Hawkers and Vendors in Asian Cities
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Preface

Street traders are a common feature of Asian cities. Surprisingly, very little data exist about who they are, what they sell, whom they serve, and how much they invest or earn. The rapid growth of Asian cities is demanding planned development. This, in turn, requires accurate and reliable information about all aspects of city life.

It is with this policy need in mind that three research groups in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines carried out a study of hawkers, vendors, and peddlers in 1972. The International Development Research Centre, in supporting the project, shared the researchers' view that more information is needed on the roles that street traders perform in the distribution of food and other commodities to urban people.

The research, in the countries involved in the project, was headed by the following country team coordinators: W. J. Waworoentoe and T. B. Mohamad Rais for Bandung and Jakarta; Timothy Lam Thim Fook for Kuala Lumpur and Malacca, and Sylvia Guerrero for Baguio and Manila. It was fortunate that T. G. McGee, formerly with University of Hong Kong and now with the Australian National University, who had pioneered in studying street sellers in Hong Kong, could act as overall coordinator. Dr Yue-man Yeung of the University of Singapore, as co-coordinator, contributed his knowledge about Singapore hawkers, stressing especially the government policies that helped to absorb the hawkers into the country's economy.

This booklet, originally drafted by Farida Shaikh, a former staff writer at IDRC, presents some of the highlights of the research findings. We hope it will be useful for city authorities and interested citizens concerned with the problems of urban growth.

R. K. Zagorin

Director

Social Sciences and Human Resources

International Development Research Centre
A Hard and Hectic Life

You see, we hardly earn enough to keep us alive. The vegetables we get from the Divisoria market 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 sayot while running, or they are taken away from us. It is a hard and hectic life.

Juanita: a Manila sidewalk vendor, 1974

Being a hawker, as Juanita told researchers, is "a hard and hectic life." In 1974, she and her husband Mario could expect to make a net profit of five pesos ($0.70) from a full day of selling vegetables. They live in a converted market building, with about 100 other people. The building is partitioned into small, dark rooms and they live in a single room about four metres square. They share it with their five children. They live, very literally, from day to day: one day’s earnings go to purchase the next day’s vegetables from the market. What money they save from trading is spent on their children’s education. Juanita, who is 28, thinks she will always be a hawker. "I do not know of any other way of making money," she said.

People hold all kinds of views about hawkers. Visitors often see them in a romantic light: they are a colourful part of the character of Southeast Asia. Most people view them more prosaically as a commonplace part of city life. They are, in the words of one municipality’s regulations, simply men, women, and children who sell "food, beverages or other kinds of goods, whether by street or canal, by means of loading, carrying on the hip, holding over the head, or putting on a public location." To Juanita and Mario and other vendors, they are ordinary people working hard to survive — and helping other city people to survive by providing a cheap supply of food and dry goods.

Hawkers are also controversial. City officials sometimes see them as the cause of many problems. They block traffic, clog sidewalks, and they are suspected of selling unsanitary goods.

City governments often try to control hawkers by requiring licenses or by limiting their activities only to certain areas. However, in most Asian cities, the street sellers persist and, in some cases, they handle as much as a third of the goods and services.

In some Asian cities, municipal governments build markets and encourage hawkers to become more progressive businessmen. They provide credit to hawkers, give them training in basic business methods, close certain streets where they are free to sell their wares, and install water and sanitation services that hawkers can use in their business.

The two types of policies mentioned above have not been entirely successful. Perhaps, this is because both policies have been based on insufficient information about hawkers and vendors. Some control-oriented administrators who want to see their cities clean, modern, aesthetic, and progressive cannot see a role for hawkers and vendors in their schemes. Well-meaning officials, on the other hand, have been accused of being "soft" on hawkers, even to the extent of ignoring violations of ordinances and other regulations. Since the right policies might be somewhere between these two extremes, it was decided that more should be known about street sellers and what governments are doing about them.
A Study of Six Cities

In late 1972, three teams of researchers in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines launched studies on hawkers and vendors with the support of IDRC. In each country, one very large and one medium-size city were studied. Thus, in Indonesia, Jakarta and Bandung were covered, while the other cities were Manila and Baguio in the Philippines and Kuala Lumpur and Malacca in Malaysia.

In each city, a careful count of all hawkers, vendors, and peddlers on the streets was first made. A sample was then chosen, and individual hawkers were interviewed. A number of hawkers were asked to tell their life stories to the researchers. In most instances, however, the survey asked such questions as where the hawkers came from, where they lived, what types of goods they sold, where they got their goods, how much they earned, etc. The surveys were uneventful, although there were some exciting incidents.

Amiyah is usually happy selling pigeons. Playing with birds used to be his hobby, so he knows a lot about them. But some days, the ones when the Jakarta municipal police raid hawkers and vendors, are terrible. Eight months ago, in his nineteenth arrest he lost his entire stock — 15 pairs of pigeons costing nearly Rp. 10,000. Now, he only carries two pairs in cages that are easy to run away with. But this week has been disastrous: he was caught three times and fined heavily by the judge. He must be more careful... the city has launched another campaign to drive out hawkers, and Amiyah's friend the policeman has been replaced. One more arrest and Amiyah will go to jail; then who will earn for his five brothers and sisters?

A familiar story? Yes, but for the fact that the "hawker" was one of the researchers — Professor Waworoentoe of the Institut Teknologi Bandung — who, in an extraordinary display of devotion to duty, decided to have the experience of being a hawker before he wrote about it.

Although the other researchers were not quite as adventurous as their colleague from Bandung, they were equally scrupulous about establishing the validity of their information about hawking in the six cities they examined. They set out to discover who exactly hawkers are and what positive and negative effects they have on the cities in which they live. In the hope that their findings would prove useful to policymakers, they studied the literature on marketing systems and peddlers in Asia, collected a wide variety of information on the activities and patterns of concentration of hawkers in each of the six cities, interviewed officials about government policy, and drew up a series of detailed life histories of selected vendors, Juanita among them.

The study points out just how precarious a life the hawker lives. It also shows that hawkers do not usually disappear as a city modernizes. Quite to the contrary, they seem to increase in number. But, as the circumstances change and given a little governmental encouragement, they often become successful small businessmen, selling from a fixed and approved location and presenting fewer problems to officials and traffic alike.
Hawking through the Ages

No one seems to know, even approximately, just how many hawkers there are in each city. Different estimates vary by hundreds and, sometimes, even by thousands. Although an effort was made to count the number of peddlers in each city for this study, the researchers had problems arriving at a definition of hawkers that would be satisfactory for all six urban areas.

They, therefore, concentrated on those hawkers who sold from fixed locations in high-density areas. For the purposes of this count, they ignored the peddlers who move from place to place, and who sell from less central locations. They were ignored, not because they were unimportant but because they were almost impossible to enumerate accurately.

Taking, then, only those who sold from fixed locations in central areas, the researcher found a total of 50,330 vendors. Their estimates ranged from 765 hawkers in Baguio, 10,200 in Bandung, to 30,000 in Jakarta. The researchers also counted approximately 5000 peddlers in Manila, 975 in Malacca, and 8390 in Kuala Lumpur.

That may seem an insignificant number, among a combined population in these six cities of some 11 million people. But the fact that they work in central areas and each of them sells goods to scores, if not hundreds, of customers during a week’s trading means that hawkers have an impact upon a city’s life and its economy quite out of proportion to their small numbers.

A BIT OF HISTORY

To understand the place that hawkers occupy in the life of these cities, it is necessary to look back a little at historical developments. Manila and Jakarta, seaports and centres of trade in precolonial days, retained these functions after the Spaniards and the Dutch arrived. As well, they grew to become the seats of government, industry, education, and communications during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They have grown in helter-skelter fashion, with people spilling out of city boundaries; shacks and skyscrapers are often weirdly juxtaposed, and basic service facilities are strained to the point of breakdown. As the economic and cultural focal points in their areas, the two capitals have attracted the largest number of migrants — many of whom find difficulty in getting absorbed into the mainstream of the urban economies. Of Manila’s more than three million people, nearly a third live in squatter shacks or shantytowns, with inadequate water supplies or sanitation facilities and with limited access to jobs, health care, or schools.

In direct contrast, the newer cities of Baguio, Bandung, and Kuala Lumpur seem better organized. The first two were founded in the eighteenth century: Bandung as a regional centre, Baguio as a summer capital in the hills, and Kuala Lumpur followed in the nineteenth century as a tin mining settlement and seat of government. All have sustained a rapid population growth but with fewer disruptions. Kuala Lumpur has grown to become not only the seat of government but also an industrial town, the centre of transportation and communications systems, and the educational and cultural heart of the nation. Successive city administrations have made conscious efforts to integrate and help the poorest segments of the expanding population, many of whom are Malays.

Malacca is a special case. Like Manila and Jakarta, it was an old seaport — the fabled centre of the spice trade that opened up the Orient. But unlike them, its trade functions were supplanted by the development of more accessible seaports in the neighbouring area. Except for a short rubber boom, it has never recovered its earlier status; it is the only city of the six that has declined both in size and function. The faded elegance of the old historical sites, the winding alleyways and streets are mingled with evidence of an aging and largely poor population. It lacks the sharp strains and cleavages characteristic of the larger, more vital urban centres.

The historical development of the cities is reflected somewhat in the attitudes toward hawkers and vendors. The licensing and control measures that are enforced on hawkers have their roots in the tradition set by colonial officials. Colonial administrators were quick to discipline petty traders who moved to urban areas. Under regulations governing sanitation, health, transport, and public order, stalls were torn down, offending peddlers arrested or chased out of the
city, and goods confiscated. The administrators wanted a well-planned city. Like their modern counterparts, they did not appreciate the sights and sounds of street sellers.

DEALING WITH HAWKERS AND VENDORS

In Asian cities at present, attitudes toward street sellers retain the ambivalence between incentives and punishment. Despite the fact that colonial administrators are rarely found in Asia, many of the policies and procedures persist. In Manila and Jakarta, the city issues licences to peddlers, basing fees on the amount of capital invested and the way in which goods are transported. Municipal ordinances also designate specific areas, away from crowds, from which hawkers can sell. But since the most lucrative districts are crowded areas, sidewalk-vending in central business districts persists in defiance of the law. The city police arrest violators, confiscate their goods, and fine them or send them to jail. In Manila, the ordinance governing the locations from which vendors may sell has not been changed since it was passed by the American authorities in 1924. Jakarta bans hawkers from certain thoroughfares and allows them only at certain hours.

In Baguio and Bandung, although hawkers are often regarded as a nuisance, policymakers recognize that hawking is a useful source of employment. Licences are issued and efforts to eliminate unlicensed hawkers are made periodically; but the city governments also try to integrate hawkers into the modern system by relocating them in newly constructed markets. In Bandung, vocational schools teach hawking as part of the regular curriculum. Students are taught the rudiments of accounting, bookkeeping, and hygiene in the classroom and are then sent to apprentice with a market vendor to learn the practical aspects of selling. Administrators hope that such courses will help provide future peddlers with the knowledge and incentive necessary to move up the ladder to become storekeepers.

In Malaysia, business has traditionally been in the hands of two minority communities. In 1969, the Malaysian government adopted policies to "correct economic imbalance" and to disassociate economic activity with ethnic identity. One program to achieve this goal is providing training, credit, and other resources to potential businessmen. Among the many beneficiaries of this program are the thousands of hawkers, vendors, and peddlers in Malaysian cities, many of whom are Malay.

By tradition or present needs, Asia's urban centers continue to have hawkers, vendors, and peddlers. Programs to encourage or discourage them have not been entirely successful. Perhaps the reason for this lies in inherited and preconceived notions rather than a real appreciation of who the streetsellers really are and what they offer to Asia's thriving cities.
The Hawker’s World: Drudgery and Dreams

It’s hard to imagine nine years without a week off. But for Mrs. Chew there have been no passages, no holidays. Her day begins at 6 a.m. and ends at midnight. Every morning she drives to the market with her husband, husband’s food stall and opens her stall. The last customers have already arrived, and it’s 8:30 p.m. before she rushes back home. She barely has time to look at her husband, to eat or to clean her stall. Every night, half an hour for dinner, then work the next day’s stall. Next month she starts her homework — and once a week, she only has time to read. She talks wistfully of the days when she was young — the food stall must not be hard...
Like Mrs Chan, most hawkers work at their job out of necessity. There are few other jobs open to them. They sell to earn a living or to supplement the family income. And they work hard, for long hours, and with few rest periods.

They dream of finding exciting new jobs, owning a store, or sending their children to university. They live near their places of work, usually within 10-minutes walking distance, and jokingly talk about buying a house in the city's most exclusive district. The most successful among them make up to $200 to $300 a month but most just manage to subsist.

The majority of hawkers in the cities surveyed are male and between the ages of 20 and 40. Only in Manila and Baguio do women outnumber men among the hawkers. About a third have held other jobs — as labourers, factory workers, shop assistants or clerks — before becoming vendors. Far from being the most illiterate group in society, almost all have had between 3 and 10 years of formal education. Perhaps most surprisingly, hawkers are not usually recent migrants from rural areas. According to the comparative report from the six-city survey, nearly 75 percent are native-born or long-term residents of the city. Only in Jakarta is there a much higher proportion of new arrivals who become hawkers. Once they do, they stay in this type of job for many years. They take to hawking as a way of entering the economic mainstream of the economy, but they are caught in the shallows because they cannot save enough to become properly launched as businessmen.

Hawkers can be divided into three basic types of sellers: static, semistatic, and ambulatory. Static hawkers sell from kiosks, stalls, or booths that remain standing at the end of the day. Semistatic peddlers may sell from one or more fixed locations and bring the structure — table, cart, or cloth on a sidewalk — with them each day. And ambulatory peddlers change locations frequently, carrying their goods on their bodies or vehicles, in baskets, boats, carts, or other movable containers.

All three sellers operate from public places. But it is the semistatic or ambulatory hawkers who create the greatest nuisance. Some cluster around established markets, blocking entrances and exits, and overloading rudimentary sanitation facilities. Others sell at bazaars or periodic fairs. And still others set up their pitches in rows on busy streets. Because they must always be where crowds are, they congest thoroughfares at peak traffic hours forcing pedestrians onto the street and disrupting the flow of vehicles in central city areas. In Kuala Lumpur, hawkers have become more and more static as the population has become more mobile and as city limits have spread. The long distances make ambulatory peddling uneconomic.

One major attraction of hawking is that little capital is needed to start. Depending upon the type of selling unit, a vendor could invest anywhere from $3.00 to $500.00 to set himself up in business. Most peddlers borrow the money from friends and relatives. Others go to moneylenders. A select few get assistance from the city or from modern retailing or wholesaling stores.
or richer traders are in the most unenviable position. Interest rates are high: 18 to 20 percent per week is not uncommon. Should a mishap occur and the vendor be unable to meet a payment, the rates go even higher. They are also subject to the greatest interference: investors often want to be consulted about the type of goods to be sold, the working hours, and the location of sales.

A few modern stores, whether retail or wholesale companies, provide hawkers with the capital needed to start. The hawker pays a percentage of the profit to such firms and keeps the rest for himself. This type of financing is usually offered for broken shipments of small imported goods, because the hawkers can charge higher prices than they could for local wares. But there are limits: the peddlers must undersell modern stores and keep within the price range their customers can afford.

The type of goods sold by vendors ranges widely from city to city. In Malaysian cities, the great majority sell processed or unprocessed food. In Jakarta and Bandung, durable goods, such as textiles, cigarettes, and household articles, account for the bulk of hawker sales. In the two cities in the Philippines, peddlers sell about equal proportions of food and nonfood items.

Since food products are perishable and a hawker has no means of storing them, they are usually bought daily. Textiles and other dry goods might be bought once, twice, or three times a week. Very rarely do vendors place bulk orders to cover longer periods.

Most goods are paid for in cash. At the end of the day, the hawker puts aside the sum necessary to replenish his supplies. Food especially is rarely sold on credit. Credit is sometimes extended by the middlemen to dry-goods sellers, but if the hawker is not well known he may not qualify for this type of transaction. A few goods, especially those distributed to hawkers by modern stores, are sold on a consignment basis.

More than half the goods sold by peddlers originate within the city or its periphery. In a few instances, scarce commodities may be imported from a neighbouring state. Occasionally, goods are brought in from distant areas within the country or from other countries. Most hawkers buy their goods from wholesalers within the city; a few bring their own produce to the market place.

Most hawkers buy their goods early in the day and transport them by foot, car, jeepney, truck,
bicycle, or horse-drawn cart to their selling locations. Few vendors own vehicles. Some band together in a group and rent one, others walk, and still others rely on a regular source of transportation.

Location is an all-important factor in the success of a hawker's business. For static or semistatic pitch-sellers, a slight change — even two city blocks — can mean a sharp drop in sales. Few customers will go out of their way to find a particular seller. And for peddlers, access to heavily travelled areas is essential: a successful ban on selling in central city areas may put them out of business.

Hawkers live in a variety of neighbourhoods. A few — the most successful — may own their houses, sometimes in middle-class neighbourhoods. The poorest and great majority live in slum or squatter communities, on borrowed time, on borrowed land. There is a high degree of social interaction between sellers who work in the same area, even if they are competing for business.

Vendors of similar goods tend to cluster together. Food hawkers will sell from one area, textile sellers from another. Customers are more likely to gravitate to areas in which they are offered a wide choice of a particular range of goods. Few hawkers express fears about competition. Most either feel that the presence of other sellers has no effect or that it actually benefits their business.

In part, the lack of concern about competition can be explained by the strict rules that govern the relations between hawkers in a given location. Vendors of similar goods agree upon an acceptable price range and are honour-bound not to interfere with each other's regular customers. In some areas of Manila, a hawker can be driven out of his location if he repeatedly calls back customers once they have moved on to the next stall.

To most hawkers, the greatest threat is posed not by competitors but by the police. In Jakarta and Manila, an operative selling from a location that is off limits to hawkers risks confiscation of his stock of goods, in addition to a stiff fine or a jail sentence. Repeated confiscation can put the hawker out of business, yet he cannot stay away from the banned areas because that is where the customers are located.

In the final analysis, it is the customers who will decide whether hawkers in Third World Cities will stay or vanish. Studies in this project revealed that hawker customers ran the gamut of the cities' population — from the poor pedicab driver to the homebound office worker, from the marketbound housewife to the sightseeing tourist. The urban poor, of course, tend to be the hawkers' main customers. Since there are so many of them and their numbers increase daily, it looks like hawkers, vendors, and peddlers in Asian cities will be around for a long time.
What is Being Done

From the information gathered by the researchers, the following picture of a typical hawker emerges. He is a native-born or long-term resident of the city, with a primary or secondary education, little capital, and few skills or alternative sources of employment. He works long hours, sometimes as many as 16 hours a day, and lacks the facilities or knowledge to ensure that rigorous health standards are met. He needs to keep his overhead and transportation costs low and to locate in central areas in order to make a living.

Within these limits, the hawker plays a crucial and productive role in the marketing system of each of the six urban areas studied. Until that unlikely day when cities stop growing, poverty is virtually eliminated, and jobs and transport are freely available, hawking will continue to meet a critical need. To the hawker’s customers, the availability of goods at low prices, in small quantities, and at convenient locations is most important. It is hoped, also, that hawking will provide on-the-job training for future businessmen. To become successful, a hawker must be ingenious, flexible, tenacious, and a gambler – qualities that are useful in a modern economy.

As noted earlier, policy concerning hawkers’ activities has ranged from the highly punitive to the supportive. Most have met with limited success. Without information on why and how peddlers do what they do, it is difficult to decide how to cope with them. But once the question of hawkers is placed within the context of each city’s economy and within the larger framework of national development goals, it becomes possible to choose ways to take advantage of their presence and minimize the problems caused by their activities.

From the six cities studied and from elsewhere, examples can be given of positive approaches to problems that are common in all cities where hawking takes place. They may serve as encouraging signposts in the search for a comprehensive program of cooperation between hawkers and city authorities.
**TRAINING**

The research in Malaysia shows that a positive hawkers’ program can begin to be designed if hawking is viewed as a trade, not as a last resort. In that country, the skills of young hawkers are being improved by instruction in accounting, hygiene, and marketing given in courses supported by the Urban Development Authority.

**HEALTH MEASURES**

Official concern about health hazards posed by food sales has resulted in campaigns to clean up stalls and the areas around them, as well as in periodic checks on the health of the hawkers themselves. For example, the governments of Kuala Lumpur and Malacca have built units for peddlers with piped-in water, permanent flooring, and a place for rubbish. In Manila, a Health Department truck screens hawkers for tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. But many food sellers, particularly the semistatic and mobile peddlers, prepare the food at home. For this reason, teaching peddlers about hygiene and inspecting their homes becomes even more important.
SITES AND SERVICES

From the hawkers' perspective, one major problem is space. If he does not have access to a site that is approved by the city and is also well located, he has no choice but to cluster on the crowded sidewalks and busy thoroughfares. Administrators in Kuala Lumpur have tried to deal with this problem by providing multistory marketplaces. But hawkers have soon vacated the upper stories of these sites. The rental fee is too high and business slows down because the low-income customers have neither the time nor the transportation to search for the new location of a particular seller. The alternative approach has been to close off certain streets for a few hours at night for pasar malams or travelling night markets. These can be found in Singapore and all Malaysian towns.

Some office buildings, schools, and factories operate canteens but the food is often too expensive for the people who work in them. In Bandung and Jakarta, however, some owners of factories and offices have realized this shortcoming and have provided space for hawkers of foodstuffs in the courtyards, or even within the buildings themselves.

Hawker pitches, hastily thrown together from scraps of wood, cardboard, or tin, made of overturned crates and pieces of cloth, can be quite an eyesore. Some may add colour, but most merely detract from the symmetry and beauty of the tree-lined streets or central sidewalks. Yet the clashing and poorly constructed structures continue to be thrown up because cheap alternatives that meet the approval of city planners are rarely presented to the hawkers. One ingenious notion comes from Bangkok, where street peddlers are encouraged to use giant umbrellas, available in a standard size but a variety of colours, in place of the ugly and more common structures. Officials in Nairobi have yet another idea: they provide hawkers with architecturally designed patterns for pitches. The hawkers can choose between several designs that can easily be put together from inexpensive and readily available materials.
STORAGE SPACE

Most peddlers live in small flats, no more than one or two rooms for several people, in the more congested sections of the city. As more and more people move into the crowded, high-density areas, hawkers have less and less space to store their handcarts and goods. Even in Singapore, hawkers who operate the Car Park night market in the Cold Storage area are driven to piling their things in alleyways during the daytime. One way of providing secure and convenient storage where hawkers can leave their things has been found in Kuala Lumpur: there the stalls are designed to fold so that goods can be locked inside them.

TOURIST APPEAL

There are many features of hawking that have tourist appeal. The bustle, the colour, and the sound of streets crowded with hawkers attract visitors who are eager for new experiences in a general way. Some cities have gone further in catering to tourists — and profiting from them — by making certain streets famous for specializing in particular goods. For instance, in Hong Kong, there is the "Eggsellers Street," in Singapore, the street where you can buy songbirds on Sunday mornings, and in Jakarta, the street where the vendors deal almost exclusively in antiques.

CREDIT

Finding sources of credit is a major obstacle for hawkers in the Philippines and Indonesia. The
studies in the four cities of these countries have shown that few vendors make more than a subsistence income. It is difficult to save money and reinvest in an expanded business. Loans, usually available only through private channels, are costly. The problem is exacerbated by frequent fines and by losses incurred when the police confiscate goods. In contrast, the quality of hawking in Malaysia has been raised by an official policy of not only providing government loans to vendors when they begin trading but also, later, to established traders who are seeking to improve their existing pitches or expand their businesses.

**ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY**

Policy is often inconsistent within each of the six cities. To some extent, the variations may result from changes in city administrations or from imminent elections. Officials running for re-election often pursue more positive policies toward peddlers than they would at more normal times. But elsewhere, a more effective approach to policy has resulted from giving one agency the responsibility for supervising all aspects of hawking that concern the city, from credit and licensing to health and traffic: in Kuala Lumpur, that agency is the Urban Development Authority, and in Singapore, it is the Ministry of the Environment.

The country studies done by the research teams in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines show that problems vary from city to city, and policies toward hawkers differ considerably as they reflect local conditions. These studies contain a great amount of information about the six cities, and a number of specific recommendations, beyond what can be highlighted in this short booklet.

Hawkers and vendors have always been part of the bustle and colour of Asian city life. With the rapid urban changes and the need to plan and manage these changes, many city authorities have turned to licensing, zoning, and other regulatory actions to keep hawking and vending under control. In some instances, however, controlling hawkers seem related more to attempts to realize an ideal or idealized concept of a modern city than to a fuller appreciation of what the city residents actually need or do. This study, with the information it yields about hawkers, vendors, and their customers, suggests that hawkers may be something more than remnants of an obsolete past. They are a vibrant and productive group - a vital force in the city life of Asian cities today.
## City Population Growth

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<th>City</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1950</th>
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<td>BAGUIO*</td>
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<td>MANILA**</td>
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<td>KUALA LUMPUR</td>
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*Permanent residents only; the population triples during the summer months as Baguio is a popular holiday area.

**Metro area figures.

![Icon] = 100,000

![Icon] = 50,000

![Icon] = under 50,000
Percentage of Hawkers by Length of Residence in City

Old timers outnumber newcomers: Points worth noting in this table are the high proportion of hawkers in the Malaysian cities who were born in them. Again, nearly three-quarters of the vendors in Manila have lived there for more than 10 years. Jakarta is the only city in the survey where a majority are fairly recent migrants.

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<th>BAGUIO</th>
<th>KUALA LUMPUR</th>
<th>MALACCA</th>
<th>JAKARTA</th>
<th>BANDUNG</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<td>22.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
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<td>Medium-Term Migrants (4-10 years)</td>
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<td>20.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>25.5</td>
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<td>29.9</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>32.3</td>
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<td>54.2</td>
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<td>21.9</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Outside</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
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