

第八屆校際香港歷史文化專題研習比賽
The 8th Inter-school Competition of Project Learning
on Hong Kong's History and Culture

(甲項) 文字報告 - 初級組 - 季軍
Written Report - Third Prize, Junior Division

聖言中學
Sing Yin Secondary School

「Hawkers in Hong Kong since 1842」

*版權所有，未能上載圖片
請到香港歷史博物館 - 參考資料室
預約查閱，電話 2724 9009

The 8th Inter-School Competition of
Project Learning on Hong Kong's History and Culture

Topic: Hawkers in Hong Kong since 1842

School: Sing Yin Secondary School

Team Number: HC-18-JA-023

Team Leader: Chan Ka Fai

Teacher Advisor: Ng Chak Nam

Report Summary

During 1842 to 1960, the development of hawkers was steadied by the law that was not executed strictly. Although the government had tried to reduce the number of hawkers, the protest of the members of the Legislative Council and hawkers and even citizens limited the reform of the ordinance about hygiene. This caused the “golden age” of hawkers in 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, hawkers, as a symbol of cheap food for the grassroots, most foreigners would not buy food from them. Even though hawkers produced dirty and unhygienic food, the health of foreigners would not be greatly affected by that. The policies of the government to deal with the hawkers' problem show the change of attitude of the government towards Chinese as the British officials started to heed the voices of them.

The characteristics that made the hawker industry successful would also play a significant role in their own downfall. This is especially observable during the peak in 1970s, when it has helped them rose, in the end of the 1970s, which lead to oppression and its apparent doom.

From the 1980s to the 1990s, the hawker industry suffered a decline because of strict government policies and the modernisation of Hong Kong society. The hawkers were also unsatisfied with the policies of the government. The government believed that hawkers should be removed from the Hong Kong society while the hawkers believed the government should not be so strict with them and opposed what the government did. These two opposite values have been causing many incidents and discussions in Hong Kong from the late 1990s up till now. For example, an unlicensed hawker ignited himself on fire in a court after his goods were confiscated in 1998. People were very concerned about laws regarding hawkers after this incident and thought they were too strict. Into the 2000s, more and more people noticed the shrinking of the hawker industry and urged the government to protect the industry.

Starting from 2000s, the government took the relaxation of hawker policy, but the government did not agree that hawker industry should be seen as a social allowance. However, this does not mean that the

government would allow the hawker industry to flourish in Hong Kong like what it was in the 1960s. The government's policy in 1990s was harsh, together with the schemes published to attract the hawkers to return their licenses, so this provided the incentives for elderly to return their licences to the government. Some hawkers retired and got an allowance from the government by joining the scheme. Thus, the government could take over 1300 licences voluntarily since 2000.

Moreover, many open-air bazaars were organised in different districts. This also affected the operating of hawkers since many people liked going to clean and tidy open-air bazaars, so fewer people will buy goods from hawkers' stores. The recent development of the hawker industry did not show much improvement from the previous two decades.

Final Report

Section 1: The Development of Hawkers in Hong Kong from 1842 to the 1950s

From 1842 to 1888

Since the early time after Hong Kong had been ceded by Qing dynasty to United Kingdom in 1842, hawkers have already existed.¹ To settle the hygiene problem, the British Hong Kong government formed a committee on issues about the public health in 1842.² In 1845, because of the hygiene problem caused by hawkers, especially cooked food sellers, the government followed the opinion of the committee and passed the Public Health Ordinance to restrict hawkers from selling any good on streets.³ Violation of the law would cost 5 pounds for penalty. However, the ordinance could not stop them from selling goods and yelling to attract customers on streets because the police could not carry out the law harshly. Two years later, not only did the government draft and formulate different new and effective laws and plans, it also set up a hawker licensing institution to try to control the number of hawkers in Hong Kong as a method to avoid unclean environment of the city caused by the hawkers.⁴ Citizens could apply for the license which came with a fee. The markets' ordinance issued in 1858 stressed any illegal selling by hawkers should not be allowed again. It also stated that licensed hawkers could sell any green vegetables, fruit, bean curds, congee, confectionary, and soup.⁵

Although Hong Kongers had been used to hearing the shouting of hawkers and foreigners had even thought it as a feature of Hongkong, the government had been disgusted by them. In 1872, the government modified the Public Health Ordinance. The new version of the ordinance set some restricted areas where hawkers could not yell.⁶ Chadwick report⁷, written in 1882, deemed that trading between hawkers and public was one of the sources of spreading diseases. Moreover, he considered hawkers as barricades on the road and noise makers. Not only had this drawn the attention of the public, but also that of the government. In the following year, the government set up the Sanitary Board, which would be responsible for cleaning streets and improve the hygiene of the society especially illegal hawkers on streets⁸. At the start of the Sanitary Board, it tried to carry out the law loosely. Nevertheless, the protest of the famous Chinese businessman Ho Kai and some common Chinese changed the Sanitary Board's mind and from that moment on, the policy of the government started to enter another stricter stage. In 1888, as another new policy to settle the hawkers problem, Cap. 482 drafted by the government was published. The most important point of the act was the

¹ “28 夕陽大牌檔 世紀街頭巷戰。” 蘋果日報, 6 Sep. 2006, <https://hk.lifestyle.appledaily.com/lifestyle/culture/daily/article/20060906/6286179>.

² 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔. Hong Kong: Joing Publishing. 2011. P.20

³ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔. P.55

⁴ “大牌檔的由來.” 大公報, 21 Feb. 2018, <http://www.takungpao.com.hk/culture/text/2018/0221/146926.html>.

⁵ MARKETS ORDINANCE,” *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, accessed May 25, 2019, <http://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/127>.

⁶ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔. P.20

⁷ Mr. Chadwick's reports on the sanitary condition of Hong Kong, accessed May 25, 2019, <https://archive.org/details/b2136591x/>.

⁸ George B. Endacott. *Government and people in Hong Kong 1841-1962: a Constitutional History*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 1964

"shut-up" areas (areas that hawkers were not allowed to yell) had been extended to the praya of Queen's Road, half of the Victoria Peak, Bonham Strand and its near southern and western areas.⁹

During this period, the British Hong Kong government showed their first struggle against hawkers because of the hygiene problems, and they tried different policies to stop hawkers. However well-formulated those policies were, those who were responsible for carrying out the law and prosecuting the hawkers, were either corrupt or sympathetic to them. Therefore, those policies that seemed to be harsh could not stop the growth of the hawkers.

From the late 19th century to the late 1920s

Around the late 19th century, "compassionate license" were issued for extremely underprivileged families as a substitute of social welfare. In 1919, there were 7297 legal hawkers while in 1920, there were 7361 hawkers and this number had not even counted illegal hawkers. The number 7361 was 1.2% of the Hong Kong population in 1920.¹⁰ Undoubtedly, it was a large number at that time. As a result, a new hawker licensing system was developed to manage the number of hawker's licenses more properly. This new system separated itinerant (mobile) and stall-holder (fixed) hawkers and the laws they needed to comply with. To restrict the quantity of fixed hawkers, the fee of fixed hawkers' licenses (\$24) was much higher than the fee of mobile hawkers' licenses (\$4).¹¹ (The fee of fixed hawkers' licenses is higher because the government believed that fixed hawkers could earn more profit.) A certain number of fixed hawkers had to fold up because of this¹². However, because of the support of some members of the Legislative Council of Hong Kong including Robert Hormus Kotewall, Shouson Chow and the protest of many hawkers, the fee was not collected properly, the number of hawker's licenses were not decreased and even increased significantly (1921: 7865; 1922: 8497; 1924: 8489)¹³ The reason that the number was increasing is believed that the government thought the numbers of old legal hawkers would decrease gradually and thus there was room for more new licenses. In 1930, when fixed hawkers needed to renew their licenses, a great deal of hawkers lost their licenses (the police officers carried out the law much more strictly) and the remainders were ordered to prepare ingredients, cook and wash dishes in their small space by the government in order to reduce the number of hawker's licenses and keep the environment of Hong Kong clean.¹⁴ In 1930, cholera broke out in Hong Kong. Over 100 people were dead this time.¹⁵ The hawkers were regarded as one of the major reasons why the disease would spread in Hong Kong¹⁶. The Urban Council was also planned to be set up to cope

⁹ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔. P.20-21

¹⁰ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔 P.28

¹¹ The Hong Kong Government Gazette, October 28, 1921. 1921. [Electronic Resource from Hong Kong Government Reports Online (1842-1941)/ The University of Hong Kong Libraries] <http://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkgro/view/g1921/71953.pdf>

¹² 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔 . P.32

¹³ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔 P.42-43

¹⁴ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔 P.58

¹⁵ 防疫之戰 見證香港西醫地位變遷 回看開埠早期大鼠疫. HK01.

2018/5/25. <https://www.hk01.com/%E4%B8%96%E7%95%8C%E8%AA%AA/190849/%E9%98%B2%E7%96%AB%E4%B9%8B%E6%88%B0-%E8%A6%8B%E8%AD%89%E9%A6%99%E6%B8%AF%E8%A5%BF%E9%86%AB%E5%9C%B0%E4%BD%8D%E8%AE%8A%E9%81%B7-%E5%9B%9E%E7%9C%8B%E9%96%8B%E5%9F%A0%E6%97%A9%E6%9C%9F%E5%A4%A7%E9%BC%A0%E7%96%AB>

with the hygiene problem by suing hawkers and any unclean action. Apparently, these kinds of actions were aimed to reduce the number of hawkers.

In this period, compared to the former one, not only did the British Hong Kong government no longer carry out the law unilaterally to solve the hawkers' problem, it also started to notice the response of the hawkers and the Chinese elites in society. The government reached a compromise with hawkers and Chinese elites even though there were limited channels for people to participate in the governance of Hong Kong. This shows the government was aware of the potential impact of implementing a policy that would affect the interest of the Chinese and the rising influence of Chinese in Hong Kong.

During the 1930s to 1960

In 1936, the Urban Council was formally set up to replace the Sanitary Board. The new chairman of the Council, R.R. Todd, said the government would no longer give the hawkers' licenses to any non-elderly males because they could find other jobs much more easily. Furthermore, he highlighted six problems caused by the hawkers¹⁷, including 1. causing traffic congestion 2. blocking the road and ditch by throwing rubbish on the streets directly 3. being difficult to manage because there were too many hawkers but much less police. 4. unfair competition between stores and hawkers where stores need a lot more capital to run 5. Damaging public health. Unknown storage of food and preparation of cooked food. 6. bribing the police.

Despite the determined speech of Todd, only a few government officials and members of the Legislative Council supported Todd's plan to reduce the number of hawkers which proposed to stop issuing hawkers' licenses. Nevertheless, his plan was successful because of the support of the general public due to the serious spread of cholera in Hong Kong. There was a 42% decrease in the number of licensed hawkers and a 80% decrease in the number of mobile hawkers from 1936 to 1941.¹⁸ When the Urban Council wanted to continue the plan in 1941, the threat of being attacked by Japan was imminent, the government was unable to spare resources for tackling the problems of hawkers. After Japan conquered Hong Kong, most of the hawkers did not operate under the rule of Japanese government because of the chaos. Although the Urban Council wanted to continue their plan in 1946, the refugees from the mainland China had escaped to Hong Kong because of the Chinese civil war and they had ruined the government's plan.¹⁹ A lot of refugees worked as hawkers to earn money for lives. The government could only handle "the number of hawkers" problem after a few years. Moreover, after the surrender of Japan, Britain needed to rebuild their colonial empire in East Asia, and therefore over 9000 workers worked in dockyards in Wan Chai who also needed a pretty large number of hawkers for food, though most of them were illegal.²⁰

During the 1950s, manufacturing industry was greatly developed in Hong Kong. Many factories were built and workers were needed. Hawkers that provided cheap food were one of the best choices for the workers. The number of licensed hawkers was double the number in the 1940s, not to mention the growth of illegal hawkers. Also, they were mostly located at industrial areas like Kwun Tong and San Po Kong. In the

¹⁶ 熟食檔歷史 淘汰在即 學者:在大牌檔吃一種懷舊情感. HK01. 2019/2/10.

<https://www.hk01.com/%E7%A4%BE%E5%8D%80%E5%B0%88%E9%A1%8C/166413/%E7%86%9F%E9%A3%9F%E6%A%A%94%E6%AD%B7%E5%8F%B2-%E6%B7%98%E6%B1%B0%E5%9C%A8%E5%8D%B3-%E5%AD%B8%E8%80%85-%E5%9C%A8%E5%A4%A7%E7%89%8C%E6%AA%94%E5%90%83%E4%B8%80%E7%A8%AE%E6%87%B7%E8%88%8A%E6%83%85%E6%84%9F>

¹⁷ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔 P.62-64

¹⁸ Document HKRS334-1-1-8(A) of Government Record Service. <https://search.grs.gov.hk/tc/arcview.xhtml?q=HKRS334-1-1-8%28A%29&eid=XM2ryvcF1NTbjC3P%2BcIfzw%3D%3D&ls=q%3DHKRS334-1-1-8%2528A%2529%2B>.

¹⁹ Hong Kong Population History. <http://www.demographia.com/db-hkhist.htm>.

²⁰ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔 P.118

early 1950s, the government had set a point deduction system which was further modified in 1957.²¹ However, most of the hawkers were rarely penalised by this system even if their points were often deducted. Out of this new policy, in 1956, the government suddenly stopped accepting any application and even stopped giving hawker's licenses.²² Even though this decreased the number of licensed hawkers from 1252 in 1956 to 1212 in 1959²³, the number rapidly increased in the 1960s.²⁴ This rising trend would be further explained by the next section of the study.

Supplementary Information: The way for the public to get a hawker's license in the early 20th century

How could the public get a hawker's license at that time except normal application? The government would distribute licenses to people who were disabled or had a extremely low income and a large family at the same time.²⁵ They would also assign hawker's licenses to soldiers who were permanently injured and disabled or soldiers who were destitute and had military merit or soldiers' family members if the soldiers died in the war.²⁶

Section 2: The Peak of the Hawker Industry up to the 1970s

In this section, we will explore the reasons behind the success of the hawker industry up to the mid-1970s.

Economic Factors

Multiple disastrous events occurred during the 1960s-1970s. This list includes some of them:

- (I): - 1967 Riots
- (II):- 1971- Typhoon 'Rose'²⁷
- (III): - 1973-1974 Stock Exchange Crash
- (IV): - 1973-1974 Oil Crisis

This resulted in a huge amount of economic loss, leaving many victims without a home, as there is an estimated of 5644 people in Hong Kong left homeless. They had no money whatsoever, and they needed

²¹ Document HKRS438-1-8 of Government Record Service. https://search.grs.gov.hk/tc/arcview.xhtml?q=HKRS438-1-8&eid=aPC7BRpdd6F2bT54BnyTaw%3D%3D&ls=q%3DHKRS438-1-8%26e_k%3Don%26title%3D%26f_ori_refno%3D%26f_refno%3D%26f_lv%3D%26f_m%3D%26f_a%3D.

²² 港飲港食. https://www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk/documents/2199315/2199705/Hong_Kong_Food_Culture-C.pdf

²³ 莊玉惜. 街邊有檔大牌檔 P.111/ Urban Council documents of numbers of hawkers in 1956 and 1959

²⁴ See the next part of this project

²⁵ 細數銅皮鐵骨大牌檔. Oriental Daily News. 2011/10/14. https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/lifestyle/20111014/00296_004.html

²⁶ 大排檔四傑. Eat and Travel Weekly/Next Digital. 2003/3/21. https://etw.nextdigital.com.hk/article/3_3179584

²⁷ Description of Typhoon Rose, Hong Kong Observatory

<http://www.hko.gov.hk/informtc/no10/rose/rose.html>

a cheap meal in order to survive. This in a way helped the hawker industry flourish (50,000²⁸ legalized hawkers at the time) and many earned a living through this way.

Social Factors

It was this time when the street vendors filled in the place, providing meals for the majority of the population due to increase demand. People became dependent on the vendors, as they did not face direct competition except other hawkers. This furthermore boosted the development of hawkers. However, the development of the hawkers began to meet serious problems in the 1970s.

Hong Kong in the 1970s: The Downfall of Hawkers

This will be analysed in four different factors: economic, administrative, social, and hygienic.

Economic factors

It was the 1970s when the shifting of the secondary industry to the tertiary industry was at an increasing pace due to skyrocketing land rent and labour costs. As a result, the income and living standards of the Hong Kong people have increased, as well as the economy. According to government data, the annual GDP growth during this period was a whopping 8.9%.²⁹

However, after processing some data and historical events, we have found that the thriving of the hawker industry has a negative relationship with wealth, quite ironically. People that have expenditure power would likely visit a restaurant rather than a street vendor, as this is the nature of humans. The hawker industry started to collapse.

Governmental factors

As things should be, the government had been the nemesis of the hawkers for quite some time, when researches indicating that the first action taken by them on this aspect was in 1872, where law was established which hawkers had to be licensed if the owners wanted to continue their operation.

It was not until the 1970s when the hawker industry reached its peak, with 50,000 legalised vendors in 1974, taking up 1.4% of the entire population. This automatically meant that the situation had gone out of control due to the large number of negative effects that it brought to society and the government had to take action in order to retain hygiene and stability. The measures taken by the government are listed below:³⁰³¹

²⁸ Closing Time- How Hong Kong's hawkers face a Struggle to survive, by Jennifer Ngo. South China Morning Post,

<http://multimedia.scmp.com/hawkers//>

²⁹ Government document on economic growth over the last 40 years

https://www.censtatd.gov.hk/FileManager/EN/Content_1064/A2_E.pdf

4 [Online Copy of the Hawker Regulation](#)

- (I): - The discontinuation of hawkers licenses being issued
- (II): - The establishment of hawker-restricted areas and their daily operations time limits
- (III): - The banning of trading or transferal of licenses
- (IV):- Limiting hawking activities from street trading to small businesses
- (V):- The relocation of hawkers to fixed stalls and markets³²

With all of these policies combined, the government dealt a fatal blow to the hawking industry, and would never recover again. The hawkers felt discouraged in running their businesses, and the population would not be able to engage in hawking activities due to regulation, even if they are willing to. Moreover, other issues such as poor hygiene provided the government with the incentive and support required to sweep the hawkers out of the society step by step.

Social Factors

As the manufacturing industry started to perish, the tertiary took over. It had higher wages to offer due to the high level of knowledge required to manage the workload. People could afford expensive items, which is the opposite of the hawker's goods. The demand for the hawkers' services have significantly decreased. The hawkers lost their customers, eventually leading to the diminishing of the industry.

The hawkers also faced discrimination from the public after that, often being viewed as 'the lower class' and 'dirty'. The change in the public's attitude further reduced the demand for the products of the hawkers.

Moreover, the hawkers caused major inconvenience in the major urban areas, such as Mongkok by blocking pedestrian pathways and roads with their carts and their hordes of customers. Several complaints were made. Safety concerns were also raised about this situation. Such as when the nomadic stalls bump into passers-by or when the oil splashes onto people while serving food. Since they did not buy insurance, this was seen as a huge risk to the people.

Hygiene Factors

The food and equipment of the hawkers were not under safety and hygiene regulations at that time, and having their food may mean that certain virus or bacteria can contaminate the food, being regarded by the Medical and Health Department as unhygienic. For example, traces of cholera, which leads to violent

<https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/cap132A1>

³¹ Legislative Council Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene Subcommittee on Hawker Policy

https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr13-14/english/panels/fseh/fseh_hp/papers/fseh_hp0415cb4-968-3-e.pdf

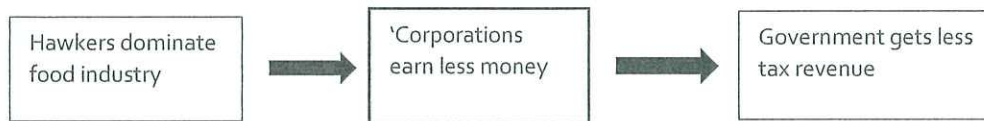
³² Will Hong Kong's street hawkers be saved by government licences or see their trades die? Jessie Lau & Josh Ye, SCMP, 22 Oct 2016

<https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/health-environment/article/2039043/will-hong-kongs-street-hawkers-be-saved-government>

diarrhea and E.coli³³, which may be harmful to the inner organs or poisonous, are once found in the miscellaneous products that the street vendors sell. Sometimes, flies or all kinds of trash may be found on the carts. This aroused serious public concern on them, and the unsatisfactory crowd forced the government to take action against the dangerous acts of the hawkers.

Corporal Factors

The corporations have also long been unsatisfied with the sudden bloom of the hawkers due to conflicts in interest. Their relationship is shown below:



*Note that corporations are not only limited to those who are working in the food industry, but also landlord and huge companies that own malls and property.

As a huge portion of the hawkers did not own a license, they needn't to pay taxes. Even for those who owned licenses, they had a low tax rate. It was believed that many of them did not need to pay taxes despite the handsome amount of profit they could gain, because it was difficult for the government to check their sale records. This enabled them to disrupt the market, stripping the customers out of the restaurants that actually had a fixed spot. The corporations, which benefitted more from siding with the government and had to pay a higher tax rate, suffered major losses. This resulted in the lack of competitiveness.

The corporations protested to the government about the issue. As the government had been working on a plan to eradicate the hawkers from the streets of Hong Kong, and also having a close financial relationship between them, they gladly took their reasoning as another excuse to take measurements the hawkers. With just so many parties against the hawkers, the hawker industry wasn't unable to sustain its peak, and declined.

The characteristics of hawker's food products in the 1970s

Affordable

Since the majority of the hawker's clients were low class citizens, they had to be affordable in order to gain popularity and support, eventually leading to profits.

Unhealthy

³³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong_Kong_street_food#Characteristics

Hawkers, at that time, had a limited amount of space in their carts, and therefore could only use a multipurpose equipment – a fryer. This cooking method was extremely unhealthy. By offering pre-cooked food which are marinated, they could avoid using bulky equipment, but again, this was carcinogenic³⁴.

Most Hawker were poor to the bones. They could only purchase cheap raw materials and utilities using capital, which is not beneficial to the health. To suit the tastes and preferences of the Hong Kong people, a lot of classical street foods, such as ‘fishballs’ and fried squid tentacles contains an overwhelming harmful substances such as cholesterol, sugar, oil and trans-fat which sometimes can be carcinogenic or may cause multiple diseases like Type II diabetes³⁵ and Coronary artery disease (CAD).³⁶

Quick-Served

To cope with the hustle and bustle lifestyle of the Hong Kong people, the hawkers had to formulate recipes with short or no cooking time so that not much time is wasted on the production of the food. This yet again included deep-frying and serving pre-cooked food.

Unfriendly to the environment

The need for speed resulted in the mass use of plastic bags, wooden picks and polyester boxes for the containment of the food. This was due to the fact that disposable containers like these are cheaper in comparison to recyclables. A large number of street vendors led to a lot of waste produced.

Innovative

To retain the interests of the people, hawkers have tried to come up and execute a variety of absurd yet delicious food recipes to retain business amounts. They include “Fake Shark Fins Soup” and “Chocolate-Flavored Egg Puffs”.

Mix of Eastern and Western Style

Hong Kong was a British colony until 1997, there is no doubt that western culture has influenced the food items of the hawkers. This can be shown in the variety of foods offered from the hawkers, such as Chinese congees and Dim Sum³⁷, but also westernised foods like egg tarts³⁸. The internationalisation of Hong Kong culture was perfectly shown in the hawkers, as to a part of a unique blend in flavours.

³⁴ Hippocrates Health Institute- Fried Foods are Carcinogenic

<https://hippocratesinst.org/fried-foods-are-carcinogenic>

³⁵ Nutritionacts- Fat is the cause of Type 2 Diabetes

<https://nutritionfacts.org/2016/11/17/fat-is-the-cause-of-type-2-diabetes/>

³⁶ Victoria State Government, Australia, Better Health Channel, Heart Disease and Food

<https://www.betterhealth.vic.gov.au/health/conditionsandtreatments/heart-disease-and-food>

³⁷ 9 characteristics of Hong Kong’s Food Culture

<http://www.lavielohas.com/food-culture-hong-kong/>

Section 3: The Development of Hawkers in Hong Kong during the 1980s-1990s

Overview

Following the climax of the hawker industry in the 1970s, the industry can be seen declining through the falling number of licensed hawkers. The number of licensed hawkers fell from about 20,000³⁹ from the late 1980s to about 6000 to the late 1990s.⁴⁰ This number is still falling at present.

The government's attitude

The government's attitude towards the hawker industry became strict following the 1970s. They believed illegal hawking activities sparked various problems, such as noise nuisance, worsening hygiene and caused unfair competition between unlicensed hawkers and market tenants. Therefore, the Urban Council considered stopping illegal hawking activities a top priority. For example, unlicensed hawkers operating in public housing estates and markets would be caught and prosecuted by Urban Council officers without warning beforehand.⁴¹ However, they did not prosecute hawkers operating in private properties as they considered this responsibility should be borne by the owner of that property, not the government.⁴²

Additionally, the Urban Council hoped to mandatorily cancel all licenses of itinerant hawkers in 1993 in 3 years as the Council wanted to improve the hygiene in Hong Kong.⁴³ However, if they returned their licenses willingly, they would receive a compensation of \$30,000 or have the right to choose vacant fixed hawker stalls in different urban areas or be able to rent vacant dry/vegetable/meat/poultry stalls in public markets at concessionary rents. The government hoped to retrieve their licenses by giving them benefits, hence further decreasing the number of hawkers. Although the plan was not successful (not being able to cancel all license of itinerant hawkers in 1993). The number of licensed mobile hawkers has still fallen from 3500 in 1993 to 537 in 2010.⁴⁴

Decline

³⁸ Everything you will need to know about the Hong Kong Egg Tart

<https://theculturetrip.com/asia/hong-kong/articles/a-brief-history-of-the-hong-kong-egg-tart/>

³⁹ 二零一二年二月十四日討論文件. 立法會食物安全及環境衛生事務委員會, 14 Feb. 2012, www.legco.gov.hk/yr11-12/chinese/panels/fseh/papers/fe0214cb2-993-3-c.pdf. P.8.

⁴⁰ 香港的小販管理. 立法會, 1 Dec. 2017, www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/chinese/1718iss05-hawker-control-in-hong-kong-20171201-c.pdf.

⁴¹ 兩個市政局管制非法擺賣的政策 附錄 8 CB(2)1491/95-96(A8). 立法局保安事務委員會, 1995.

⁴² 管理在私人物業範圍內擺賣的小販. 市政事務署, June 1995.

⁴³ 討論流動小販牌照會議紀錄, 立法會食物安全及環境衛生事務委員會, 2000, www.legco.gov.hk/yr00-01/chinese/panels/fseh/papers/c1330-03.pdf.

⁴⁴ FBTF 文件第 39 號. 方便營商諮詢委員會食物業工作小組, www.gov.hk/tc/theme/bf/pdf/FBTFPaper39.pdf.

The living standards of Hong Kong citizens were on the rise. People valued a cleaner environment. In contrast, the hawkers worsened the hygiene. As a lot of unlicensed hawkers operated near populated housing estates to increase sales, hygienic and noise problems became obvious.⁴⁵

Besides, The Hong Kong government focused on economic development and the city was slowly transforming into a global financial center. The employment rate of the tertiary sector has already taken over that of the secondary sector in the early 1980s, and even by a larger extent in the late 1990s.⁴⁶ They thought hawkers would bring down Hong Kong's global status.⁴⁷ Therefore, the government decided to strictly control the growth of hawkers starting from the 80s, unlike the previous decades when laws regarding hawkers were still lax.

In the meantime, the government was educating the public about the bad effects of the hawker activities, especially street food hawkers through TV advertisements⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ and posters⁵⁰. For example, the government warned people not to patronise unlicensed street food hawkers as they could get sick easily. In addition, the government also encouraged people to purchase goods in markets instead of from hawkers. This further raised people's awareness of hawkers. People were worried about the bad hygiene of street hawkers and this negatively affected their sales, making it harder for hawkers to continue to operate.

The Urban Council stopped issuing new mobile and fixed hawkers' licenses starting under normal circumstances starting in 1972 and 1977 respectively.⁵¹ Moreover, some hawkers started passing away due to old age. However, they could not transfer their licenses to other people (like their children)⁵². At the same time, there were no more new hawkers' licenses issued. Therefore, the number of licensed hawkers further decreased.

Chain restaurants like McDonalds, KFC, Fairwood and Café de Coral took roots in Hong Kong during the 1960s to the 1970s. After some years, they became popular among Hong Kong people in the 1980s. With rising living standards, people demanded cleaner food. Meanwhile, people could afford to eat in these restaurants compared to the previous decades. Therefore, chain restaurants attracted more and more people and people were less likely to patronize street food hawkers.

⁴⁵ 城市透視. ubeat.com.cuhk.edu.hk/ubeat_past/090389/hawker.pdf.

⁴⁶ HK GOVERNMENT YEARBOOK STATISTICS . www.yearbook.gov.hk/2001/ehhtml/04/04-01f.htm. CHART 3.

⁴⁷ 消失中的小販文化 . Leung Yin Ling, 2011, core.ac.uk/download/pdf/49306095.pdf .

⁴⁸ 醫務衛生署廣告 (切勿光顧無牌熟食小販). 1987, www.youtube.com/watch?v=ns1LF8K3r0Y.

⁴⁹ 勿光顧無牌小販 街市購物樂趣多 (政府廣告). www.youtube.com/watch?v=k6lZfz17lX8.

⁵⁰ Urban Council, Poster , 1990, www.myconan852.scicube.info/hksfad/images/content/90poster.jpg.

⁵¹ Hawker Control. Food and Environmental Hygiene Department , www.fehd.gov.hk/english/pleasant_environment/hawker/overview.html.

⁵² *Advisory Council on Food and Environmental Hygiene Review on Hawker Licensing Policy*. Food and Health Bureau, 15 Jan. 2009.

Hawkers' reactions to giving up their licenses

By 1996, there were still thousands of licensed mobile hawkers in Hong Kong. They were unsatisfied with their fixed assigned operating areas if they were to give up their licenses voluntarily, because of a lack of customers. For example, a lot of stalls in the Mong Kok Market were abandoned as there were always few people. They would not receive enough money to pay the monthly rent. Therefore, some of them petitioned outside the Urban Council, demanding better operating areas.⁵³

In addition, the Urban Council announced that there was over 1600 vacant stalls in public markets in 1997. The Council claimed those vacant stalls were reserved for those licensed hawkers who gave up their licenses. However, an owner of a meat stall in the Central Market, mentioned that they had always been vacant.⁵⁴ The reason is similar as above. A lack of customers would limit the revenue and not enough money could be earned to pay the rent.

Overall, this showed that the government's policies were ineffective in the point of view of hawkers, as many of them complained about a lack of customers after being relocated to public markets, which limited their sales, hence their incentives to continue their operation.

Despite giving up their licenses, many hawkers wanted to continue working to make a living. Since most hawkers were uneducated and lack professional skills⁵⁵, it was difficult for them to get high-paying jobs. Hawker activities were their only method to earn a living. Meanwhile, the government tried to provide a good environment for hawkers (who gave up their licenses) to sell their goods legally. However, it was an unsuccessful attempt as shown by the evidences above.

Section 4: The Development of Hawkers in Hong Kong since 2000

Overview

From 1972 to early 2000s, there was no new hawker licence issued and on-street licensed hawkers should be put into off-street hawker bazaars or public markets. However, there were difficulties to find suitable sites to allow hawkers to be relocated from the streets. Thus, the government adopted some other approaches, such as regulating hawkers, allowing them to operate in appropriate areas and taking enforcement actions against illegal hawker activities. The extent of on-street hawking has since come under control.⁵⁶

1. In the past 18 years (2000 – 2018), the number of hawker licences in force decreased from 9232 in 2000 to 5531 in 2018 (as shown in **Figure 1**).⁵⁷

Figure 1

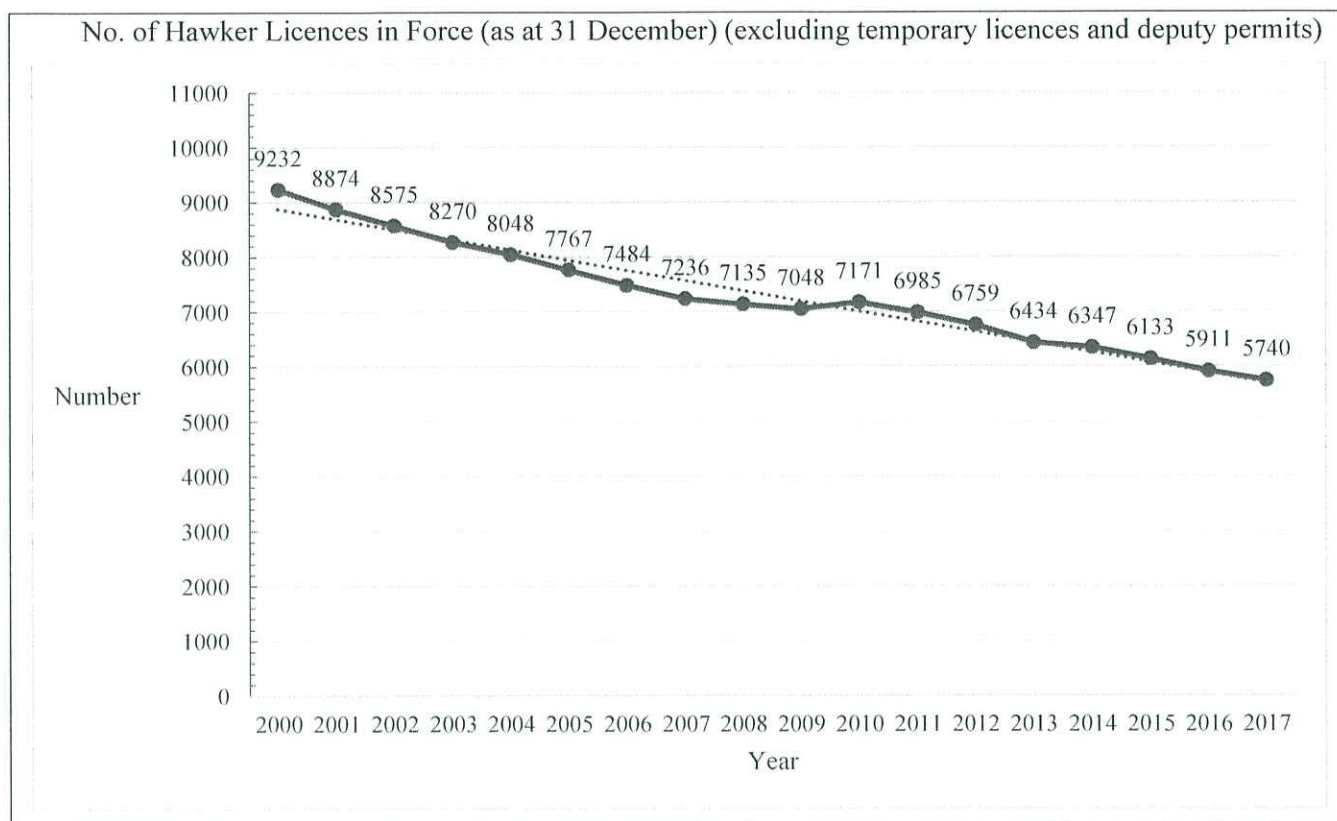
⁵³ 持牌流動小販. Television Broadcasts Limited, 1996, news.tvb.com/programmes/newsfile/5b9afdeae603839b28332ce8.

⁵⁴ 市政下街市空置檔位, Television Broadcasts Limited, 1997, <http://news.tvb.com/programmes/newsfile/5b99bdffe60383563ed5527a>.

⁵⁵ 小販政策前因後果. 大公網, http://news.takungpao.com.hk/paper/q/2016/0301/3286245_print.html

⁵⁶ "Issues relating to Hawkers and Hawking." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 15 Apr. 2014.

⁵⁷ 環境衛生統計數字 (2015-2018), 6 Mar. 2019, www.fehd.gov.hk/tc_chi/statistics/pleasant_environment/statistienh_2015_2018.html#Licences_in_Force.



Food and Environment Hygiene Department (FEHD) was established on January 1, 2000. The aim of the Market Management and Hawker Control programme is to maintain a clean environment in public markets and to control on-street hawking activities. Its work involves:⁵⁸

- Controlling and containing on-street hawking activities and obstruction;
- Managing licensed hawker pitches, hawker permitted places and hawker bazaars; and
- Taking enforcement actions.

⁵⁸ Audit Commission Director of Audit's Reports <Report No. 64>. Hong Kong Government, 2015, *Audit Commission Director of Audit's Reports*.

How government's policy affects the hawkers' development?

Changing the attitude of the government

Reappraisal of policy in 1952 showed that hawkers must henceforth be accepted as a feature of life in Hong Kong.⁵⁹ With the rapid population growth and refugees coming to Hong Kong, hawker activities provided a source of daily provisions to the public and convenience areas on-street, so it could respond to the daily needs by society and make a living for many migrants from mainland China and unemployed people in Hong Kong.

As mentioned above, the government stopped issuing new hawker licences from the 1970s, and the aim in the 1970s was to control the city environment and to regulate licensed hawkers. The reasons were hawking activities might lead to congestions and environmental nuisance, and shop owners nearby might consider hawking activities as a sort of unfair commercial competition since hawkers did not have to pay rents. Nevertheless, the government has changed its severe attitude since 2000.

In 2001, due to the poor economic environment caused by the Asian Financial Crisis, the Hong Kong government took a more tolerant approach in its enforcement actions against unlicensed hawking activities, unless the hawkers were selling restricted goods and cooked food or selling in major roads and exits in the railway stations.⁶⁰ Also, the HKSAR waived various types of hawker licences' fee from 2001 to 2004 due to the economic downturn in 2001 and the SARS outbreak in 2003. This provided job opportunities for hawkers during this period. As a result, hawkers could survive in this period by having less control from the government and no expense on hawker licences.

Moreover, the government reviewed the policy on hawker licensing in 2008, including re-issuing new hawker licences. Without compromising the environment hygiene, the government supported issuing limited hawker licences. The government implemented the following measures, including merging back-row vacant pitches with front-row pitches, issuing 61 new itinerant (frozen confectionery) hawker ('small ice-cream vendors') licences, having less regulations on further succession and transferring 'Dai Pai Tong' licences, and re-issuing 218 fixed-pitch hawker licences.⁶¹ This improved the situation of hawking industry.

Furthermore, the government promotes small business (小本經營) by reviewing hawker policy and agrees that hawkers can provide cheap daily supplies to the general public. However, the government does not agree that hawker trade is a form of social welfare for the disadvantaged or for poverty easing. It believed hawker sale is a kind of economic activity.⁶² In conclusion, the government agrees that hawker industry should not be seen as helping the poor or migrants and should be seen as an economic activity.

⁵⁹ *Hawkers: a Report with Policy Recommendations*. Government Printer, 1957.

⁶⁰ "Report of the Subcommittee on Hawker Policy." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 5 Oct. 2015.

⁶¹ "Review on Hawker Licensing Policy." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 10 Jun. 2008.

⁶² "Administration's paper on proposals on hawker management." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 2 Mar. 2015.

A legislator Chung Shu-kun wrote a comment in *Wenweipo* (文匯報) and believed that the government should protect the hawker industry to attract tourists to visit. He suggests building markets for sunset industries to work such as bootblack and shoe repairing, thus to let tourists feel the street culture in the past decades in Hong Kong.⁶³

In conclusion, the government took the hawker industry as a social welfare measure in 1950s to 1960s, and lots of unemployed people became hawkers to sell cheap goods. From the 1970s to 2000, the government did not issue new licences, and licensed hawkers had to follow strict regulations. Starting from 2000s, the government took the relaxation of hawker policy, for example giving warning before enforcement actions and making certain allowance for hawkers (details in the latter part of this section). Furthermore, the government did not agree the hawking industry should be provided as a social allowance to the poor and should be treated as a type of economic activity.

Further decreasing trend of licensed hawkers

When the government did not issue new licences since 1970s, the number of licenced hawkers has decreased since 1972 due to different policies and schemes introduced by the government. Before 2000, the hawker control policy adopted by the former Urban Council (UC) and Provisional UC about the succession (繼承) and transfer (轉讓) of hawker licences already issued were:⁶⁴

- restricted to "immediate family member" of the licensee (i.e. parent, spouse, son or daughter) for Fixed-Pitch hawker licence;
- restricted to the licensee's spouse for "Dai Pai Tong" licences; and
- not allowed for itinerant hawker licence (IHL).

The hawker control policy adopted by the Former RC were:

- transfer was not allowed for all types of hawker licences; and
- succession was only allowed to the licensee's spouse for fixed-pitch hawker licences but not for IHL.

Moreover, a licence is deemed to be cancelled on the death of the licensee. To conclude, the number of licenced hawkers were decreasing over past decades.

The government introduced different schemes since the 2000s to let hawkers return their licences as to receive a certain amount of money, they are:

- Voluntary surrender scheme for hawker licences in 2002; and
- Assistance scheme for hawkers in fixed-pitch hawker areas in 2013.

Details of the programmes above have shown in **Figure 2**.

⁶³ “懷舊小販可化身旅遊項目。”文匯報, 9 Apr. 2015, paper.wenweipo.com/2015/04/09/PL1504090007.htm.

⁶⁴ “Information on the Studies, Policy Decision and Recommendations Conducted and Made by the Former Municipal Councils on Hawkers and Hawking.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council, Subcommittee on Hawker Policy*, Jul. 2014.

Figure 2

Details of different schemes introduced by the HKSAR Government since 2000s

	Voluntary surrender scheme for hawkler licences 65 66	Assistance scheme for hawkers in fixed-pitch hawkler areas 67 68
Implementation time	<p>1 Dec 2002 – 31 Dec 2012</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ For Fixed Pitch (Cooked Food/Light Refreshment) Hawker Licences was lasted for five years from 1 Dec 2002 to 30 Nov 2007. ✧ For Itinerant Hawker Licences (IHL) was lasted for ten years from 1 Jan 2003 to 31 Dec 2012. 	<p>3 June 2013 – 2 June 2018 (five years)</p>
Reasons for why the government proposed the schemes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The government reviewed the future arrangement for IHLs and ‘Dai Pai Tong’ in 2002. The government invited the legislators to discuss the policy on April 2002 and June 2002. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Since two serious fires broke out in Dec 2010 and Nov 2011 and caused serious casualties to buildings nearby. Therefore, the government wanted to reduce the fire risks in hawkler areas. ✧ From the scheme, the government hoped to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Provide financial assistance to hawkers in fixed-pitch hawkler areas for stall reconstruction and relocation to reduce fire risks. (b) Give an EGP was offered for voluntary surrender of hawkler licence to release some

65 “Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2013-14 CONTROLLING OFFICER’S REPLY TO INITIAL WRITTEN QUESTION Reply Serial No. FHB(FE)232.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council, Finance Committee*

66 “Expiry of the Voluntary Surrender Scheme for Itinerant Hawker Licences as Scheduled.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene*, 9 Nov. 2010.

67 “Assistance Scheme for Hawkers in Fixed-pitch Hawker Areas.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene*, 5 Feb. 2013.

68 “Progress Report on the Implementation of the Hawker Assistance Scheme.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene*, Jul. 2018.

			pitches as to relocate the stalls which had higher fire risks.
Total Expenditure used in the schemes		\$14,580,000 (2002 – 2012)	\$222,919,566 (2013 – 2018) <i>estimated</i>
Number of licences voluntarily surrendered		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ 'Dai Pai Tong': 37 licences ◇ Itinerant Hawker Licences: 514 licences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Fixed-pitch Hawker Licences: 854 licences
Details of schemes		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ In 2002, around 65% of 'Dai Pai Tong' hawkers were aged above 65, some of them may choose retirement. They can receive an ex-gratia payment (EGP) of \$60,000. ◇ 74% of the IHL holders in urban area and 60% in the New Territories were aged over 60 in 2002. They could consider the following options: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) to select a vacant fixed pitch and become a licensed fixed-pitch hawker; (b) to select a vacant public market stall and enjoy certain concessionary rental arrangements; or (c) to receive an EGP of \$30,000. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Hawkers who are required by FEHD to move their stalls to new pitch spaces for fire safety reasons may apply for a one-off relocation grant; ◇ Hawkers who are not required to relocate their stalls as shown above may apply for a one-off reconstruction grant to carry out partial or full reconstruction of their stalls in-situ for reducing fire risks; and ◇ EGP will be paid to hawkers (except those whose licences are newly issued pursuant to the hawker licensing policy review in 2008-09) who opt for voluntary surrender of their hawker licences to the Government.
Effects of schemes		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ This lets the elderly who are working as hawkers retire and live by using an EGP. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Since over 98% of fixed-pitch hawkers participated in this scheme and 87.3% of hawkers reconstructed their pitches (excluding applications of EGB), most of them have taken the safety measures and this decreases the fire risks.

As shown in the previous paragraphs and **Figure 2**, because the government's policy in 1990s was harsh, together with the schemes published were attracted to the hawkers, so this provided the incentives for elderly to return their licences to the government. Since the ages of most hawkers are over 60 years old, some hawkers may want to retire and get an allowance from the government to enjoy their life. Thus, the government could take over 1300 licences voluntarily since 2000s and reissue more licences as to give a chance for other citizens (especially deputy) to operate the stall (as shown in Para 15).

In 2009, the government reviewed the hawker licensing policy. The government then set up the following measurements:⁶⁹

- (a) Merging 659 back-row vacant pitches with front-row pitches in order to provide larger areas for licensees;
- (b) Issuing 61 new itinerant (frozen confectionery) hawker licences;
- (c) The requirements for succession to and transfer of 'Dai Pai Tong' licence were relaxed if the respective District Council supports it; and
- (d) A total of 218 new fixed-pitch (other classes) hawker licences were issued in 2010 – 2011.

To summarise the points above, the reviewing policy conducted in 2009 only reissued 279 licences to other people who are willing to be hawkers. However, the government received more than 500 licences in 2002 – 2012. This shows that the most important thing that the government had to do was to regulate hawkers properly, but not to consider providing cheap and convenient goods and services to citizens. Since the number of licences reissued is much less than that of licenced received, the number of licenced hawkers has decreased and will decrease in the future.

Decreasing number of unlicensed hawkers and their prosecutions

As regards unlicensed hawking activities, the Government estimated that there were 1511 unlicensed hawkers operating in 45 blackspots at end-2018. The number of unlicensed hawkers is 4485 in 2000. **Figure 3** shows the number of unlicensed hawkers and hawker blackspots in selected areas in 2016 and 2018.

⁶⁹ "Report of the Subcommittee on Hawker Policy ." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 5 Oct. 2015.

Figure 3⁷⁰

	2016		2018 ^(*)	
	Unlicensed hawkers	Hawker blackspots	Unlicensed hawkers	Hawker blackspots
Sham Shui Po	388	3	523	3
Yau Tsim Mong	295	6	273	6
Central and Western	143	3	142	3
Kwun Tong	79	4	63	4
North	72	2	57	2
Kowloon City	64	1	61	1
Kwai Tsing	63	1	61	1
Others	350	25	331	25
Total	1454	45	1511	45

(Note*: Figures are given by Hong Kong Food and Environment Hygiene Department.)

From **Figure 3**, Yau Tsim Mong and Sham Shui Po remained the top two blackspots, and the total number accounted for about half of unlicensed hawkers in 2016 and 2018. Even more, the number of unlicensed hawkers in Sham Shui Po has a sharply increase from 281 (2014) to 523 (2018). This shows that there is not enough manpower to regulate and control unlicensed hawkers in high population density districts, although stringent enforcement actions are taken.

As mentioned above, the government has taken less regulations towards hawkers, for example giving warnings to hawkers before taking further actions. In fact, in 2001, the government decided to take a more tolerant approach in its enforcement actions against unlicensed hawking activities. However, the government will not concede on the following –

- (a) sale of prohibited or restricted goods, or cooked foods will be strictly forbidden and subject to stringent enforcement actions; and
- (b) hawker-free situations will be maintained in major thoroughfares, areas of high pedestrian flow (e.g. pedestrian precincts, Mass Transit Railway exits, heavily used footbridges, tourist spots).

Other hawking activities would be accorded a lower priority in enforcement. The hawkers involved would generally be given oral warnings and asked to disperse; enforcement actions will be taken if the warnings are unheeded.

⁷⁰ “Statistical Highlights: Hawker control in Hong Kong (ISSH05/17-18).” *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Secretariat Research Office

Since this approach has been taken since 2001, the prosecutions of licensed hawkers and unlicensed hawkers have decreased. **Figure 4** shows the numbers of prosecutions of licensed hawkers and unlicensed hawkers in 2000 – 2003 and 2015 – 2018.

Figure 4

Years Prosecutions of	2000	2001	2002	2003	...	2015	2016	2017	2018
Licensed hawkers ^(*)					...	4493	3787	3765	3733
Unlicensed hawkers ^{71 72 73}	28309	21122	19320	18649	...	23054	15310	6402	5564

(Note*: Figures are given by Hong Kong Food and Environment Hygiene Department.)

The reasons why the prosecution of licensed and unlicensed hawkers decrease are the estimated number of licensed and unlicensed hawkers decreases and Hawker Control Teams use dispersion tactics before resorting to raiding action. Due to the effective patrol and raidings of hawker blackspots, the estimated number of licensed hawkers decreased by 9232 in 2000 to 5740 in 2018 as shown in **Figure 1**, and unlicensed hawkers decreased from 4485 in 2000 to 1511 in 2018, and the annual average of prosecutions per unlicensed hawker sharply decreased from 6.31 in 2000 to 3.68 in 2018. ^{74 75}

To summarise, many figures show the numbers of unlicensed hawker and prosecutions of hawkers decrease. This shows that the government policy has done its job. However, the number of unlicensed hawkers in Sham Shui Po has a sharp increase.

⁷¹ “Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2002-03 CONTROLLING OFFICER’S REPLY TO WRITTEN/SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION Reply Serial No. EFB107.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee

⁷² “Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2004-05 CONTROLLING OFFICER’S REPLY TO INITIAL WRITTEN QUESTION Reply Serial No. HWFB289.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee

⁷³ “Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2019-20 CONTROLLING OFFICER’S REPLY Reply Serial No. FHB(FE)211.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee

⁷⁴ “Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2002-03 CONTROLLING OFFICER’S REPLY TO WRITTEN/SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION Reply Serial No. EFB107.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee

⁷⁵ “Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2002-03 CONTROLLING OFFICER’S REPLY TO WRITTEN/SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION Reply Serial No. EFB107.” *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee

How the government and other organisations affect the hawkers' development in Hong Kong?

Setting up a new type of community-economic model: Open-air bazaars (墟市)

To begin with, there is a close relationship between modern bazaar development and changes in hawker policies. In the 2000s, people who are interested working in hawker industry are difficult to join. As there are increasing social needs, the demand in open-air bazaars (bazaars) is increasing in residential areas.⁷⁶

For instance, Hong Kong is affected by the Asian Financial Crisis in 2002. The government set up Wong Tai Sin Bazaar (Wong Tai Sin Dragon Market) in the Southern Block of Upper Wong tai Sin Estate Phase II. Different organizations such as Wong Tai Sin District Council, Lok Kwan Social Service and Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions joined the open-air bazaar. Similar to hawker areas, featured stalls sell general merchandise and cooked food. However, bazaars provide entertainment performances on weekends that attracts people to go in.⁷⁷

To summarise, when many organisations and citizens cannot avoid high prices of stocks in malls such as those under the LINK (領展), and hawker industry cannot easily show the street hawking scenes in the 1970s again, many organisations try to organise open-air bazaars, and to contend with the LINK malls and replace hawker industry in another way. Organisations invited citizens including licenced and non-licenced hawkers to work in the bazaars. Since there are many people visiting there, they can earn money more easily and this can become a popular community event.

A large number citizens welcomed and supported bazaars in their district. They thought the government should work as a team to set up bazaar policies and encourage different groups to organise bazaar activities. If bazaars can be organised regularly, they do not need to buy their daily goods and handicrafts in chain stores, and this provides competitions between chain stores and street hawkers. This might become a way out for the largely declining hawker industry.

⁷⁶ *Sham Shui Po Street Market Report*. HKCSS, 2015.

⁷⁷ "Open-air Bazaars." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 5 Feb. 2013.

Bibliography

Government Documents

- Online version of Hawker Regulation, Cap.132 section 83A, last updated 20th Sept 2018. <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/cap132AI>
- 《The Markets Ordinance,1858》 1858. [Electric Resource from Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online/The University of Hong Kong Libraries] <http://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/127>
- Osbert Chadwick 《Mr. Chadwick's reports on the sanitary condition of Hong Kong ; with appendices and plans. 》 1882. [Electronic Resource from Internet Archive] <https://archive.org/details/b2136591x/page/n6>
- 《The Hong Kong Government Gazette, October 28, 1921》 1921. [Electronic Resource from Hong Kong Government Reports Online (1842-1941)/ The University of Hong Kong Libraries] <http://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkgro/view/g1921/71953.pdf>
- 《HAWKER STALL SITES IN HONG KONG AND KOWLOON - PROPOSED GENERAL INCREASE OF》 HKRS334-1-8. [Electric Resource from Government Record Service/The government of HKSAR] 1953/7/9-1958/12/30. <https://search.grs.gov.hk/en/arcview.xhtml?q=HKRS334-1-1-8%28A%29&eid=XM2ryvcF1NTbjC3P%2BcIfzw%3D%3D&ls=q%3DHKRS334-1-1-8%2528A%2529%2B>
- 《HAWKERS COMMITTEES (PAPERS) VOL. I》 HKRS438-1-8. [Electric Resource from Government Record Service/The government of HKSAR] 1956/4-1960/3 https://search.grs.gov.hk/tc/arcview.xhtml?q=HKRS438-1-8&eid=aPC7BRpdd6F2bT54BnyTaw%3D%3D&ls=q%3DHKRS438-1-8%26e_k%3Don%26title%3D%26f_ori_refno%3D%26f_refno%3D%26f_lv%3D%26f_m%3D%26f_a%3D
- “Issues relating to Hawkers and Hawking .” *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 15 Apr. 2014.
- *環境衛生統計數字 (2015-2018)*, 6 Mar. 2019, www.fehd.gov.hk/tc_chi/statistics/pleasant_environment/statistienh_2015_2018.html#Licences_in_Force.

- *Audit Commission Director of Audit's Reports <Report No. 64>*. Hong Kong Government, 2015, *Audit Commission Director of Audit's Reports*.
- *Hawkers: a Report with Policy Recommendations*. Government Printer, 1957.
- "Report of the Subcommittee on Hawker Policy ." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 5 Oct. 2015.
- "Review on Hawker Licensing Policy ." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 10 Jun. 2008.
- Administration's paper on proposals on hawker management." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 2 Mar. 2015.
- "Information on the Studies, Policy Decision and Recommendations Conducted and Made by the Former Municipal Councils on Hawkers and Hawking." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Subcommittee on Hawker Policy, Jul. 2014.
- "Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2013-14 CONTROLLING OFFICER'S REPLY TO INITIAL WRITTEN QUESTION Reply Serial No. FHB(FE)232." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee
- "Expiry of the Voluntary Surrender Scheme for Itinerant Hawker Licences as Scheduled." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 9 Nov. 2010.
- "Assistance Scheme for Hawkers in Fixed-pitch Hawker Areas." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 5 Feb. 2013.
- "Progress Report on the Implementation of the Hawker Assistance Scheme." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, Jul. 2018.
- "Statistical Highlights: Hawker control in Hong Kong (ISSH05/17-18)." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Secretariat Research Office
- "Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2002-03 CONTROLLING OFFICER'S REPLY TO WRITTEN/SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION Reply Serial No. EFB107." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee
- "Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2004-05 CONTROLLING OFFICER'S REPLY TO INITIAL WRITTEN QUESTION Reply Serial No. HWFB289." *Hong Kong Legislative Council*, Finance Committee

- “Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2019-20 CONTROLLING OFFICER’S REPLY Reply Serial No. FHB(FE)211.” Hong Kong Legislative Council, Finance Committee
- Sham Shui Po Street Market Report. HKCSS, 2015.
- “Open-air Bazaars.” Hong Kong Legislative Council, Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene, 5 Feb. 2013.
- 立法會食物安全及環境衛生事務委員會. 二零一二年二月十四日討論文件. 14 Feb. 2012.
- 立法會. 香港的小販管理. 1 Dec. 2017. www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/chinese/1718issh05-hawker-control-in-hong-kong-20171201-c.pdf.
- 立法局保安事務委員會. 兩個市政局管制非法擺賣的政策 附錄 8 CB(2)1491/95-96(A8). 1995.

Books

- 莊玉惜. 《街邊有檔大牌檔》 Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) CO., LTD. 2011/7
- George B. Endacott. 《Government and people in Hong Kong 1841-1962 : a constitutional history.》 Hong Kong University Press. 1964

Articles and Electronic Sources

- 馮敏兒 《28 夕陽大牌檔 世紀街頭巷戰》 Apple Daily. 2006/9/6 <https://hk.lifestyle.appledaily.com/lifestyle/culture/daily/article/20060906/6286179>
- 《大牌檔的由來》 Ta Kung Pao. 2018/2/21 <http://www.takungpao.com.hk/culture/text/2018/0221/146926.html>
- 羅保熙 《防疫之戰 見證香港西醫地位變遷 回看開埠早期大鼠疫》 HK01. 2018/5/25. <https://www.hk01.com/%E4%B8%96%E7%95%8C%E8%AA%AA/190849/%E9%98%B2%E7%96%AB%E4%B9%8B%E6%88%B0-%E8%A6%8B%E8%AD%89%E9%A6%99%E6%B8%AF%E8%A5%BF%E9%86%AB%E5%9C%B0%E4%BD%8D%E8%AE%8A%E9%81%B7-%E5%9B%9E%E7%9C%8B%E9%96%8B%E5%9F%A0%E6%97%A9%E6%9C%9F%E5%A4%A7%E9%BC%A0%E7%96%AB>
- 林可欣 《熟食檔歷史 淘汰在即 學者:在大牌檔吃一種懷舊情感》 HK01. 2019/2/10. <https://www.hk01.com/%E7%A4%BE%E5%8D%80%E5%B0%88%E9%A1%8C/166413/%E7%86%9F%E9%A3%9F%E6%AA%94%E6%AD%B7%E5%8F%B2->

<http://www.demographia.com/db-hkhist.htm>

- The graph of Hong Kong population History [Electric Resource from Demographia] 2001
<http://www.demographia.com/db-hkhist.htm>
- 《港飲港食》 [Electric Resource from the Hong Kong Heritage Museum]
https://www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk/documents/2199315/2199705/Hong_Kong_Food_Culture-C.pdf
- 《細數銅皮鐵骨大牌檔》 Oriental Daily News. 2011/10/14.
https://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/lifestyle/20111014/00296_004.html
- 《大排檔四傑》 Eat and Travel Weekly/Next Digital. 2003/3/21.
https://etw.nextdigital.com.hk/article/3_3179584
- 文滿林 《百家廊：別矣，香港街邊大排檔》 Wen Wei Po. 2008/1/6.
<http://paper.wenweipo.com/2008/01/06/OT0801060001.htm>
- “懷舊小販可化身旅遊項目。” 文匯報, 9 Apr. 2015,
paper.wenweipo.com/2015/04/09/PL1504090007.htm.
- An elaborate section describing the situation of hawkers in Hong Kong, SCMP.
<http://multimedia.scmp.com/hawkers/>
- Wikipedia page on hawking history in Hong Kong.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hawkers_in_Hong_Kong