

Profiles of Hawkers Working in Rizal Park, Manila, Philippines: Socio-Economic Status, Migration Motivations, and the Sale of Goods

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Abstract

Hawkers in the developing countries are often regarded as people belonging to the informal sector. This study tries to describe hawkers in Rizal Park in Manila whose informal status overlaps with the formal sector. This paper shares findings from fieldwork in 2007 and 2008. The general profiles of the hawkers in the park indicate they are predominantly female (70 %) with less education and 12 percent of them do not own or rent houses. There are three types of hawkers; stall hawkers, ambulant hawkers and toy & balloon hawkers. The origin of the hawkers shows that 70 percent of them are rural-to-urban migrants while 30 percent are born and raised in Manila. There are two push and four pull factors of the migration. The two push factors are disintegration of family and escape from poverty in the provinces. The four pull factors are an opportunity for education, an opportunity to work, an atmosphere of Manila and deception. When we focus on the stall hawkers, all the stall hawkers have Filipino customers. Koreans are the most popular foreign customers, followed by Americans, Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese. In terms of sales, between 72 percent and 100 percent of the sales in each stalls come from Filipino. When we look at the merchandise, food items are popular items especially non-perishable items. While Filipino purchases essential items, they are not popular among foreign customers.

Keywords:

the informal sector, hawkers, the formal sector,
rural-to-urban migration, poverty

1. INTRODUCTION

Philippines had achieved about 4 percent economic growth since 2002 until the 2008 financial crisis. It has recovered the momentum again since the fourth quarter of 2009. Although economic growth is expected to continue as 7-8 percent growth in 2011 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2011), the urban poor still experience the lower quality of life. Study on the urban poor has been equated with study on the informal sector and study on squatters (Aoki 2000:280). However, the urban poor do not fit exactly with their scopes. Professions of some urban poor people belong to the formal sector although the majority is in the informal sector. As for residency, the urban poor live in squatters, slums¹⁾ and formal housing units which are either owned or rented. This indicates that experiences of the urban poor are not uniform and understanding of the urban poor requires studies that consider overlapping nature of different categorization. In addition, the concept of the informal sector still stimulates debate on its nature since realities of the developing countries do not allow us to fit all the phenomena into the category. Despite that, the concept is widely utilized for development projects (Daniels 2004: 502). Thus it has merits to study the urban poor in terms of distinction between the formal and informal sector. Often cited definition of the informal sector is the ILO definition which identified easy entry, importance of indigenous resources, family ownership, small operational size, and competitive and unregulated markets as its characteristics (Trager 1987: 239). I focus on the urban poor whose characteristics indicate they belong to the informal sector but they also have the formal sector component of a regulated market. Specifically, I pay attention to urban hawkers, a typical profession that usually belongs to the informal sector. The uniqueness of this study is exactly the difficulty

1) A slum means a heavily populated urban area characterized by poor housing and squalor (Morris 1982). Squatter has the similar characteristics with slums but the land is occupied illegally because it is the preferred solution to the housing problem by those with little or no resources (Rebullida, et.al. 1999: 11).

to characterize, that is, hawkers who can be classified both as the formal sector and the informal sector²⁾. This paper describes life and work of hawkers who operate in Rizal Park in Manila based on fieldwork conducted in 2007 and 2008. They are unique among hawkers in Manila due to their trait of the formal sector status which was obtained through a struggle for the right to vend in the park.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study is based on qualitative research conducted to hawkers who operate in Rizal Park in Manila in 2007 and 2008. An interview survey was conducted in August 2007. The main data for the analysis came from this interview survey; however, additional data from participant observation and in-depth interviews was collected in August 2008 to supplement the initial interview survey. Two Filipino research assistants and the author interviewed hawkers during the 2007 field research. In order to assure the quality of the research, a guidance session was held so that the research assistants were able to understand the objectives of the study and how to conduct survey interviews. Also, the research assistants and I conducted a couple of survey interviews together as an On-the-Job Training before they move on their own.

Since I was not able to obtain a hawker's list which is usually the case in studies of the informal sector (Timothy and Wall 1997: 328), I did not use a random sampling technique in this study. Since some hawkers move around all the time, I was not able to find the exact number of hawkers in Rizal Park, too. Due to these constraints, I relied on purposive sampling techniques (Babbie 1994: 225) based on my knowledge of the population which I acquired through my previous research in 2006. I used the method of stratification in order to increase the representation of the sample. Although I was not able to sample the elements (hawkers) randomly, stratification improved the representation (Kalton 1983; Babbie 1994). In my previous research I identified that the location of stalls in case of unmovable hawkers is the potential factor which results in sales difference. Thus we conducted survey interviews to hawkers who operate under their stalls evenly in terms of space within the park. We did interview surveys to 40

2) Formal sector status of the hawkers in Rizal Park has been discussed in my previous papers.

hawkers. Usually, an interview took one to two hours. Interviews with some hawkers took about two hours due to respondents' willingness to share.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. General Profile of Hawkers in the Park

Hawkers in Rizal Park are predominantly female (70 %) and their educational level is low; 53 percent are below high school, 43 percent are high school graduates and only 4 percent have experienced college education which includes both dropout and graduation. The dominance of female workers is a typical configuration of the culture of poverty (Lewis 1965) in which women take a leading role to maintain family (e.g., Eguchi 2008: 119 for countries in the Caribbean Sea and Yamamoto 2006: 40 for Japan and Nepal). The average number of family is 4.9 with the minimum number of 2 and the maximum number of 11. Thus, all hawkers have family members. These results are different from the findings of a study conducted by Cukier and Wall (1994). They found out that hawkers in two resorts in Bali, Indonesia were predominantly young single males. This discrepancy can be explained as the result of regional patterns of the gender of migrants. As described below migrants constitute the majority of the hawkers in the park. In Africa and most of Asia, the greater part of rural-to-urban migrants are young males, however, in the Philippines, the majority are female (Thomas 1992:92). The difference also can be attributed partly to the exclusion of hawkers who sell foodstuffs in Cukier and Wall's research. However, the possibility that the characteristics of hawkers are location specific cannot be dismissed without further studies.

Most of the hawkers in this study (88 %) have houses that are either owned or rented. In the case of renting, on average they pay 1,455 pesos³⁾ a month. The rent ranged from 201 pesos to 3,000 pesos indicating that some of the houses are located in slum areas which may include squatter areas in Metro Manila. Only 12 percent of the hawkers do not have houses and therefore they live in the park. This data indicates that among hawkers there is a social hierarchy which is determined by residency status. The range of the rents indicates some hawkers live in squatters while oth-

3) One peso equaled 0.02 US dollars as of July 16, 2010.

ers live in better neighborhoods. Also, the presence of the homeless shows some of them are located in the lower rung of the society than squatter residents who are already regarded as the people in the bottom of the society (Aoki 2000: 287).

3.2. Types of Hawkers

In Rizal Park, there are three types of hawkers. The first type is stall hawkers who build a stall and sell goods. The location of the stalls is fixed. Therefore, in terms of sales approach, they are mostly passive as they just wait for customers to come. However, one hawker interviewed is aggressive by carrying foods and drinks to the customers. The stall type requires investment to build stalls but they can sell varieties of goods from fish boiled in broth, cooked rice, packaged snacks to bottled soft drinks. This is the most typical type of hawkers in the park. This type is also most visible in the park and they can be an attraction itself for tourists.

The second type is ambulant hawkers who sell goods by carrying a box. When they sell soft drinks, a cooler box with a shoulder strap is used. If the goods they sell are cigarettes, chewing gum and candy, they use a small and shallow wooden box. They do not stay in the same place; they roam around the park looking for customers, and they are aggressive in obtaining customers. This type has the easiest entry into the hawker business because it requires low level of capital. For example, if people want to start business without much capital, they can start it by buying three packs of cigarette and a bag of candy. He or she unwraps the cigarette packs and the bag of candy and sell them piece by piece. This is a retail technique called *tingi*⁴⁾ that is popular among small retailers such as sari-sari stores⁵⁾ in low-income communities. *Tingi* not only allow people with less capital to start business and leap large profits compared to the sale by package but also does it meet the needs of consumers who do not have enough money to buy goods as a whole or just do not want to carry them (Silverio 1975: 40).

The third type is toy and balloon hawkers. They use a cart to exhibit

4) We also have *takai* which sells goods by the volume. It is a retail technique to sell milk, butter, rice, etc.

5) A Sari-sari store is defined as a small scale enterprise with its value of less than 2,000 pesos (Nakanishi 1991: 150). It sells a variety of goods and provides space for social and information exchange.

toys and balloons and do not move so often. They usually stay in the same place. Compared to the two hawkers types above, the prices of toys and balloons are much higher and the number of hawkers is much smaller. The colorful toys and balloons attract customers and their presence gives off an aura of festivity.

3.3. Profiles of Hawkers by the Type

Hawkers attending the stalls are predominantly female (87 %) in contrast to the male dominant ambulant hawkers (88 % male) and toys and balloons hawkers' equal distribution of sex (50 % male and 50 % female). Being ambulant hawkers requires physical strength because they have to carry goods and move around in hot and rainy days. This is in contrast to stall hawkers who can sit and wait for customers under the roof that shuts out the beating sun and rain. Here, we see the impact of gender in the types of vending. In terms of education, stall hawkers have people with college education experience (7 %) while hawkers in the other types do not have people with college education experience.

Most of the stall hawkers (87 %) have houses that are either owned or rented. In case of renting, in average, they pay 1,505.94 pesos a month. On the other hand, 88 percent of the ambulant hawkers have houses. In case of renting, in average, they pay 1,250.00 pesos a month. Toy and balloon hawkers have their own houses. Looking at homelessness, 12 percent of the ambulant hawkers do not have houses and 13 percent of the stall hawkers do not have houses and therefore they live in the park. In case of stall hawkers, they sleep in the stall or spread cardboard next to the stall. Stalls are a very convenient place because they provide shelter when it rains. On the other hand, the ambulant hawkers who live in the park do not have secure places to sleep. When it rains they have to look to the roofs of buildings for shelter. This indicates that the stall hawkers and toy and balloon hawkers are relatively better off than the ambulant hawkers in terms of housing. No toy and balloon hawkers experience homelessness. When comparing the stall hawkers with the ambulant hawkers, the rate of homelessness is almost the same while the stall hawkers rent houses that are about 250 pesos higher than the houses that ambulant hawkers rent. Thus it is suggested that ambulant hawkers are the most disadvantaged position among the three types and it is evident through the nature of capital for operation and their housing situations.

Looking at the starting date of business, all the stall hawkers started to vend in Rizal Park by 2006, all the ambulant hawkers by 2005 and all the toy and balloon hawkers by 1987.

In literature on the informal sector, discussion on heterogeneity and differentiation is an important issue (Trager 1987: 239; Timothy and Wall 1997: 323). In the current study, the details of the types of hawkers in Rizal Park indicate heterogeneity and differentiation even within the hawkers in a rather small surrounded area. A wide range of activities and income levels are detected.

3.4. The Origin of the Hawkers - Rural-to-Urban Migration

The origin of the urban poor in the developing countries has been widely studied by demographers and sociologists. Now, there appears a basic agreement that the urban poor emerged in mega cities as a result of rural-to-urban migration. Causes of the migration pattern have also been studied and this too, there are some agreements on the causes. Niitsu (1989: 15-34) elaborated pull and push factors of rural-to-urban migration in the context of over-urbanization and the formation of slums in the developing countries. The pull factors are categorized into two types of motivations, economic motivations and non-economic motivations. Rural residents are motivated to move to cities by economic reasons. Due to the farmer's off season, they move to cities to earn money. Some people move to cities for more specific purposes to earn money such as cost for marriage and wedding or for purchasing durable goods (bicycles, radio, etc.). Some rural folks are pulled to the cities by more abstract reasons. They recognize income gap between cities and rural areas as well as the existence of diverse job opportunities in cities which make them think the possibility to improve their economic life. Rural residents are also motivated to move to cities by non-economic motivations. People move to cities to look for educational opportunities and success. Some people are asked to move to cities by relatives or friends. Marriage and conscription are also important reasons for migration. Some people move because they seek for freedom from traditional constraint. A unique pull factor is bright city lights. People are attracted to gorgeous city culture such as fashion, department store and movie theaters.

Push factors are also categorized into economic and non-economic motivations. In the economic motivations, people move to cities because they

have to leave villages or lose jobs due to famine. Increased rate of latent unemployment and increased demand for cash to maintain village life are also economic motivations to move to cities. Non-economic motivations include existence of norms which demand people to move to cities when villagers reach at a certain age. Some people have to leave because of their own deviant behaviors. Condemnation of land by the implementation of government projects also propels people into migration. War and religious and political oppression are also causes of rural-to-urban migration.

About the origin of Rizal Park hawkers, only 30 percent of them are born and raised in Metro Manila; 70 percent of them come from the provinces. Hawkers came to Manila from the provinces to look for opportunities that they think will make their life better. Although they are interrelated, analytically there are two push and four pull factors that made them move to Manila. The two push factors are disintegration of family and escape from poverty in the provinces. Divorce or separation from a husband makes a wife vulnerable to maintain life in the province. A 58 years old female respondent commented a reason to come to Manila that "It's a sad story. My husband and I got separated so I decided to come here in Manila." This factor is different from a push factor identified by Lauby and Stark (1988). In studying female rural-to-urban migrants, they found that many young females moved to Manila in order to meet the family needs by a means of remittances, etc. In their study female migrants work as professionals, managers, clerical workers, sales workers, farm workers, craft workers, service workers and domestic workers which indicate a wider range of female migration than the current study which focuses on the bottom of the social strata. This factor of disintegration of family is a part of the larger push factor of escape from poverty in the provinces. People move to Manila in order to get out of poverty in provinces. A 39 years old female respondent said:

"In my province, I lived a hard life with my children and I don't have a partner in life. Due to poverty, we came here in Manila to the help of my relatives. They say it's easy to live here, to earn money and to establish a family".

Here, the respondent mentioned the importance of relatives' auspices available when she moved to Manila. The existence of relatives and family

members in Manila is one of the determinant factors for migration intentions and behavior (De Jong, et al. 1983: 479). Also, another 30 years old male respondent remarked that “we have a poor living in the province. That’s why I tried my fate here in Manila.” Although their life in Manila is not easy, it is still better than living in the provinces. Their assessment is supported by aggregate data. When we look at regional poverty incidence by family in 1994, Metro Manila is only 8 percent compared to other regions which ranged from 25.2 percent to 60.0 percent (Balisacan and Fijisaki 1999: 69). Commonly, incomes and productivity are higher in mega cities than the rest of the areas (Daniels 2004:504).

There are four pull factors promoting migration to Manila. The first pull factor is an opportunity for education. A 52 years old female respondent stated that “when my aunt wanted to send me in school, she first brought me in Baguio. Then, afterwards, we went to Manila to continue my studies.” Another respondent (a 39 years old female) said:

“We had a poor living in the province and my parents couldn’t send me to school. In my eagerness to go back to school, I came here in Manila with my friend. I stayed with my relatives and I was able to study again as long as I get help in household chores”.

Those who aspire to study are attracted to Manila. The second pull factor is an opportunity to work. For rural people, urban centers especially Metro Manila are conceived to be prosperous and thus can offer a wide range of job opportunities (Antolihao 2004: 3). A 42 years old male respondent remarked that “there are more job opportunities here (Manila) than in the province.” Another male respondent (41 years old) said that “life in the province was so boring. I couldn’t land a job there. That’s why I tried my luck to come here in Manila to find a stable job.” Although it is hard to find stable jobs in Manila, they conceive it is easier to find jobs here than in the provinces. These two pull factors, an opportunity for education and an opportunity for work, have been identified in various rural-to-urban migration studies (De Jong, et.al. 1985-86; Lauby and Stark 1988; Rhonda 1983).

The third pull factor is an atmosphere of Manila as an attractive place. This factor is based on amorphous idea created by the accounts of migrants who preceded them. A 44 year old female respondent stated:

“I got curious because when someone had gone to Manila then went back to the province, they were like celebrities. They really tell stories about how good Manila is. So, I decided to come here and try my luck. Besides, it is really hard to find a job in the province”.

Another respondent (a 47 years old male) said that “I’m a runaway and many people said that Manila is beautiful. That’s why I decided to come here.” These hawkers’ decision to move to Manila was influenced by good images of Manila projected by antecedent migrants.

The fourth pull factor is an unfortunate one. Hawkers came to Manila by deception. A 56 years old male remarked: A friend of my brother recruited me to work abroad. He let me join him in Manila. Later on, I just discovered that he was an illegal recruiter. He even took away my belongings and money. Also, another respondent (a 59 years old male) commented:

“I tried my luck to work abroad but unfortunately, I became a victim of illegal recruiters twice already. I didn’t go back to Cebu anymore because I was ashamed of what happened here in Manila. My family sold our lots there so that I could have money to apply abroad. But because of what happened, I decided to stay here in Manila”.

This factor forced them to stay in Manila in order to recover money and overcome humiliation.

When compared these findings with Niitsu’s discussion introduced in the beginning of this section, we see most of the motivations to move to cities are the same. In pull factor, this research’s findings, an opportunity for education, an opportunity to work and an atmosphere of Manila are discussed by Niitsu as motivations to migrate. Only deception is different. Niitsu talks about a non-economic pull factor of invitation to cities by relatives or friends. Deception which emphasizes on the consequence could be considered as a form of the invitation. In push factor, this research’s finding, escape from poverty is described in more specific terms in Niitsu’s paper. It is described as desertion of villages and job loss due to famine and increased rate of latent unemployment. The other push factor identified in this study, disintegration of family is not included in Niitsu’s discussion. However, his listing of departure due to their own deviant behaviors could

be linked to it.

Looking at the origin of the migrants, one fourth of them (25 %) came from provinces in Luzon Island such as Batangas and Bulacan. Mindanao Island is the second popular source of migrants (12 %) followed by Negros Island (8 %), Samar Island (8 %) and Panay Island (5 %). About 50 percent of the migrants came to Manila before 1981 and by the year 2000, 97 percent of them had already been in Metro Manila. This indicates that they are a long term residents in Metro Manila. Looking at the starting date of vending, 76 percent of the hawkers started to enter the business before 1994. However, 74 percent of the hawkers started to vend in Rizal Park before 2001. There is a gap between the starting date of vending and the starting date of business in Rizal Park indicating that some hawkers in Rizal Park worked as hawkers somewhere else in Metro Manila before starting to vend in the park.

Hawkers in Rizal Park used to be typical workers in the informal sector, whose backgrounds are mostly rural-to-urban migrants. In general, the rural-to-urban migration process in the developing countries sends low educated and unskilled people to cities because where wealth and jobs are generated. However, these cities have a limited capacity to create enough formal sector jobs for their residents, not to mention to the migrants. So, these migrants become the urban poor and in order to survive, they have to enter the informal sector in the cities.

3.5. Customers and Product Variety of Stall Hawkers

3.5.1. Stall Hawkers' Customers

The main customers of stall hawkers in Rizal Park are Filipinos⁶. All the stall hawkers sell their products to Filipinos (See Table 1). However, not all stall hawkers have opportunities to sell their products to customers of other nationality. The most popular foreign customers are Koreans to whom 72 percent of the stall hawkers sell their products. It is followed by 55 percent of the stall hawkers who sell goods to Americans, 38 % to Japanese, 17 percent to Chinese, and 7 percent to Taiwanese.

6) An analysis of this section excludes one case because it is an outlier.

Table 1. Percentage of Stall Hawkers who Receive Customers Classified by Nationality

Nationality of Customers	Percent of Stall Hawkers whose customers are the nationality in the left column
Filipino	100
Korean	72
American	55
Japanese	38
Chinese	17
Taiwanese	7

The importance of Filipinos is also evident in sales. When we look at customer's contribution to the total sales in each stall in terms of nationality, Filipinos contribute 72-100 percent of the total sales in each stall (See Table 2). However, foreign customer's contribution to the total sales in each stall is not very significant. Koreans contribute 1-15 percent of the total sales in each stall. The other nationality's rate of contribution to the total sales are: Americans (3-15 %), Japanese (2-10 %), Chinese (3-10 %) and Taiwanese (5-9 %).

Table 2. Minimum and Maximum Percentages of Customer's Contribution to the Total Sales in Each Stall Classified by Nationality

Nationality of Customers	Minimum Percentage	Maximum Percentage
Filipino	72	100
Korean	1	15
American	3	15
Japanese	2	10
Chinese	3	10
Taiwanese	5	9

3.5.2. Product Variety of Stall Hawkers

Stall hawkers sell variety of goods to customers. An examination of products provides us an important clue to understand hawkers. Silverio's (1975) case study on sari-sari stores in Metro Manila shed light on the nature of small retail business in the informal sector. Although stalls and sari-sari stores are different especially whether it has a dwelling function or not, his study still provides us valuable information to understand stall hawkers. Here, I rely on his categorization of goods for analysis.

To understand sales products, he suggests three dichotomous product categories; food vs. non-food items, perishable vs. non-perishable items,

and essential vs. non-essential items. The distinction between food and non-food items is obviously whether they are edible or not. In a sari-sari store Silverio studied, 88 percent of the total daily sales came from food items and 12 percent was from non-food items. Perishable goods are merchandise that spoil or decay within 24 hours such as vegetables, fruits, dairy, fish, meat, bakery products while non-perishable goods can keep their shape for a period of time. They include both foods and non-foods items such as candies, peanuts, canned/package goods, cigarettes, medical products, stationeries, etc. In the same store, perishable goods consist of 62 percent of the total daily sales and non-perishable goods account for 38 percent. Both essential and non-essential items are food items. The former items are foods used as a part of regular family meal such as fruits, dairy products, fish, meat, rice, vegetable, etc. The latter items are foods that are not used in regular family meal such as soft drinks, candy, peanuts, etc. In the same store, essential items consist of 81 percent of the total daily sales and non-essential goods account for 8 percent. And about 11 percent of the sales are from non-food items.

Tables 3-8 below are the list of merchandise bought by customers classified by nationality (Filipino, Korean, American, Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese). Filipinos purchase 14 different kinds of products. In contrast, foreign customers buy a limited variety of goods (Koreans 6 kinds, Americans 3 kinds, Japanese 5 kinds, Chinese 3 kinds and Taiwanese 2 kinds).

Table 3. Percentage of Stall Hawkers who Sell to Filipinos by Types of Merchandise

Name of the Products	Percent of Hawkers who Sell the Product in the left column to Filipino
Soft Drinks	90
Junk Foods	76
Bottled Mineral Water	59
Cigarettes	52
Instant Coffee	41
Candy	41
Bread	24
Instant Noodles	17
Biscuits	7
Fruits	7
Cooked Rice	3
Cooked Foods (fish & meat)	3
Pancit (cooked Philippine noodles)	3
Cell Phone Loading	3

Table 4. Percentage of Stall Hawkers who Sell to Koreans by Types of Merchandise

Name of the Products	Percent of Hawkers who Sell the Product in the left column to Koreans
Bottled Mineral Water	72
Soft Drinks	24
Junk Foods	7
Buko Juice (Coconut Water)	7
Instant Noodles	3
Instant Coffee	3

Table 5. Percentage of Stall Hawkers who Sell to Americans by Types of Merchandise

Name of the Products	Percent of Hawkers who Sell the Product in the left column to Americans
Bottled Mineral Water	52
Soft Drinks	24
Cigarettes	7

Table 6. Percentage of Stall Hawkers who Sell to Japanese by Types of Merchandise

Name of the Products	Percent of Hawkers who Sell the Product in the left column to Japanese
Bottled Mineral Water	28
Soft Drinks	14
Buko Juice (Coconut Water)	7
Junk Foods	3
Instant Noodles	3

Table 7. Percentage of Stall Hawkers who Sell to Chinese by Types of Merchandise

Name of the Products	Percent of Hawkers who Sell the Product in the left column to Chinese
Bottled Mineral Water	17
Junk Foods	7
Candy	3

Table 8. Percentage of Stall Hawkers who Sell to Taiwanese by Types of Merchandise

Name of the Products	Percent of Hawkers who Sell the Product in the left column to Taiwanese
Bottled Mineral Water	7
Junk Foods	3

In terms of food and non-food distinction, only one item, cell phone loading is non-food item which is sold to only Filipino. While sari-sari stores carry popular non-food items such as toilet articles and detergents, stall hawkers do not carry them because their customers are mainly tour-

ists.

As for perishable and non-perishable distinction, perishable foods are popular among Filipinos. They purchase bread, biscuits, fruits, cooked rice, cooked foods (fish and meat) and *panict* (cooked Philippine noodles). Bread is the most popular perishable item which 24 percent of the stall hawkers sell to Filipino. Koreans and Japanese purchase *buko* juice (coconut water), only perishable item purchased by foreign customers. American, Chinese and Taiwanese customers do not buy any perishable items. Non-perishable items are more popular than perishable items among all customers regardless of nationality. Non-perishable items include soft drinks, junk foods, bottled mineral water, cigarettes, instant coffee, candy, instant noodles and cell phone loading. Ninety percent of the stall hawkers who sell to Filipino carry soft drinks followed by junk foods (76 %) and mineral water (59 %). However, mineral water is the number one item for all foreign customers (Koreans, Americans, Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese). They try to avoid perishable foods thus they are careful about sanitation.

In essential and non-essential food item distinction, Filipino customers purchase essential foods items such as fruits, cooked rice, cooked foods (fish and meat), *pancit*, and instant noodles. On the other hand, among foreign customers, Koreans and Japanese buy one essential item, instant noodles. Although it is not very popular compared to non-essential item, the consumption of essential items by Filipino suggests that some Filipino rely on the stall hawkers for their nutrient.

4. CONCLUSION

This study described profiles of hawkers who operate their business in Rizal Park in Manila. This group of hawkers is unique in a sense that they belong to both the informal and formal sectors. The conceptualization and analysis on both the informal and formal sectors in actual settings have been carried out widely. One finding of this study that 70 percent of the hawkers are female suggests that the existence of the formal sector characteristics provides hawkers a sense of security. In this study it was found that there are basically three types of hawkers whose income and housing situations differ. Even among stall hawkers, goods they carry and income differed. Differentiation and heterogeneity in hawkers were described in

this paper in detail and it contributed to the discussion. When we look at the origin of hawkers, 70 percent of them came from provinces. The motivations of the hawkers' migration to Manila mostly confirmed push and pull factors of rural-to-urban migration identified in previous studies. Thirty percent of hawkers who are born and raised in Manila may indicate poverty has been succeeded by the younger generation. The issue of succession will be important topic for further research. In terms of hawkers business, Filipinos are the most important customers who purchase wider variety of merchandise than foreign tourists. Foreign tourists buy only limited products of non-perishable foods except for *buko* juice that are purchased by Korean and Japanese customers. This fact suggests that in order to expand business to foreign tourists, it is necessary for hawkers to understand the foreign tourists' preference of goods and the background of the choices.

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