clearance operation occurs and hawkers are arrested and their goods confiscated. The hawkers are fined, removed, imprisoned, but still they return and reinfiltrate the areas. It may be suggested

that to be successful such policies of locational prodding must be connected with longer-term plans to move hawkers into public marketing systems and/or with other fiscal measures. An example of the latter is credit provisions for either sustaining or expanding hawker operations to more permanent retailing establishments.

A second group of structural policy actions centres on policies designed to encourage or discourage specific population groups engaged in hawking. Examples of restrictive policies can be taken from Hong Kong and Singapore. In Hong Kong, a law has been passed forbidding automatic succession to licences; whereas, in Singapore, people under 40 years of age have been forbidden from taking up a licence for hawking. Most cities, however, recognize that some of the disadvantaged in urban society, particularly those in need of welfare and those incapable of working at regular jobs, may be given an opportunity to hawk. Thus, the social welfare departments try to encourage city governments to issue such people licences to sell items such as newspapers. Obviously, the adoption of this form of structural policy toward hawkers depends a great deal on national policies. For instance, nations must be clear as to whether they desire to limit rural-urban migration by discouraging employment opportunities in the cities through such policies as hawker limitation. On the other hand, unless there is very tight control over such inward migration it seems likely that migrants will continue to move toward the cities in pursuit of real or imagined economic opportunities.

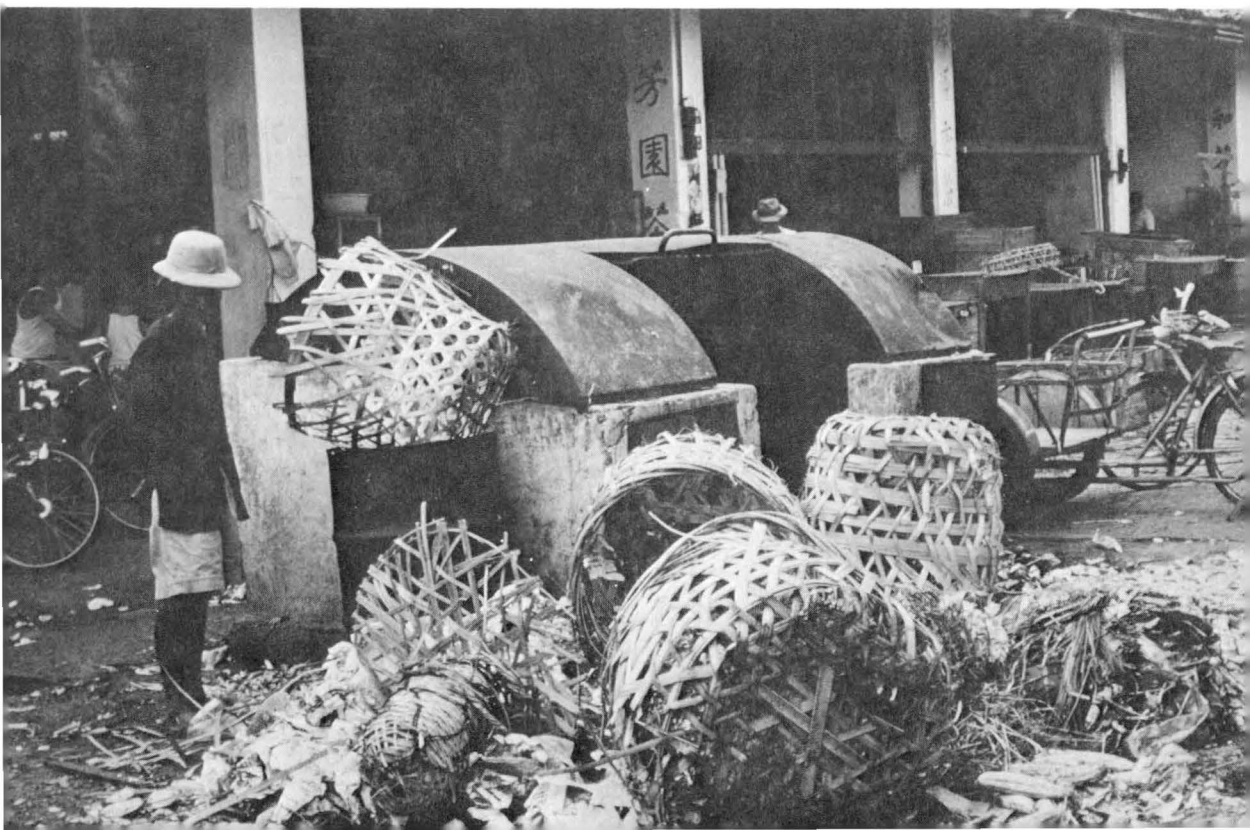
Under the second group of structural actions may be included those measures of an *educational* nature. The results of the surveys clearly indicate that the majority of hawkers are poorly educated in terms of formal schooling; thus national policies that are implemented to raise the general level of formal schooling in the population will presumably act against these more highly educated people taking up hawking. Needless to say, these scenarios presuppose the general improvement of employment prospects for the better educated. In this regard, recent findings in many studies of developing countries have pointed to a disturbing increase of the urban unemployed who are young and relatively well educated, a development at variance with the Western experience (see Bloomberg and Schmendt 1968; ILO 1971; Jolly et al. 1973, p. 124-33, 171-211). On the other hand, several of the interviews with government officials emphasized the experience of hawking in teaching individuals to cope with the commercial life of the city. Certainly, this viewpoint is implicit in all the Malaysian policies of encouraging hawkers. More specifically, city governments throughout the region can adopt public education policies that can mitigate hawkers problems. Most obviously, this occurs with respect to hygiene awareness throughout the city and can impose strict regulations upon hawkers, primarily those who sell food. That this may not lead to a reduction in livelihood is well shown in Singapore where, despite the introduction of tough cleanliness laws, most hawkers have reacted very well to these legal interventions.

Finally, there are positive and negative fiscal policies related to vendors. Practically all city governments impose some systems of fines for offences by hawkers, but they vary greatly in their extent and effectiveness. Far more rare are positive efforts to encourage hawking through credit provisions that would give them the opportunity to expand and upgrade the efficiency of their operations. Malaysian city and national agencies have adopted fiscal policies designed to encourage hawkers and petty traders and they appear to be

meeting with remarkable success. Such national government agencies as the Urban Development Authority have provided funds for the construction of stalls, but of more significance is the role of MARA, an authority set up to encourage Malay participation in commercial activity. Between 1971 and 1974, Lam (1974) reports, MARA extended M\$628 835 in loans to 638 *bumiputra* hawkers, or approximately M\$1000 per applicant. To get a loan the applicant had first to get a licence from the City Hall and then join the Persatuan Penjaja-Penjaja dan Peniaga-Peniaga Kecil Ibu Kota (National Association of Hawkers) consisting predominantly of Malay hawkers. This organization then acted as a guarantor for the loan. Approximately M\$350 400 was spent on the stalls, while the remainder was used for purchase of stock and initial setting-up costs. The loan had to be repaid within three years. After three years of operation of the scheme there were very few problems of repayment. Other loan schemes have been set up by hawker associations and the government to enable hawkers to borrow from banks at low interest rates. Therefore from a fiscal point of view, every encouragement has been given to small traders in the Malaysian city.

In general, it is possible to suggest that although government policies and actions toward hawkers vary markedly in the region, they do share certain common elements. Street vendors are conceived as a "distinctive" occupational category within the city context; virtually everyone associated with city administration and planning has his own views concerning "hawkers." These views stem from a diversity of assumptions of which the most prevalent probably is that hawkers are a problem somehow hindering the efficient functioning of a city. Far less common is the notion that hawkers are an "asset" that contributes toward the efficient functioning of the market

Another common complaint against hawkers is that the refuse they generate causes potential hygiene problems.



distribution system within the city. A second common element in policymaking is that hawkers cannot be allowed complete freedom to operate. No city investigated is without some kind of prohibitive legislation. This is true even in Malaysia, where hawkers are given considerable encouragement. This universal policy stance is understandable, for the planners and administrators have to try to balance the conflicting demands of a complicated series of land usages, of which hawking represents but one demand. However, it may be suggested that in the cities where more vigorous policies of hawker elimination are followed insufficient attention is being given to trying to evaluate the priorities of these demands. In the authors' view, some planners seem to find it easier to adopt solutions from the Western experience rather than attempt to develop solutions within the context of their own cities. This tendency to rely on Western-inspired policy tools is compounded by the fact that in the majority of the cities studied, hawker policies and actions are shared by numerous departments and agencies which often have conflicting policy guidelines toward hawkers. A third common element is the revelation that although policy toward hawkers is sometimes formulated in consultation with hawker representatives (as, for instance, in Kuala Lumpur) there is minimum consultation with the hawkers themselves before policy is put into practice.

4

Spatial Dimensions of Hawkers

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the major policies adopted by Asian city governments toward hawkers consisted of actions designed to relocate hawker activities in city space. It is the usurpation of urban space needed for other purposes that is most disturbing to city officials and causes them to view hawkers as a problem population. The actions they engage in to solve these problems range from eviction of hawkers to attempts to integrate them into regular systems of public markets. These actions have extremely variable results, but in most cities it can be stated that there is a constant series of locational confrontations between hawkers and government officials, which are costly for both concerned. It can be argued with some validity that these costs are partly a consequence of a lack of information on the spatial needs of hawkers and partly because hawkers are tempted to occupy urban space that city authorities believe can be better used for other purposes. Therefore, information on the locational dimensions of hawkers is of immense value in formulating successful policy for hawkers. It must be stressed, however, that locational information must be combined with data on the economic features of their operation as well as with the social features of the hawkers themselves in an attempt to formulate integrated policy.

Information generated in the survey with respect to hawker locations falls into two broad categories. First, it refers to the data on the spatial distribution of hawkers, which are presented at two levels: (1) macrodata relating to the city-wide distribution of hawkers; and (2) microdata relating to the pattern of hawkers within individual hawker concentrations. Second, under macropatterns, can be considered the data relating to the movements of customers, hawkers, and goods and services through urban space.

Macrodistribution of Hawkers

Hawkers are not located evenly throughout cities. They tend to concentrate in areas of high population density at nodes of transportation transfer, or adjacent to activities such as entertainment complexes, public markets, and commercial enterprises where they can benefit from product complementarity and mutual customer attraction. This tendency to concentrate in areas where there are large numbers of customers and dense traffic flows is understandable from the hawker's point of view for he is anxious to increase the volume of sales. The mark-up on his products is generally small and the greater his turnover the larger will be his net income. Unfortunately,

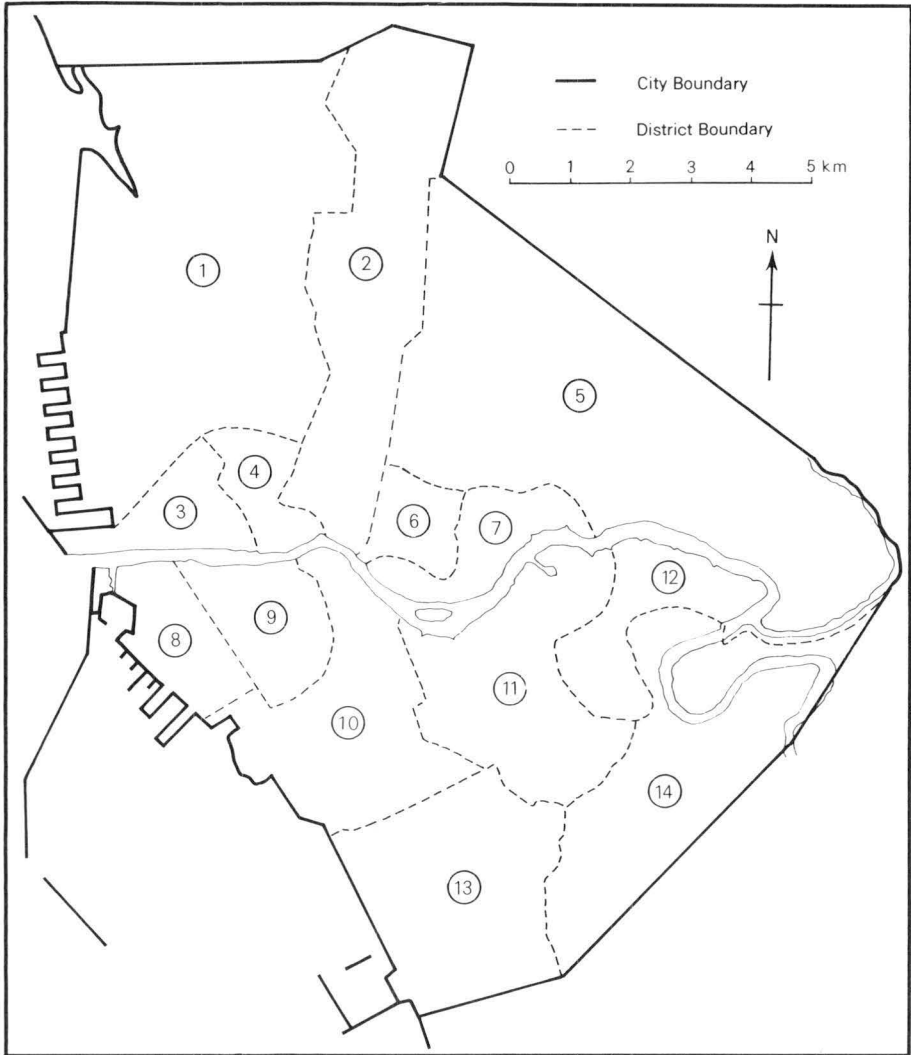


Fig. 3. Manila census districts: (1) Tondo; (2) Sta. Cruz; (3) San Nicolas; (4) Binondo; (5) Sampaloc; (6) Quiapo; (7) San Miguel; (8) South Port; (9) Intramuros; (10) Ermita; (11) Paco; (12) Pandacan; (13) Malate; (14) Sta. Ana.

this pattern of hawker concentration is the basic cause of conflict with city governments in so far as it causes congestion and blockage.

In the surveys of the six cities, data were collected on the location and features of hawker operations within each city utilizing the smallest feasible spatial unit, such as the *kacamatin* in Jakarta, or the census subdistrict in Malaysia. However, for the purposes of intercity comparison at the macrolevel larger spatial units were utilized. These spatial units are shown for each city surveyed (except Baguio) in Fig. 3-7. It should be noted that the size, and therefore the overall number, of these units varies from city to city thereby rendering comparison difficult.

The percentage of the total number of hawkers concentrated in the largest hawker concentration (spatial unit) of each city was: Kuala Lumpur 24.2; Malacca 29.5; Manila 23.3; Baguio 47.0; Jakarta 25.2; and Bandung 47.8. The secondary centres have a higher concentration of hawkers in one district than the larger cities where hawkers are more spread out. In part, this a function of the larger spatial unit utilized in secondary centres, for if data were taken at a larger spatial unit in the larger cities, then similar patterns would emerge. To prove the latter point, at the *kacamatin* level in Jakarta, 67.8 percent of the hawkers are concentrated in 7 out of the 27 *kacamatin* districts. In part, too, this finding is a direct outcome of the sampling frame of the surveys, which focused on large concentrations of hawkers and excluded the smaller groups. Nevertheless, the survey data corroborate the well-established phenomenon that the semistatic and static hawkers are highly concentrated.

A second aspect of the macropatterns of hawker location relates to the tendency of sellers of the same commodity to cluster. Earlier research in Hong

Fig. 4. Kuala Lumpur census districts: (1) Central; (2) Damasara; (3) Bangsar; (4) Sungei Besi; (5) Cheras; (6) Pudu; (7) Kampong Pandan; (8) Ampang; (9) Setapak; (10) Ipoh.





Fig. 5. Malacca census districts: (1) Kg. Pantai; (2) Kubu; (3) Bachang; (4) Tranquerah; (5) Semabok; (6) Bandar Hilir; (7) Bandar Kaba; (8) Munshi Abdullah; (9) Bunga Raya.

Kong and other Southeast Asian cities has indicated that patterns of commodity concentration of hawkers often prevail in an almost symbiotic relationship with adjacent retailing activity (see McGee 1973b; Yeung 1973). The best expression of this relationship is the concentrations of fresh foodstuff sellers in close proximity to retail shops selling similar products. Tse's work in Hong Kong reveals three major external factors bearing on accessibility, namely: (1) distance to source of goods; (2) distance to customers; and (3) distance from outlets of a similar type of product. The latter, an external economy of complementarity, is the most important for the hawker (see Tse 1974c, p. 114). Superficially, this statement may seem paradoxical for one would expect that the hawkers have more to lose from competition with sellers of the same type of product. Indeed, in response to a survey question asking their opinion on the numbers of hawkers in the neighbourhood (Question 20, appendix), 50 percent responded that there were too many hawkers, which seems to indicate that they were feeling the pressure of competition; 41 percent replied that the number of hawkers was just right, and 9 percent

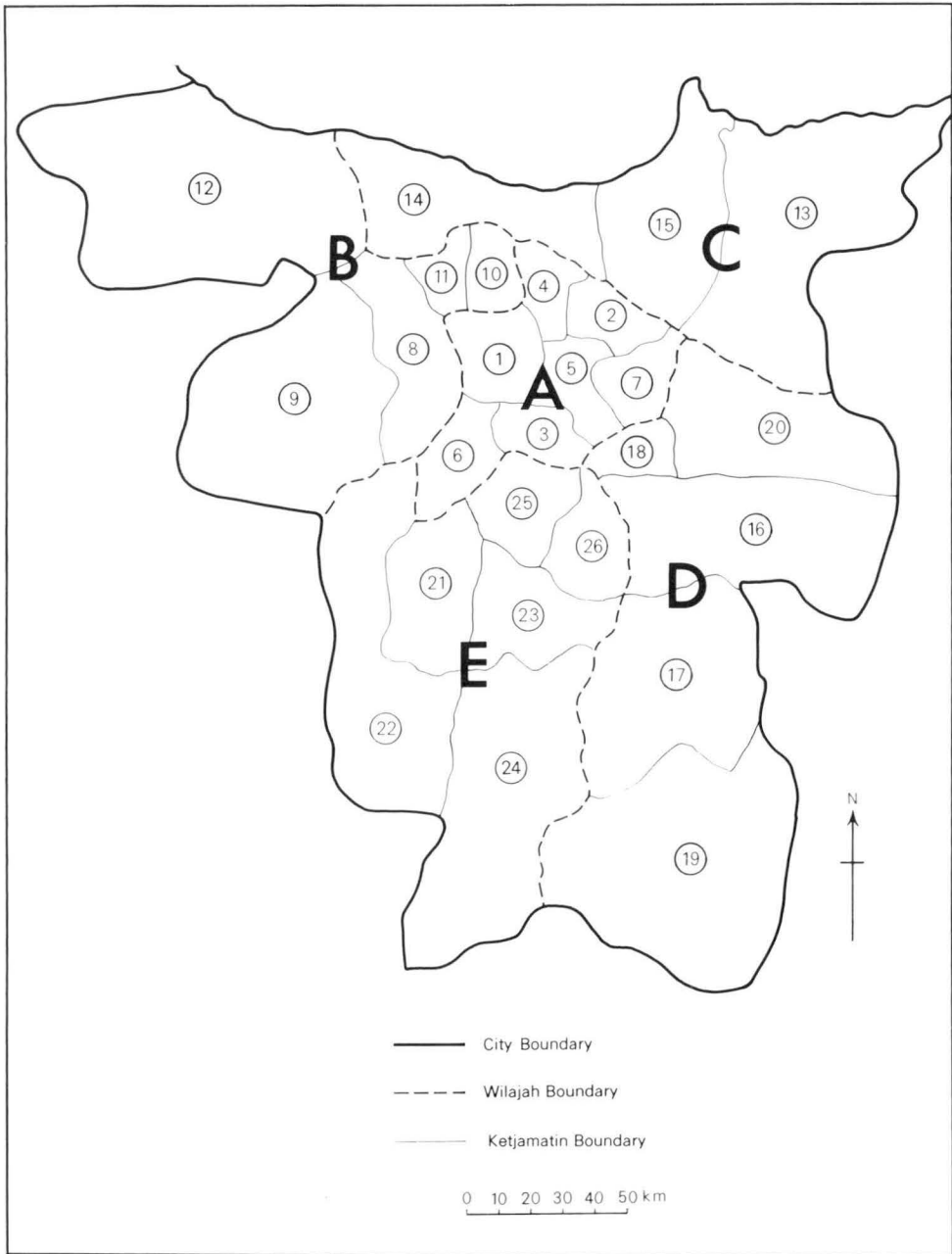


Fig. 6. Jakarta administrative districts. A. Central Jakarta: (1) Gambir; (2) Komajoran; (3) Menteng; (4) Sawah-Besar; (5) Senen; (6) Tanah-Abang; (7) Tjempaka-Putih. B. West Jakarta: (8) Grogol-Petamburan; (9) Kebon-Jeruk; (10) Taman-Sari; (11) Tambora; (12) Tjengkareng. C. North Jakarta: (13) Koja; (14) Penjaringan; (15) Tanjung-Priok. D. East Jakarta: (16) Jatinegara; (17) Kramat-Jati; (18) Matraman; (19) Pasar-Rebo; (20) Pulo-Gadung. E. South Jakarta: (21) Kebajoran-Baru; (22) Kebajoran-Lama; (23) Mampang-Prapatan; (24) Pasar-Minggu; (25) Setia-Budi; (26) Tebet.

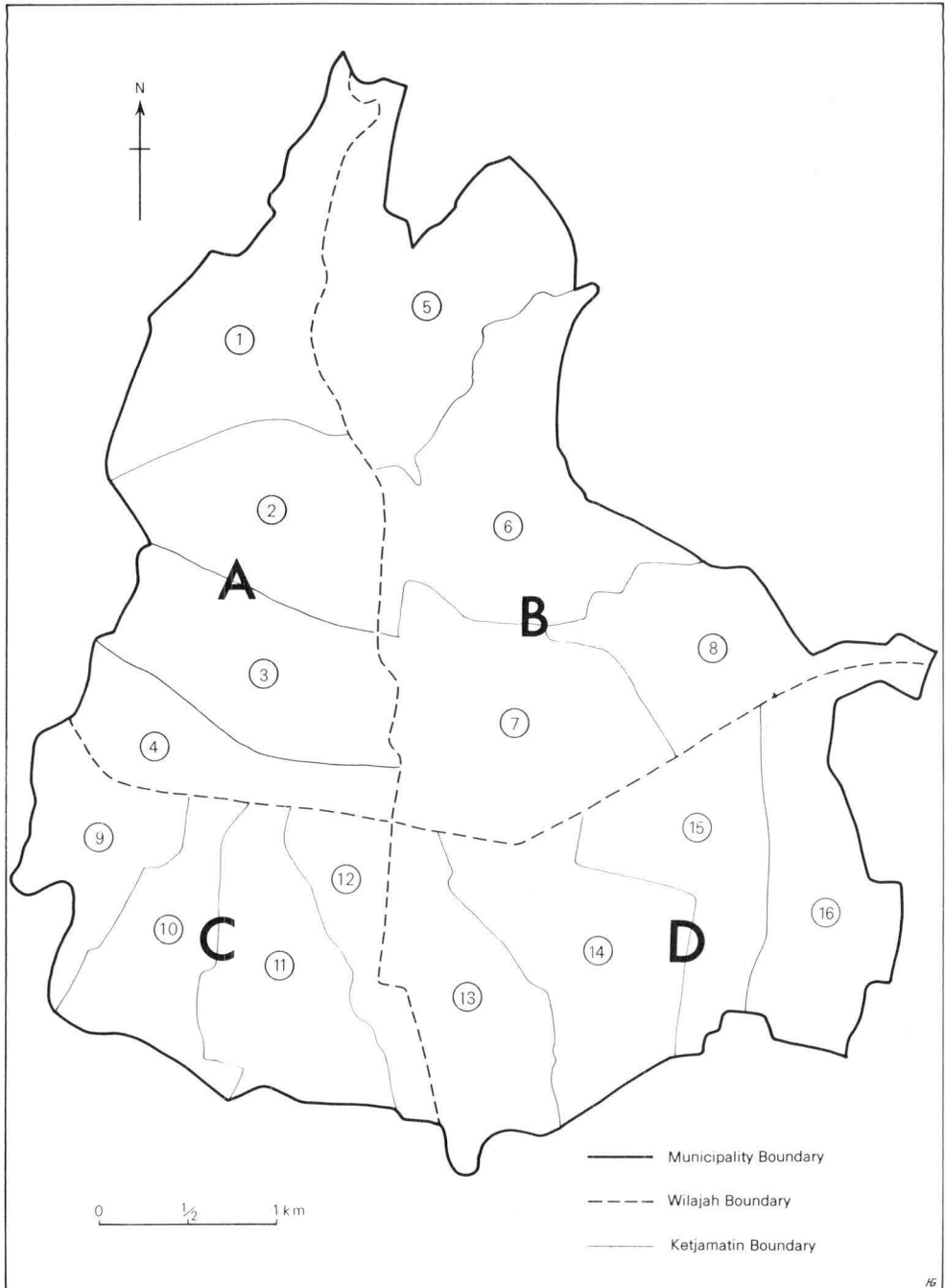


Fig. 7. Bandung administrative districts. A. Bojonegara: (1) Sukasari; (2) Sukajadi; (3) Cicendo; (4) Andir. B. Cigeunying: (5) Cidadap; (6) Coblong; (7) Bandung Wetan; (8) Cigeunying. C. Tegallega: (9) Bandung Kulon; (10) Bab. Ciparay; (11) Bojongloa; (12) Astana Anyar. D. Karees: (13) Regol; (14) Lengkong; (15) Batununggal; (16) Kiaracondong.

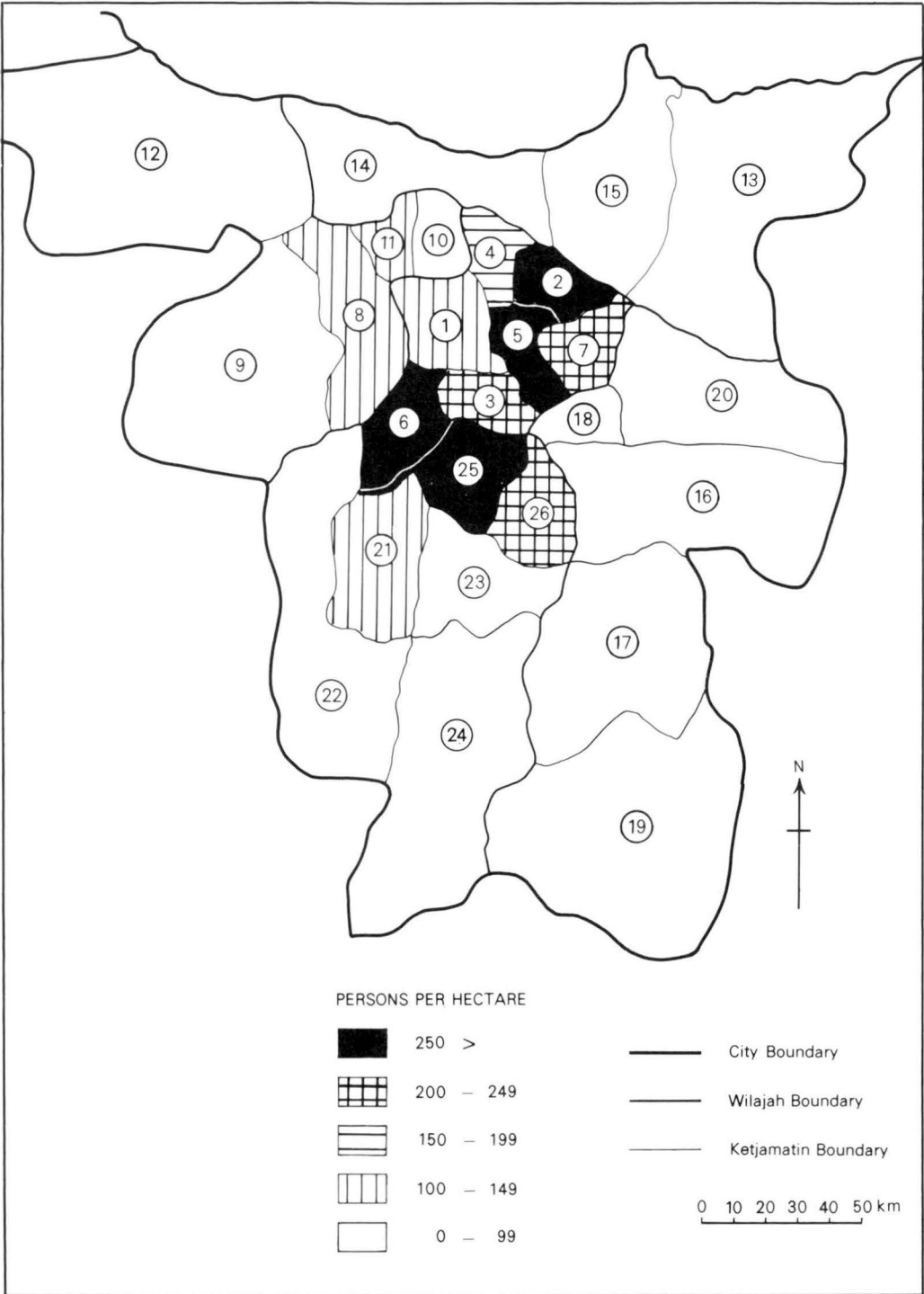


Fig. 8. Jakarta administrative districts.

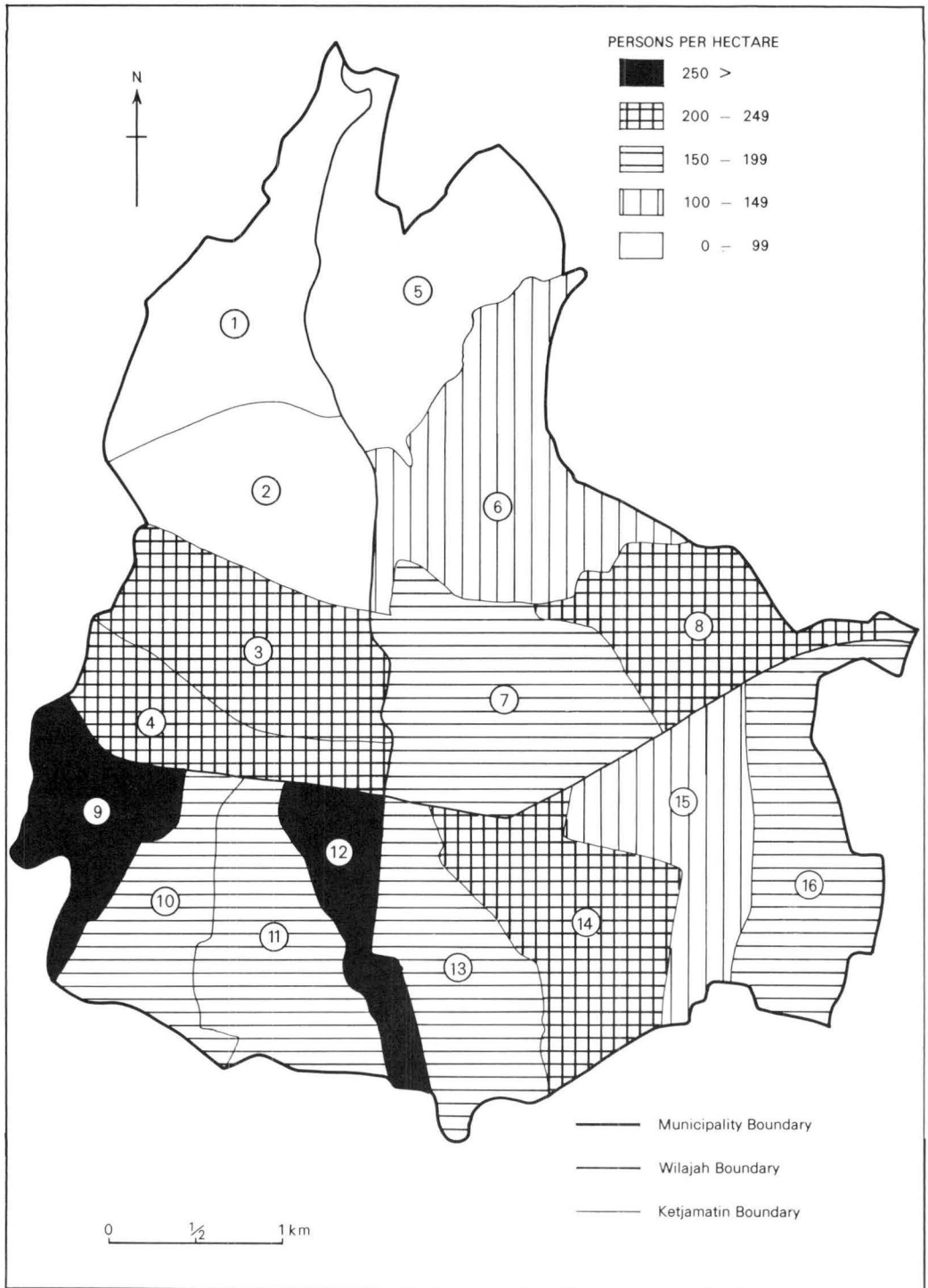


Fig. 9. Bandung population density, 1970.

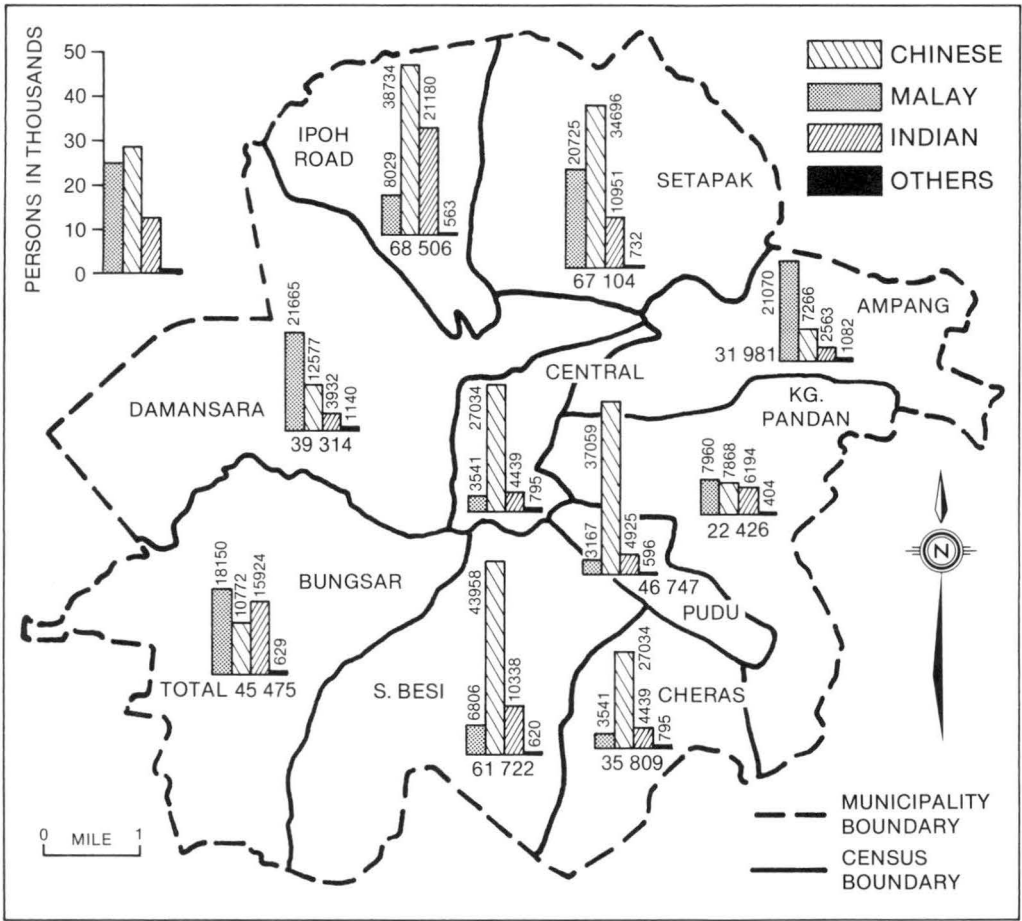


Fig. 10. Population by main ethnic community and district, Kuala Lumpur, 1970.

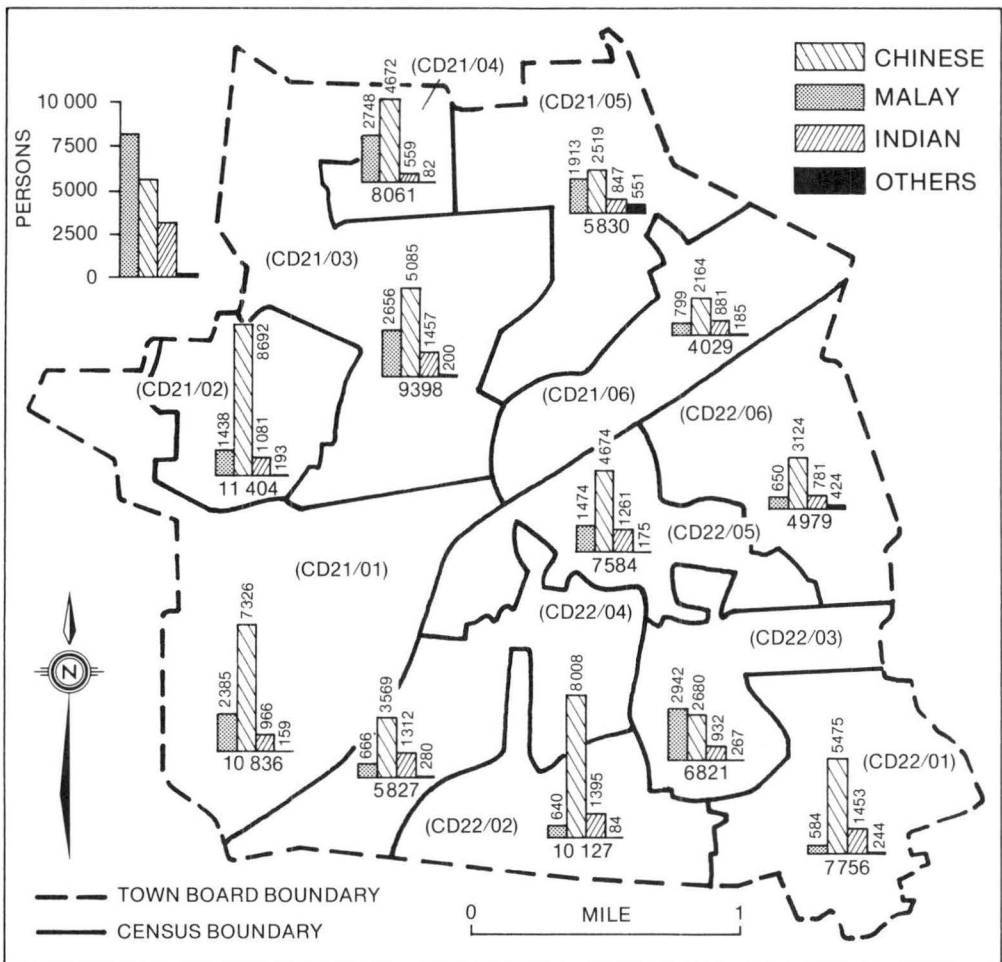
indicated that there were too few hawkers. However, it seems likely that this question would need much more detailed research to be resolved completely.

The survey collected data on a wide range of commodities and services. However, for the purpose of the analysis, these have been collapsed into four main groups: *unprocessed and semiprocessed food*, including raw food such as meat, fruit, and vegetables and semiprocessed food including rice; *prepared foods*, including mainly cooked food and drink; *nonfood items*, consisting of miscellaneous commodities ranging from textiles to medicines; and finally *services*, consisting of various activities like shoe shining and hair cutting. The analysis of the patterns of commodity groupings in the selected Southeast Asian cities indicates that prepared food sellers are the most concentrated and the most homogeneous in their concentrations. They are followed in a decreasing tendency of concentration by: unprepared food sellers, nonfood-stuff vendors, and sellers of miscellaneous commodities such as cigarettes or newspapers.

A third aspect of the concentration patterns of hawkers at the macrolevel is associated with the type of hawker unit. One of the major problems from the

point of view of the policymakers is that, often after they have established a group of hawkers in a legal street market or an allocated space, there is a tendency for semistatic hawkers to invade these concentrations and cause congestion. This is comparatively easy for the mobile and semistatic hawker operatives who carry their goods around on bicycles, or carrying baskets, and who lay their goods out for sale and remove them at the end of the day. However, these activities greatly exacerbate the congestion of the hawker market because these hawkers tend to locate themselves at street corners and entrances to markets where pedestrian flows are at their peak. It is significant, therefore, that the survey found no city in which this group made up less than two-thirds of the hawkers surveyed. This finding must be underlined if it is remembered that these semistatic and mobile hawkers were enumerated in the large hawker concentrations that cause the main problems to city authorities. Mobile and semistatic hawkers could not be distinguished in percentage terms by commodity or concentration points, except in the case of hawkers who located themselves in concentrations for only short periods of time. An

Fig. 11. Population by main ethnic community and district, Petaling Jaya, 1970.



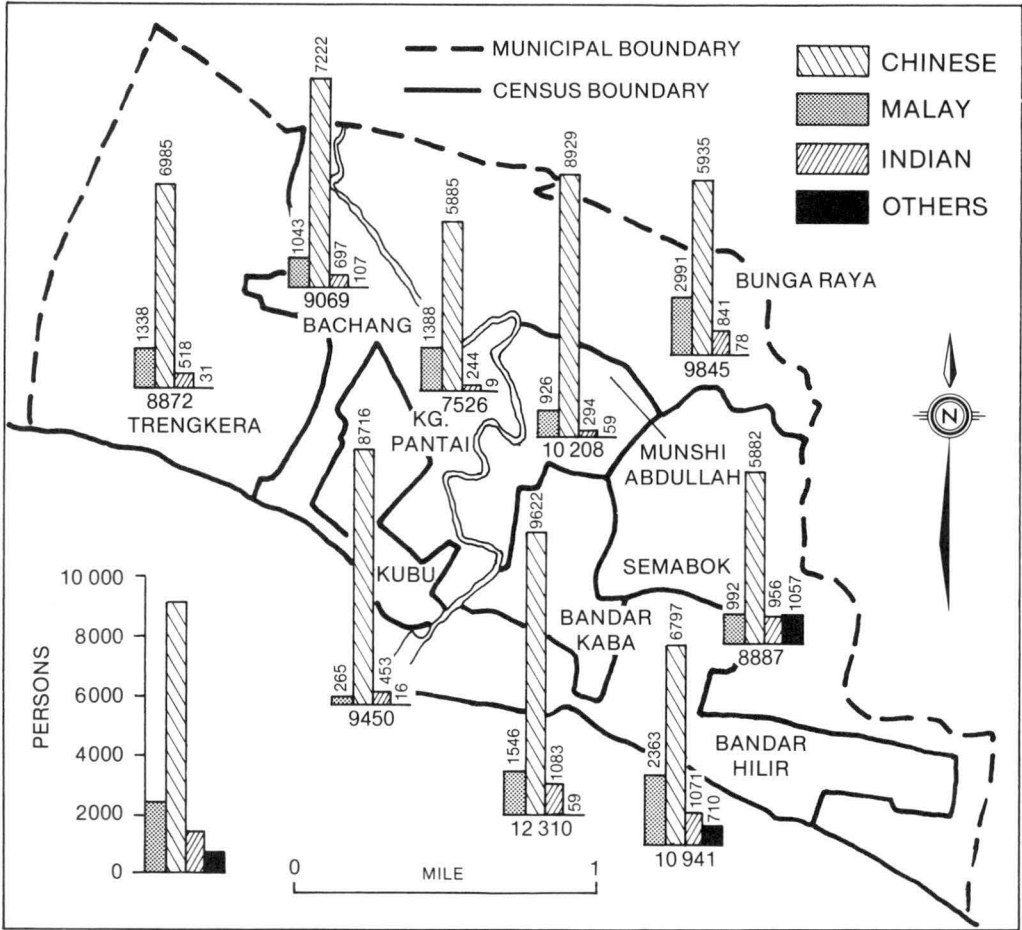


Fig. 12. Population by main ethnic community and district, Malacca, 1970.

example of this type of hawker cluster is prepared food hawkers who locate themselves close to office blocks at lunch time, so as to offer meals to the office workers. This type of hawker was particularly prevalent in Jakarta and Bandung.

A final aspect of the macropatterns of hawkers may be discerned from their distribution in relationship to areas of the highest population density. Detailed studies in Hong Kong (Tse 1974b; McGee 1973b) and Singapore (Yeung 1973) have already established the close relationship between the location of hawker concentrations and high population densities at the macrolevel, and this pattern was generally found to be true of the cities surveyed. This relationship is well illustrated in the case of Jakarta, where the main concentrations of hawkers were found in areas of high population density like Senen, and in other high density parts of the city (see Fig. 8). Similar relationships between population density and hawker concentration are also apparent in Bandung (Fig. 9). This pattern was not as clear in some of the other cities. For instance, in the case of Manila, the district with the highest population density, Tondo, did not have any major concentration of hawkers.

The question of the close relationship between hawker numbers and density of population is also compounded by factors such as the multiethnic character of the cities studied. This factor is vividly portrayed in the case of the Malaysian cities, which have important differences in the distribution of the three major ethnic communities, as is shown in Fig. 10–12. It is significant that Lam (1974) found that 48.3 percent of the hawkers enumerated in the morning were found in the two census districts of Central and Pudu in which a predominantly Chinese population was resident. In the evening the prepared food hawkers predominated in both the Central area and Ipoh Road district. In Petaling Jaya, a satellite town of middle-class residents, among whom car ownership is high, the location of hawkers was influenced by the planned nature of the town, which had segregated commercial, industrial, and residential areas. Thus, 70 percent of the hawkers were located in the three census districts of 21/03, 22/02, and 22/05 where the major shopping blocks were located. In Malacca, the major concentration of hawkers was found in Munshi Abdullah in the heart of the Malacca Chinatown, but they were also predominant in Kampong Pantai and Kubu in which Chinese shophouses predominated. In the other Southeast Asian cities where the multiethnic character of the cities is less pronounced, the relationship between the residence of ethnic or language groups and hawker location is less clear. In any event, the importance of hawkers in the Chinese way of life is certainly a major factor in their persistence in the Chinese-dominated cities of Southeast Asia (Jackson 1975).

Movements Through Urban Space

Another dimension of the spatial macropatterns of hawkers pertains to the movement of hawkers, customers, and commodities through space. The hawker is involved in two main types of movement: (1) movement to and from his home to his place of selling, and (2) movement to and from the place of purchase of the commodities that are being sold to the place of selling. It should be emphasized that *place of selling* may refer to one permanent site, or to a number of selling locations if the hawker is semistatic or itinerant. Customers may move directly from their home to purchase commodities or services from the hawker, or they may purchase from a hawker while shopping in other retail outlets or from their place of work. All these movements of hawkers, customers, and commodities may be carried out within a variety of transport routes and by single or mixed modes of transportation. Taken together, these various forms of movement must be responsible for a very significant proportion of the spatial flows within the cities studied, and therefore information on their features is invaluable for the city planners. In this section the movements of hawkers and their customers are discussed separately.

Movement of hawkers from home to place of selling

The movement of the hawker from his home to his place of selling was measured by four questions on: (1) the hawker's place of permanent residence; (2) the distance of his home from the place of selling; (3) the time taken to go from his home to the place of selling; and (4) the form of transport used to go from his home to the place of selling. From the comparative point of view the last three questions were of most value, because the different size of spatial units in the various cities did not permit a meaningful comparison.

Table 4. Percentage of hawkers in each city by distance from place of selling.

	Kuala Lumpur ^a	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Same as home ^b	3.4	8.6	5.9	1.8	9.8	6.6
Less than 1 km	47.2	39.3	27.4	26.0	55.3	47.7
1-2.99 km	24.5	19.8	38.6	40.1	26.1	40.1
3-4.99 km	11.8	28.2	7.0	19.1	1.6	3.4
5 km plus	12.9	4.0	21.2	13.0	8.1	2.2

^aFigures for Kuala Lumpur include Petaling Jaya.

^bThe distance in the case of Kuala Lumpur and Malacca is in miles.

Table 5. Percentage of hawkers in each city by time taken to travel to place of selling.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Same as home	3.7	9.0	4.1	1.6	8.6	4.6
Less than 10 min	50.0	46.8	39.4	50.6	39.8	36.7
11-20 min	22.7	28.9	25.6	28.1	30.1	36.3
More than 20 min	23.5	15.2	31.0	19.6	21.4	22.4

Table 6. Percentage of hawkers in each city by principal mode of transport utilized to reach place of selling.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
On foot	34.6	21.4	42.9	45.9	20.1	78.7
Semimechanized ^a	24.8	62.2	3.0	-	29.9	13.8
Motor transport	38.8	11.2	44.7	43.1	45.4	7.2
Mixed	2.1	5.0	9.5	11.0	4.5	-

^aSemimechanized transport includes transport modes such as push carts, bicycles, tricycles etc. that utilize human energy.

Table 4 shows that there were some marked differences among the cities in terms of the distance of the hawker from his place of selling. Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, and Bandung have almost 50 percent of their hawkers living within one mile or one kilometre of their place of selling; whereas, in the cases of Malacca, Manila, and Baguio the majority of hawkers live more than one mile or one kilometre away from their place of selling. In the case of the secondary cities of Malacca and Bandung this pattern can be explained to some extent by the higher proportions of mobile hawkers (43 and 50 percent, respectively) who sell from several locations and who interpreted the question in terms of the total distance covered in selling commodities. The relatively long separation of the home from the selling place in Manila may be ascribed to the fact that hawkers tend to live in squatter areas such as Tondo and travel to hawker concentrations that are somewhat far away from their place of residence.

There is a much more even distribution among the various cities in the time taken by hawkers to travel from their home to their place of selling (Table 5). However, differences, although narrow, still exist among the cities. The majority of hawkers in Manila, Jakarta, and Bandung have a journey in excess of 10 minutes; whereas, most hawkers in the Malaysian cities and Bandung take less than 10 minutes.

The explanation for the differences that emerge in the two preceding tables may tie in part to the dominance of Chinese hawkers, who live close to their places of selling, in the Malaysian cities, and to the particular road patterns and transport flows characteristic of individual cities. On the face of it, the mode of transport used to convey the hawker from his home to place of selling should also be of significance. Table 6 indicates some sharp differences between the major cities and secondary centres in the case of Malaysia and Indonesia. Thus 59.4 percent of the hawkers use human-powered modes of transport in Kuala Lumpur compared with 83.6 percent in Malacca. In Jakarta this figure is 50 percent compared with 92.5 percent in Bandung. Only in the Philippine cities are the figures approximately equal. The large cities in each of the countries have similar patterns of transportation usage, although Manila has a very low proportion of human-energy transport compared with the other cities, a feature which may reflect, *inter alia*, the efficiency of jeepneys and other systems of public transport.

In general, the hawker's pattern of travel to work shows that although he prefers to live as close to his place of selling as possible and travel to work on foot, increasing separation between home and place of work is forcing him to use more mechanized means of transport. As a result, use of small-scale carriers, exemplified by jeepneys and helicaks (motorized covered bejaks), is increasing. The Philippine cities studied have been developing rapidly in this direction; the Indonesian cities have been the slowest to change.

The movement of hawkers' goods from place of purchase to place of selling

A second aspect of the spatial flows generated by hawker activities is the movement of goods from their place of purchase to the hawkers' selling places. Most hawkers buy their goods from within their cities' boundaries. In the early stages of the research it had been hypothesized that the secondary centres would have a much higher proportion of hawkers who bought goods from outside their cities, but the results of the survey did not support this suggestion. In fact, in both the major and secondary centres this category of purchase was very small. In the secondary centres, however, it is far more common for the hawkers to buy in the same district as they sell. The frequency of purchase also affects the density of flows. Most hawkers purchase their commodities at least once or twice a day. The percentage of hawkers doing so in the various cities was: Kuala Lumpur 69.8; Malacca 79.8; Manila 60.3; Baguio 44.6; Jakarta 61.2; and Bandung 48.6. The higher proportion of daily and twice daily purchases in the Malaysian cities mirrors the dominance of unprepared and prepared food sellers in these cities, but the high figures for Jakarta and Manila are more probably related to the small scale of operation and limited capital of the hawkers because, by comparison, the food sellers are not as prominent in these cities. The mode of transportation utilized to bring goods to the selling

Table 7. Percentage of hawkers in each city with customers within 10 minutes walking distance of hawker location by commodity sold.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Semiprocessed + unprocessed food	48	54	51	38	34	50
Prepared food	38	43	58	10	38	42
Nonfood	15	16	33	10	31	9

place shows very little variation from the results presented in Table 6. It is thus clear that the hawkers are attempting to use the cheapest and most flexible forms of transport.

The movement of customers to the hawkers' place of selling

Owing to the logistic and financial limitations of the study, the research teams did not carry out a survey of hawkers' customers. Some efforts were made in the survey to establish the location of the majority of the hawkers' customers. The answers suggested that about one-third of the hawkers claimed customers came from a walking distance of about 10 minutes, approximately 10 percent from outside this area, and the remainder from a combination of the two areas. This finding falls into better perspective when the cutomers' choices of commodities are evaluated (see Table 7). With the exception of Jakarta, there is a marked tendency for more food customers to come from the immediate neighbourhood of the hawkers than for nonfood customers. If the category of answers that grouped the immediate and outside-neighbourhood customers could be broken down it would undoubtedly strengthen this finding.

Other studies that have relied on customer surveys provide much more accurate data supporting this conclusion. A 1969 hawker study in Hong Kong found that 86 percent of the foodstuff customers came from within a 15-minute walking distance of the place of selling. Ninety-five percent traveled on foot and 71 percent purchased their goods once or twice daily. This can be compared with 56 percent who came from within a 15-minute walking distance to purchase goods from a nonfood selling concentration of hawkers. Of these customers, only 36 percent traveled on foot and only 5 percent bought goods once or twice daily (see McGee 1973b). Although these results are certainly influenced by the very high densities prevailing in Hong Kong, they do replicate a pattern indicative of the real situation in Southeast Asian cities. Together with the other more general findings, these observations have important consequences for policymakers because they suggest that unprocessed food hawkers are generally much more sensitive to relocation than the nonfood hawkers who draw their customers from a much wider field. Similarly, relocation of *pasar malam* (night market) hawkers in Singapore, even involving short distances, has resulted in business decline or failure because these hawkers tend to satisfy a demand from a spatially defined clientele (see Yeung 1977).

Microdistribution of Hawkers

The discussion of this chapter has so far focused on the macroaspects of the distribution of hawkers and the flows of hawkers, their customers, and commodities at a city-wide level. At this level, it is clear that hawkers form an integral part of the economic life. However, hawkers also operate at a microlevel relying upon close relationships with the shops and markets near which they are located, and the population of the surrounding neighbourhood. No less important, they also rely upon close cooperation with fellow hawkers within the same hawker concentration. It can be forcefully argued that many of the locational actions taken against particular concentrations of hawkers fail because they do not take into account the strength of these microecological linkages. In Southeast Asian cities these factors are certainly operative, but the survey technique was not specifically designed to probe how they operated. What is needed is an anthropological enquiry of several hawker concentrations over a period of time in an attempt to establish how hawkers react to actions such as relocation.

Typical of such a hawker concentration is one example described by Lam 1974. This concentration of hawkers carried out their business in the Chinatown of Kuala Lumpur along Petaling Street and the surrounding streets. This is a typical Southeast Asian Chinatown urban landscape, with shophouses lining the streets (see Jackson 1975). Each shophouse consists of two or three stories; the ground floor is given over to retailing or industrial activities; whereas, the other floors are subdivided into a series of residential cubicles often very small in size. There are only limited cooking facilities in these tenements and people often take their meals from hawkers who are located on the streets outside. Each shophouse has a verandah overhanging the pavement and hawkers lay out their wares in the shade during the heat of the day. In the evenings the street is closed off to motor traffic and hawkers move onto marked pitches on the road to sell their goods.

Figures 13 and 14 show the location and types of hawkers and retailing shops in the area in morning and evening. These retailing activities show a close adjustment to the daily rhythm of life characteristic of the inhabitants. In the morning, a temporary street market of unprocessed food sellers is set up in a side street where people can come and buy meat, fish, and vegetables for daily meals. There are also many prepared food stalls on the edge of the street. Located on the pavements (5-foot ways) beneath the shophouse verandahs are a diverse array of nonfood sellers. The retailing shops consist notably of coffee shops, textile stores, and a miscellaneous assortment of other commercial activities particularly oriented toward the needs of the Chinese community (see Fig. 13).

In the evening, the type of hawker activity changes and customers are attracted from a much wider range of districts. Along the street are located numerous textile sellers who lay their goods out on delimited but sizeable pitches. Food sellers abound close to the textile sellers and people also make purchases in the adjacent stores (see Fig. 14). In concentrations such as these marked complementarity of commodities exists among hawker stalls, which acts as a major attraction for customers. Hawkers come to be known by customers, and similar hawker concentrations, in tune to the life of the neighbourhood, occur in different terms in the majority of the study cities. In view of the mutual complementarity among hawkers in such well-established

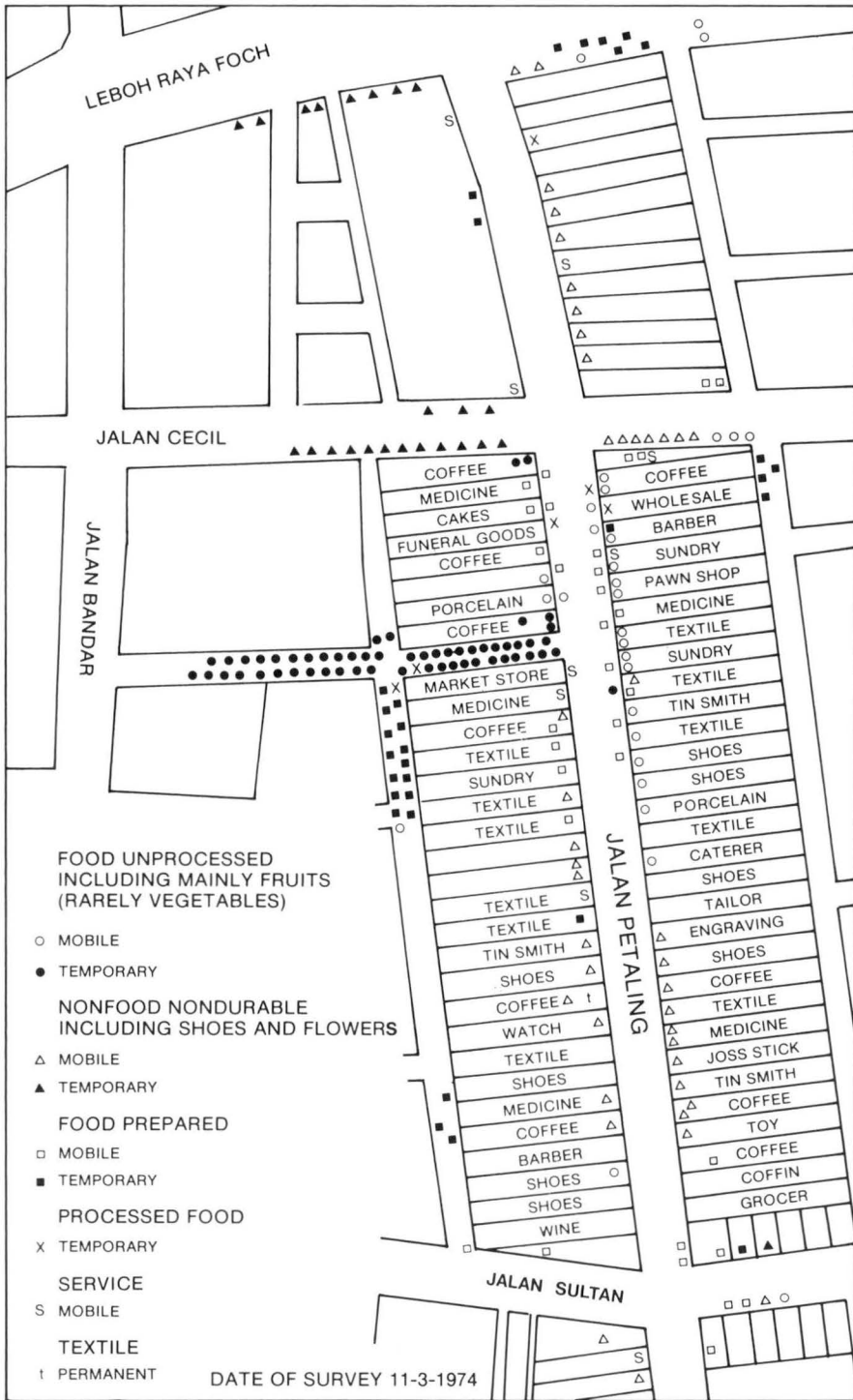


Fig. 13. Location of hawkers along part of Jalan Petaling, Kuala Lumpur — morning.

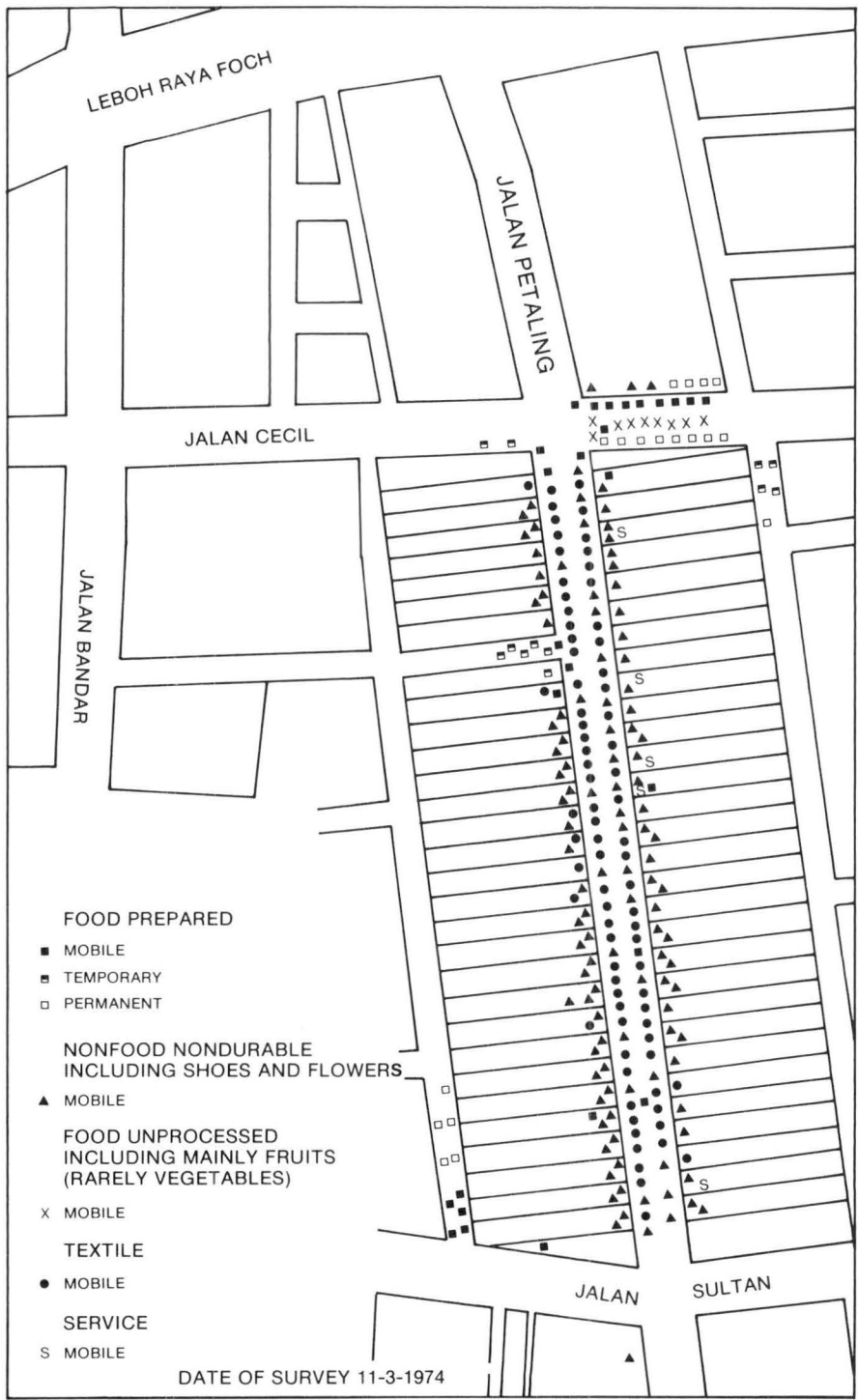


Fig. 14. Location of hawkers along part of Jalan Petaling, Kuala Lumpur — evening.

groupings, dispersed hawkers' businesses resulting from locational disruption generally fail to survive as it takes a considerable time for such locations to build up popularity with customers.

The relevance of these observations becomes apparent when the length of time that the hawkers have spent selling from their present location and their reasons for locating at their present selling positions are considered. Table 8 reveals the surprising conclusion that many of the hawkers in the Southeast Asian cities have spent a short period of time selling from their present location. Even in the well-established hawker community of Malacca, 48 percent of the hawkers have been selling from their present sites for less than 4 years and the proportion is very much higher in other cities.

Some explanation is provided by the reasons that the hawkers gave for locating at their present site (see Table 9). The main reason given is "economic advantage." This represents a cluster of answers that may be interpreted to mean perception of selling opportunities. Social reasons, ranking second in importance, are principally "inheritance" or "close to friends and relatives." Government policy, the next group of reasons, represents relocation or reactions to persistent governmental removal. The interpretation of the responses is not easy, but probably it is best to regard economic and locational advantage as forming a cluster that cannot be further separated. The dominance of this group of responses would seem to suggest that hawkers in these cities are still seeking out the most advantageous sites as they evolve from mobility to stability. Social reasons form a salient segment of responses, indicating the importance of social ties in the hawker communities. The results also suggest that government has, so far, had only a limited effect on the hawkers who remain in the streets.

This chapter has outlined the major locational features of hawkers and the work, customer, and commodity flows that are generated by their activities. The implications for policymakers will be considered in the final chapter.

Table 8. Percentage of hawkers in each city by length of time selling from present location.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Below 1 year	22	15	26	47	45	35
1-4 years	49	33	25	34	39	45
5 years and above	30	52	49	19	16	20

Table 9. Major reasons (percent) for hawkers locating at their present selling pitch.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Good location	5	11	4	2	9	5
Economic advantage	50	44	40	50	40	37
Social reasons	21	28	26	28	30	36
Government policy	15	10	17	10	11	13

Meanwhile, it may be concluded that the activities of hawkers do exhibit a high degree of spatial orderliness, at both the macro- and microlevel. On the whole, hawkers have successfully identified the ecological niches within the city in which they can survive. The hawker-customer ecological relationship is so well defined that any attempt at relocation of the hawker concentrations will likely lead to disruption of business activity, although this process will affect food vendors more than nonfood hawkers. Additionally, the study reveals the extent of product complementarity among hawkers and between hawkers and surrounding shopping units, which are much akin to those existing in the retail elements of the formal commercial structure of Western cities (see Nelson 1958; Berry 1963). Hawker operations are just as rational as their more formal counterparts in the marketing system of the city. Finally, the mobility patterns of the hawkers, their customers, and their goods within urban space make up an important proportion of the spatial flows of the cities. The reliance on traditional low-cost transport modes ties hawkers and their activities to another segment of the informal sector — the transport segment — with the result that their existence in the Southeast Asian cities is mutually reinforcing.

5

Economic Aspects of Hawker Operations

Although the primary concerns of government authorities are the physical problems hawkers present to the effective operation of their cities, the policies and actions of governments are also greatly affected by prevailing attitudes concerning the economic role of hawking. These attitudes range from a viewpoint that envisages hawkers as rather shrewd entrepreneurs who have a “Mercedes” hidden behind their squalid squatter huts to one that portrays hawkers as a marginal poor population contributing little to the development process. Both sets of attitudes are probably partial truths lacking the comprehensive data that allow them to be tested against reality. They are constrained by a vague image of the hawker as well as a narrow perception of the role hawkers play in economic development. This chapter attempts to provide answers to both sets of assumptions by presenting data on hawkers’ economic activities under two broad headings. First a description will be presented of the major economic features of the hawker unit of operation, and second, a detailed analysis of a group of the “richest” and “poorest” hawker operatives in each city is given in an effort to establish if they have any special features that support the contention that hawkers are “developmental” or “antidevelopmental.”

Four principal distinguishing factors of the hawker operation may be delineated: (1) the *types* of commodities sold; (2) the *types* of hawker unit; (3) the *scale of operation* of the hawker unit as indicated by the daily earnings; and (4) the *mode of operation* of the hawker unit as indicated by individual family operation or payment of wages to workers in the unit.

Type of commodities sold

A crucial variable in defining a hawker unit of operation and hence policy toward it is the type of commodity being sold. Table 10 shows that there are distinct differences among the cities in terms of the major commodity groups sold. The commodities sold and the services offered by hawkers have been collapsed into four groups.

Unprocessed and semiprocessed foods include raw food such as meat, fruit, vegetables, and semiprocessed food like milled rice. *Prepared foods* comprise principally cooked foods and drinks. *Nonfood items* consist of a wide range of goods ranging from textiles to medicines. Finally, the *services* category is composed of such activities as shoe shining and hair cutting.

Table 10. Percentage of hawkers selling major commodity groups.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Unprocessed and semiprocessed food	31	38	37	29	17	16
Prepared food	49	50	16	21	35	27
Nonfood	18	8	39	27	46	47
Services	2	4	8	23	2	11

Table 11. Percentage of hawkers by type of hawker unit.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Mobile	28	43	11	25	34	50
Semistatic	41	22	78	70	30	26
Static	31	35	11	5	36	24

Closer examination of Table 10 suggests that three generalizations may be proffered with respect to the commodities sold by hawkers in the study cities. First of all, the two cities within each country have very similar patterns of distribution of commodity groups. It may thus be suggested that the hawker phenomenon is country- and culture-specific. At least in commodity distribution, there is greater similarity between cities of the same country, irrespective of size, than across countries, even comparing cities of like size. The only exception to this pattern is Baguio, which has a much higher proportion of service hawkers than Manila. Secondly, there are differences between countries in the commodities being sold. The Malaysian cities have a predominance of prepared food sellers; the Indonesian cities have a high proportion in nonfood selling; and the cities of the Philippines have a more even distribution of commodity selling groups.

Finally, a broader distinction may be made between food and nonfood sellers. A sharp distinction is readily apparent between the Malaysian cities where more than 80 percent of the hawkers sell food, and other cities, which have 40 to 50 percent of the hawkers in this category.

Type of hawker unit

Policymaking for hawkers is clearly influenced by the degree of locational stabilization of hawkers. To obtain some measure of this, the survey attempted to distinguish among three types of hawker units: (1) *mobile* hawker units, which represent various forms of wheeled or easily carried hawker selling unit, ranging from bicycles to carrying baskets — the chief feature of this type of operation is that the hawker moves from one location to another, selling during the day or night; (2) *semistatic* hawker units in which the stall or selling unit is removed after a long period of selling, generally at the end of the day; and (3)

static hawker units, which are most frequently stalls permanently located in streets or public spaces.

On the basis of this threefold classification it is possible to make a number of between-country and between-city observations (see Table 11). First, unlike the commodity distribution patterns, the size of the city is significant. There is a marked variation in the distribution of hawker types between the larger and secondary centres of each country. This is most pronounced in the secondary cities, which have proportionally far more mobile hawkers. Conversely, the larger cities have a higher proportion of semistatic and static hawker units. There are also some differences among countries. The Philippine cities have a clear dominance of semistatic hawkers; the Indonesian and Malaysian cities have a greater mixture of the three types of hawkers. It is generally the semistatic and mobile hawkers who pose the major problems of congestion, therefore it is significant that these categories make up an overwhelming majority in all cities. They range from a low of 64 percent in Jakarta to a high of 95 percent in Baguio. As we have already indicated the lower figure in Jakarta is almost certainly a consequence of the survey strategy (see page 36).

The scale of operation in the hawker unit as indicated by the daily net earnings

Daily net earnings is a variable that must be treated with some caution, particularly in inferring the standard of living of hawkers, because it should not

Table 12. Percentage of hawkers by value of daily net earnings.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Submarginal	27	31	29	47	40	21
Marginal	37	32	40	38	37	40
Minimum	28	29	15	12	19	31
Above Minimum	8	7	16	3	4	8

^aThese categories are defined (in Malaysian dollars, Philippine pesos, and Indonesian rupiahs) for the cities as: Kuala Lumpur and Malacca — submarginal < \$5, marginal \$5–10, minimum, \$11–19, above minimum \$20+; Manila — submarginal < P6, marginal P6–10; minimum P11–25, above minimum P26+; Baguio — submarginal < P6, marginal P6–10, minimum P11–20, above minimum P21+; Jakarta — submarginal < R250, marginal R250–500, minimum R501–1000, above minimum R1001+; Bandung — submarginal < R100, marginal R100–250, minimum R251–500, above minimum R501+.

Table 13. Percentage of hawkers by main modes of operation.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Individual operators	41.1	56.7	53.1	80.4	60.1	66.9
Family operations	47.6	35.0	37.9	17.6	30.3	27.8
Nonfamily operations	11.1	8.2	8.8	1.9	9.6	4.5

be equated with household income. At any rate, it gives some indication of the scale of operation of the hawker unit, especially when it is combined with the results of the value of stock and daily gross takings questions.

On that cautionary note, Table 12 groups the value of earnings of hawkers into four main groups (submarginal, marginal, minimum, and above minimum) on the basis of the assessment of the value of incomes by the project participants. The monetary equivalents in each country or city are also listed in the table. This scale of income categories was derived from the estimates of various country teams.

Almost two-thirds of the hawkers are earning daily incomes that place them in the marginal or submarginal categories. In the view of the project participants, this income places the hawkers in these groups generally in the low-income categories of the city population, especially if compared with workers in the wage or salaried sectors. However, when compared with the urban poor, Papanek (1975) illustrated that hawkers were in fact among the "better-off" of the "working poor." In any case, some caveats must be introduced with respect to this result. First, the majority of hawkers work every day of the month, which boosts their monthly earnings in comparison with wage and salaried workers. Second, most hawkers report seasonal peaks, notably at times of festivals, when their takings increase considerably, a fact that must increase their annual incomes. Third, there may have been some underestimating of incomes in the surveys. Lastly, between-country groupings of earning levels at best only approximate indexed levels of living.

With the exception of Manila, only a small proportion of hawkers earn above minimum daily incomes in all cities (Table 12). These incomes are still

Hawkers operations can be characterized by the type of commodity sold, the type of hawker unit, and the scale and mode of operation of the unit.



very small, being not more than approximately US\$10 in Malaysia, US\$3 in the Philippines, and US\$1–2 in Indonesia. Hence only a very small group of entrepreneurial hawkers is found in these cities as opposed to larger groups in Hong Kong or in West African cities.

The mode of operation of the hawker operation

One of the crucial economic variables affecting the operations of the hawker unit is the type of labour used and the manner of labour input. Previous research on the economic activities of small traders suggests that a sharp division occurs in the scale, size, and income earned when the hawker operation begins to employ labour for wages. This may happen as a result of death of family members, or more commonly because the operation has reached a scale and size where additional labour inputs, which cannot be met by family commitment, are needed. Other studies have shown that units of operation that employ wage labour are generally larger in scale and size and earn higher incomes. Data were collected in our survey that may throw light on this relationship. The data in Table 13 divide the *mode of operation* into three main types: *individual operators* who describe themselves as sole operatives; *family operations* that utilize relatives without pay in operating the unit; and *nonfamily operations* that pay wages to their employees. It should be stressed that individual operatives do utilize family members at periods of peak demand, for instance at times of seasonal festivities, but this was not taken into account in the question.

The percentage of nonfamily operations is very small in all cities. However, without exception the larger cities have higher proportions than the secondary cities. True, Malacca has a proportion of nonfamily enterprises similar to that of the larger cities. The overall pattern seems to suggest that the emergence of the hawker unit as a petty capitalist enterprise is most advanced in the larger cities, which have higher household incomes and more developed labour markets. Individual-operated hawker enterprises dominate in all cities except Kuala Lumpur (Table 13). The relationship between the larger cities and secondary cities is the reverse of that for nonfamily operations. That is to say, individual operatives form the largest proportion in the three secondary centres, suggesting that the scale and size of the hawker operation is smallest in these centres. Baguio is most prominent with 80 percent of the hawker units described as individual operatives. Lastly, family operations are most significant in Kuala Lumpur, Malacca, and Manila and of less importance in the two Indonesian cities and Baguio.

Interrelationships Among Major Economic Features

Earlier hawker studies in Hong Kong and Singapore have indicated that the type of commodity sold is one of the major variables in relation to the level of operation, income, value of stock, etc., and therefore the first portion of this section is devoted to an analysis by this factor.

Four main aspects of the economic operation of the hawker unit are described: (1) the type of stall and area occupied; (2) the origin of, and form of payment for goods; (3) the hours of business; and (4) the daily net income, value of stock, and daily gross earnings of the hawker operation.

Type of hawker unit and area occupied

Generally speaking, considerable differences exist in the type of hawker unit used for selling the three main categories of commodities although no pattern is discernible among the six cities (see Table 14). Nevertheless, several comments may be made.

Perhaps the greatest similarity lies in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the hawker units in the unprocessed and semiprocessed food category is made up of mobile and semistatic units in all the cities. In all cities, more than 75 percent of the hawker units selling this type of commodity were classified as mobile or semistatic, with the highest proportion (99 percent) being in Bandung. The distribution of types of hawker unit for prepared food shows a more mixed pattern. In the Malaysian cities and Jakarta, prepared food hawkers are about equally divided between mobile and static units; whereas, in the Philippine cities and Bandung, more than 80 percent of these commodity hawkers are mobile or semistatic. Nonfood hawkers reveal no clear pattern. Only in Malacca are a majority classified as static; in the other cities the proportion that is mobile and semistatic varies considerably.

The area that a hawker unit of operation occupies for the purposes of business is of particular concern for policymakers, especially if they are involved in actions designed to allocate space for relocated hawkers. It should be stressed, however, that if such actions involve the stabilization of mobile or semistatic hawkers, they will usually need more space for their operations in the new location. The hawkers who move about are limited in the volume of goods that they can carry or display. Once stabilized, they will need a larger area for display and storage.

The results of the surveys show that the space occupied by hawker units is not large; the majority occupy 3 square metres or less (see Table 15). It might

Table 14. Percentage of major commodity groups by type of hawker.^{a,b}

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>Un/Semiprocessed food</i>						
Mobile	23	45	4	7	44	99
Semistatic	55	40	95	92	41	-
Static	22	14	1	1	15	1
<i>Prepared food</i>						
Mobile	39	45	27	12	48	82
Semistatic	18	2	69	88	8	16
Static	43	53	4	-	45	2
<i>Nonfood</i>						
Mobile	8	12	13	23	24	24
Semistatic	76	25	71	74	44	35
Static	16	63	16	2	32	40

^aA description of the various types of hawker unit and types of goods may be found in the introductory section of this chapter.

^bThe Services category has been excluded from this and the ensuing tables because it is too small to allow meaningful comparison.

Table 15. Percentage of major commodity groups by area occupied by hawker units.^{a, b}

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>Un/Semiprocessed food</i>						
Very small area	4	29	60	37	7	93
Small area	55	41	38	53	77	4
Medium area	38	25	2	10	16	3
<i>Prepared food</i>						
Very small area	3	30	89	67	8	29
Small area	50	34	10	31	60	42
Medium area	44	18	-	1	31	26
<i>Nonfood</i>						
Very small area	6	18	62	41	10	12
Small area	36	36	33	43	65	37
Medium area	55	43	5	15	23	51

^aThe original cross-tabulations included a category for large hawker units that exceeded 10 square metres in size. This category proved to be of importance only in the case of Malacca prepared food hawkers (17%) and therefore has been excluded from this table. Therefore percentages do not add up to 100.

^b*Very small* is below 1 square metre; *small* is between 1 and 3 square metres; *medium* is between 4 and 10 square metres.

have been inferred from Table 14 that mobile and semimobile, un- and semiprocessed food hawkers would occupy smaller spaces, and this is generally true in all cities except Kuala Lumpur. Overall, it is clear that the hawker units operate in larger areas in Kuala Lumpur, Malacca, and Jakarta than in the other cities.

The origin of, and form of payment for goods

In view of the statements made earlier concerning the role of hawkers in internal marketing systems, the data on the source of goods and manner of payment for these goods are valuable.

Table 16 presents the information concerning the origin of goods by major type of commodity sold. There are two problems involved in interpreting this table. First, the project participants varied in their definition of "city region," some, such as those in the Indonesian towns, being more generous in terms of territory; second, there were problems in the interpretation of the question relating to the proportion of self-produced goods. In Jakarta, in particular, this question was interpreted by some of the interviewers to mean "self-preparation" of goods and therefore the figure for Jakarta is probably too high among the food hawkers.

Bearing in mind these qualifying remarks, it may be noted that the majority of the unprocessed and semiprocessed food comes from either within the city region or the countries in which the cities are located (Table 16). It had been hypothesized that hawkers of these types of commodities would be involved in selling goods that came from the city region, but the evidence indicates that, with the exception of Baguio, the bulk of these commodities comes from a much larger hinterland. Malacca is the only city that shows any

marked self-production of these commodities. Therefore, it may be inferred that this type of commodity hawker is generally involved in marketing networks that stretch out considerable distances into the countryside. There is little doubt that hawkers do play an important role in the rural-urban marketing networks.

Prepared food hawkers have a pattern broadly similar to the unprocessed and semiprocessed hawker units, but they have a significantly higher proportion of self-produced goods. The high figure in this latter category for Jakarta must be treated with caution, as mentioned previously. In the Malaysian cities the nonfood hawkers sell between 33 and 50 percent imported food commodities, but in the other cities this source of goods is of little significance. The Malaysian figures may have resulted from the high proportion of Chinese hawkers who sell goods imported from such places as Hong Kong and China primarily to meet the consumer preferences of a Chinese customer population. In general, therefore, it may be said that the hawkers are not engaged in systems of vertical exchange to any marked extent.

Data on the pattern of payments for these goods have not been presented in tabular form because there is only slight variation in the manner of payment among cities and commodity groups. Originally it had been hypothesized that there might be sharp variations in the payment of goods by cash and credit between the foodstuff and nonfoodstuff groups. In fact, the study shows that the majority of the hawkers pay for their goods by cash (more than 80 percent) and only in the Malaysian cities and Manila is the use of consignment and credit of some importance for nonfood goods. Surprisingly, credit is only of

Table 16. Percentage of major commodity groups by origin of goods sold.^{a,b}

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>Un/Semiprocessed food</i>						
Selfproduced	3	26	-	-	1	-
Imported	25	1	-	-	1	-
Within country but						
outside city region	51	33	43	30	93	64
Within city region	20	35	41	69	5	35
<i>Prepared food</i>						
Selfproduced	14	45	21	5	66	20
Imported	5	1	2	-	-	2
Within country but						
outside city region	61	34	53	38	34	64
Within city region	19	19	19	43	-	12
<i>Nonfood</i>						
Selfproduced	2	13	1	6	-	4
Imported	33	47	-	-	2	16
Within country but						
outside city region	46	34	73	75	83	79
Within city region	18	5	19	15	-	2

^aA mixed category of origin of goods was also included in the tabulations but this has been excluded because it was very small.

^bCity region includes metropolitan and surrounding areas.

some importance for the nonfood hawkers in Baguio and not in other cities. In general, then, hawkers pay for their goods by cash, and keep a fairly low volume of stock. They hope to sell their stock quickly and therefore purchase their goods frequently.

Hours of business

In so far as the hours of operation of the hawkers go, the general observation is that hawkers work very long hours in the preparation and selling of their goods. The question that asked the hours of operation of the hawker units had some weaknesses. The major weakness was that it only asked the hawker respondent the number of hours that he operated his business each day. This excluded the time that the hawker spent in collecting, or, in the case of the prepared food hawkers, processing his goods for sale. As a consequence, the figures are certainly an underestimate of the number of hours worked by the hawker. For this reason, the data have not been cross-tabulated by commodity and are simply presented for the study cities.

From Table 17 between-city differences emerge. Manila hawkers work the longest hours; whereas, Kuala Lumpur hawkers work the shortest hours. This result must be set against the high proportion of prepared food hawkers in Kuala Lumpur whose hours of work are almost certainly underestimated. When the hours-of-work variable is cross-tabulated against types of commodities for all the hawkers in the combined cities the following pattern emerges.

Fifty-two percent of the prepared food hawkers, 46 percent of the nonfood hawkers, and 42 percent of the unprocessed and semiprocessed food hawkers operate for more than 9 hours a day. Allowing for the underestimate of work time for prepared food hawkers, this means that they clearly have the longest hours of operation. Although the survey did not collect this information, data from the life surveys and other sources indicate that most hawkers work 7 days a week and that their operations are only interrupted by bad weather or government interference.

Most hawkers have daily peaks when the majority of their sales are made. Unprocessed and semiprocessed food sellers attract the largest proportion of their customers in the morning. Predictably prepared food hawkers attract customers at the times of the main meals; whereas, nonfood hawkers attract customers at no regular time during the day. It is this pattern of daily peaks, particularly among the food hawkers, that is contributory to problems of congestion. As a reflection of cultural dietary practices, these patterns of peak

Table 17. Percentage of hawker units of operation by hours of work.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
4 h and below	13	8	7	4	6	5
5-6 h	33	22	12	20	28	18
7-8 h	14	16	13	36	21	34
8-10 h	13	20	16	26	14	17
11 h plus	27	34	51	14	31	26

purchasing can hardly be easily changed. In the same way hawkers benefit from seasonal peaks of customer spending. In Malaysian cities Chinese New Year is an important time of peak selling for hawkers; in Baguio, the Holy Week carries a similar importance, for it brings in a substantial influx of temporary residents; and in Indonesian cities festivals such as Pusa Raya attract many more customers.

Value of stock, daily gross takings, and daily net income

The results of the surveys with respect to value of stock, daily takings, and daily net income cast additional light on the distinctions among the major categories of commodity sellers. Table 18 shows that, with the exception of Baguio and Bandung, nonfood hawkers have the highest proportion of their stock falling in the high value category. This is indicative of the smaller scale of operation of these hawker units, as mentioned in the previous sections. In contrast, the unprocessed and semiprocessed food sellers are heavily concentrated in the low and medium value categories. Prepared food sellers show a good deal of variation between the major countries but tend toward the minimum value category.

It might be expected that the value of stock would show a close correlation with gross daily takings, but Table 19 does not provide conclusive evidence. There are sharp differences both among countries and cities. For example, the secondary cities have a higher percentage of unprocessed and semiprocessed sellers with "low gross takings" compared with the major cities. With the exception of Malaysia the reverse is true for nonfood categories, which are distinguished by much higher gross daily takings in the larger cities. There is

Table 18. Percentage of major commodity groups by value of stock.^a

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>Un/Semiprocessed food</i>						
Low value of stock	14	27	32	66	11	54
Medium value of stock	73	64	47	29	76	44
High value of stock	13	8	21	5	12	1
<i>Prepared food</i>						
Low value of stock	33	40	71	57	14	60
Medium value of stock	62	58	15	38	81	30
High value of stock	4	2	13	5	4	9
<i>Nonfood</i>						
Low value of stock	5	2	24	38	13	14
Medium value of stock	30	23	28	24	22	48
High value of stock	67	72	48	37	65	38

^aThe value of stock was defined as: Malaysia — low <\$20, medium \$20-250, high \$251+; Philippines — low <P30, medium P30-100, high P101+; Indonesia — low <R1000, medium R1000-10 000, high R10 001+.

Table 19. Percentage of major commodity groups by value of daily gross takings.^a

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>Un/Semiprocessed food</i>						
Low gross takings	16	37	39	44	6	37
Medium gross takings	81	61	22	32	64	62
High gross takings	3	2	39	24	29	1
<i>Prepared food</i>						
Low gross takings	28	46	62	26	3	8
Medium gross takings	70	53	23	34	64	73
High gross takings	1	1	15	40	32	18
<i>Nonfood</i>						
Low gross takings	23	26	40	44	3	12
Medium gross takings	75	74	20	32	60	67
High gross takings	2	-	41	23	36	20

^aValue of gross takings was defined as: Kuala Lumpur and Malacca — low <\$20, medium \$20-250, high \$251+; Manila — low <P20, medium P20-45, high P46+; Baguio — low <P15, Medium P15-30, high P31+; Jakarta and Bandung — low <R250, medium R250-2500, high R2501+.

Table 20. Percentage of major commodity groups by value of daily net earnings.^a

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>Submarginal and marginal daily earnings</i>						
Unprocessed and semiprocessed food	68	51	73	87	84	92
Prepared food	60	44	72	78	79	58
Nonfood	62	40	61	81	72	51
Services	61	66	83	83	85	58
<i>Minimum and above minimum daily earnings</i>						
Unprocessed and semiprocessed food	33	49	27	13	16	8
Prepared food	39	55	28	21	21	41
Nonfood	38	60	39	18	28	49
Services	39	33	16	17	14	42

^aFor country money equivalents for these categories see Table 12.

also a tendency for prepared food to be concentrated in the middle takings category. These patterns of variations are consistent with the scale of operation, type of hawker unit, and other variables that were analyzed before. It must again be cautioned that between-country comparisons are tentative as the unusually low proportion of Malaysian hawkers in the high takings category is almost certainly a result of definition problems.

The final set of cross-tabulated data seeks insights into the relationship between commodity categories and value of daily net earnings. Table 20 indicates that, with the exception of Malacca, over two-thirds (92 percent in Bandung) of the processed and semiprocessed food hawkers have incomes in the marginal or submarginal group. Secondly, although the percentage of nonfood hawkers falling into this group is also high (again excluding Malacca) in every city it is somewhat lower than the comparable figure for the processed and semiprocessed food hawkers. Thirdly, it is generally true that the majority of the hawkers, regardless of commodity categories, fall below the submarginal and marginal daily earnings cutoff points and, by extension, the poverty line. Finally, comparing across countries the data do suggest that, by virtue of the percentage distribution in the two broad income categories, Malaysian hawkers are in relative terms more prosperous.

“Rich” and “Poor” Hawker Operatives

In the introduction to this chapter we suggested that one of the major problems associated with formulating effective policy toward hawkers was the diversity of attitudes that existed among officials concerning the role that hawkers might play in economic growth. Although there is little disagreement that they perform a useful role in most cities in providing city populations with essential commodities and services at cheap prices, there is no agreement on the question of whether hawkers will increase the scale and size of their enterprises over time. If, in fact, they do follow the latter pattern of development they would be able to move into store keeping, or invest their acquired capital in activities that would also encourage economic growth. Although the information collected in the surveys is of limited value in verifying this kind of question, it is possible to make a preliminary evaluation of the difference among hawkers by focusing our enquiry on two subgroups within the hawker population, namely the “richest” and the “poorest” hawkers. It

Table 21. Number and percentage of “poor” and “rich” hawker operatives.

	Kuala Lumpur		Malacca		Manila		Baguio		Jakarta		Bandung		Total	
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
“Rich” operatives ^c	86	10	34	8	109	16	41	8	163	16	52	10	485	12 ^b
“Poor” operatives ^d	189	21	121	30	133	20	178	35	261	21	260	52	1142	29

^aPercentage of each city is derived from individual city total hawker population.

^bPercentage of all cities is derived from combined total hawker population of study cities.

^c“Rich” operatives defined on the following basis: Kuala Lumpur and Malacca value of stock above M\$500; Manila and Baguio value of stock above P201; Jakarta and Bandung value of stock above R25000.

^d“Poor” operatives defined on the following basis: Kuala Lumpur and Malacca value of stock below M\$20; Manila and Baguio value of stock below P15; Jakarta and Bandung value of stock below R2500.

must be stressed, however, that the terms “rich” and “poor” are used in a relative sense in the context of the cities studied. Again, between-country comparisons are most tentative and should be approached with utmost caution. Hawkers, to be sure, are far from the poorest inhabitants of these cities (Papanek 1975). On the one hand, their incomes are certainly superior to those who scavenge and eke out a marginal existence in the cities. On the other hand, as the income data presented earlier show, their incomes are often inferior to many of the wage workers and the growing middle class of these cities. Overall they are a “poor” population, but among hawkers there are both “poor” and “rich.”

The main hypothesis to be tested is whether or not hawking offers the opportunity for the accumulation of capital, for increasing income over time, and for entrepreneurial investment. Given the nature of the survey data it was decided to compare the “rich” and “poor” hawkers as defined by the value of stock. Value of stock was felt to be the best indicator because it generally represents the bulk of the hawkers’ capital. Also, it was less liable to errors of response than net daily income for, being a tangible element, interviewers could check the amount of stock on display in the hawker unit of operation. Table 21 shows that 41 percent of the total number of hawkers in all cities fell into the “rich” and “poor” operative categories. For the purpose of the remainder of the analysis the “medium” hawkers were excluded. “Poor” hawker operatives were more numerous than “rich” hawker operatives, and although it would have been much better for the purposes of statistical analysis to reduce the size of group, the value of their stock was already very small. The “poor” hawkers of Manila and Baguio had stock valued at little more than US\$2.50; Kuala Lumpur and Malacca “poor” hawkers had stock valued at US\$5.00 or less; and those in Indonesia had below US\$6.00 in stock. Table 21 also shows that the distribution of “rich” and “poor” operatives is approximately the same within, and among, all cities except Bandung, which has a much larger proportion of “poor” operatives.

For comparison, the features of the “rich” and “poor” hawkers have been combined for all cities. So far, data have been presented only at the level of individual cities, but if the comparative approach is to offer information for policymakers it must be able to identify underlying processes that are operating as part of the general development process, into which occupational groups such as the hawkers are adapting and reacting. The data are presented under three headings: features of hawker unit; income of hawker unit; and personal features of the hawker operatives.

Features of hawker unit

Single-variable analyses of the hawker unit of operation in the individual cities were presented in an earlier part of this chapter; it remains for Table 22 to relate these characteristics across countries and to the “rich-poor” dimension. Indeed, the results presented here tend to reinforce the previous findings and serve to place the overall findings in better perspective, confirming also the validity of the “rich-poor” dichotomy.

The sharp divisions in the features of the hawker units conform to our prior expectations. Characteristically, the “poor” hawkers operate with “very small” hawker units of under 1 square metre in size, are mobile and static in their locus of activity, and concentrate in foodstuff selling, notably prepared food. By contrast, the “rich” hawkers occupy “medium” or “large” hawker

Table 22. Features of "rich" and "poor" hawker operatives' hawker units (combined Southeast Asian city data).

	"Poor" ^a	"Rich"
<i>Area of hawker unit^b</i>		
Percentage "very small"	41	13
Percentage "medium" or "large"	18	42
<i>Type of hawker unit</i>		
Percentage "mobile"	49	12
Percentage "semistatic"	36	52
Percentage "static"	16	36
<i>Type of goods</i>		
Percentage of un/semiprocessed food	28	9
Percentage prepared food	49	5
Percentage nonfood	12	83
Percentage services	12	4

^aPercentage of total "poor" or "rich" hawker operatives in each category.

^bDefinitions of the categories are given in Tables 10, 11, and 15.

Table 23. Features of income of "poor" and "rich" hawker operatives' hawker units (combined Southeast Asian city data).

	"Poor"	"Rich"
<i>Daily gross takings^a</i>		
Percentage "low"	45	6
Percentage "medium"	52	48
Percentage "high"	3	46
<i>Daily net income</i>		
Percentage "submarginal"	65	11
Percentage "marginal"	28	38
Percentage "minimum" and "above minimum"	7	51

^aDefinitions of these categories are given in Tables 12 and 19.

units of over 4 square metres or more in size, tend to be semistatic and static, and specialize mostly in nonfood lines. These distinctions are logically compatible with observations made previously on the scale and style of hawker operations, and their relation to commodity differentiation.

Income of hawker unit

Here again, the results are quite clear-cut. Over 90 percent of the "rich" hawkers' daily gross takings fall into the medium and high categories, compared with 55 percent for the "poor" hawkers (see Table 23). This pattern is repeated with greater clarity in net daily incomes and shows that 65 percent of the "poor" hawker operatives fall into the "submarginal" category as opposed to 11 percent of the "rich" hawkers. The latter fairly high figure may have been the result of a tendency among hawkers to understate their incomes to interviewers. Therefore in a manner even more evident than the pattern in

the hawker unit of operation, the income distribution among the hawkers clearly supports the division between the “poor” and the “rich.”

Personal features of hawker operatives

To test the earlier hypothesis concerning the development of the hawkers’ economic base, it is necessary to introduce information that indicates how the hawkers’ activities change over time. Collecting this kind of data in cross-sectional surveys of the type carried out in the Southeast Asian Hawker Project is fraught with difficulties. For one thing, one is forced to ask the respondent questions about his past, yet it is exceptionally difficult to determine the reliability of the answers. In the project, in an attempt to assess the validity of the hawkers’ response to this type of question, we collected a large number of life profiles, examples of which are presented in the introductory chapter. We do not have space to present these life histories in this book; however, the general picture that emerges suggests that the hawkers’ history of their activities is accurate.

In Table 24 some of the personal features of the “poor” and “rich” hawker operatives are presented. The table indicates some surprising observations. If the developmental hypothesis that hawkers will acquire larger units of operation, increased capital etc., with length of residence in the city and length of time hawking is true, then it follows that the “rich” hawker operatives would normally have spent a longer period in the city and in hawking, and would be older than the “poor” operatives. In fact, Table 24 does not present strong evidence to support this hypothesis. The period of time in hawking and length of residence in the city reveal very similar patterns for both “rich” and “poor” hawkers, although the “rich” hawkers have spent a slightly longer period in the hawking profession. In the age-of-hawkers category, the “rich” hawkers have a marked concentration in the younger age bracket of below 30 years (57 percent), compared with 40 percent for the

Table 24. Personal features of “rich” and “poor” hawker operatives (combined Southeast Asian city data).

	“Poor”	“Rich”
<i>Length of time in hawking</i>		
Percentage 3 years and below	57	48
Percentage 4 years and above	43	52
<i>Length of residence in city</i>		
Percentage 3 years and below	20	19
Percentage 4 years and above	49	55
Percentage native-born	28	23
<i>Age of hawker operative</i>		
Percentage 30 years and below	40	57
Percentage 31–40 years	26	27
Percentage 41 years and above	34	16
<i>Years of schooling</i>		
Percentage none	23	3
Percentage 6 years and below	55	36
Percentage 7 years and above	22	60

“poor” hawkers. There are also sharp divisions in the years of schooling. Seventy-eight percent of the “poor” hawkers have received no education or only a few years of primary education; whereas, 60 percent of the “rich” hawkers have received 7 years or more education, which generally indicates some secondary education.

The data presented here indicate that there is no definite trend of hawkers increasing their incomes and accumulating capital over time. Rather, the pattern appears to be one in which a longer established group of hawkers has become encapsulated in a low-income niche of hawking activity while younger, better-educated hawker operatives have moved into a more lucrative sector of hawking activity. This latter pattern is, of course, not antidevelopmental; indeed it suggests that people well acquainted with cities perceive opportunities in the hawker profession that are not available in other sectors of the cities’ activities. Thus hawking activities appear to act both as a “refuge” occupation in which people may eke out marginal and submarginal incomes, and as an occupation that provides the opportunity for some people to obtain rather good monetary returns. Without a doubt, the majority of hawkers are caught in between these two extremes; for them there seems little possibility of upward mobility. As long as they are not forced into the poorest section of their profession through competition from retail stores or government policy they should be able to earn adequate incomes.

The study findings emphasize the heterogeneous features of the hawkers’ economic activities. Not only are there sharp differences among the cities of the different countries, but among the hawkers in individual cities as well. To be successful, policy formulation directed at them should be sensitive and responsive.

6

Personal Features of Hawkers

One of the most common stereotypes of hawkers in Southeast Asian cities has tended to portray them as unskilled, poorly educated migrants who have been forced from the countryside because of a lack of economic opportunity. In the cities, their lack of education and unfamiliarity with the urban way of life, combined with limited employment opportunities, have spurred their entry into the “marginal” occupation of hawking. Hawking, it is argued, is an easy occupation to enter for it needs little capital and skill. Thus hawking provides a useful urban “refuge” occupation for the dispossessed of the countryside.

In addition to the migrant stereotype, other stereotypes are also popular to varying degrees. It is often argued, for example, that hawkers are differentiated in functions associated with regional, linguistic, ethnic, or other identifications. Hence in Jakarta, Minangkabaus are thought to dominate the cooked food-selling occupations, and in Malaysian cities, Hokkien speakers are said to make up a major proportion of the Chinese-food sellers. Still another oft-cited viewpoint is that many hawkers are shrewd entrepreneurs who are taking advantage of the low overheads of their operations to make quick profits. For this reason they may be selling goods that are sometimes obtained illegally, or consigned by retail outlets. As with most stereotypes there are some elements of truth in all these assertions. The information presented in this chapter will enable some assessment of just how much truth exists in them.

The data are presented in six main sections: (1) demographic aspects of hawker operatives; (2) the length of residence in the city; (3) the length of hawking in the city; (4) the number of years in schooling; (5) aspects of the personal histories of hawkers; and (6) ethnic and language features of hawkers.

Demographic Aspects

Basic to the discussion in the preceding paragraph is the age and sex distribution of the interviewed hawker population. It should be stressed that this body of data relates only to the hawker operatives who answered the survey questionnaire. Some data on the size of the hawker families were collected but they are of limited value because, except in the case of the life profiles, it has not been possible to check the accuracy of the household data.

The first feature to be noted in Fig. 15 is the clear distinction in the sex of the majority of hawkers between the Philippine cities and the other cities. The Filipino hawkers are overwhelmingly female with ratios of 56 males per 100 females in Baguio and 42 males per 100 females in Manila. By contrast, the

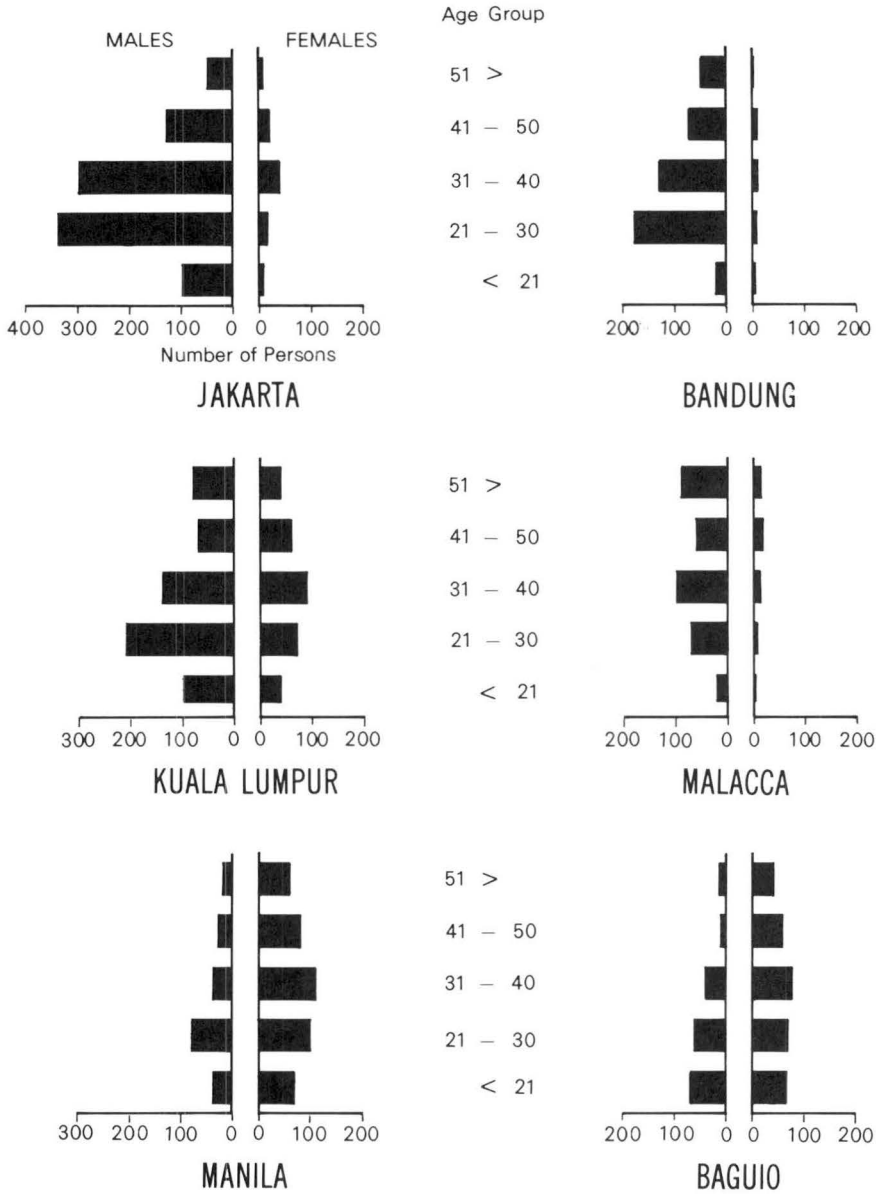


Fig. 15. Age and sex structures for hawker operatives in six Southeast Asian cities.

other cities show a marked dominance of male hawker operatives, although this picture is slightly modified in Kuala Lumpur.

In addition, this sex pattern generally holds when the age cohorts are analyzed in each city. Baguio may be seen as an exception in that an almost equal number of male and female hawkers prevails in the age groups below 30 years. Kuala Lumpur, too, shows an increase in the number of female hawkers in the age group between 31 and 40 years.

Finally, the age structures exhibit differences among cities. At one extreme are the Indonesian cities that show a high proportion of the hawker operatives falling in the age group below 40 years; at the other extreme is Malacca, which has an aging hawker population. In between are cities such as Baguio, which is much closer to the Indonesian hawker age structure, and Kuala Lumpur and Manila which have a relatively younger and relatively older hawker population, respectively. Thus no clear demographic image of the hawker emerges and considerable variation is manifest among cities in age structures and sex ratios.

Length of Residence in City

In view of the saliency of “migrancy” factors in the hawker image, one of the most important findings of these surveys relates to the length of residence of hawkers in the city. Accordingly, Table 25 shows that sharp differences are evident in the length of residence of hawkers in the various cities.

The most important finding is that, with the exception of Jakarta, all cities have a large population of hawker operatives who are either native-born (i.e. born in the city in which they are now residing) or have spent more than 11 years in the city. This feature is most apparent in Malacca (91 percent), but also prominent in Manila (73 percent) and Kuala Lumpur (73 percent), and less pronounced in Bandung (54 percent) and Baguio (47 percent). Figures on the migrant proportions of the total populations of these cities in the age group above 20 years indicate that the hawker population generally is a more settled population than that of the cities at large.

Another conclusion from the survey results is that only Jakarta, with almost one-third of its hawker population resident for less than 3 years in the city, fits the stereotype of a population of recent migrants.

Table 25. Percentage of hawkers by length of residence.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
3 years and below	12	4	11	22	31	20
4-10 years	14	4	12	20	31	26
11 years plus	27	39	39	34	22	32
Native-born	46	52	34	13	13	22
Living outside	1	2	4	11	3	1

Table 26. Percentage of hawkers by length of time hawking.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Below 1 year	15	10	17	30	32	31
1-3 years	32	18	22	33	34	28
4-10 years	34	29	31	24	26	34
11 years plus	19	43	31	13	8	6

Length of Time Hawking

A crucial piece of information for government policy is data on the length of time that hawkers have spent in their occupations, particularly if this is related to background on occupational histories and reasons for entering hawking.

In this light, the close relationship between the demographic and length-of-residence data is significant (see Table 26). It shows that the more migrant-dominated hawker populations of Jakarta, Bandung, and Baguio have a high proportion of hawkers who have spent 3 years or less in the occupation (60 percent plus). Manila and Malacca, on the other hand, have higher proportions of hawkers who have spent more than 4 years in the profession and this is notably the case in Malacca, where 43 percent of the hawker population has hawked for more than 11 years. Kuala Lumpur exhibits a rather different pattern, with four-fifths of its hawkers having entered the profession in the last 10 years.

Education Level

Because it is felt that hawkers are sometimes forced into their occupation through lack of other economic opportunities, the data on education levels as measured by years in school are important. Although it is, of course, subject to the caveat that different educational levels prevail in the various cities, it does seem that most hawkers have received up to 6 years of schooling and almost a quarter have had up to 10 years education (see Table 27). Two exceptions may be discerned. At one extreme, Jakarta has the largest proportion (23 percent) of its hawkers who have received no education, and at the other extreme, Malacca departs from the other cities by having the lowest proportion (19 percent) of its hawker population having received 7 or more years of education. For a more general educational and socioeconomic background of the migrants in Jakarta, see Suharso et al. (1975). These conclusions suggest that although hawkers have come generally from lower educational streams, they are by no means the worst-educated groups in the cities.

Aspects of Personal Histories

As mentioned previously one facet of the project that is not analyzed in this book pertains to the information collected from a series of life profiles of the hawkers and their families. The hawker survey asked several questions on the history of hawkers of which length of residence in the city, length of time in

Table 27. Percentage of hawkers by years in school.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
No schooling	15	17	5	14	23	14
1-6 years	57	64	52	50	33	56
7-10 years	24	16	37	30	35	21
11 plus years	4	3	6	7	8	9

Table 28. Percentage of hawkers by length of residence and less than 1 year in hawking.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Below 3 years	29	29	54	49	60	62
4-10 years	18	13	13	22	13	23
11 years plus	11	8	12	20	22	20
City born	12	10	10	31	31	29

hawking, reasons for becoming hawkers, and previous jobs form a most important cluster. The following discussion will follow this sequence.

Length of residence by period of time hawking

Two aspects of the cross tabulation between length of residence in the city and period of time in hawking are of interest. The first aspect concerns the recency of entry of hawkers into the profession in relation to the time they have spent in the city. When this is related to information on reasons for entry into the profession and previous jobs, it gives some indication of the growth and viability of the hawking profession. The second aspect concerns the longevity of hawkers in the occupation in relation to duration of residence.

With respect to the first of the two aspects, Table 28 provides a most interesting contrast between groups of cities. The Malaysian cities exhibit a predictable fall in recency of entry into the hawking profession by length of residence, which is paralleled by the city-born. Manila shares with the Malaysian cities this latter tendency. Baguio, Jakarta, and Bandung on the other hand, are characterized by a much greater proportion of new entrants to the hawking occupation among the recent migrants and city-born.

The aspect of longevity of hawking has not been shown by a table for it shows a much more predictable pattern than Table 25 in that the length of residence is closely related to longevity in the profession. But it does support the earlier observation on the existence of a well-established hawker community, which includes a substantial proportion of the city-born.

Length of residence by reasons for entering hawking profession

One of the prevailing viewpoints portrays hawking as an occupation that people enter because they do not possess the skills or capital to take up other occupations. This viewpoint is to a large extent supported by the answers the hawkers gave to the question on their reasons for becoming hawkers.

The answers to the reasons for entering the hawking occupation were grouped under three broad headings. First, negative reasons such as “no job,” “no skills,” “no capital,” etc.; second, positive reasons such as “good possibilities for earning income” and “family inheritance,” etc.; and finally, a broad category of “others,” which did not fall clearly into the other two groups.

Table 29 shows the percentages of hawkers in each length-of-residence grouping who fell into the negative and positive reasons for entering hawking. With the exception of the most recent arrivals in Malacca, it clearly shows that the majority of hawkers have entered the occupation for negative reasons. It is



The study found that hawking is not necessarily a transitional occupation. It is often a family business passed from father to son.

Table 29. Percentage of hawkers by length of residence and reasons for becoming hawkers.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>Negative reasons (%)</i>						
Below 3 years	50	29	76	73	81	73
4-10 years	55	53	52	65	75	77
11 years plus	62	55	62	58	74	75
City born	66	50	51	56	67	71
<i>Positive reasons (%)</i>						
Below 3 years	35	14	19	20	13	18
4-10 years	26	33	36	20	17	24
11 years plus	23	25	27	31	21	25
City born	27	26	33	26	27	29

significant that the Malaysian cities have a noticeably lower proportion in this grouping and that negative reasons are most evident in the Indonesian cities. In view of the Malaysian policy of encouraging hawking, an important finding is that the 35 percent of recent migrants in Kuala Lumpur gave positive reasons for their entry to the profession.

The picture is not totally negative, however, because approximately one-quarter of the older migrants (i.e. those who have spent more than 4 years in the city) have entered for positive reasons in all the surveyed cities. This would appear to suggest a situation in which there are two groups entering the profession. The first, a large group of recent migrants who take up hawking for negative reasons; the second, a smaller group of the older city-resident population who enter for positive reasons. The recent "migrant" stereotype is thus considerably modified. The "migrant" generalization can only be applied with decreasing validity to Indonesian, Philippine, and Malaysian cities in that order. Of the study cities, Jakarta comes closest to the popular norm.

Length of residence by last job before hawking

The final piece of information relating to personal histories of the hawkers is the data on previous job. It would have been useful to have asked more detailed questions on the entire occupational history of the interviewed hawkers, but the survey technique was not regarded as appropriate for such detail. Some sketches of occupational history are provided in the life profiles; therefore, a simple question was asked on the job held before becoming a hawker.

The response to this question has been grouped into three main categories. First, those hawkers who reported "no previous job"; second, those hawkers who were previously employed in "agriculture or fishing"; and finally, those in "other jobs" such as commerce, construction, police, army, etc., which may be considered generally urban in character.

Previous job data, together with length of residence by cities, are presented in Table 30. At least three distinct patterns may be discerned. In the first place, with the exception of Bandung, the major category of previous job is "no job." There are, to be sure, sharp differences among cities, with the

Table 30. Percentage of hawkers by length of residence and previous job.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
<i>No job before (%)</i>						
Below 3 years	50	31	49	64	43	17
4-10 years	36	33	68	73	45	16
11 years plus	38	43	59	65	30	11
City born	53	47	64	78	43	17
<i>In agriculture or fishing (%)</i>						
Below 3 years	7	7	18	12	30	39
4-10 years	5 _j	7	7	11	20	22
11 years plus	3 _j	8	3	5	15	15
City born	1	8	1	9	7	18
<i>In other jobs (%)</i>						
Below 3 years	34	30	33	25	26	36
4-10 years	47	53	26	16	28	52
11 years plus	48	41	38	30	55	71
City born	40	34	36	13	48	60

Philippine cities showing the highest proportion throughout all length-of-residence groupings. There is a general tendency for the highest proportion of "no job" groupings to fall among the most recent migrants and the city-born.

Secondly, previous employment in agriculture was of some importance in Bandung and Jakarta, particularly among recent migrants. Generally, however, relatively few hawkers in all length-of-residence groupings were previously employed in agriculture, giving little credence to the image of the impoverished rural migrant being forced into hawking.

Lastly, perhaps the most important finding was the fairly high proportion of hawkers who had been previously employed in other jobs such as construction, commerce, government service, etc. Although this is hardly surprising for the city-born, the extent of this form of employment among the other length-of-residence groups is of interest. In addition, for every city except Malacca the fact that the proportion of previous employment in other jobs increases with length of residence in the city suggests that the longer established hawkers have had an occupational history of previous urban employment from which they turned to hawking. Even among the most recent migrants, over one-quarter of the hawkers have had other job experience before entering hawking.

Ethnic and Language Features

It is a well-established fact that occupational categories in Southeast Asian cities tend to exhibit patterns of concentration by particular language and ethnic groups. This is also true for the broad occupational categories such as commerce, industry, or government service. In general the pattern that emerged in Southeast Asian cities during the colonial period was one in which the indigenous populations were much less involved in commerce and retailing. This resulted in the domination of these economic activities by the

alien immigrant populations, notably the Chinese and the Indians. The Chinese have been particularly successful in the cities of the region in their control of the distribution networks for food. These overall patterns are most clearly revealed in the Malaysian cities, but they are also of importance in the Philippines and Indonesia (see Hodder 1953; McGee 1967; Goodman 1971). With independence has come the realization that these patterns of ethnic concentration must be broken down so as to give the indigenous populations of these countries a greater opportunity of participation in urban residence and employment.

In spite of the above discussion, Table 31 shows that only in the Malaysian cities is hawking dominated by nonindigenous groups. This simply fortifies the earlier statement that hawking in the Malaysian cities was dominated by Chinese. Allowing for the difficulties of comparative interpretation that are obvious from the notes to the table, the most significant finding is that for the Philippine and Indonesian cities the majority of hawkers speak the languages of the region in which the city surveyed is located. The observation is further emphasized by Table 32, which presents place-of-birth data in a simplified

Table 31. Percentage of hawkers by language spoken at home.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Language of city region ^a	15	10	78	66	79	93
Language of surrounding regions ^b	1	1	14	25	20	6
Chinese or Indian ^c	84	86	-	-	1	1

^aLanguage of city region is defined as follows. For Kuala Lumpur and Malacca the language is defined as Malay, the National Language. In Manila it denotes Tagalog. In Baguio, Ilocano and Igorot are defined as principal languages. In Jakarta, Sundanese, Jawa, and Betawi are the languages and in Bandung, Sundanese and Jawa.

^bSurrounding regions have generally been interpreted as regions some distance from the surveyed city. The Malaysian data did not allow precise definition and therefore only the Indonesian language was included in this category. In the other cities all other country languages were included in this category.

^cData were not available in the Philippines surveys on this category.

Table 32. Percentage of hawkers born in city of survey or adjacent regions.

	Kuala Lumpur	Malacca	Manila	Baguio	Jakarta	Bandung
Hawkers born in surveyed cities and adjacent regions ^a	54	66	65	60	43	81

^aAdjacent region is defined as follows: Kuala Lumpur encompasses Selangor State and Kuala Lumpur; Malacca encompasses Selangor State and Malacca State; Manila encompasses Central Luzon including metro-Manila; Baguio encompasses Ilocos and Mountain Province; Jakarta encompasses West Java; Bandung encompasses West Java.

fashion. Only Jakarta exhibits a pattern where a majority of hawkers come from outside the adjacent region. The other cities all have a substantial proportion of their hawker populations born in the city of survey and adjacent regions. The data from the life histories suggest that this finding highlights the close connection hawkers have with surrounding regions of the surveyed cities. They often keep close relations with rural kinsfolk in the surrounding areas by making visits to their home villages. Jakarta is the only city of the six that really fits the stereotype of the classic migrant city that attracts people from the entire country.

The information on the personal features of the hawkers certainly does not support the stereotypes elaborated in the introduction. First, the personal features of hawkers and their life histories do vary from one city to another. At one extreme are the hawkers of Malacca who exemplify an aging, dominantly Chinese population that has been hawking for many years; at the other end of the pole are the hawkers of Jakarta who are largely young recent migrants from many parts of the country who seem to fit the “migrancy” stereotype most closely. Second, there are important subgroups within the hawker population. On the one hand, the young hawkers are forced from the countryside by economic pressures, as seemingly is the case of some of the Malays of Kuala Lumpur and the recent migrants of Jakarta. On the other hand, there appears to be a sizeable group of hawkers in most cities who have only entered the occupation after some years in the city working on other jobs. They tend to be better educated and to have entered the trade because of perceived economic opportunities. For the enterprising, hawking need not be a “refuge” occupation. It is, on the contrary, an economic ladder that offers some hope of upward mobility.

7

Summary of Major Findings

Among the primary objectives of the research project was the collection and collation of information that could be presented to city administrators concerned with hawker policy. In the preceding chapters we have analyzed the data collected in terms of a policy paradigm. The presentation has focused attention on the policies of city governments, locational orientation of hawkers and their customers, economic aspects of hawker operations, and personal features and life histories of hawkers.

Policy and Action

Utilizing the paradigm of government policy presented earlier as a basis of classification of government policy, it has been shown that the most positive policies from the hawkers' point of view are being put into operation in the Malaysian cities where both liberal locational and structural policies are simultaneously adopted. In the secondary centres of Indonesia and the Philippines policies are somewhat more permissive, tending toward limited locational restriction of hawkers; whereas, in the large cities of Manila and Jakarta they are most negative invoking policies of hawker restriction and locational removal. It has also been shown that in virtually every city the major form of action taken to deal with hawkers is *locational*. This range of actions spans from attempts to *integrate* hawkers into public market systems; to efforts utilizing temporal variations in the daily use of urban space by allowing hawkers to set up night markets in streets and parking lots in the central areas of the cities; to efforts to stabilize hawkers in existing locations by tidying up operations and issuing licences. Finally, there are various types of relocation and removal actions. Generally speaking, it may be argued that most city administrations are engaged in a form of *locational prodding* of hawkers that is expensive and not particularly successful.

Positive structural programs to encourage hawkers through loans of capital to set up stalls are only well advanced in Malaysia, where they form part of a national policy designed to increase urban employment opportunities. This policy is directed primarily at the Malays who make up the major stream of the migrants from the countryside. Negative structural policies aimed at decreasing the number of hawker operations have been introduced in the two city-states of the Southeast Asian region. In Singapore restrictions have been placed on the age of entry into hawking so that no one under the age of 40

may enter the trade. In Hong Kong there is now no automatic right of inheritance of a hawker operation.

A wide variety of legislation has been enacted to deal with the hawkers in the various cities. In some cases it involves detailed definitions of types of hawkers and extensive lists of regulations governing the issuing of licences for hawker operations. In other cases, hawkers are simply controlled as a part of the regulations controlling city order and cleanliness. The enforcement of these regulations is the responsibility of a bewildering number of branches of the cities' administrations. In some cities hawkers are defined as a law-and-order problem and the responsibility for their clearance and arrest is in the hands of the police or the military. In others, the Health Department is largely responsible. None of the cities studied has a separate department specifically concerned with hawkers, although this exists in Singapore and Hong Kong. Very few cities have adequate systems of consultation with the hawkers. Only the Malaysian cities have committees for substantive consultation with hawker representatives. This means that most decisions on hawkers in the other cities are made without sufficient consultation with them. The adoption of Malaysian policy decisions based on an understanding of each other's needs would certainly lead to better relations between the hawkers and cities' administrations.

Spatial Dimensions of Hawkers

Locational aspects of the hawkers' operations constitute one of the most significant factors in their activities. From the point of view of policymakers it is important that they understand that most hawkers need to concentrate in agglomerations at nodes of high pedestrian and population density, such as the areas close to public markets, at points of transportation transfer, and near entertainment and commercial zones, for very sound economic reasons. Their mode of operation, in which the markup on most products is small, benefits from product complementarity and seeks a large number of potential customers to increase the volume of sales. Unfortunately, this pattern of hawker concentration is the basic cause of conflict with city administrations.

There are, however, significant differences in the locational needs of different groups of commodity sellers. The unprocessed and semiprocessed food sellers are most sensitive to locational factors. They draw the majority of their customers from the immediate neighbourhood, and because they are often in competition with similar concentrations who draw their customers from the next neighbourhood, relocation, even if it is only a short distance, can adversely affect the success of their business. Prepared foodstuff sellers fall into two main locational groups: (1) those who locate in centres of customer need, as represented by hawkers who wait outside office complexes at lunch-time; and (2) those who draw their customers from considerable distances as, for instance, in the case of the night markets in the Malaysian cities. The first group is again very sensitive to relocation. On the other hand, nonfoodstuff sellers appear to suffer the least disruption of business in the event of relocation. They generally draw their customers from long distances and they rely for their success on the locational knowledge of their concentration by the urban population. This is the group that has been most successfully moved into the hawker emporiums and bazaars in Asian cities.



Hawkers are ubiquitous, and their range of business activity appears boundless. This research project sought to collect and collate information about them that would help Southeast Asia's policymakers fashion a hawker policy for the future.

At the same time these hawker concentrations have many types of hawker units operating within them. They range from a core of hawkers selling from static stalls often lined up along the side of the street, to groups of mobile sellers who lay out their goods for sale on pavements or on the edges of the static concentrations. In contrast to Hong Kong and Singapore, which have in excess of 80 percent of their hawkers described as static, the surveys of the Southeast Asian cities reveal that in all cities over 60 percent of the hawkers are described as mobile or semimobile. The saliency of the mobility of the hawkers' activities is further enhanced when it is recalled that the surveys excluded all but a few itinerant hawkers. What is more, it is this group of mobile and semimobile hawkers who are at the core of practical problems because in attaching themselves to existing static concentrations, or in locating in areas where there are large customer populations, they aggravate congestion. Although mobility limits the scale of the hawkers' operations, it also offers hawkers a number of advantages that would be denied to static operations. Their existence also makes locational enforcement very difficult because they can move rapidly in the case of raids by hawker enforcement agencies. Experience in Singapore suggests that, at least for mobile nonfood sellers, policy measures can be tailored to fit the needs of these hawkers by having a system of periodic markets held at different locations on each night of the week. In a similar

fashion, the allocation of squatter pitches located outside public markets, which can only be occupied for part of the day, seems to be working very well in Kuala Lumpur.

The large number of hawkers who operate in most of the surveyed cities generate a vast volume of customer, hawker, and commodity movement through urban space. Such trips tend to be high-volume, short-distance movements relying on either pedestrian or human-energy modes of transport, which tend to be small-scale, cheap-fare forms as exemplified by jeepneys in Manila and Baguio and helicaks and bemos in Jakarta and Bandung. The use of pedestrian and human-energy modes of transport is in keeping with the hawker's attempts to reduce his overheads. It does, however, complicate the task of city planners who are attempting to plan free-flowing traffic routes. Thus, the building of freeways and the restriction of areas of operation of becaks, for instance, exacerbate the problems that hawkers have to face (see Papanek 1975).

Economic Operation of Hawkers

The major findings of the survey, complemented by the life profile data, indicate that the majority of hawkers earn incomes defined as submarginal or marginal by the project participants; another 20–25 percent earn minimum incomes, and the remainder above-minimum incomes. This picture is slightly modified by differences among cities and countries. For instance, Manila has a higher proportion of above-minimum incomes than other cities, and Baguio a larger percentage of submarginal income earners than the other cities. These income figures are further modified by the major group of commodities that hawkers sell, although there are again variations among countries and cities. By and large, however, the service hawkers earn the lowest daily incomes, and the unprocessed and semiprocessed food hawkers much lower daily incomes than the nonfood hawkers. Prepared food hawkers show no clear pattern among countries and cities. Hence, the commodity sold has an important effect on the value of stock, gross takings, and daily income of the hawkers. Thus the distribution of commodity selling groups in the cities, as the study findings illustrate, is a factor of foremost importance to policymakers.

Despite the limitations of these income figures as an indication of total household income, it can be argued that many aspects of the scope of the hawkers' operations stem from the low income earned by them. This explains why the hawker is anxious to: cut overheads by avoiding the payment of rent; congregate with others in order to attract customers; keep mobile so as to increase selling chances; and even prepare food under unhygienic conditions. This mode of operation also affects the spatial loci of hawkers and explains why they live as close to their place of selling as possible.

The data on the mode of operation of the hawker unit reinforce these conclusions. Virtually 90 percent of all hawker operations are described as either individual, or family operations, in which assistance is provided by members of the family or other relatives. In this manner, the hawker is again able to cut his overhead by using the input of unpaid family labour. Indeed the use of family labour allows the hawker great flexibility, particularly at times of seasonal or daily peaks in selling. It does, however, make the calculation of number of assistants utilized in the hawker operation hazardous if not

impossible. Few hawker operations may be described as capitalistic enterprises in the sense that they employ wage labour, and those hawker units that do are principally prepared-food sellers. Thus hawking is in large measure a family enterprise that frequently provides the sole source of income for the household.

Information on other aspects of the hawker operation, which was presented by major type of commodity sold, indicates sharp variations in the type of hawker units, the area they occupy, their sources of goods, pattern of business, value of stock, gross turnover, and net daily income. Three main clusters of hawkers emerge. First, there are the unprocessed and semiprocessed foodstuff sellers who have the lowest incomes,⁴ value of stock, and gross daily takings; sell locally produced foodstuffs; occupy the smallest selling areas; are mostly mobile or semistatic; and rely on the closest locational and selling relationships with their regular customers. A second cluster includes the nonfood sellers who earn higher incomes, occupy the largest selling area, are generally semistatic or static in their location, sell both imported and locally produced commodities, and have the highest value of stock and daily income. By comparison with the first cluster, the trade area from which their customers originate is more extensive and the buyer-seller relationship is not as close. Accordingly purchases are made less regularly and frequently. Finally, the prepared food sellers are polarized into two subgroups. Occupying a small area, the mobile sellers have low incomes, gross turnover, and stock. They may be contrasted with the static stalls that, with particular relevance in Malaysia, earn high incomes and attract customers from all over the city. It is important for administrators to be aware of these differences when planning actions for hawkers.

In the final part of the chapter on the economic aspects of hawker operations an attempt was made to establish whether or not hawking offers the possibility of accumulating capital, increasing income over time, or entrepreneurial advancement. Although there are limitations in analyzing the survey data for this purpose, the major features of the hawker unit, the aspects of their economic operation, and the personal features of the "poorest" and "richest" group of hawkers as measured by value of stock were compared. It was hypothesized that the "richest" hawkers would be distinguished by a longer period of hawking, more lengthy residence in the city, older age, better education, larger units of hawker operation in terms of size, scale of operation, etc.

Rather surprisingly, the results of the analysis indicate no clear-cut pattern of the majority of hawkers experiencing upward mobility through time. Rather, the pattern appears to be one in which a longer established group of hawkers have become encapsulated in a low income niche of foodstuff-selling; whereas, younger better-educated hawkers have moved into more lucrative sectors of nonfoodstuff selling. This pattern is, of course, not antidevelopmental; indeed it suggests that people well acquainted with cities perceive opportunities that are not available in other sectors of the cities. Thus hawking offers both the possibilities of a refuge occupation for the poor and of economic progress for others.

⁴Service hawkers actually have the lowest income but they have largely been excluded from discussion. The very small number of service hawkers in the surveys makes comparison difficult.

Personal Features of Hawkers

No less important than the locational and economic findings are the results pertaining to the demographic characteristics of the hawker populations in the study cities, together with their occupational and migrancy histories.

Sharp differences exist among the cities in the age and sex patterns of the hawkers. The Filipino hawkers were primarily women; whereas, a male dominance was noticed for the other cities. Moreover, a marked difference between the aging hawker population of Malacca and the younger population in Jakarta emerged. Apart from Jakarta, all other cities had a dominance of long-resident and city-born hawker populations. The importance of this finding is seen when it is related to the data on the length of hawking and occupational history. Together, they indicate the existence of a hawker population that has been hawking for some years and has an occupational history of employment in other urban occupations. Although this finding is inflated to a degree by the presence of the long-resident Chinese in the Malaysian cities, it does suggest that the oft-cited stereotype of the hawker as a recent migrant to the city being "forced" into hawking for lack of other employment opportunities and limited skills can hardly be applied to most cities in the region.

There appears to be three broad streams of people who have entered the hawking profession in the cities surveyed. The first group consists of longer established city residents who have poor education and who entered the profession because of lack of opportunity elsewhere. Second, there are the "classic" recent rural migrants who are poorly educated and entered the profession because of lack of opportunities and skills. Finally, there is a group of reasonably long established city residents who entered hawking after the experience of previous urban occupations for perceived economic opportunities.

8

Toward a New Hawker Policy: Some Recommendations

It would be presumptuous to suggest that the information collected in the Southeast Asian Hawker Project provides all the answers to urban governments concerned with formulating policy toward hawkers, but some general recommendations do emerge from the study results.

The analyses presented in the first three chapters of this study suggest that the prevailing conception concerning hawkers in the Southeast Asian context is a negative one. This viewpoint stems from the fact that their activities seem to conflict with the image of a “modern city” that, in most cases, is equated with Western cities, or in the Southeast Asian region, Singapore. Only the Malaysian authorities have adopted a more positive set of assumptions toward hawkers, arising from a specific national situation. As a spin-off from this “negative image” assumption several other negative attitudes have been generated. Among viewpoints of this nature are the assertions that hawkers are antidevelopmental, that the occupation is a temporary one that will disappear with time, and that hawkers are antisocial in so far as they refuse to conform to the desired modes of behaviour of the city administrator. Not surprisingly, hawkers are perceived as dysfunctional appendages to the cities’ economies.

We believe that although the data presented indicate problems of congestion and hygiene associated with hawkers’ activities, the general picture that emerges is one in which hawkers perform a vital function in the commodity distribution systems of the cities, which should be preserved. This will mean devising indigenous planning solutions for these cities, which are not always imitative of the plans of Western cities.

Flowing from the last recommendation, Asian cities do not necessarily have to follow the developmental path that Western cities have followed. Given the present stage of development in Asian cities and demographic and economic trends, urban poverty will persist for many years to come. A two-tiered marketing system with hawkers’ activities constituting one tier of an alternative planning paradigm could be envisaged by city planners. At present, city planners are more favourably disposed toward the formal sector in planning commercial provisions for Asian cities. It is not suggested that hawkers will take over supermarkets and shopping centres. Rather, there is ample room for a mutually beneficial existence. This recommendation is all the more weighty when it is remembered that even with the phenomenal economic growth of Japan, a dual distribution system still thrives (Miyazawa 1964; Broadbridge 1966; Yoshima 1971.) Small-scale enterprises in Japan

survive on a tremendously varied, fragmented demand from a population that observes traditional consumption patterns. In view of a like adherence in most other Asian countries to traditional consumption patterns, a two-tiered marketing system may thus be formalized. It needs to be emphasized, however, that the two-tiers must be planned for maximum integration and complementarity.

It is clear that the current plethora of government departments concerned with hawker policy and action in most of the surveyed cities is the cause of confusion and high cost to city administrations. There is also insufficient consultation with hawker representatives when policy is being developed. Indeed, there is a need for an integrated authority to be set up whose primary responsibilities would be the coordination and effectiveness of commodity distribution systems in the surveyed cities. If hawkers are regarded as a major element of this system, then their administration and policies should be part of the integrated authority concerned with public markets, hawkers, and the distribution trade in general. There is no administrative structure along these lines in any of the Asian cities studied. Any authority such as this should have provision for adequate consultation between representatives of the distribution trade and officials so that policy can be developed and based on a two-way relationship.

While it is appreciated that city governments cannot afford to let hawkers occupy the entire urban space, it is recommended that measures adopted toward hawkers should be aimed at increasing their integration into the urban economy, not jettisoning them from it. This recommendation has its basis not only on the premise that hawkers make significant contributions to the cities' economies, but also on the fact that hawkers generally form part of the low-income populations of the cities that have been surveyed. Measures such as arrest, locational removal, and the like simply increase the possibility of lowering hawker incomes. In addition, because such actions also cause customers to go elsewhere for their goods, this increase in their outgoings may actually have the effect of increasing overall poverty. Therefore, measures toward hawkers should be part of a broader set of structural policies designed to improve the standards of living and welfare of the low-income populations in the city.

It is not necessary that integrative measures should involve costly investment as, for example, in the building of a system of public markets. Numerous examples of inexpensive integrative measures toward hawkers have been outlined. One such example is locational policies that utilize diurnal variations in the use of urban space. Structural measures making capital resources available to hawkers to upgrade their operations to static retailing do not involve a great cost, but do produce excellent results. Often the careful evaluation of the hawkers' use of urban space can lead to the stabilization of existing concentrations by small changes in existing transportation routes. Such measures, it is argued, cost little and produce better results than the continued use of enforcement officers to keep hawkers off the streets. Under these circumstances hawkers will continue to remain until alternative distribution systems take over, or employment opportunities in these cities increase.

There are a large number of specific measures that could be suggested for each of the cities surveyed, but these fall more readily into the compass of the individual country reports.

Conclusions

It is all very well to produce reports for urban administrators in which policy changes are advocated. It may even be possible, given a reasonably efficient mail system, to ensure that such reports are placed in the hands of administrators. But there is no guarantee that they will read such reports, let alone take action to put the recommendations of the reports into effect. Indeed, the offices of city halls throughout Asia are full of reports on subjects as diverse as sewage and low-cost transportation, but very few of these reports have ensured positive action. This is a basic dilemma of all policy-oriented research — that it seeks to change policy but cannot guarantee actions. The final responsibility for policy formulation and implementation lies with the decision-makers.

This was also a dilemma that faced the International Development Research Centre, which sponsored the research. Certainly the results of the research could be disseminated through publication, but this was only one possibility. Just as important, it was felt, was the organization of a forum at which decision-makers could receive the study results and consider their common problems in policy formation. It was therefore decided to invite a large number of officials from many Asian cities to a policy conference on hawkers.

This conference was held in Kuala Lumpur from 23 to 26 September 1975 and was jointly hosted by the Mayor of Kuala Lumpur and the IDRC. Over 80 persons attended the meeting. Mayors, vice-mayors, and senior administrators from 28 cities in 11 Asian countries were among the participants. Also attending were representatives of hawkers associations in Kuala Lumpur. The venue, a large ballroom in one of the large hotels, was a long way from the small gambling room in which the ideas for the hawker project had first developed. It was also a long way from the crowded streets of the Asian cities in which the hawkers sell their wares. But the distance was not so great in the minds of the policymakers, for all of them were closely acquainted with the hawker problems of their cities. As one official put it . . . “We have both bought from, and fought with, the hawkers of our cities.” This quotation sums up the feelings of ambivalence that many administrators brought to the conference. At one level, they were practical decision-makers faced with trying to make their cities run efficiently — and hawkers caused problems! At the other level, they appreciated that hawkers were an important part of their cities’ lives.

Thus, for 3 days, this ambivalence formed a central component of the discussion at the Conference. However, gradually the participants realized that more positive policy could be developed toward hawkers. In this, they were helped by visits to various hawker sites in Kuala Lumpur where solutions to hawker problems had been carried out.

The result was a series of general resolutions on hawker policy. These resolutions were presented at the concluding plenary session and were agreed to by all participants. They are set out below, and although they are rather general, they do represent a comprehensive set of policy prescriptions that could be utilized by city governments throughout much of the developing world.

General Recommendations

(1) That the hawkers and vendors play a significant role in the distribution of commodities in Asian cities and, because of this, must be accepted as a fact of urban life.

(2) That in view of the important role hawkers and vendors play in urban life, specific policies designed for hawkers should be among one of the priorities of city administrations.

(3) That in the short-term, policies of *accommodation* for hawkers should be developed. This does not mean that hawkers should be allowed free access to all urban space, for each city must determine the priorities for urban land use. But where possible, existing hawker concentrations should be allowed to continue, or alternative urban locations selected in such a way that consideration is given to all sections of the community. Most city administrators stress that this policy would involve some form of *control* that would be carried out as part of a department created to administer the cities' marketing systems. Consultation with hawkers should be developed as much as possible to achieve better cooperation between city authorities and hawker representatives.

(4) That in the long-term efforts should be made to *integrate* hawkers into the retailing system by upgrading their operations into shops, emporiums, etc. as economic development occurs. Provision should be made for hawker centres in new housing developments. It should be stressed that such programs should be developed at a national *level* so that adequate possibilities for the upgrading of hawker activities would exist in all cities throughout a country. If slower rates of economic growth occur, hawkers will persist and short-term policies of *accommodation* will have to continue.

(5) That policy formation for hawkers should be part of an overall urban and national policy in which funds allocated at a national level may be made available to city governments for the improvement of the conditions of the poor in cities. This should be regarded as part of the national goals designed to eliminate poverty.

Specific Recommendations

Legal and administrative aspects of hawker policy

(1) That the present existing administrative responsibilities for hawkers, which are often spread over many departments, should be integrated under one unified agency that would form part of a larger department concerned with the entire marketing system.

(2) That provision should be made for hawker activity in city master plans and a two-tiered system in which the different types of retailing activity coexist may be contemplated as a persistent element of the Asian city.

(3) That a flexible system of control of hawkers should be introduced while all city administrations are concerned with "law and order." The enforcement of "regulations" can be carried out through the use of licences and other measures.

(4) That existing laws and regulations that do not make provisions for hawking should be reviewed and revised.

Social aspects of assistance to hawkers

(1) That nonformal education of various kinds be made available to hawkers to improve themselves so that with an improved knowledge they can better serve the public and hopefully move out of this sector in the future.

(2) The contribution that hawkers themselves can make toward policy formulation and problem solving cannot be overemphasized. Through any consultative devices that are appropriate to individual cities, the collective opinion of hawker communities should be made available to the policymakers and planners.

(3) It is suggested that hawkers should organize themselves into associations and cooperative societies so that they can express their opinions as a group, and be in a better position to help fellow hawkers financially, and in other ways to start businesses.

(4) Current statistics on hawker numbers and other characteristics must be collected and monitored, so that planning for this urban function and service can proceed realistically and effectively.

Economic and distributional assistance for hawkers

(1) That where possible urban space for hawker activities should be made available through the following alternatives:

(a) Expanding the existing public markets as well as planning more small markets that could be provided without much cost. Rentals must be kept at levels hawkers can afford.

(b) Imaginative use of open space could be encouraged to facilitate hawking activities. The use of car parks and playgrounds as night markets is an example.

(c) Designating some streets for hawking purposes by diverting and closing them to vehicular traffic.

(d) Making use of temporarily vacant urban lots for hawking.

(e) Assigning hawkers to secondary streets in an orderly manner so as to minimize the conflict of land uses.

(f) Stabilizing hawkers in existing locations involving movement of hawkers between, and within, hawker concentrations if necessary.

(2) That a deliberate policy directed toward helping to elevate the social and economic conditions of hawkers should be formulated. This may comprise the policy of creating credit institutions specifically for small businesses, including hawkers, in an effort to avoid loan sharks; provision of market spaces appropriate to their socioeconomic conditions; and creation of more employment opportunities to prevent excessive growth of the number of hawkers.

Perhaps even more important than this series of resolutions, which represented an important move toward more liberal policy toward hawkers, was a general realization on the part of the participants that even though they were dealing with a diverse range of cities, they all had the common experience of trying to develop policy for cities in countries where, in most cases, large low-income populations formed a major part of the cities' populations. Many of the problems that they perceived as distinct city problems were, in fact, much larger problems of how to eliminate poverty in

their countries. As a consequence, they realized that there was an increasing need to convince national governments of the necessity to formulate an overall urban policy as their cities' populations grew over the next 25 years.

Finally, most of the participants, even the hardliners, left the conference with a realization that there was a need to develop their own planning initiatives and not slavishly imitate the experience of the West. As many freely admitted, their training had been in the West and most of their planning ideas had come from there. This was one of the first occasions when they had had the opportunity to meet with fellow Asian planners to exchange ideas and experiences. There were no promises made by the participants that they would necessarily implement the policy resolutions; nor were such promises expected. But since the conference has finished, there has been some evidence of a much more positive policy toward hawkers in Manila and some other cities in Asia. So, it would appear that a public policy impact has been effected and some progress has been made.

The main thrust of this report has been to argue that hawkers are an integral part of the urban economy and that measures designed to squeeze them out of the cities are disruptive. While the need for Asian city planners to make their cities efficient is appreciated, it is ironic that at a time when Western city planners are bemoaning the sterility of their automobile-dominated cities and producing plans for the return of street markets and pedestrians, Asian city planners and officials should be seeking to remove them. The fact is that there still remains the possibility of preserving the indigenous elements of the city, not simply for the romance of the persistence of tradition, but as a matter of necessity. There is no need for the hawker to be replaced by the supermarket. The two can coexist effectively and productively in the Asian cities of the future.

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Appendix

Survey Questionnaire for Southeast Asian Cities Hawker Survey 1973

CONFIDENTIAL

- 1 Case no: _____ Interviewer's name: _____
 2 Card no: _____ 4 Hawker subarea: _____
 3 City: _____ Time of interview: _____
Date of interview: _____
Weather: wet/dry
- 5 Location:
(a) Locate stall on map
(b) Write location in front of house number/street
(c) Area occupied by hawker unit of operation
square feet/metres: _____
-

If interview incompleted
best time to call back: Time _____ Date _____
Reliability checked: _____
Coded: yes/no Coding checked: _____

DO NOT REMOVE FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I: Hawker Unit of Operation

- 6 Type of stall
(classification according to individual countries)
-
-
-

7 Type of goods sold or services offered

(a) Unprocessed food

1. Vegetables _____
2. Fruit _____
3. Meat (poultry), eggs _____
4. Seafood _____
5. Mixed _____

(b) Processed food

1. Vegetables _____
2. Fruit _____
3. Meat _____
4. Seafood _____
5. Mixed _____

(c) Prepared food (ready to eat)

1. Vegetables _____
2. Fruit _____
3. Meat _____
4. Seafood _____
5. Mixed _____

(d) Nonfood

1. Nonfood durables _____
(furniture, car parts, radios, etc.)
2. Nonfood, nondurables _____
(shoes, clothing, cloth, medicines, etc.)

(e) Services

(barbers, fortune tellers, etc.) _____

(f) Unclassified

(please write full description) _____

8 From where did these goods originate?

(classification according to city specification)

9 From where did you get these goods?

(according to city specification)

10 Form of transport used to carry goods to hawker location?

(according to country specification)

11 How often do you obtain goods?

More than once a day _____ Weekly _____
Daily delivery _____ Less than weekly _____
More than once a week _____ Don't know/not applicable _____

- 12 How do you pay for these goods?
(according to country specification)
- _____
- _____
- 13 About what time of day do you have best business?
- No response/Don't know _____
- Morning _____
- Noon (11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.) _____
- Afternoon _____
- Evening (4-6 p.m.) _____
- Night (after 6 p.m.) _____
- No fixed pattern _____
- 14 Are there certain times of the year when business is better?
- Yes _____
- No _____
- Don't know _____
- No fixed pattern _____
- 15 If yes, record time of year and name of season
(e.g. X'mas, Hari Raya Puasa) (according to country specification)
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 16 On the average what do you estimate the value of your daily stock?
(according to country monetary specification)
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 17 On the average what is the daily total collection (gross takings) from
your stall? (according to country monetary specification)
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 18 On the average what is your daily earning after deductions for running
the stall? (according to country monetary specification)
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 19 How many hours do you operate your business daily?
- below 2 hours _____ 8-10 hours _____
- 2-4 hours _____ 10-12 hours _____
- 5-6 hours _____ More than 12 hours _____
- 6-8 hours _____
- 20 Do you think there are too many hawkers in this neighbourhood?
- No response/Don't know _____ Just enough _____
- Yes, too many _____ Too few _____

Part II: Hawker Ownership

- 21 What type of ownership for this hawker business?
(according to country specification)
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 22 Do you have a license to carry out business here?
Yes____ No____ Don't know____
- 23 How many assistants do you regularly use in your hawker business?
Relatives paid: Number____ None____ Don't know____
- 24 Relatives unpaid: Number____ None____ Don't know____
- 25 Nonrelatives paid: Number____ None____ Don't know____
- 26 Nonrelatives unpaid: Number____ None____ Don't know____
- 27 Number of male assistants:
Number____ None____ Don't know____
- 28 Number of female assistants:
Number____ None____ Don't know____
- 29 Do you or your family have other hawker business?
Yes____ No____ Don't know____
- 30 If yes, how many? _____

Part III: Customers

- 31 What proportion of your customers do you deal with regularly?
Don't know/No response _____ About 75% _____
None _____ All _____
About 25% _____ No fixed pattern _____
About 50% _____
- 32 Where do you think *most* of your customers come from?
No response/Don't know _____
From this neighbourhood and outside
(immediate area/10 minutes walked) _____
From outside this neighbourhood _____
From both this neighbourhood and outside _____
No fixed pattern _____
- 33 How is business generally conducted with your customers?
(according to country specification)
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 34 How do most of your customers usually pay you?
(according to country specifications)
- _____
- _____
- _____

Part IV: Hawker Locational History

- 35 How long have you been hawking in this place?
_____ years _____ months
- 36 Why did you choose this place to sell?
(according to country specification)

- 37 Since you first started hawking have you been selling the same goods?
Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____
If no (specify types) _____

Part V: Operator's Personal Features

- 38 Sex: Male _____
Female _____
- 39 What year were you born? (or what is your age?) _____
- 40 Where were you born?
Village/Town _____
District _____
Province _____
(according to country specification)

- 41 How many years have you lived in this city?
No response _____ 11-15 years _____
0-1 years _____ 15-20 years _____
1-3 years _____ 20 years _____
4- 6 years _____ Native to city _____
7-10 years _____ Living outside city _____
- 42 What language do you speak at home?
(according to country specification)

- 43 How many years did you spend at school?
Don't know _____ 6-10 years _____
No schooling _____ 11-14 years _____
Below 2 years _____ 14 years _____
2-6 years _____
- 44 What were your reasons for becoming a hawker?
(according to country specification)

- 45 How many years have you been engaged in hawking?
 No response _____ 7-10 years _____
 0-1 year _____ 11-15 years _____
 1-3 years _____ 15-20 years _____
 4-6 years _____ 20+ years _____

- 46 What was the last job you had before becoming a hawker?
 1. No response _____ 6. Service (e.g. barbers, cooks,
 2. No previous job _____ servants, etc.) _____
 3. No schooling, housewife _____ 7. Government employment _____
 4. Commerce _____ 8. Army, police, etc. _____
 5. Industry _____ 9. Unclassified job _____
 (If respondent replies retired or unemployed please probe for job before retirement or write unemployed.)

- 47 What is your *principal* job beside hawking?
 No response/Don't know _____ Service _____
 No other job _____ Government employment _____
 Agriculture, fishing, mining _____ Army, police, etc. _____
 Commerce _____ Unclassified job _____
 Industry _____

Part VI: Family and Living Conditions

- 48 Where do you live? House No. _____
 Street _____
 District _____
 (according to city specification same as hawker subarea)

- 49 How far do you live from your place of business?
 _____ miles/kilometres
 Don't know/No response _____
 Same as home _____

- 50 How much time does it take you to get from your home to your place of business?
 No response/Don't know _____
 Same as home _____
 10 minutes _____
 11-20 minutes _____
 21-30 minutes _____
 31-40 minutes _____
 41-50 minutes _____
 51-60 minutes _____
 60 plus minutes _____

51 How do you generally get to your stall from your home?
(according to country specification same as no. 10 in questionnaire)

52 How many people are there in your family?
Please detail

	Sex	Age	Relationship	Occupation	Schooling
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

If more than 10 please
record on the back of this page.

Size of family _____

No. of working members _____

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP
AND COOPERATION**

Checklist for Life Profiles

1. Accommodation:
Address of hawker's home (street address only).
2. General features of neighbourhood, i.e. is it a squatter area; a poor district? What type of housing does the district have (attap, etc.)?
3. How many members are in the parent's family (brothers, sisters)?
4. What did you like best about your childhood? What did you dislike about your childhood?
5. When did you first become a hawker?
Did you have other jobs before or after becoming a hawker?
What jobs did your brothers/sisters take up?
6. Daily cycle of activities:
(a) How did you spend the day?
(b) Features of the day?
7. Features of hawking profession:
Money or capital to start hawking?
Does hawking give you enough money for your family?
How much do you earn a week?
How many hours a day or a week do you work?
Do members of your family help you? If "yes," who are they and how frequently do they help you?
From whom do you get the goods which you sell?
What type of goods do you sell?
Do you know the person from whom you get the goods well?
How do you pay him (cash, credit, etc.)?
What are the main problems you face as a hawker?
8. Social relations:
Do you belong to any hawkers' association?
Are your friends also hawkers?
9. Aspirations:
Do you want to be a hawker all your life?
If not, what job would you rather do?
Do you want your children to be hawkers?
If no, what would you like your children to be?
10. Any other features?

Checklist of Items for Discussion on Hawker Policy

1. A brief statement of policy (official or organization) toward hawkers and vendors.
2. What legislation exists to enforce policy? Past and present.
3. What agencies (police, city administration) are concerned with hawkers and vendors, and their role with each other.
4. What measures are taken to deal with the hawkers and how successful are these measures?
5. What are the future plans, if any, for hawkers and vendors, special hawker areas, why?
6. Any recent relocations of hawkers? What are their problems and possible solutions?
7. Health, sanitation, cleanliness, traffic hazards: are they problems?

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