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Market and Street Trading:
A Conceptual Framework

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A Conceptual Framework

by

F.Y. Tse

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PREFACE

The Hawker Study Programme has been one of the interdisciplinary research projects undertaken by the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in recent years. The Programme is primarily financed by the Lotteries Fund of the Hong Kong Government via the Social Welfare Advisory Committee.

The present research forms the core of the Programme. The report consists of a discussion paper on the conceptual framework of street trading in a modern metropolitan environment and three consecutive reports of data analysis. The analyses are based on factual material collected from intensive field surveys carried out in some thirty-two hawking localities and also upon interviews with some five hundred street traders in 1971.

Part One is an intensive investigation of the magnitude and size of the hawking activity supported by an examination of the provision standard of shopping facilities and people's acceptance of street shopping in the daily life. The physical and economic characteristics of the activity have also been explored in great detail.

Part Two begins with an analysis of the distribution pattern of the activity at a micro level of investigation and further proceeds to the study of the location factors of individual hawking stalls. The regional disparity in the provision of formal retail facilities and the role of street traders in reducing such a disparity are further studied. The disparity is also reflected in the analysis of price differentiation both in space and between different retail outlets.

Part Three concludes the research by means of a brief review of the government policies in the past few decades with special reference to the Revised Hawker Policy introduced in late 1969. On practical grounds, the author makes some criticisms of the Policy, especially of the inappropriate rental system. A more practical and fairer alternative is suggested. A summary of the whole research (three parts) is provided at the end to serve as a quick guide for those who cannot afford the time to go through the lengthy reports in detail.

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Principal Researcher
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1. Introduction

Street trading is not a phenomenon of the retail and service structure special only to the underdeveloped world. Its presence in advanced countries is not uncommon though its role in retail distribution is much less important than that of independent shops, multiples, chains and co-operative societies. However, in certain areas of retail trade notably in fresh fruits and vegetables, market and street traders are still important retail outlets.¹ The relative importance of market and street retailing within a distribution system varies from one country to another. In underdeveloped countries, street trading is often the mode of a country's internal trade characterised by the dominance of market and bazaar trading activities in the commercial life of the country. On the contrary, in developed countries, this kind of retailing is perceived as a remnant of the past; and it is confined to certain limited areas of the system. A generally accepted saying is that the higher the degree of commercialization of a society the fewer intermediaries will be required to move a commodity from its production points to the final consumption points. Labour intensive intermediaries like petty traders are regarded as inefficient in developed economies and are subject to elimination during the process of retail modernization. Normally there are different rates of elimination amongst the various lines of trade. Some street traders manage to survive longer in some trades while others have either to go out of business or move on to shop-type trading of one kind or another.

2. Process of Retail Development - A Continuum

The process of retail development can be illustrated simply by the following model with one end characterized by the dominance of itinerant trading prevailing in traditional market economies and the other by modern retail facilities in advanced economies.

TraditionalModern

Itinerant Trading: Periodic Markets	→	Static Trading: Daily or Permanent Basaars	→	Shop-type Trading: Independent Shops, and Market Halls.	→	Multiples, Chains, Co-operatives, Shops, Self-Service & Automation
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Between the two ends there are intermediate stages where there are combinations of 'modern' and 'old' retail facilities. For example, in a developing country, there may be huge department stores occupying the shopping centre of the prime city. Next to these concrete buildings there may exist crowded retail market halls or bazaars with hawkers and pedlars plying their trades. In the vicinity of the market one might see a large number of individual stalls and mini-stores accommodated in wooden structures. A mini-store could stock as many varieties of goods and perhaps do as much business as an ordinary shop in a nearby street. The only difference is that the former has only very simple constructed premises whereas the latter has a fixed shop. One would also sense that the shop-type retail system is engaged more in the distribution of higher ordered goods and services and tends, perhaps, to serve the high income sector. On the other hand, the traditional market and street trading system is more responsible for the distribution of low order goods, in particular for the low income groups. If the society is a compartmentalized one, there will be a sharp contrast in function between these two systems. The inter-system articulation may be very limited. As an economy advances, the 'modern' system will gradually take over some of the functions formerly handled by the 'old' ones.

With regard to the escalation of a trade from itinerant to static or firm-type trading, the process can be also viewed as a continuum of modernization. The major scale of reference for the continuum is scale of operation. It involves variables like physical size of trading unit, physical structure of stall, permanence of site, degree of capitalization and complexity of business organization. The escalation

process is a pursuit of scale economies. Those who fail to combat the increasing diseconomies of small operations by intensive labour substitution will be eliminated. Thus, the critical factor seems to be the nature of the trade. Normally, small scale operations are favourable only when the following criteria are met, i.e. (1) high degree of divisibility of merchandise, (2) convenience in physical transaction, (3) low requirement of commodity processing, (4) relatively high degree of perishability, (5) low unit-value, and (6) inelasticity of demand.² The limit of labour substitutability is also subject to the influence of external factors such as the state of competition, in particular the supply level of shop-type shopping facilities.

2.1 Temporal Dimension of the Continuum

The temporal dimension of the retail-development continuum can be hypothesized as one end being characterized by the stage of a primitive economic development and the other by a modern and complex economic development. The model is presented in Fig. 1,

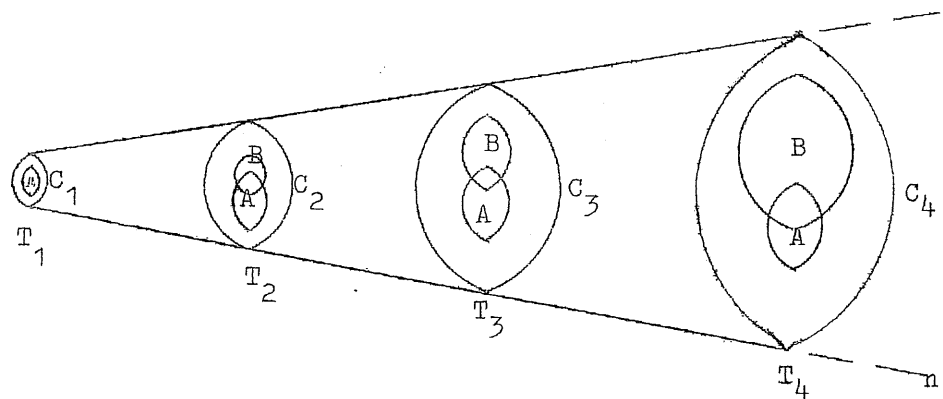


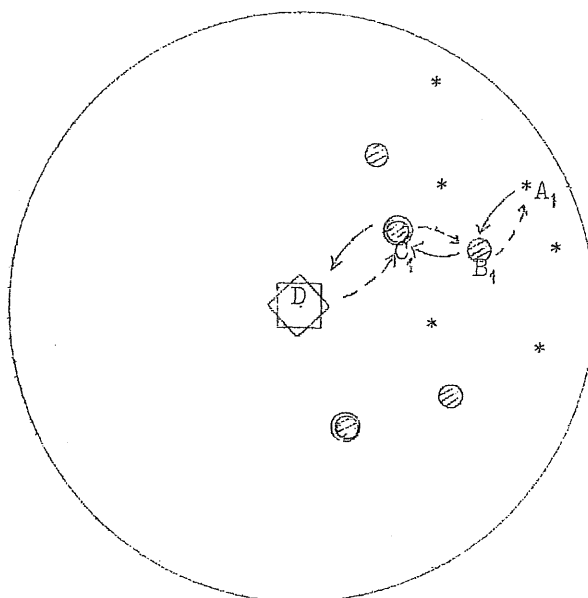
Fig. 1 : Temporal Dimension of the Continuum

where large circles, C_1, C_2, \dots, C_n represent the overall distribution systems at various stages of economic development. Circle C enlarges as time proceeds from T_1 to T_n . The relative size of circles A (the non-shop retail system) and B (the shop-type system) at T_1 ,

$T_2, \dots & T_n$ symbolizes the relative importance of the two systems at various stages of development of a country. The extent of their inter-relation is indicated by the intersection of the circles A and B. Disregarding T_1 in view of its extremely primitive state of commercial development, T_2 is regarded as at the stage of a peasant economy where commercial activities are more or less limited to exchange of agricultural surplus and rudimentary urban goods via the periodic marketing system. As urbanization develops, the commerce of urban goods and services begins to dominate the urban activities. Daily markets begin to replace some periodic markets. This marks the transition from itinerant trading to static trading. The further the economy develops the greater is the dominance of the shop-type system. The presence of market and street trading activities in modern economies (as T_4 in Fig. 1), is limited to only a few trades under specific circumstances (note the little intersection of the circles A and B in T_4 in Fig. 1). However, there may be abnormalities which favour the rebirth of this type of small scale trading practices.³

2.2 Spatial Dimension of the Continuum

The spatial implication of the retail-development continuum is explained with the help of another model presented in Fig. 2. Where $A_1, A_2, \dots & A_n$ denote a wide scatter of individual units of production and consumption, i.e. producing agricultural goods and consuming urban products. $B_1, B_2, \dots & B_n$ represent market places where periodic and permanent markets are held. The permanence or periodicity of marketing is subject to (1) the function of the ' range ' and ' threshold ' of the marketing goods and (2) the accessibility to the consumption (as well as production) points. Greater permanence of a market is encouraged if the range of the marketing commodities (aggregate) is greater than the threshold. The reverse is the case of mobile trading.⁴ The further away from the centre of the region, the more markets will be required to serve the vast territory (due to narrow range of low-order goods and the sheer physical size of the region) (Fig. 2).



- A Consumption and Production Units
- B Market Places (Periodic or Permanent)
- C Village Towns
- D Prime City (the Regional Centre)

Fig. 2: Spatial Dimension of the Continuum.

Rural markets perform simple functions. They are points where agricultural produce is collected in exchange for urban goods arrived mainly from the prime city. Such a distribution system is similar to the situation prevailing in countries at the early state of commercialization, i.e. periodic marketing in peasant economies. $C_1, C_2, \dots & C_n$ are towns where both shop-type and non-shop retail systems co-exist, a state similar to the 'intermediate stage' along the temporal continuum shown in Fig. 1; that is the dual marketing system. Finally, in the centre, there is the prime city (D in Fig. 2) where the shop-type system dominates the retail structure; street stalls and market halls share only a small part, largely in the retailing of fresh provisions. The situation is parallel to that of T_4 mentioned in the temporal continuum presented in Fig. 1.

In short, the model looks like this: in the remote territories there are periodic markets responsible for the collection of local produce and distribution of some low order urban goods. The marketing activities are handled largely by the rural people on a part time basis. In permanent markets, a greater varieties of urban goods are available. Full time traders are required. Urban traders may come to station at village towns. Even the collection of agricultural goods begins to fall into the hands of the urban traders, say the bulk-collector or buying agents. Closer to the prime city are some village towns where formal shops form the basis of the trading economy. Market and street trading flourishes as a result of the attraction of the urban growth. In the prime city, the ' market ' for street and market traders is much reduced. The collection of agricultural produce is no longer handled by individual farmers but by collective methods organized by the bulk-buyers. The distribution of urban goods is almost entirely in the hand of shop-type operators. Street traders and market stallholders are confined to the retailing of fresh provisions. As a whole, the further away from the centre, the more important is the market and street trading system in both collection of local produce and distribution of central goods.

Undoubtedly, the above model is hypothetical. The contrasts between stages along the continuum have been exaggerated. The changing characteristics along the temporal and spatial dimensions of the continuum can be represented by the ' rural-urban ' continuum. The model seems to be at its best to explain the situation of a country which is at an intermediate stage of economic development, in particular when there is a vast territory characterised by a marked rural-urban continuum, i.e. a fairly modern system localized at large urban centres co-exists with a backward system dominating the country side.

In Hong Kong, in the light of the limited geographic space, the continuum is not very distinctive as far as commodity distribution is concerned. Although some periodic markets are still practised in the New Territories, they are no longer the main body of the commercial

life of the village towns. The function of these periodic markets has changed from petty trading between farmers and town dwellers to bulk transactions between farmers and large buyers from the city. They are more or less wholesale markets. The village towns do not act as intermediaries between the farmsteads and the prime city. The distribution of urban goods rarely goes through the continuum step by step. In short, the rural-urban continuum of commodity distribution is not a significant issue in modern Hong Kong. However, the co-existence of a modern and traditional system in the prime city becomes a more interesting issue.

3. Market and Street Trading in a Metropolitan Setting - Hong Kong

The presence of market and street trading in large urban centres can be viewed as a phenomenon of the 'nesting' of low order goods by high order centres in a central place hierarchy. According to the central place theory, goods with low ranges and narrow thresholds (low order goods) are widely distributed in all shopping centres, whereas those with wide ranges and thresholds (high order goods) are available only in large centres. Since shoppers in large centres can buy both low and high order goods, retailers selling low order goods located in the centre will enjoy larger 'market' areas than retailers of the same type located in small centres. Market and street trading goods are mainly low order goods. Their presence in large shopping centres within a metropolitan environment can be explained by the same reason. Normally, the larger the centre, the greater will be the specialization possible. The large 'market' area allows large scale operations. The growth of super-markets in the food trade in large shopping centres is a good example of benefiting from the specialization and scale economies.

In view of the increasing intensive land use competition in large centres, small retailers are in a disadvantageous position because of their limited scale economies. Public markets and street markets should be in an even worse situation. But

there are non-economic forces which help keep this low-order form of retailing in relatively central sites. For example, quite a number of market places in Britain nowadays are still being protected by concessions (like charters) inherited from the historical past.⁵ In Hong Kong, markets are not protected in this way. But it has been a long tradition that public markets are regarded by the authority as a form of community service. Market halls were built by the authority so as to provide retail stalls at low rents to the small traders. This was aimed at maintaining retail prices at a reasonably low level. Although this concept is no longer emphasized, public retail markets are still considered essential to the city dwellers. Their central location is still justified.

The most fundamental factor for the presence of market and street trading in large urban centres is the supply of retail facilities, i.e. the shopping space. In a highly congested urban environment, especially Hong Kong, the limited supply of space leaves little room for low order land-uses like market and street trading. Planning priorities tend to gear towards the high order uses. The use of public space like streets, back lanes, and open ground, etc. for street trading, in a way, seems to be a maximization of the limited supply of space under a given stage of economic development.

During the process of modernization, the survival of market and street trading is mainly due to the successful performance of individual traders. Markets, unlike shops and supermarkets, are not under the manipulation of one ' operator '. A super-market (one decision-making unit) can stretch its ' range ' by various techniques such as advertizing, improving shopping convenience and amenities, product-mix pricing techniques, etc. to attract more customers; or can widen its ' threshold ' by various cost-saving measures, such as automation or self-service practices. As for a public market or a street market, the survival is subject to the combined effort of individual stallholders. There is little possibility for stretching the ' range ' because almost all the goods sold in markets are very low ordered. The only possibility

is on the ' threshold ' side. Threshold is a function of demand elasticity and profit level. The former is fairly rigid in most convenience goods whereas the latter is subject to the interplay of revenue and costs. Cost-saving is also very limited in street trading because basically it is a very low cost operation. Thus; the condition of survival is to increase revenue with minimum incurring costs, i.e. by means of intensive labour investment. The most common methods are: (1) extending the selling hours, (2) systematising the operation in intensive selling in peak hours, (3) paying constant attention to commodity display to attract customers, (4) capturing the ' market ' fringe by means of setting up ' satellite ' pitches by leisure labour, say a family helper, and (5) taking part in auxiliary trading practices, say keen buying in large lots and then resell to bulk buyers. In other words, there is an internal competition between traders within a market.

The internal competition (in addition to external competition with shops) leads to (1) a specialization of a relatively small range of ' high order ' goods in the market hall or in some cases in super-markets, and (2) an expulsion of the low order goods to the street. This accounts for the present functional division between public retail market halls and street markets or bazaars in Hong Kong. Spatially, there exists a central-place-like hierarchy within the market and street trading system. Higher order market-and-street-trading goods are more available in central markets; whereas low ordered markets are responsible for the low order goods. The nesting of low order goods in the large centres (markets) takes the form of linking a number of small street markets in the vicinity of the central market. The further away from the centre the smaller will be the size of the trading complex and less the specialization.

Like most central place models, there are distortions. Distortions may stem from the following reasons. First, well-off areas are certainly more privileged in attracting planning attentions and priorities. The ignored marginal areas are often the cradle of street trading.

Second, the concentration of employment opportunities in growth areas create more outlets for the unemployed who might have gone to petty trading in the first place. Third, housing aggregation polarizes the low income groups to massive housing estates where there are no local employment opportunities to absorb the leisure labour, in particular the middle and late-middle aged female labour. Fourth, the sudden increase of demand in newly established housing estates due to (1) insufficient provision of shop-type facilities, and (2) the growth of shopping facilities failing to keep up with the sudden increase in demand. All these will create abnormally large street trading complexes in certain special locations. In Hong Kong, these account for the large street trading communities in the outlying resettlement districts.

4. Concepts of Markets and Street Trading

The term "market and street trading" is being used in this paper to include a range of non-shop type trading practices. This range is, in fact, itself a continuum which fits the primitive section of the Retail Development Continuum discussed in a preceding section. The market and street trading continuum runs along a scale of locational rigidity and operation size, i.e. with one end characterized by highly mobile and small scale retail units such as itinerant traders, hawkers and pedlars; and the other end by large store-like retail stalls in fixed localities, whether public market halls, street markets, or bazaars.

There is considerable confusion in the use in various studies of a great number of terms and definitions concerning the form and function of market and street trading activities. The confusion becomes more serious as one attempts a cross-cultural comparison of the subject. Strictly speaking, this is not due to the cultural distinctiveness of individual countries but rather to the gap of retail development between countries. It would be unwise to regard an "itinerant trader" of an under-developed peasant economy as identical to that of a developed modern economy, say an urban pedlar. They differ in many aspects. For example, the former is more or less a peasant trader who, on a part-

time basis, sells his farm produce or acts as a bulk collector and resells the whole lot in a periodic market; whereas the latter could be a pedlar or hawker who makes his living by selling simple consumer goods in a certain locality whether it be certain streets in a local community, a residential suburb or a street market in the busy town centre. A peasant trader described by Hodder in his Nigerian studies could be compared with the higgler accounted by Katzin in her Jamaican studies even though the two countries differ greatly from one another in cultural characteristics.⁶ In short, the terminology and definition problem is not inherited from cultural differences but rather due to the changing concept which varies from stage to stage along a developmental continuum.

The developmental continuum can also be viewed as a rural urban continuum. In other words, a peasant trader in a village town could be different from an urban street trader in many ways. Of course, such a rural urban contrast becomes insignificant in developed countries. As in the case of less developed countries, the continuum is very noticeable. This can be recognized in several aspects, i.e. (1) periodicity or permanency of the trading activity, (2) the form and structure of the trading premises, & (3) degree of institutionalization and organization. The closer toward the urban end of the continuum, the more likely is permanent trading in fixed premises such as market halls and bazaars, and the greater degree of institutionalization, say in organizing transport, delivery, & forming guilds, etc. The reverse is the case at the rural end. Of course, there are periodic markets 'nested' within the urban market system. They are largely specialized markets such as antique-markets, or wholesale markets. But, basically they are still different from the rural periodic markets which tend to concentrate in wholesaling or retailing local agricultural produce. Since the concept varies from stage to stage along the continuum it is hard to use a couple of general terms to generalize the various intermediate stages along the continuum. Take Hong Kong as an example: there are (1) fair, (2) 'Shyu ^街_市' - market, (3) street market, (4) hawker bazaar, (5) public retail market, (6) wholesale market, (7) specialized market, etc. Fair, in Western language, is originated from 'Feriae - feast', a religious festival.⁷

In Hong Kong, the Chinese New Year fairs are also originated from similar origins. 'Shyu' 墟 is a periodic market. It is a general term for periodic markets in South China; whereas in North China, it is called 'jir' 集.⁸ Periodic markets used to be held at fixed intervals following the lunar calendar in most village towns in the New Territories. They are still practised nowadays but the market days have become less rigid. Street markets are simply agglomerations of street traders (stalls and pitches) along certain streets. They are the main sources of foodstuffs, in particular vegetables and fruits. Hawker bazaars are similar to street markets except the latter are legal trading premises designated by the authorities. Both are on open grounds. Public retail markets are government-built retail market halls mainly for fresh provisions. In Hong Kong, people simply call them 'Market'. In Western language, market is originated from the term 'Mercado' which means a permanent daily outlet for goods and services.⁹ In Hong Kong, it is a typical 'alien' type of trading institution. Public retail markets differ from bazaars in two main aspects; (1) the former are large buildings, usually multi-storied, and (2) equipped with electricity, water, telephones, and sometimes latrines and public baths. They are typically 'urban oriented'. The newly introduced 'market-cum-bazaar' is a mixture of both; with a miniature market in the middle of a hawker bazaar. Wholesale markets are also government-built, just like those in any western cities. Specialized markets are relatively less common. The most popular ones are those evening street markets. They have become part of the night life of Hong Kong. People call them "proletarian night clubs". A range of trading activities are localized in discrete sections of specialization along the street market, say certain sections for dry goods like clothing and ornamental articles, some for cooked foods (mainly snacks) and fruits, and others for various forms of 'entertainment' activities such as street plays, street singing groups, fortune tellers, etc. It is very likely that this is a remnant of the colourful market days of the past. In an industrial urban environment, such a market can hardly be held in the day time even at long intervals. However, in the evening, it becomes a major spot of attraction for the majority of the working people.

The above brief review of the markets in Hong Kong has shown that only 'Shyu' has a rural origin. Facing the rapid urbanization in the New Territories, the Shyu activity is bound to decline. In the city, there is no 'Shyu' or any notable periodic markets (unlike other western cities where certain specialized periodic markets are still practised actively). Generally speaking, in the eyes of the Hong Kong people, there is hardly any 'rural' image of a market. The most common concept is strongly attached to the image that 'market' is the place where fresh foodstuffs ('Sung' 餸) are purchased whether it be a public retail market hall, a food bazaar, or a street market. With regard to the non-food street markets, a collective terminology is hard to find; they simply refer to this form of activity as something like 'a street with stalls', 'roadside stalls 街邊檔', 'open pitches 攤檔'. In the present context, public markets, street markets, and bazaars are distinguished from one another by their form and structure, and legality. Street markets are the main body of the market and street trading system. The following is a further discussion on the terminology and definitions of this group of activities.

4.1 Street Trading

There are numerous terms for urban street trading practices. In the English language, there are terms (some now archaic) such as pedlars, hawkers, working peddlers, hucksters, barrow boys, street buyers, street dealers, street labourers, street traders or sellers, costermongers, chapmen, packmen, hagglers, higglers, cheap John, "Scotch Draper", news-vendors, etc; some of these terms are used to describe specific kinds of traders. Fundamentally, there are two classificatory variables, i.e. (1) the trading post or institution and (2) mobility. It is a common practice to regard those who trade in permanent sites (stalls, pitches or stands) in the open air as street traders; and the itinerant ones as either hawkers or pedlars. However, it is the term 'hawker' that confuses.

A hawker, as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, is a retailer or a man who goes from place to place selling his wares or who cries them in the street. According to the earliest English act concerning the licensing of pedlars in 1871, a pedlar is "any hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, tinker, caster of metals, mender of chairs, or other person who without any horse or other beast bearing or drawing burden, travels and trades on foot and goes from town to town or other men's houses, carrying to sell or expose for sale, any goods, wares, or merchandise, or procuring orders, or selling or offering for sale his skill in handicraft".¹⁰ The first hawker act was introduced in England in 1888 and stated that a hawker is a person "who travels with a horse or other beast of burden" and "goes from place to place carrying goods for sale retail".¹¹ These clearly define and distinguish hawker from pedlar. However, according to the legal statements in Hong Kong - Ordinance No. 8, 1872, the most concerned street traders were in fact pedlars who "use or utter cries for purpose of buying or selling any articles";¹² the distinction between a hawker and an itinerant pedlar was not clearly defined. Yet, there were specific descriptions of static street traders as "Retail Dealers" or simply "Stalls". The term hawker simply meant "itinerant traders" regardless whether any means of transport or beast of burden was used. However, if one consults the Public Health and Urban Services Ordinance of 1960, Hong Kong,¹³ Hawker is defined as follows:

- " a) any person who trades in any public place -
- 1) by selling or exposing for sale any goods, wares or merchandises; or
 - 2) by exposing samples or patterns of goods, wares or merchandises to be afterward delivered; or
 - 3) by hiring or offering for hire his skill in handicraft or his personal service; and
- b) any person who itinerates for the purpose -
- 1) of selling or exposing for sale any goods, wares or merchandises; or
 - 2) of hiring or offering for hire his skill in handicraft or his personal service;

provided that nothing in this definition shall be taken to include -

- 1) any person who sells to or seeks order from any person who is dealer in any such goods, wares or merchandises and who buys to sell again; or
- 2) any person who on request visits in any place the person making such request for the purpose of selling or offering for sale or delivering to him or taking from him orders for any goods, wares or merchandise or of hiring to the person making such request his skill in handicraft or his personal service; or
- 3) any representatives of the press or any photographer. "

That is to say "hawker" is no longer a specific type of itinerant trader but a collective term for all kinds of trading activities which are conducted in any public place, whether it be a street, square, or even a canal. To specify those who do not operate in permanent or fixed sites, the new term "itinerant hawker" has thus been invented.

In Chinese, there is a traditional saying which says "Tzueh Shang Shirng Fahn 坐商行旅". Literally, it is translated as "Sitting, a business man; walking, a seller". The concept of (itinerant seller) is closely related to the marketing practices in rural China where Jehn (墟 market town) has a number of permanent shops and a market place where periodic markets are held at fixed intervals following the lunar calendar.¹⁴ A Shirng Fahn is in fact a peasant trader who carries his goods in baskets with a pole on his shoulder and travels on foot from place to place. On the contrary, a Tzueh Shang means exactly a businessman who sits behind a counter in the shop of a market town. In other words, the traditional concept of Shirng Fahn is highly identical to a typical peasant trader of other rural economies. It would be unwise to apply such a concept to the urban itinerant traders. That is why in modern Hong Kong, Shirng Fahn is not commonly known; instead the Cantonese terminology "Shiu Fann 小販" is universally adopted. Shiu Fann in direct translation is "Small Seller". Shiu Fann in the eyes of the ordinary people in Hong Kong may not necessarily imply the same concept as the one specified by the official definition of Hawker. This will be explored further in the later part of this paper. However, it is necessary to have some basic knowledge about urban street traders.

4.2 Urban Street Trading Continuum

Table 1 is a classification of urban street traders into five discrete groups based on two characteristics, i.e. (1) the physical structure of a trading unit and (2) its degree of mobility. Actually this is merely a convenient expression of a continuum hypothesizing the stages through which a pedlar moves forward to become, perhaps, a stall keeper in bazaars or markets.

Of course, it is too theoretical to assume a trader will go through all these stages as his business expands. There seems to be a gradual escalation through the stages from a pedlar to fixed stall. A pedlar normally acquires his pitch by frequenting a specific spot so as to make sure that the pitch is no other man's ' property '. The longer he trades in that pitch, the greater certainty he will get in possessing that particular site. He may put up temporary stall structures once he is reasonably assured that he has been accepted by the community. However, there are other ways to secure a pitch, i.e. bribing the one who is in charge of the cleansing of that particular street so that the structure can remain always at the same site; or seeking protection from racketeers. It is not very easy to obtain a fixed stall because most of the well structured stalls are licensed. However, in less controlled areas, a fixed pitch can be easily converted to a fixed stall simply by consolidating the physical structure. This happened during the disturbances in 1967 when police forces were kept busy with other more important tasks considered to be vital to the survival of the whole community. With regard to the final step of escalation from fixed stalls to market or bazaar stalls, there is little evidence to prove that this is a normal procedure. But such an escalation certainly takes place when street stalls are relocated by external forces such as government relocation programmes. In most cases, stall traders are required to move to a bazaar. The allocation of stalls in a new locality is normally worked out in a lottery under the supervision of local community leaders. Those who are lucky in getting good stalls (good location) certainly proceed to start their business in the bazaar.

	— PEDLAR —	MOVABLE PITCH	FIXED PITCH	FIXED STALL	BAZAAR STALL
[PHYSICAL STRUCTURE]	Individuals trading without vehicles or sophisticated equipments but cans, tins, baskets & trays.	Carts, trolleys, stands, trestles, or ground sheets.	Any form of display table with some form of weather protection, i.e. umbrella, fly-sheets. <u>No</u> overnight stallage.	Permanent stalls, overnight stallage possible. Larger than Fixed Pitches.	Permanent stalls protected by permanent sites and structures. Live-in possible but uncommon. May be even larger than Fixed Stalls.
	SIZE AND SCALE OF OPERATION				
[MOBILITY]	Fairly mobile, usually on a set itinerary. Piece goods have a wider network than snacks pedlars and service traders.	Mobile within very limited areas, but often station at certain sites; can be moved at any time. Often in the vicinities of street markets.	Mobile in theory, but practically stick to <u>fixed</u> sites; can be removed at short notice. Often by the side of fixed stalls.	Fixed at specific sites with legal rights.	Fixed stall structure, more permanent than Fixed Stalls.
	LOCATIONAL RIGIDITY				

Table I : Urban Street Trading Continuum

However, those who get poorly located stalls find it more difficult to do so because of the problem of making a living out of a bad site. Such a man may consider other alternatives. He may leave his trade and seek employment elsewhere, or continue the trade in a different manner. He may keep the stall allocated to him but, simultaneously, operate a movable pitch somewhere in a busy spot to improve his earnings. Those who have made a considerable saving from street trading will normally look for a shop - the most stable and reliable way of making a living. The initial outlay for a shop lease is the major investment. A sizeable stock can be obtained on credit since they have been in the trade for years; eventually they should have established good relationships with the suppliers. In a highly congested city like Hong Kong, shortage of shop lease space is critical to this street-shop transition.

The " wall-stall " is a peculiar phenomenon in Hong Kong. Its ubiquity could well be an immediate answer to the shortage of shop leases. Physically, a wall-stall is just like a tiny shop which is built solidly against the wall and under the balcony of a building. There is no marked difference between a small shop and a wall-stall except physical size. In terms of commodity sold, stock holding and decoration, a wall-stall (or called wall-store, if larger) could be at as high a standard as a small shop. Thus, it seems reasonable to fit this category between street trading and shop-type trading in one continuum.

Another aspect which is important to the perception of urban street trading is the type of commodity sold. The nature of a commodity seems to bear certain relationships to the structure and mobility of the trading unit in which the commodity is sold. The relationships centre around a crucial element, i.e. stock-keeping. Stock-keeping (time and size) is subject to the influence of (1) the nature of demand, (2) the rate of deterioration or degree of perishability, and (3) the transaction value of a commodity. Usually, daily consumption goods are of relatively low transaction value compared with occasional shopping goods. The former type is more likely to be operated on the basis of a fast stock-turnover so that the need for a large stock is avoided.

This enables a trader to operate a smaller trading unit. A quick stock-turnover means a guarantee of (1) a constant supply to satisfy the intense demand and (2) a sizeable turnover to justify reasonable earning. Wet vegetable traders are a good example: quite a number of them work on a very small scale, usually in movable pitches, or even in peddling. The opposite cases are tuber and dry vegetables. They tend to be handled in larger stalls with relatively rigid mobility due to sizeable stock-keeping. Of course, there are large wet vegetable stalls but they sell a large variety of vegetables which eventually require more space for display. At the other extreme, occasional shopping goods are largely of a higher value of transaction and a slower stock-turnover. The stock has to be kept constant and well protected to avoid incurring costs in holding stock, both in terms of capital investment and stock deterioration. Thus, a large and well-built structure is required. In addition, this type of goods in most cases comprises a wide range of commodities which are better sold simultaneously rather than by a shop specialized in a very few items. Manufactured goods are good examples. Bulky ones such as household ware certainly require large and permanent stalls. Though piece goods are not bulky, yet the wide range is cumbersome to handle both in display and packing-up; it is far more economical for them to be sold from permanent display in well protected stalls. There are movable pitches and pedlars selling piece goods yet they sell only a handful of simple items such as miscellaneous metal wares, for example pocket knives and scissors. Demand for these sorts of piece goods is very irregular; a relatively high mobility is necessary in order to move around in capturing more custom. Most of these are pedlars; sometimes they simply lay their goods on a piece of cloth on the ground.

Services are less concerned with stall size. The variation in size has little to do with the factors mentioned above. The most important requirement is fixed location (low mobility). This does not necessarily mean a fixed stall structure. What service-traders need is to be easily recognized by potential customers so that they can be patronized at any time. Even in peddling, a service trader likes moving around more or less on a set itinerary.

4.3 The Image of Shiu Fann (Street Trader)

A questionnaire with 37 descriptions of trading activities (including services) was used for interviewing over one thousand respondents. Each description involved to a certain extent of the three discernable characteristics discussed previously, i.e. (1) size and scale, (2) nature of the commodity sold and (3) mobility of the trading unit. Some non-street trading activities were deliberately inserted in the questionnaire in order to see how respondents distinguish one group from the other. Respondents were asked to state to what extent they considered a given description as a Shiu Fann activity, i.e. (1) definitely yes, (2) probably yes, (3) uncertain, (4) probably not, and (5) definitely not. Their answers were then factor analysed. The main purpose was to see how people's replies were collapsed into certain patterns (by rotating the vector).¹⁵ Four distinctive factors or components were achieved which respectively accounted for 41%, 22%, 16.6% and 11.3% (total 90.9%) of the total variation of replies for the 37 questions (variables).¹⁶ It is important to note that the order of the factors has nothing to do with the affirmation or negation of the respondents' images on the trade descriptions included in the respective factors. It reflects the tendency that the higher the order of a factor, say Factor one, the greater is the similarity of the images on that group of trading activities included in that particular factor. In other words, it is a device to delimit the clusters of images. The affirmation or negation problem has to be dealt with in a different manner. It has been worked out that the five-point scale of answer can be simplified by means of an Answer Score Index.¹⁷ The value of the index ranges from 1.00 (absolute affirmation) to 5.00 (absolute negation); the mid value 3.00 is uncertainty. For the sake of convenience, only those activities included in the four factors presented in Table 2 are accompanied with the relevant answer score indices (for full lists, see Appendix I). Methodologically, the four factors and the answer score indices have nothing to do with one another. The latter simply give some idea as to what extent people view those activities included in the various factors as Shiu Fann activities.

Table 2: Clustering of Street Trading Activities by Factoring and the Answer Scores of the Included Activities

	<u>Activities **</u>	<u>Answer Score Index</u>
FACTOR I		
	Laundry-women, doing ironing under balconies	3.32
	Street-singers	3.20
	Letter-writers by Post Offices	3.14
	Shoe-shine boy, a pedlar	3.14
	Shoe-shine pitches, in fixed locations	3.14
	Chop-makers, with well-built stalls	3.10
	Fortune-tellers, pedlars	3.00
FACTOR II		
	Jewellery & ornaments stalls in Ladder Street	2.91
	Herbalist stalls	2.78
	Joss-sticks sellers near temples	2.70
	Roasted meats stalls by fresh provisions shops	2.67
	Cooked food sampans in Causeway Bay	2.56
	Large garment stalls	2.43
	Flower sellers near funeral parlours	2.39
	Large stalls selling emporium goods	2.37
	Fruit stalls, with refridgerators	2.15
FACTOR III		
	Pedlars selling confectionery in trays	1.81
	Pedlars selling cheap toys	1.80
	Fish sellers by the pier	1.74
	Pedlars selling children's wear	1.37
	Fruit sellers with carts or barrows	1.32
	Barrows selling spiced snacks	1.31
FACTOR IV		
	Huge garment stalls	2.43
	Huge householdware stalls	2.48

** Activities with factor scores below .4000 are not included in this table. Total number of activities (variables) = 37 . (for full list of factor scores, see Appendix II).

Source: Interview.

Before analysing the image patterns, two important notes have to be made. First, the original 37 descriptions are by no means a full list of street trading activities one can think of. They are simply based on the researcher's own field experience. Not all the street trades are included in the questionnaire. Second, the activities listed in Table 2 are only those which are strongly correlated with the vector they belong to. In other words, some activities which do not present certain image patterns are excluded from the Table (factor score less than 0.40). Therefore, Table 2 is only a general guideline of what mean to the Hong Kong people. The patterns of conception of hawkers are generalized as follows:

1. Factor I is a service factor. Services, in the eyes of the Hong Kong people do not seem to be ' trading commodities '. Therefore, people are not certain whether they are traders. Generally, they tend to regard the service traders as probably not street traders. This image is a strong one; most of the respondents have the same feeling.
2. Factor II is a group of commodity-selling activities ranging from rare street trading goods like jewellery and ornaments, herbs to common items such as emporium goods and fruits. With reference to the Answer Score Index, the less common the goods the greater uncertainty is the image of a Shiu Fann activity. The perception of selling tangible objects seems to be important to the formation of a Shiu Fann image.
3. Factor III is largely a Pedlar factor signified by mobility and small scale operation. Pedlars selling tangible objects (not service) can be easily identified as Shiu Fann. It is interesting to conjecture that the traditional concept of ^{Shirng} Fahn (itinerant traders) is still embedded in today's people's mind although the term ^{Shirng} Fahn is no longer widely used.
4. Factor IV is a Shop-Like Street Trading factor. Two of the large-scale street trading activities are sorted out to form this particular image pattern. It is interesting to see large fruit stalls and emporium goods stalls (mainly selling cheap piece goods such as haberdashery)

are not included in this factor. High unit-value and bulkiness of the merchandise seem to bear some significance to the distinction between small street traders and the less Shiu Fann-like traders. This fits the strict sense of the word Shiu Fann - ' small seller '. So does Service being ignored as ' Fann ' - Seller.

Referring back to the official terminology ' Hawker ', one can see Shiu Fann, in the eyes of the Hong Kong people, is even narrower in meaning. This may be due to the fact that people in Hong Kong have already accepted the majority of street trading conducted in fixed pitches and stalls as an integral part of the overall retail system, in particular, when turnover and commodity-variety are taken into account it is really difficult for them to assert whether the large ones are Shiu Fann or not. Yet, with regard to the small movable pitches and barrows or pedlars, their Shiu Fann image is affirmative.

5. A Survey of Research Literature

There has been a considerable amount of research effort devoted to the study of market and street trading activities.¹⁸ The largest group of researchers are social and economic anthropologists. Their attention has been focused upon the role of a market system in the formation of a society, an economy or even a culture. Mintz, an authority in this field, analysed the social and religious function of Haitian markets and believed that markets are the focal point for the study of primitive societies.¹⁹ Hodder, as well as many others, provided evidence of the social and religious importance of markets in African societies.²⁰ C. K. Yang, a fore-father in the field of Chinese rural economies, said that " the market is as much a part of the social and economic routine of peasants as is their farming".²¹ Other than treating markets as social and economic institutions, some anthropologists regarded marketing as an initial force of social articulation. In countries with vast territories, the rotation of periodic markets in every corner of the country is in fact an economization mechanism; it encourages economic articulation both spatially and socially; it integrates regions with

different economic bases; and finally evens out the regional contrasts (provided that there is a healthy articulation). With regard to external trade, markets act also as the importing point of foreign goods and influences. The diffusion of a foreign culture or technological innovation seems to be conducted via the marketing network, so as to reach the interior of a vast country.²³ In countries where the modern system is still at the early stage of development, the traditional market system remains as the basis for the promotion of external trade, i.e. each rural market acts as the initial point from which a crop makes its way up to the regional, national and international ' market '.

Some researchers were more interested in the factors which hinder the function of marketing as a force of economic development. For example, the compartmentalization of a society due to racial disparities, the domination of an alien political power, kinship extended into commerce, is a major deterrent of the functioning of a market system as a force of social and economic articulation. Belshaw has given a number of these examples, such as the dominance of economic power by the Chinese and Indian communities in most Southern Asian countries, which has been responsible for the sharp contrast between a modern and a traditional economy.²⁴ European powers in ex-colonial countries in Africa and Southeast Asia left a similar economic legacy.

In short, anthropologists are interested in the relationship between the market system (a social and economic system) and its environment in countries at the primitive end of the temporal continuum presented in Fig. 1 (see the relation between the circles A and C in T_2 and T_3 in Fig. 1). Anthropological approaches are usually more effective in the study of primitive and peasant economies: the further away from the primitive end the less is their capability to cope with the more complex problem. In dual economies, the welfare of a country relies on the healthy interaction between the ' modern ' and the ' traditional ' systems. A free articulation will promote the growth of the modern system to replace the obsolete one.

The second approach is economic oriented. It is concentrated on the mechanism of a marketing system in relation to the overall economy of a country. It concerns the role of the market in price formation which is in fact a mechanism to allocate factor resources among alternative inputs. In other words, a market is a " place " where factor gradients of production are sold and hired.²⁵ The production is responsive to price which is subject to the interplay of supply and demand. Hence, the marketing mechanism can in fact integrate all sectors of the economy. In primitive economies, the role of markets is more or less a distribution (in physical sense) of commodities; the production and consumption of a commodity is not sensitive to the pricing mechanism, but more controlled or affected by other social and cultural variables. That is why primitive marketing can best be studied by anthropologists. The more complex an economy the more knowledge in economics is required. There are studies in Retail Economics, Marketing Economics, Retail Distribution and Internal Trade, etc. But one could hardly find any relevant studies on the economics of petty trading. Marketing economists are rarely interested in itinerant pedlars; they treat small independent shops as the starting point of a marketing chain. In the present research, the examination of the economics of petty trading is an important issue; it is helpful to the understanding of the escalation process of a trade from itinerant to static (shop-type) trading.

The third approach is a geographical one. Geographers acquainted with modern techniques and interested in retailing have experimented with aggregate data on the shop-type retailing activities. These data hardly include the low ordered form of retailing like street trading. In other words, what they have studied are more concerned with retailing in developed countries. This is because only in developed countries are good data available for their quantitative experiments. The construction of central place models has been a favourite topic in retail geography.²⁶ There are models on national, regional and intra-urban scales. The major criticism of the central place model in its application to the geography of firm-type retailing is its one-sided consideration of the demand side and a total neglect of the production side such

as organizational structure of multiple firms, their internal scale economies, the market behavior of individual firms, etc. In the case of an intra-urban situation, the internal arrangement of shops, the problem of rent and site, and the spatial competition or economies of locational juxtaposition further weaken the applicability of the central place model. At the other extreme, there is a group of geographers who are more concerned with the physical form and function of the marketing system (non-shop type system) as the main theme of their research.²⁷ There are researchers who have built central place models of market places on the one hand and are interested in the mechanism within the system on the other. This is the study of the chain of periodic markets or, as Bromley termed it, " the synchronization of periodic markets ", i.e. a spatial optimization process.²⁸ It emphasizes the manner markets are interrelated, and the behaviour of market traders in relation to commodity distribution. Synchronization enables a maximum number of farmers to assemble at one place for a minimum amount of time to dispose of their surplus and, in exchange, to purchase their needs. It allows traders to serve several markets so as to economize their operation-scale. There are economies for the buyers (the farmers) as well. The reduction of time and effort in buying frequencies means more time saved for actual production. Furthermore, the rotation of market dates minimizes spatial competition and is convenient for people wishing to visit several markets. The best example is by Stine on rural markets in Korea.²⁹ His approach is very theoretical and the hypotheses are supported by field observations in Korea. He hypothesises about firstly the conditions of being a static or a mobile trader; secondly the periodicity of rural markets; and finally the synchronization. Although there are drawbacks to his model as to any other central place models, yet he was the first to use the range and threshold concept to explain mobility. The study of the central place hierarchy of market towns in China by Skinner is a beautiful exercise in application of Christaller's central place theory.³⁰

The fourth approach is oriented to the practical problems of metropolitan street folks of which market and street traders are the largest group. Sociologists have identified that in a streetfolk sub-

culture there is a different set of cultural and social values. In segregated or classed societies, the rich and the poor contrast in many aspects of social and economic life. This has been experienced in most western big cities in the early twentieth century. Urban problems such as poverty and crime have been linked to the streetfolk. Social reformers or investigators began to look at the real problem and carried out serious investigations of the social conditions of the society. An excellent example is Mayhew's distinctive and comprehensive study of the streetfolk in London, 1851.³¹ Three out of the five volumes of his work are on market and street traders: their life pattern, education, family structure, trading skill and buying techniques, and business economics. Indeed, this is a very useful reference for students wishing to become familiarized with urban street trading. In a more recent (1932) survey by a group of social researchers under the auspices of the London School of Economics, concerning the social conditions of market and street traders, Ruck studied London street markets in a more systematic manner. He asserted that street markets are an institution of real social and economic utility to the London poor.³²

Other^{than} social investigations there is another kind of practically oriented approach. This is largely adopted by government commissions, or a government department, or a research organization whose aim is to produce recommendations and policies for the administration.³³ The physical problems have been the major consideration in most official reports: traffic obstruction, low standards of public hygiene, pollution of the environment, littering and noise, misuse of labour force, and potential threat to fire hazards. Rules and regulations have been designed to keep street trading in order as well as to limit its growth in the long run. However, the ideology and philosophy towards street trading has never been examined in the first place whether this form of retailing is necessary with regard to the present social and economic situations. No serious studies have been tried to deal with such related problems as poverty, social injustice, individual freedom, social welfare provision, and inflow & outflow of hawkers in relation to business cycles. The symptom of the problem attracts more attention than does the disease.

6. Summary

Market and street trading is a feature of low level retail development. Its relative importance in overall retail distribution diminishes as the economy advances. In a spatial context, the process of retail development can be viewed as parallel with the rural-urban continuum characterised by market and street trading prevailing at the urban end in contrast with a formal retail system dominating at the urban end. It is at the intermediate stage of economic development that the rural-urban contrast becomes most striking; i.e. the ' traditional ' and ' modern ' retail systems intersecting each other in urban centres.

Apart from market trading, street trading itself can also be viewed as one continuum ranging from itinerant trading to fixed and permanent trading. This can be further extended to the shop-type retail continuum via mini-stores (Wall-Stalls in the Hong Kong case).

The concept of market and street trading varies along the Retail Development Continuum, so does terminology and definition. Cross cultural comparisons would not be meaningful unless the levels of retail development of the countries concerned are referred to the same basis.

Other than economists' abstract ' Market ', the term market used in this paper involves a range of concepts of marketing activities. The higher the level of commercialization of a country the greater is the degree of permanence, specialization and institutionalization of the marketing activity. In Hong Kong the three major types of market can be ranked in such an order, i.e. (1) rural Shyu, (2) street markets and bazaars, and (3) public retail market halls.

By ' Street Trading ', it is referred to the activities taken place in the first two types of market (in the open air), including the individuals who ply their trades in discrete locations. Street traders in Hong Kong are officially called ' Hawkers ' or ' Shiu Fann ' in Cantonese. The original terminology and definition of ' Hawker -

itinerant trader in a western context is no longer relevant in most Southeast Asian cities. People who conduct business in public place (squares, streets, open ground, canals, etc) are named as ' Hawkers '. However, as was shown by the study of Shiu Fann (Hawker) Images, the traditional Chinese concept of itinerant trading (the true sense of the word ' Hawker ') was found embedded deeply in the modern image which hardly represents the norm for to-day's street traders. This may be due to (1) an ambiguity in people's mind arising from the mini-store-like fixed and well structured stalls which are so common in the hawking scene, and (2) their general acceptance of street stalls as an integral part of the overall retail system. If an image is seen as an evaluated model of reality on which human behavior is accorded, the popularity of street shopping in modern Hong Kong must have some relationship with this particular image of Shiu Fann (Hawker).

In a brief survey of the research literature concerning market and street trading, most of the studies have been found dealing largely with the ' old ' and ' rural ' end of the Retail Development Continuum, mainly on social and economic anthropological approaches. As at the ' modern ' and ' urban ' end, economists are rarely interested in street and market traders. In Third World countries, this type of retailing should have received greater research attention in the light of (1) its relative importance in internal trade and (2) its problems related to modern urban development. However, the lack of reliable official data often prevents serious attempts in the investigation of the problem in detail. The Hawker Study Programme conducted by the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong has thus made some effort toward this field of research.

FOOTNOTES

1. For example in London 1971 there were 2,017 fruit and vegetable stalls in the Greater London Council area compared with 3,950 shops in the same line of business (Kirk, p.42). The importance of market and street trading in Paris is even more outstanding. In 1967, about 60% of the distribution of fruits and vegetables was handled by open markets and only 9% by ordinary shops. If covered markets were taken into account over 90% of Paris' fruit and vegetable trade was in the hands of small market and street traders (Kirk, J. H. & Others, Retail Stall Markets in Great Britain, 1972, p.48).

2. Alexander, D. (1971) Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution, p.127.

3. The thriving business of some specialized street markets in the vicinity of the Central Business District of most cities is one of the examples. Female office workers often do their shopping in these convenient markets during the lunch break. Prices are not necessarily cheaper than those of shops and supermarkets. Location convenience to casual shoppers (the pedestrians) is one of the major attractions. The growing number of part-time traders selling handicrafts such as hippies in world cities is also an example of the popularity of street trading in specific circumstances.

4. The terms ' range ' and ' threshold ' are used in accordance with the context of the Central Place Theory. The former, as defined by Christaller, is " the farthest distance the dispersed population is willing to go in order to buy a good offered at a place (W. Christaller, Central Places in Southern Germany - translated by C. W. Baskin 1966 - p.22). The latter is defined by Berry and Garrison as the minimum amount of purchasing power necessary to support the supply of a good (B. J. L. Berry & W. L. Garrison, A Note on Central Place Theory and the Range of a Good, Economic Geography, Vol. 34, pp 145 - 154, 1958). The mobility (or periodicity) of markets explained in terms of the interplay of ' range ' and ' threshold ' is first seen in J. H. Stine's article on Temporal Aspects of Tertiary Production in Korea in F. R. Pitts (ed), Urban Systems and Economic Development, (pp 68-88).

5. In Chapter 3 of Kirk's book (see Footnote 1), a historical account of the various powers in creation and acquisition of land for markets in Great Britain, he said that in the past almost all towns were small when they first acquired their markets, hence the markets tend to be near the centre of the cities today. As long as the historical concession is still in force, the central location of these markets remains.

6. Hodder, B. W. (1966): Some Comments on Markets and Market Periodicity, Markets and Marketing in West Africa, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, pp 97-106; also see References: Hill, p. (1967).
Katzin, M. (1959): The Jamaican Country Higgler, Social and Economic Studies, University College of West Indies, Vol. 8, pp 421-440.
7. Allix, A. (1922): The Geography of Fairs - Illustrated by Old World Examples, Geographic Review, Vol. 12, pp 532-569.
8. Wong, S. (1972): Life Pattern of Hawkers, (unpublished M.A. thesis), Chinese University of Hong Kong, p 20.
9. Forman, S. & Riegelhaupt, J. F. (1970): Market Place and Marketing System: Toward a Theory of Peasant Economic Integration, Comparative Studies in Society and History, April, 1970, pp 188-212.
10. Ruck, S. K. (1932): The Street Trading Community in The New Survey of London Life and Labour, Vol. 3, Survey of Social Conditions (1), The Eastern Area (Text), P. S. King & Son, London., p 308, ("Act for Granting Certificates to Pedlars" 1871).
11. "Hawker Act" 1888, also see Ruck (1932), p 308.
12. Nacken, J. (1968): Chinese Street Cries in Hong Kong, Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 8, pp 128-134 (an English translation of an article published in Chinese in 1873).
13. Hong Kong Government (1964): Hawker By-Laws, Chapter 132, pp 9-10.
14. Gamble, S. D. (1954): Ting Hsien, A North China Rural Community, Chap. 14, pp 277-286.
15. The four factors are an oblique factor pattern obtained after rotation with Kaiser normalization. The analysis was worked on a programme from 'Statistical Package for the Social Sciences', Vogelback Computing Centre, Northwestern University (London University version).

16. The four image patterns are quite distinct. This can be supported by the poor correlation among the four factors presented as follows:

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Factor I	1.00	.150	.086	.076
Factor II		1.000	.117	.354*
Factor III			1.000	-.008
Factor IV				1.000

* Showing some correlation between, large garments and householdware stalls, and ordinary commodity-selling stalls; capitalization could be the distinctive element.

17. The Index was worked out as follows: (1) assign scores for the five scales of answers, i.e. 1 for 'definitely yes' 2 for 'probably yes', 3 for 'uncertain', 4 for 'probably not', and 5 for 'definitely not'; (2) add up the total score for each question and then divided by the number of valid respondents of the questions concerned. The quotient was thus named the ' Answer Score Index '. The Index is only a rough measure because the value tends to converge at a range on both sides of the mid-value. That is why there are very few extreme values.
18. The most recent review is by R. J. Bromley (Markets in the Developing Countries - A Review, Geography, Vol. LVI, Part 2, April 1971 pp 124-132).
19. Mintz, S. (1960) Peasant Markets, Scientific American, 203 (2), pp 112-118; also Internal Market Systems as Mechanism of Social Articulation, Proceedings of the Annual Spring Meeting, American Ethnological Society, 1959, pp 20-30 (for others, see References).
20. Hodder, B. W. & Ukwu, U. I. (1969) Markets in West Africa; Bohannon, p. & Dalton, G. (ed) (1962) Markets in Africa; and Mikesell, M. W. (1958) The Role of Traditional Markets in Morocco, Geographical Review, 48, pp 494-511.
21. Yang, C. K. (1944) A North China Local Market Economy: A Summary of a Study of Periodic Markets in Chowping Hsien, Shantung, p 2.

22. Shepard, F. J. & Riegelhaupt, J. F. (1970) Market Place and Market System: Toward a Theory of Peasant Economic Integration, Comparative Studies in Society and History, April 1970, pp 182-212.
23. Ortiz, S. (1967) Colombian Rural Market Organizations: An Exploratory Model, Man, 2, pp 393-414.
24. Belshaw, C. S. (1965) Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets, pp 96-100.
25. Bohannan, P. & Dalton, G. (1962) Markets in Africa, p 9.
26. The most comprehensive work is Berry's book on Market Centres and Retail Distribution, 1967. Other relevant studies on the application of the central place theory can be found in Berry, B. J. L. & Pred, A. (1961) Central Place Studies: A Bibliography of Theory and Application, Regional Science Research Institute Bibliography Series No. 1; also Supplement through 1964 by Barnum, H. G., Kasperson, R. and Kiuchi, S., 1965.
27. A typical example is by A. Allix (1922) The Geography of Fairs: Illustrated by Old World Examples, Geographical Review, 12, pp 532-569. (for others, see References)
28. Hodder, B. W. & Ukwu, U. I. (1966) Markets in West Africa, p 66; and Hill, P. (1966) Notes on Traditional Market Authority and Market Periodicity in West Africa, Journal of African History, 7, pp 295-311; and many examples in Bohannan's book (see Foot-note 13).
29. Stine, J. H. (1962) Temporal Aspects of Tertiary Production Elements in Korea, in F. R. Pitts (ed) Urban Systems and Economic Development. Stine is the first to use central place theory to explain the mobility of trading, i.e. from itinerant trading to static trading, but he has been unable to distinguish between a static street trader (or market trader) and a static shop trader which is more relevant to the situation of urban street trading.
30. Skinner, G. W. (1964-5) Marketing and Social Structure in Rural Chian, Journal of Asian Studies, 24 & 25, pp 31-43, 195-228 & 363-399; see p 53.

31. Mayhew, H. (1851) London Labour and the London Poor.
32. Ruck, S. K. (1932) The Street Trading Community, in The New Survey of London Life and Labour, Vol. 3, Survey of Conditions (1), The Eastern Area (Text).
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Appendix I : Answer Score Indexes

VARIABLE	DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITY	ANSWER SCORE INDEX
1	Small scale emporium goods stores in side streets	2.56
2	The clothing trade in Lee Yuen Street, East & West	2.53
3	Fortune-tellers at Temple Street Night Bazaar	3.00
4	Garment pitches at street ends	1.37
5	Fresh provisions stalls in public markets	2.07
6	Sea-food sellers at the pier	1.74
7	Street singers	3.32
8	Cooked food stalls with tables and seats	2.24
9	Fruit & vegetable barrows in vicinities of markets	1.32
10	Fruit stalls with cold storage	2.15
11	Snack trolleys	1.31
12	The poultry trade in Canton Road, Mong Kok	1.78
13	Preserved-fruit pedlars at ferry piers & terminals	1.81
14	Shoe shine boys	3.14
15	Shoe shine pitches	3.14
16	Newsvendors at tea-house entrances	1.80
17	Cooked food sampans in Causeway Bay	2.56
18	Cooked meat stalls by the side of meat shops	2.67
19	Letter writers by Post Offices	3.18
20	Chop Makers at side streets near Des Voeux Road	3.10
21	Match & chewing gum sellers (handicapped)	1.95
22	Young chaps selling toys in thriving streets	1.80
23	Large emporium goods stalls in resettlement estates	2.37
24	Wall stalls selling records & electricals	3.03
25	Fresh provisions stalls in resettlement estates	1.37
26	Second-hand goods traders in Cat Street	2.49
27	Jewellery & ornaments sellers in Ladder Street	2.91
28	Sand & brick traders by construction sites	3.33
29	Laundry-women doing ironing under balconies	3.32
30	Flower stalls near funeral parlours	2.39
31	Joss-sticks sellers near temples	2.70
32	Lobby stores selling women's underclothing in Nathan Rd.	2.73
33	Home visit T.V. repairers	4.20
34	Permanent herbalist stalls	2.78
35	Large garment stalls (multi-stall-unit)	2.43
36	Large householdware stalls (multi-unit)	2.48
37	Soft-drinks & peanuts sellers in football stadiums	1.69

Appendix II
Factor Scores For 37 Street Trading Variable

VARIABLE**	FACTOR I	FACTOR II	FACTOR III	FACTOR IV
1	.033	.218	-.151	-.071
2	.138	.206	.078	.162
3	.675	-.198	.187	.075
4	.010	-.051	.436	-.028
5	-.022	.203	-.033	.057
6	-.022	.105	.547	-.033
7	.525	-.064	.159	.051
8	.077	.219	.235	.009
9	-.032	-.004	.489	-.022
10	-.022	.495	.066	.008
11	-.037	.036	.573	.037
12	-.218	.102	.189	.061
13	.240	-.138	.412	.049
14	.767	.053	-.020	-.044
15	.769	.085	-.048	-.068
16	.147	.314	.134	.082
17	-.043	.503	.137	-.208
18	.068	.508	.058	-.082
19	.631	.111	.016	-.014
20	.417	.292	-.056	.091
21	.109	.091	.365	-.008
22	.172	.035	.531	.023
23	.048	.295	.113	.262
24	.063	.451	-.031	.202
25	-.162	.227	.178	.148
26	-.001	.187	.044	.060
27	.191	.417	-.093	.049
28	.208	.260	-.191	.100
29	.517	.191	-.033	.018
30	-.243	.498	-.012	-.023
31	.263	.448	.055	-.093
32	-.014	.387	-.099	.135
33	.247	.159	-.308	.055
34	.016	.496	-.003	.142
35	-.012	-.149	.009	.969
36	-.034	-.072	.006	.911
37	.092	-.010	.261	.029

Oblique Factor Pattern Matrix
After Rotation with Kaiser Normalization

Delta = 0.000

** For variable name, see list of descriptions in Appendix I.