

Hanoi's Youth Itinerant Vendors: An Investigation of Vending Practices, Strategies, and Experiences in a Socialist State

By

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ABSTRACT

Since the implementation of *Đổi Mới* reforms in 1986 Hanoi, the political capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, has undergone drastic social, urban, and economic transformations. Determined to become a 'global' and 'modern' city, Hanoi's municipal government has since implemented a number of policies that aim to restrict informal activities within the city's public spaces. One such policy is a 2008 decree restricting street vending that has resulted in acute impacts on the city's migrant street vendors. While previous research exists on Hanoi's street vendors, none focuses on youth, the fastest growing demographic cohort in the city. As such, this research aims to investigate the decision making processes of young migrant street vendors (16-30) regarding why and how they undertake vending livelihoods in Hanoi, how they navigate the regulations of the street vending ban, and how they cope with the treatment they receive from local residents.

Key Words: everyday politics, Hanoi, livelihoods, mobilities, street vending, public space

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Hanoi, the political capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, is located in the north of the country in the Red River Delta. With a population of more than 7.7 million (Tran Huong 2018), Hanoi is Vietnam's second largest urban agglomeration after Ho Chi Minh City (Labbé 2013). In late 2010 Hanoi celebrated its 1000th year anniversary, a momentous occasion which recognized the dynamic historical narrative of the city (Drummond 2012). Hanoi's rich history has profoundly shaped its character through Chinese occupation, French colonization, the First Indochina War, the development of relations with the Soviet Union, a strict subsidy era, and the Second Indochina War (also known as the Vietnam-US War) (Van Horen 2005). Hanoi's most recent chapter of development began in 1986 when the state implemented *Đổi Mới* ('economic renovation') reforms that aimed to transition Vietnam to a market economy and to facilitate the country's entrance into the world trade economy (Geertman and Le Quynh 2010). The 2010 thousand-year milestone was therefore also seen as an occasion to highlight the city's rapidly increasing orientation towards modernity and its trajectory to becoming a global city (Karis 2017).

Leading up to its millennial anniversary, Hanoi's municipal government launched several campaigns and policies aimed at guiding the city along a path of "'urban modernization' (*hiện đại hóa* and 'urban civilization' (*văn minh đô thị*)" (Gibert and Segard 2015: 7). Such an agenda signified the increasing adoption of urban modernity and ideological modernity as core goals (Gibert and Segard 2015, Karis 2017). Most drastically, in 2008 the Prime Minister decided to triple the area of the city by incorporating six neighbouring provinces into its administrative control (see Map 1.1; Leducq and Scarwell 2018). Finally, and most notably for the purpose of this thesis, in 2008 Hanoi's municipal government announced a ban on street vending in 63 streets and 48 public spaces (Eidse 2017). This ban positions street vendors as "backward, inefficient and detrimental to national development schemes" and thus seeks to eliminate their presence (Cross 2000:40, see also: Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016, Eidse and Turner 2017, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). It is therefore no surprise that this ban has had significant negative implications on the ability of the 11,000 vendors in Hanoi to secure their livelihoods (Eidse 2017, Turner and Schoenberger 2012).



Map 1.1: Map of 2008 perimeter extension of Hanoi (Leducq and Scarwell 2018: 71).

That being said, the street vending ban has not been experienced uniformly across the city’s community of street vendors. Significantly, its implementation disproportionately affects the city’s itinerant vendors that are overwhelmingly poor, rural-to-urban migrants from the city’s peri-urban areas (Jensen and Peppard 2003, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Fixed stall traders who are largely long-term Hanoi residents are able to bypass the repercussions of the ban by leveraging their social capital, their financial capital, and their “perceived right to the city’s streetscapes” (Eidse 2017: 42). Such fixed stall vendors pay informal ‘fees’ to ward officials on a monthly basis to maintain their access to the city’s streets (Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Itinerant vendors not only face fines and retribution from the city’s ward police, but are also commonly marginalized by long-term Hanoi residents that see them as ‘backwards’ and ‘unmodern’ (Turner and Schoenberger 2012).

Previous ethnographic research has established that Hanoi’s itinerant vendors do not simply comply with all aspects of the vending ban but draw on everyday resistance tactics in order to navigate and resist, and to continue to sell (Eidse and Turner 2017, Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016, Eidse 2017, Koh 2007). However what is not yet known is whether *youth*¹ street

¹ In Vietnam the category of youth is defined as those between the ages of 15 and 30, a category which accounts for over 30 percent of the country’s population (Drummond and Nguyen 2009, General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2009a).

² As of 2009, Hanoi was divided into 154 wards; wards are a third-tier type subdivision in Vietnam (General

vendors adopt specific strategies. Given that Vietnam's current demographic cohort of youth is the largest in its history, this is a significant gap that this thesis will attempt to fill (OECD Development Centre 2017).

1.1.1 Thesis aim and research questions

Given this context, the **aim** of my research is: **to investigate the decision making process of young migrant street vendors (16-30) regarding why and how they undertake vending livelihoods in Hanoi, how they navigate the regulations of the street vending ban, and how they cope with the treatment their receive from local residents.**

In order to approach this aim, my thesis is guided by *four main research questions*:

- 1. Who are the young migrant itinerant vendors trading in Hanoi, what are the reasons that lead them to take up vending, and how do they get established in this livelihood?** To approach this question I analyze the composition of youth itinerant vendors, the factors that drive them to take up vending careers, and whether they draw on social networks to become established as vendors.
- 2. What urban spaces do youth migrant street vendors utilize in Hanoi, how do they use them, and why?** I address this question by examining the spaces that young vendors frequent for work and for leisure and which spaces they avoid.
- 3. How do state officials and long-term Hanoi residents treat itinerant youth street vendors?** Here I inquire into the nature of the treatment of itinerant vendors by residents and ward police. I also investigate whether this treatment differs according to the gender or age of the vendors.
- 4. What mechanisms do youth itinerant street vendors draw on to cope with their treatment by state officials and long-time Hanoi residents?** To answer this question I consider whether the vendors draw on specific coping mechanisms or resistance tactics to navigate their treatment by state officials and Hanoi residents.

1.2 CONTEXT

In this section I situate my research aim by contextualizing my study within the rapidly changing capital city of Hanoi and by providing background information on the city's street vendors.

1.2.1 Modernization and urban development in Hanoi

The adoption of the *Đổi Mới* ('renovation') reforms in 1986 coincided with the beginning of Hanoi's urban transition (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010, Geertman and le Quynh Chi 2010). Although market mechanisms have far from "supplanted" socialist policies and politics (Labbé and Musil 2014: 1147), the Vietnamese state has partially relinquished its control over resource allocation and economic activity (Labbé and Musil 2014). In turn, this has allowed for increased involvement of the private sector in sectors that were previously the exclusive domain of the government such as in the service sector and the real estate market (Leducq and Scarwell 2018). Most notably, this shift has greatly facilitated the state's goal of transforming Vietnam from an agrarian society into an industrialized one (Labbé and Musil 2014, Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010). Indeed, while the urban development of Hanoi and its surrounding areas was nearly at a standstill from 1954-1986 (Labbé 2013, Labbé 2016), the liberalization of the market economy has enabled unprecedented rates of urban development to be achieved since then (Geertman and Le Quynh Chi 2010, Leducq and Scarwell 2018).

Labbé (2013: 99) suggests that this urban development in Hanoi can be divided into four main trends: densification and infilling of central urban areas, the development of peri-urban areas, the construction of satellite cities, and the "administrative reclassification" of rural areas as urban areas. Since the 1990s, urban development projects have included the construction of industrial parks and clusters, dozens of skyscrapers, hundreds of real estate projects, several new urbanized zones, gated communities, and numerous shopping centers and malls (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010, Drummond 2012, Leducq and Scarwell 2018). In more recent years, such projects have largely being driven by the 'Hanoi Capital Construction Master Plan to 2030 and Vision to 2050' which was declared in 2011 (PPJ 2011). This plan aims to promote modernization and urbanization on both "urban and ideological perspectives" through drastic urban interventions and infrastructure projects (Gibert and Segard 2015: 7; see also: Karis 2017). As noted by Labbé and Musil (2014: 1147), "land conversions and redevelopments" have been felt "intensely" in the peri-urban areas that surround Hanoi. Here the state has exercised its authoritarian powers in order to expropriate hundreds of thousands of hectares of land from peasants in order to serve urban and industrial functions (Labbé and Musil 2014, Labbé 2016, DiGregorio 2011, Gibert and Segard 2015). Hundreds of farmers have lost their land and large

populations have been displaced, with such transformations resulting in high levels of social inequality (Gibert and Segard 2015, Labbé 2016, Albrecht, Hocquard and Papin 2010).

1.2.2 Rural-to-urban migration

Although the *Đổi Mới* reforms successfully diversified and expanded the country's industries, this growth also served to magnify wealth differentials between urban and rural areas (Jensen and Peppard 2003, Resurreccion and Ha Thi Van Khanh 2006). Consequently, when the government relaxed its restrictions on internal migration in 1986, many rural inhabitants sought out job opportunities in the city's industrial areas (Jensen and Peppard 2003, Resurreccion and Ha Thi Van Khanh 2006, Nguyen *et al.* 2012). Since the 1990s, rural-to-urban migration has increased rapidly and consistently, and is expected to continue to do so (Nguyen *et al.* 2012, Vu Thi Thao). From 1995 to 2005 there was a twofold increase in the number of migrants to Hanoi (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010). Furthermore, the proportion of the population living in urban areas in Vietnam is projected to rise from 22 percent in 1999, to 45 percent by 2020 (DiGregorio 2011).

Rural-to-urban migration is typically undertaken in Vietnam as a strategy of livelihood diversification (Nguyen *et al.* 2012, Vu Thi Thao). For example, fiscal pressure caused by land dispossession, the scarcity of non-agricultural jobs in the countryside, sick animals, and unexpected crop failures are all factors that may lead families to migrate to Hanoi for employment opportunities (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010, Nguyen *et al.* 2012). Consequently, many migrants do not move to Hanoi permanently but rather engage in daily or seasonal circular migration to bolster their families' incomes (Jensen and Peppard 2003, Resurreccion and Ha Thi Van Khanh 2006). Such migrants maintain social and financial connections with their families and communities at home through sending remittances and relying on social networks of migrants in the city; Resurreccion (2005: 34) describes this phenomenon as being in a state of "in between". Notably, the number of female migrants to Hanoi has greatly increased and outnumbered male migrants in recent decades (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010).

1.2.3 Itinerant street vendors

As mentioned above, Hanoi's itinerant street vendors are predominantly rural-to-urban migrants from nearby peri-urban areas and are overwhelmingly female (Jensen and Peppard 2003, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Although the majority of these migrants take up vending careers due to a lack of other livelihood options, the state sees their traditional trade as incompatible with state discourses and visions of modernity (Koh 2007, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Indeed, campaigns to modernize Hanoi entail at once a "modernization of Hanoi's built environment as well as the modernization of citizens' behaviours" (Karis 2017: 666).

In order to advance their modernization agenda, in 1984 the government decreed that "pavements were for walking on" (Koh 2007: 148). However, far from a solution to their 'problem' this catalyzed a decade of campaigns and policies aimed at eliminating vendors from Hanoi's sidewalks (Koh 2007). The main campaigns were announced in 1986, 1991, and 1995 and increased in terms of their intensity and repercussions for the vendors (Koh 2007). It is following from this history that the Prime Minister decided to implement the drastic 2008 street vending ban (Eidse 2017). This ban is enforced at the level of the ward² by *Công An*, or Ward Police, who have the ability to fine the vendors (Turner and Schoenberger 2012).

1.2.4 Public spaces in Hanoi

The character and quality of public spaces in Hanoi have been greatly influenced by the country's socialist political stance, the government's modernization agenda, and since 1986, the increasing power of the private sector due to *Đổi Mới* reforms (Drummond 2012, Kurfürst 2012).

In Hanoi, there is a long history of residents adopting "inside-out" activities in the city's 'public spaces' (Drummond 2000: 2378). In other words, Hanoi residents regularly transgress what has been seen in Western literature as the public/private divide by encroaching on public space for a variety of domestic activities (Drummond 2000). It is commonplace to see families cooking, eating, and washing on the city's sidewalks (Drummond 2000). Similarly, as discussed above, thousands of migrants and residents appropriate the streets for their informal commercial activities on a daily basis (Manfredini and Anh Dung Ta 2017). As part of Hanoi's campaign to modernize the city, the government has sought to eliminate the presence of all informal, 'un-

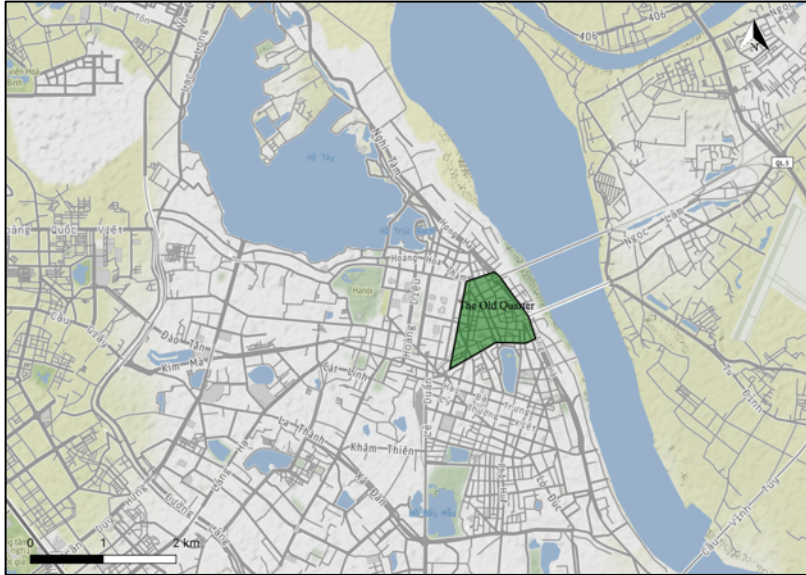
² As of 2009, Hanoi was divided into 154 wards; wards are a third-tier type subdivision in Vietnam (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2009b).

modern' people and activities from the city's sidewalks, such as through the 2008 ban on street vending (Kurfürst 2012, Manfredini and Anh Dung Ta 2017).

Hanoi's urban environment combines extremely high rates of density with a very small amount of public space (Geertman, Labbé, Boudreau 2016). Currently, the scarce public spaces that do exist are at risk of being commercialized and privatized (Drummond 2000, Kurfürst 2012). *Đổi Mới* reforms greatly empowered the private sector and its ability to transform public spaces into places of leisure and consumption (Drummond and Nguyen 2009). This transition is highly antagonistic to the argument that public space should be universally accessible (Mandanipour 1999) as it directly excludes low-income populations (Drummond and Nguyen 2009). In this way the interests of the middle class are coming to dominate the public spaces in Hanoi (Drummond 2012). It is therefore my intention to understand how youth itinerant vendors relate to Hanoi's public spaces³.

I have chosen the Old Quarter as my primary study site for this research. Located to the North of Hoàn Kiếm Lake, the Old Quarter is not only the "historical heart" of the city, but has been home to small entrepreneurs since the 13th Century (see Map 1.2; Turner 2009: 1204, see also: Waibel 2004). Today the area is known for its high concentration of enterprises that cater both to its international tourists and to its local population. With non-stop traffic streaming through its narrow streets, sidewalks overtaken with the goods of shops and stalls, and tourists, locals, and vendors traversing its network of sidewalks, the area has variously been described as lively or chaotic.

³ The notion of public space is highly ambiguous in Vietnam and lacks a commonly used, direct-translation. In this thesis I adopt a definition of public space that includes pavements, roads, public gardens, parks, and squares (areas thought taken to be public in the Western sense) (Boudreau *et al.* 2015), as well as leisure and consumption spaces such as waterparks, internet cafés, food stalls, museums, restaurants, and religious spaces (Drummond and Nguyen 2009).



Map 1.2: The Old Quarter, Hanoi (Author)

1.3 THESIS LAYOUT

Following on from this introduction in which I have set the contextual scene, in Chapter 2 I develop the conceptual framework that I draw on throughout my thesis. Specifically, this framework is informed by literature on livelihoods, mobilities and everyday politics (See Figure 2). Chapter 3 is then devoted to outlining the methodology I followed for my thesis, including the research methods I utilized in the field, the coding approaches I adopted during the analysis phase, the strategies I used to navigate concerns over ethics, and the role of my positionality throughout the project. In the three subsequent chapters (Chapters 4-6), I address my first three research questions and present my key findings. Finally, in Chapter 6 I address my fourth and final research question and summarize my key research findings.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I develop a conceptual framework that provides the theoretical underpinnings of my investigation of why and how youth migrants street vendors undertake vending livelihoods in Hanoi, and how they cope with their treatment by local residents (Figure 2.1). First, I review livelihoods literature in order to inform my discussion of how and why youth migrants take up vending careers in Hanoi. Second, I draw on mobilities literature in order to provide insight into the nature of youth migrant vendors' access to and experience of mobility within Hanoi. Finally, I provide an overview of the key works from everyday politics literature to provide the conceptual foundation for my investigation of how youth migrant street vendors navigate the street vending ban and how they cope with the marginalization they face from Hanoi residents.

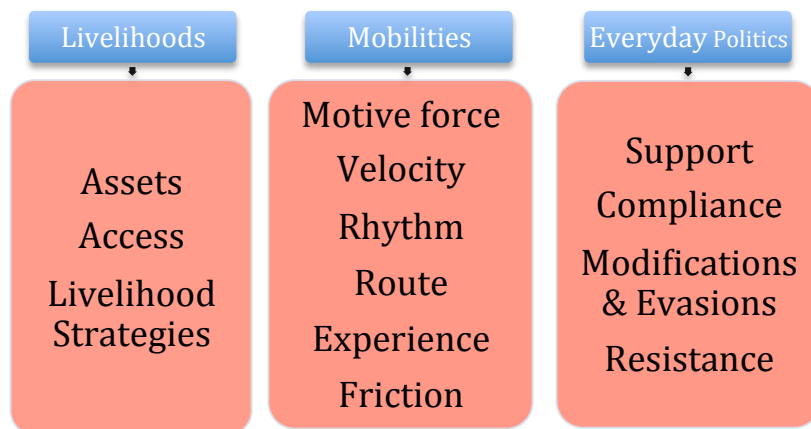


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework Key Ideas

2.2 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

Although a livelihood can be defined as the means by which people make or gain a living (Chambers & Conway 1992, Ellis 2000), it is important to note that this is broader in scope than “achieving an income” (Staples 2007: 13). Instead, livelihoods should be thought of as “the assets, the activities and the access that determine the living gained by the individual or household” (Ellis 2000: 27). Further, a livelihood is considered sustainable if it can be socially and environmentally supported and reproduced for “future generations” (Chambers and Conway 1992: i).

The Institute of Development Studies (IDS) has advanced a framework for providing comprehensive accounts of livelihoods that are sensitive to historical, political, cultural and socio-economic context (Chambers and Conway 1992). This framework can be broken down into the *assets* individuals draw on to secure their livelihoods, the methods they utilize to *access* them, and the *livelihood strategies* they turn to in times of shock or stress (Rakodi and Lloyd-Hones 2002, Scoones 2009). It is important to note that the household is typically taken to be the most appropriate unit of analysis in livelihood studies (Chambers & Conway 1992, Ellis 2000, Rakodi and Lloyd-Hones 2002). Significantly, the household is able to capture important “social and economic interdependencies” that may be lost at larger scales such as of the community or the region (Ellis 2000: 18).

The first element of the IDS livelihood framework consists of the assets both “material or non-material” that can be “stored, accumulated [or] exchanged” in pursuit of a livelihood outcome (Rakodi and Lloyd-Hones 2002: 10). Livelihood scholars commonly identify five of such assets or capitals: natural, physical, financial, human and social (Rakodi and Lloyd-Hones 2002, Scoones 2009). In terms of some basic definitions, natural capital consists of natural resources, either renewable or otherwise that can be drawn upon to sustain a livelihood, while physical capital entails that with a use-value, and which humans have constructed (Ellis 2000). Financial capital can include cash, credit, remittances, wages, and savings or other goods that can be sold in exchange for their monetary worth (Rakodi and Lloyd-Hones 2002). Human capital derives its value from the skills and abilities of humans; this may include their knowledge base, their physical abilities, and their health (Scoones 2009). Finally, social capital, although a more contested term, refers to “the social networks and associations in which people participate, and from which they can derive support that contributes to their livelihoods” (Ellis 2000: 8).

Contrary to the other four forms of capital, the value of social capital does not lie with a single actor, but results from the investment in, and creation of, the social relations that they form with others (Adler and Kwon 2002, Berry 1989, PRI 2003). There are three forms of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking (Adler and Kwon 2002, PRI 2003). While bonding refers to the forms of social capital that result from relations formed within homogenous groups, bridging entails the social networks that form between individuals or groups in different social positions (PRI 2003). Finally, linking social capital takes bridging a step further to cut across different levels of status or income. (Rakodi and Lloyd-Hones 2002, Turner 2017).

The second component of the livelihoods framework addresses the concern of access. Scholars have identified three mechanisms that mediate a household's ability to exploit the forms of capital contained in their livelihood portfolio, namely: social relations, institutions, and organizations (Scoones 1998, Ellis 2000). First, social relations refer to the power dynamics created due to the intersection of various social positions including gender, ethnicity, race, class, and religion (Ellis 2000). Second, institutions govern society's practices and behaviours by establishing norms and regulations (Ellis 2000). Finally, organizations, either governmental or non-governmental, are "organized around a common set of objectives" (Turner 2017: 5). Overall it is these three mechanisms that have the power to either inhibit or enable an individual or a household to access their assets.

In order to be considered a sustainable form of livelihood, households must adopt various livelihood strategies to respond to stresses and shocks, whether they are gradual and long-term, seasonal, or sudden (Chambers & Conway 1992, Rakodi and Lloyd-Hones 2002). Scoones (1998) has identified three main categories of strategies, namely: agricultural intensification or extensification, livelihood diversification, and migration. The first strategy involves a modified agriculture-oriented livelihood, either through gaining a greater output from existing land, or bringing additional land under cultivation (Ellis 2000, Scoones 1998). Diversification entails broadening a household's livelihood portfolio, often away from a focus on agriculture (Ellis 2000, Scoones 2009, Turner 2017). Finally, Rigg (2007: 128) suggests: "many individuals engage in migration for reasons that begin – and often end – as responses to livelihood threats, inadequacies or opportunities". He further adds that the migration may be part of a "wider household livelihood 'strategy'" (Rigg 2007: 124). The collection of strategies households or individuals draw on comprises their livelihood portfolio (Ellis 2000). In this thesis I draw upon the livelihoods literature in order to understand the personal reasons that lead young migrant street vendors to take up vending in Hanoi. I also focus on how they access the resources and skillsets they need to begin and continue vending.

2.3 MOBILITY STUDIES

Mobility, as an interdisciplinary subject of study, is a relatively new focus in the social sciences (Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016). It has arisen out of what has been declared "the 'new mobilities' paradigm" (Sheller and Urry 2006: 208) as a response to the failures of social

scientists to adequately explain and analyze the movement of “people, objects, information and ideas”(Urry 2007: 43). It is important to note that many sub-disciplines such as feminist geography, migration studies, and transportation geography have, to varying degrees, taken movement, displacement, and mobility into consideration (Cresswell 2006, Cresswell 2011). That being said, the mobility turn marked the beginning of more comprehensive attempts to understand “the entanglement of movement, representation, and practice” (Cresswell 2010: 19). Indeed, scholarship within the new mobilities paradigm is sensitive to the ways meaning is ascribed to movement, and how mobility occurs within complex dynamics of “politics, power, and ideology” (Cresswell 2006: 55).

Important to discussions of mobility are understandings of how mobility and immobility are differentially accessed, experienced, and embodied (Binnie *et al.* 2007, Cresswell 2010, Oswin 2014). Indeed, McCann (2011: 121) states: “mobility is stratified and conditioned by access to resources and by one’s identity”. It is therefore important to take into account social identities such as “race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, nationality, [and] age” (Oswin 2014: 85) in order to understand the restrictions placed on different bodies (Binnie *et al.* 2007). For instance, Clarsen (2014) and Hanson (2010) have argued that the “ubiquitous” (Clarsen 2014: 96) and “inseparable” (Hanson 2010: 6) relationship between gender and mobility has led to differential access to mobility for men and women.

If a critical mobilities scholarship is to be developed, attention must be paid to a wide range of forms and scales of movement (Binnie *et al.* 2007, Cresswell 2010, Cresswell 2011). For instance, in order to complement the increasing amounts of research being devoted to the study of ‘21st century forms of movement’ such as driving, air travel, and virtual mobility (Cresswell 2010), “banal or mundane mobilities” should be given proportionally more attention (Binnie *et al.* 2007: 165). These refer to forms of movement that are essential to our lives such as walking or climbing, and consequently important for understanding power relations and the way that meaning is ascribed to places (Binnie *et al.* 2007). Further, it is essential that a range of scales be considered that extend from the scale of the body, to the magnitude of the globe (Cresswell 2010, Cresswell 2011).

Cresswell (2010: 17) has advanced a framework for understanding “the politics of mobility” that is sensitive to social relations, scale, and form. His approach identifies six aspects of mobility as contributing to differential experiences of mobility; namely, “motive force,

velocity, rhythm, route, experience, and friction” (Cresswell 2010: 17). Cresswell suggests that each of the six forms of mobility contribute to the production of “mobile hierarchies and the politics of mobility” and that through their analysis one might start to determine how “mobility becomes political” (Cresswell 2010: 22). In the context of my research, the mobilities literature provides a comprehensive set of concepts for understanding the experience of migrant, lower-income street vendors as they move through public spaces for work and for leisure.

2.4 EVERYDAY POLITICS

Finally, I examine the seminal works of everyday politics scholarship in order to complete my conceptual framework. According to Kerkvliet (2009), everyday politics is distinct from official and advocacy politics due to its informal nature and lack of organization. Indeed, everyday politics involves “ordinary people” (Boyte 2005: xiii) engaging in actions that they “do not regard . . . as political” (Kerkvliet 2009: 232). Such actions may consist of “people embracing, complying with, adjusting, and contesting norms and rules regarding authority” (Kerkvliet 2009: 232). Along similar lines, Scott (1990:198) argues that while the realm of formal politics may belong to elites, “infrapolitics” refers to “a wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance”. Once again, infrapolitics involves “no formal coordination” and no “formal organization”; it is the political realm of subordinate groups and non-elites (Scott 1989: 6, see also Scott 1990).

Scott provides two useful terms for investigating and describing the political struggles of subordinate groups. First, the *public transcript* refers to the “open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate” (Scott 1990: 2). It describes the way that subordinates will modify their behaviours and discourses to align with the “hegemony of dominant values” when interacting with elites (*ibid*: 4). Second, the *hidden transcript* consists of “those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript” (Scott 1990: 4-5). By uncovering the points of divergence between the hidden and public transcript, Scott suggests that it is possible to uncover the “impact of domination on public discourses” (*ibid* 1990: 5).

Although Scott’s work has been highly influential within the field of peasant studies, it has also been widely critiqued. Moore (1998) suggests that a limitation of Scott’s model is his failure to consider how subjects may be “embedded within cross-cutting matrixes of power” that extend beyond class. Consequently, the fixed categories of the subaltern and the dominant are

seen as overly simplistic (Moore 1998). Further, Moore (1998: 351) argues that the binary of “on-stage/offstage” fails to consider “the politics of place” (*ibid*: 347). By this he means that analyses of power should be sensitive to the way that localities are not “fixed backdrops” but rather the product of cultural norms, practices, and politics (*ibid*: 347). Similarly, Ghosh (2007: 6) argues that Scott’s framework should be amended to account for the “multiplicity of power relations” that stem from different social positions including gender, class, and caste. In addition, she suggests that research on power relations should consider the ways that subordinated subjects might be complicit in “their own domination” (Ghosh 2007: 6).

Johansson and Vinthagen’s (2016) framework of everyday resistance builds on Scott’s work and incorporates many of its critiques. Indeed, their model recognizes that everyday resistance is the product of a specific spatiality, temporality and context, and that it must be analyzed through an intersectional approach to power. This model recognizes that the “relationship between dominant and subalterns” is constantly subject to negotiation, and that resistance always exists in opposition to power (Johansson and Vinthagen 2016: 424). For the purposes of my research, a framework of everyday politics is essential for understanding how street vendors negotiate and respond to the street-vending ban and their treatment by Hanoi residents. An intersectional approach is key to this analysis in order to account for how age and gender affect the subjugation of vendors.

2.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK CONCLUSION

Within this chapter I developed the conceptual framework that I draw on to complete my investigation of youth migrant street vendors in Hanoi. This framework is informed by livelihoods literature, mobility studies scholarship, and the conceptual underpinnings of everyday politics. First, my review of sustainable livelihoods literature illuminated that individuals and households draw on a number of context specific assets, activities, and livelihoods strategies to sustain their livelihoods. Second, my survey of mobility studies literature concluded that mobility must be analyzed through an intersectional approach that is sensitive to scale, form, and power dynamics. Finally, everyday politics completed my conceptual framework by revealing how subordinate groups may negotiate power relations through acts of support, compliance, modifications and evasions, and resistance (Kerkvliet 2009).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to address my aim and research questions, I carried out six weeks of fieldwork in Hanoi during summer 2018. In this chapter I first outline the research methods I used during fieldwork before explaining how I analyzed the data they produced. Next, I discuss the role of ethics in my research project and finish with a critical discussion of my positionality.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODS

The investigation of my research aim was guided by three complementary qualitative methods, namely semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and walk-along interviews. In this section I provide an overview of the purpose and praxis of these three methods. The data collection process was greatly facilitated by my research assistants, Hạnh and Kiều Anh, who performed the essential tasks of interpretation and research assistance.

3.2.1 Defining the methods

Semi-structured interviews were the primary method by which I collected data in the field. This style of interview is recognized for its ability to gain access to participants' opinions, perceptions, experiences, emotions and behaviours (Carpiano 2009, Dunn 2016, Valentine 2005). In total, I conducted 35 semi-structured interviews that lasted between 30 minutes and one hour. An interview guide comprised of themes to be covered guided each of these interviews (Dunn 2016).

I then used go-along interviews in order to gain first-hand information on the vending routines and practices of participants, as well as how they interact with ward police and residents (Bell *et al.* 2015, Kusenbach 2003). The go-along is a form of in-depth qualitative interview premised on the goal of accessing "the lived experiences of place" (Bell *et al.*, 2014: 90). For my project, these interviews took the form of both 'walk-alongs', whereby I walked or stood alongside the participant (see Figure 3.1), and 'ride-alongs', whereby I followed the street vendor on a motorbike as they cycled or motorbiked to their next location (Carpiano 2009, Kusenbach 2003). The go-along interview allowed me to simultaneously ask questions and observe the vendor as they carried out their daily routines within their natural context (Bell *et al.* 2015, Carpiano 2009, Kusenbach 2003).



Figure 3.1: Walk-along with Thao (Author)

I completed four go-along interviews that lasted between four and eleven hours. To begin these interviews, I met the vendors between 3:30 and 5:00 in the morning at either Quảng Bá or Long Biên markets, depending on the products they were purchasing that day. The interviews followed an ‘open-ended’ format whereby the participants were given no directions with regards to what route to follow (Bell *et al.* 2015, Carpiano 2009). This was done in an attempt to minimize the influence of my presence on the nature of the data collected (Bergeron, Paquette, and Poullaouec-Gonidec 2014). With the vendor’s permission I mapped their route throughout the city using the smartphone application *Strava*. This allowed me to contextualize the interview data I collected, increase my understanding of the influence of place on the participants’ experiences, and create narrative maps (see Chapter 7; Bergeron *et al.* 2014, Evans and Jones 2011).

Finally, I utilized overt participant observation in order to produce complementary data on the ways youth migrant street vendors interact with customers, police, and Hanoi residents. The goal of overt participant observation is to observe the mundane and the out of the ordinary behaviours of individuals in order to learn about the meanings and intentions of their actions (Kitchin and Tate 2000, McMorran 2012). This method offers insight into how specific contexts shape the sociocultural practices that take place within them (Eramian 2018, Kearns 2016, Laurier 2010).

Although I allocated some blocks of time to observe vendors from café windows, benches, and doorsteps throughout the Old Quarter, the act of participant observation was on-going and in reality did not follow a fixed schedule. I gathered most of my participant observation data when moving through markets searching for participants.

3.2.2 Sampling and recruitment

I drew on purposive, non-probability sampling to select participants for semi-structured interviews and go-alongs (Cammack *et al.* 2011, Gupta *et al.* 2014, Hemming 2008, Morrice 2013, Rice 2010). Purposive sampling refers to selecting participants based on their characteristics including age, gender, social class, employment type and sexuality (Burgess 2005). Non-probability sampling is commonly used within qualitative geography and entails any method of selecting participants that does “not rely on chance draw, but on researcher’s judgement” (Wellington & Szczerbinski 2007: 50). This sampling technique allowed me to capture the perceptions of the specific group of youth, migrant street vendors.

My recruitment strategy for semi-structured interviews and go-alongs consisted of three main methods, namely cold-calling, snowball sampling, and appealing to gatekeepers. First, I relied heavily on cold calling (Hubbard 1999, Morrice 2013) whereby I asked street vendors I encountered “if they would be prepared to be interviewed” (Longhurst 2010: 109). Second, I applied the principles of snowball sampling by which I used an initial contact with a young vendor to facilitate the introduction to others (Valentine 2005). Lastly, I appealed to gatekeepers, namely older vendors within the community, in order to facilitate my introduction to larger communities of youth migrant street vendors within Hanoi (Blix and Wettergren 2014, Rice 2010). To clarify, gatekeepers are individuals that are in a position to facilitate, inhibit, or deny access to organizations or groups (Wellington & Szczerbinski 2007). These last two methods were particularly useful as there is only a small community of youth migrant street vendors in Hanoi (Burgess 2005).

3.3 ANALYSIS

Following fieldwork, I went through a series of steps known as coding in order to organize and analyze the data I had amassed (Cope 2010). Although the process of coding is not linear, it does follow a series of stages (Cope 2010, Saldaña 2016). According to Saldaña (2016), these steps include identifying codes, creating themes, and proposing assertions or theories. I began by using ‘open coding’ whereby I generated codes as I read through the text (Cope 2010). I also included some *in vivo* codes taken straight from the transcripts, *a priori codes* taken from relevant literature, and a *posteriori* codes derived from topics discussed by participants (Cope 2010).

In the second stage, I developed themes by combining codes that were linked by similar concepts (Saldaña 2016). Finally, I was able to “transcend” the “particular reality” of my data by explaining the interrelation of those themes in my analysis (Saldaña 2016: 14).

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This project was undertaken as part of a Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Partnership Grant, headquartered at *Institut national de la recherche scientifique* (INRS), Montréal. The Research Ethics Board approval came from INRS and covered participants aged 16 and older. I also received official authorizations from HUNRE—Hanoi University of Natural Resources and Environment permitting me to conduct research in Hanoi, through my supervisor’s collaborators there.

Upon reflecting on my positionality, it became clear that there were significant power dynamics inherent in the fieldwork I conducted in Hanoi. Specifically, whereas I am a white, twenty-year-old, cis-gendered female that grew up in the Western world and is privileged to be attending university, I was working with a group of highly marginalized youth. Specifically, I was interviewing youth migrants that took up street vending due to a lack of other livelihood options and who were largely uneducated and illiterate (Eidse & Turner 2017). As such, I was established in a position of power in relation to these individuals. I drew on several measures in order to account for this asymmetrical and potentially exploitative relationship (Dowling 2016).

Given my position as an ‘outsider’ to the cultural context of my research, there was a risk that I would impose incorrect representations on the vendors through the use of participant observation (Cook, 2005, Dowling 2016). To account for this ethical dilemma I paired participant observation with semi-structured interviews and go-alongs in order to allow the vendors to construct their own narratives. The data collected through participant observation was simply used to complement and contextualize the data obtained through the other two sources (Kearns 2016).

I also decided it would be ethical to ask for oral, rather than written, consent for semi-structured and go-along interviews. Given the lack of literacy among this population, asking for written consent would have reinforced the power dynamic between the participants and myself. As part of the informed consent, I made it very clear that they could stop or pause the interview at any point. I also offered compensation for each interview I conducted. This was to make up

for potential loss of sales that may have occurred during the time that I was interviewing them. I gave participants the option to choose the location of interviews, and the routes for the go-alongs in order to give them greater control over the interview. Further, although I had an interview guide of prepared themes and questions, my translator gave participants the opportunity to elaborate on topics of importance to them and to skip questions they did not feel comfortable answering.

3.5. CONCLUSION

In the first part of this chapter I outlined the three methods I drew on to complete my fieldwork, specifically: semi-structured interviews, go-along interviews, and overt participant observation. In the latter sections of this chapter I detailed the methods I undertook to complete my analysis, how my research design was shaped by institutional and moral ethics, and how I navigated the power differentials that resulted from my positionality. In sum, this chapter provides an overview of the methodological underpinnings of my research project.

CHAPTER 4: HANOI'S YOUTH ITINERANT VENDORS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present key findings that answer my first research question: *Who are the young migrant itinerant vendors of Hanoi, what are the reasons that lead them to take up vending, and how do they get established in this livelihood?* In order to address the three aspects of this question this chapter is divided into three sections: demographics (4.2), reasons for vending (4.3), and establishment as a vendor (4.4). I demonstrate that my findings support the literature to date regarding rural-to-urban migrants in Hanoi (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010, Mitchell 2008, Resurreccion 2005, Resurreccion and Ha Thi Van Khanh 2006, Vu Thi Thao 2013) and more specifically that which focuses on street vendors (Eidse 2017, Jensen and Peppard 2003, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). I also add nuance to these findings by revealing gendered differences among youth vendors that relate to their reasons for pursuing this trade and their vending strategies.

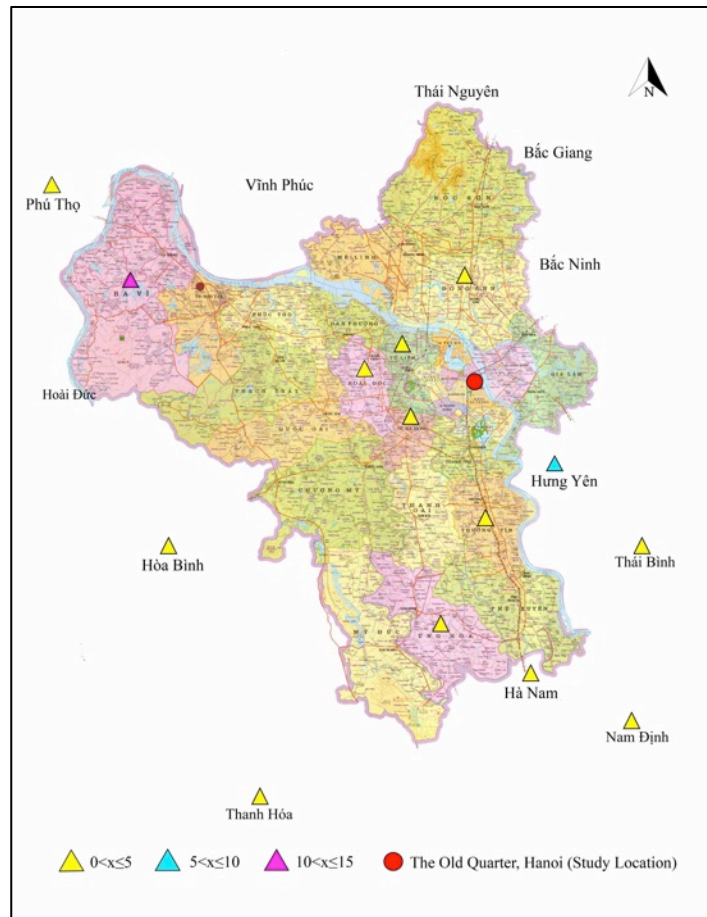
4.2 DEMOGRAPHICS

Over the course of my fieldwork, clear patterns relating to the demographics of youth itinerant vendors in Hanoi began to emerge. For instance, I found that over three quarters of my participants were female and that the same proportion of my total participants was married. Further, all of my participants were purposively sampled on the basis that they were migrants from one of Hanoi's 17 rural districts or from a surrounding province (see Map 4.1). Finally, I found that *youth* itinerant street vendors in Hanoi are few and far between. With reference to this last point it is for this reason that I employ a broad definition of youth for this project, including vendors up to the age of 30. In the end the average age of my participants was 26, with the youngest being 16⁴ and the oldest being 30. Further, the average age at which these vendors entered the trade was 20, but some started as young as 14 and others began vending as late as 28.

These findings are largely consistent with past research that has found that vendors in Hanoi are overwhelmingly female (see Figure 4.1; Eidse 2017, Jensen and Peppard 2003, Turner and Schoenberger 2012) and married (Jensen and Peppard 2003). Additional studies have found that youth make up a small proportion of workers in the informal sector (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010, Jensen and Peppard 2003, Vu Thi Thao 2013) and that the majority of itinerant

⁴ See Chapter 3, Section 3.4 regarding REB approval.

vendors are migrants from the countryside (Eidse 2017, Turner and Schoenberger 2012); elements that I expand and elaborate upon here.



Map 4.1: Participants' Location of Origin (Adapted from Labbé 2010)



Figure 4.1: Female itinerant vendor at work (Author)

4.2.1 Understanding the gendered divide

Drawing on my fieldwork, there seems to be a number of important factors causing a gender imbalance within Hanoi's itinerant vendor community. Significantly, these factors relate heavily to the norms ascribed to and roles expected of each gender. First, approximately half of the participants, including some men, suggested that men cannot accept the conditions of street vending. That is, the majority of men are unwilling to perform such physically exhausting work in the heat and the rain for so little pay. Many explained that street vending is *nhêch nhac*, meaning pitiful and dirty, and that the male ego cannot accept doing such work. Following from this line of reasoning, some explained that vending is simply "a job for women" (Tuyen⁵, 22-year-old female, 11/07/2018). These participants felt that in contrast to women, men are often short-tempered and impatient. Indeed, Minh explained: "if you do not have patience you cannot vend. This is why I am one of few male vendors" (29-years-old, 22/06/2018).

According to my participants, women are not only more disciplined with their work ethic, but they also exercise more restraint with their expenses. This is to say that some participants believe male vendors are careless with their earnings and are thus unable to save as much money as their female counterparts. Some participants explained that when men come from the countryside to Hanoi they have a tendency to buy beer and other alcohol, to partake in gambling at night, to spend more time at tea stalls, and to purchase more food. Xuan a 29-year-old female vendor suggested: "for this reason it is better for husbands to stay at home and for the wife to go to Hanoi to earn money" (14/07/2018).

Finally, one third of participants explained that there are many more jobs with higher, more consistent, incomes available to men without much formal education than there are for women. As a result, many men choose to be construction workers, mechanics, or *xe ôm* (informal motorbike taxi) drivers. Many of the female vendors' husbands also work as farmers in the countryside. In line with this account I observed that *xe ôm* drivers and Grab drivers⁶ are overwhelmingly male.

⁵ All names are gender-appropriate pseudonyms

⁶ Grab is a popular ride hailing service in Hanoi

4.2.2 Explaining the lack of young vendors

As mentioned earlier, youth vendors make up only a small portion of the class of migrant vendors in Hanoi. To better understand why, I asked participants why they felt there are so few young itinerant vendors in Hanoi. In response, over two-thirds of participants explained that youth these days are able to study for longer than in the past, and are therefore able to secure jobs in factories. Given that factory work tends to be cleaner and safer than vending and that it offers a more consistent income, this line of work is seen as preferable to vending.

This explanation corroborates previous research that has been done on the composition of Hanoi's informal sector workers (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010, Jensen and Peppard 2003, Vu Thi Thao 2013). Indeed, Vu Thi Thao (2013) explained that even when companies offer employment to those without much formal education, such work is not suitable for those who are married and may have young children, hence factories tend to employ more young women. This idea is explored to a greater extent in the following section.

4.3 REASONS FOR VENDING

Despite the severity with which the street vending ban has been implemented within Hanoi, over two thirds of my participants suggested the number of vendors in Hanoi is increasing. In this section I attempt to explain this trend by investigating the personal reasons that lead young migrants to take up vending in Hanoi.

4.3.1 Flexibility

The flexibility afforded by street vending was by far the most significant factor leading my participants to this line of work. Over two thirds of participants (both male and female) explained that the absence of a fixed work schedule allows them to engage in vending in the city, while also managing their child rearing responsibilities, agricultural activities, or family business in the countryside.

It is highly significant that every one of the female participants that were married or widowed explained that they had at least one child to care for. As a result, vendors like Hue noted: "women need to do this type of work because it's flexible. They also need to take care of their children"(30-year-old female, 7/7/2018). Unlike factory workers, street vendors can take time off from work when their children are sick. It is likely for this reason that in Agergaard and

Vu Thi Thao's (2010:408) study of female migrants in Hanoi specified that factory work is most appropriate for those who are "young and *single*".

Other participants (both male and female) suggested that they take up vending because it allows for flexible work schedules that are compatible with their farming responsibilities. Over three-quarters of participants who discussed what they did in the countryside mentioned farming related activities. For these participants, vending allows them to supplement their farming-generated income when there is no planting or harvesting to be done and when there are problems with their crops. Reflecting the findings of previous studies done on migrant workers in Hanoi (Resurreccion and Ha Thi Van Khanh 2006, Vu Thi Thao 2013), this suggests that migrants often engage in street vending as a livelihood diversification strategy. Highlighting this fact, Yen, a 29-year old flower vendor from Hung Yên Province suggested: "there is not as much profit vending as working as a farmer, but you don't always have a harvest in the countryside"(female, 11/6/2018). Clearly "economic necessity" is a significant push factor driving migrants to take up vending in Hanoi (Turner and Schoenberger 2012: 1034).

Overall, this community of vendors largely engages in circular migration whereby they do not move to Hanoi permanently, but instead return to the countryside on a (semi-)regular basis (Resurreccion and Ha Thi Van Khanh 2006). While under one quarter of participants are daily migrants to Hanoi, over three quarters are circular migrants whereby they rent a room in Hanoi, and stay for "longer than one day at a time" (Jensen and Peppard 2003: 73). This is consistent with past research done on migrants in Hanoi (Agergaard and Vu Thi Thao 2010, Jensen and Peppard 2003, Mitchell 2008).

Finally, the flexibility of vending also allows vendors to return to the countryside for special or unexpected events such as a wedding or a funeral, or when a family member falls ill. Indeed, although the majority of participants work the majority of the month (see Table 4.1), it allows vendors like Hue, a vendor from Từ Liêm District, to return to the countryside "when I'm sick or there's a family issue or business in the countryside" (7/7/2018).

Those that vend on an irregular basis (less than 10 days a month) suggested that their schedule is dependent on factors like when the 'walking streets'⁷ are open, whether or not they

⁷ Every weekend the streets surrounding Hoàn Kiếm Lake are closed to traffic and turned into pedestrian streets with games, shopping, food and beverage vendors, and performances.

have crops available to sell, and if they need to supplement their income earned through other means.

Table 4.1: The Number of Days the Street Vendor Participants Work per Month.

Days street vendors works per month	Number of street vendors
21-30	18
11-20	12
1-10	5

4.3.2 Insufficient employment opportunities

It is also the case that many youth migrants take up vending in Hanoi because there are not enough opportunities for them to earn an income in the countryside, either in farming or paid work. For some, the lack of access to farmland is a direct consequence of the urbanization and land extractions schemes taking place in the peri-urban areas of Hanoi (Nguyen *et al.* 2012, Labbé and Musil 2014). Reflecting this fact, Hue suggested that:

The number of vendors has increased due to the increased industrial zones in the countryside. They have taken land away from farmers. Some can choose to work in factories but others need to find jobs in Hanoi (7/07/2018).

Consequently, Hau a 29-year-old vendor from Ba Vì, like many others suggested, “if we stayed at home we wouldn’t even earn one coin. Working in Hanoi is hard but we can still earn some cash every day” (female, 11/7/2018). This corroborates the research done by Eidse (2017) and Turner and Schoenberger (2012) that suggests migrants increasingly pursue the trade of vending in response to the loss of access to rural land.

4.3.3 The high costs of formal education

Shortly after the introduction of Đổi Mới, in 1989 the government implemented school fees as social welfare support was gradually reduced (Turner and Schoenberger 2012). The high costs of attending school, around VND 1-2 million (US\$60—120), which includes uniforms, books, and ‘informal fees’, means a formal education is a struggle to afford for the lower socioeconomic population (Turner and Schoenberger 2012), and only five years of schooling are mandatory. It is therefore not surprising that my participants completed an average of nine years of formal education, with only one vendor continuing their education beyond the 12th grade. Illustrative of this trend, Dũng a 19-year male vendor stated: “I couldn’t afford to study anymore in Ba Vì, so

my Mom suggested that I come here to vend” (29/6/2018). This supports the findings of past studies that found itinerant vendors tend to have a low level of formal education (Eidse 2017, Jensen and Peppard 2003).

Out of the 35 young vendors I interviewed, two thirds suggested that their low level of formal education was prohibiting them for obtaining paid positions in factories or stores. Hence while vending is very arduous work, many do it because they do not have sufficient education to gain other employment.

On a related note, some vendors felt that young vendors these days are more educated than they were in the past, and therefore have better English than the older vendors; an asset for vending to foreigners. Indeed, Linh a 28-year-old female vendor stated: “Of course young vendors have better English. They have received more education. Before no one studied English but now you learn English starting in Kindergarten” (female, 5/06/2018). Further, Dũng suggested: “Many young vendors speak English so can sell to more foreigners. Older vendors have to point to the amount of money to convey the price to foreigners; this is not as easy” (29/06/2018). However, there is a greater portion of participants that felt that young and old vendors have equally little English. In the words of Thuy “not many vendors speak English. If they did speak English they would be able to find another job” (25-year-old female, 11/06/2018).

Overall my results presented in this section support the findings of previous studies, while adding nuance with regards to age and gender differences. Namely, youth become itinerant vendors in Hanoi due to a lack of formal education, the inability to find other forms of employment, the need to diversify their livelihood strategies, and the necessity to balance work with family and community-related obligations. I now turn my focus to how these migrants become established as vendors.

4.4 ESTABLISHMENT AS A VENDOR

To better understand how youth migrants take up vending in Hanoi, in this section I analyze how they are initially introduced to vending. I also outline the processes that they must go through to become established.

4.4.1 Introduction to vending

It is overwhelmingly the case that my participants were offered some kind of informal assistance to get started as a vendor in Hanoi. Approximately three-quarters of the vendors explained that they had received help from another itinerant vendor that was either a family member or a friend from their home village. This guidance took many forms including instructions on how to select good products, how to make an attractive bouquet of flowers, which areas to sell in, and how to avoid the police. Many vendors had similar stories of an older relative who took them to Hanoi to begin vending. These participants explained that once in Hanoi they shadowed their relative through their daily routines of buying products, following a vending route, and negotiating with customers. In some cases the participants also learned how to make the products that they sell.

Further, as has been written about in past research, I found that all participants that engaged in circular migration shared rented rooms with other vendors from the countryside (see Figure 4.2; Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Clearly, extended family and kinship systems are an important form of bonding social capital that youth migrants draw on to gain the knowledge and skills that they need to begin their vending careers (Adler and Kwon 2002, Turner 2017). This ties into Resurreccion's (2005:39) notion of being "in-between" whereby social networks are an important resource for working through the "complex requirements and processes of migration".



Figure 4.2: Boats that many vendors from Ba Vi pay to stay on when in Hanoi (Author)

4.4.2 Vending Strategies

In at least half of my interviews, participants suggested that their peers instilled into them the importance of *Mở hàng* or ‘the first sale of the day’. According to this belief, if the spirit of the first customer of the day is easygoing, the vendor will have an easy day selling. If, on the other hand, the customer is difficult and rude with the vendor, it will be a bad day of vending. Quy explained: “When I have a bad first customer for the rest of the day it is difficult for me to sell. When this happens I have to burn lucky paper around my products to get rid of the bad spirit so I can sell more easily” (24-year-old female, 24/06/2018). Participants therefore explained the importance of setting a low price on their products for their first customer and avoiding having the same first customer twice if they had a bad experience with them in the past.

Many participants also discussed the importance of developing relationships with their customers given that regular customers serve as a semi-consistent source of income. Hence, some participants suggested that in order to develop loyal customers they follow the same route every day, they lower the prices of their products for regular customers, they allow them to buy on credit, and they take orders for specific types of products. Further, half of the participants suggested that they use their cell phones to contact regular customers. This facilitates the process of customers placing orders, and vendors making deliveries.

When discussing vending strategies, I found that there are clear distinctions between those that female versus male vendors draw on. First, many participants felt that females are better at attracting customers because of their ‘soft voices’ and ability to ask customers to buy from them. Indeed, Dũng suggested that whereas female vendors can ask people to “‘please buy from me’, male vendors don’t want pity so can’t do this” (male vendor, 28/06/2018). On the other hand, an equal proportion of participants contended that male vendors have an advantage because they are able to stand up to Hanoi residents who try to over-negotiate prices or steal from vendors. Similarly, while some suggested that male vendors tend to set higher for their products in order to “earn more benefits” (Danh 23-year-old male, 12/07/2018), women have a reputation for setting more honest prices, and of having a willingness to “change the price of their product more easily than males if the customer is bargaining” (Truc 28-year-old female, 12/07/2018). With all that in mind, over half of the vendors I interviewed suggested that the ability to vend is not a reflection of their gender or of their strategies, but a product of their

individual fortunes. For these participants fortune, luck, and spirit determine the vendors' ability to attract customers, and to sell their products.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

Returning to my first research question, namely: *Who are the young migrant itinerant vendors of Hanoi, what are the reasons that lead them to take up vending, and how do they get established in this livelihood?* – my analysis in this section has revealed three sets of helpful insights. Namely, *youth* itinerant vendors are largely female, migrants, married, and uneducated, but constitute a minority of the overall community of itinerant vendors in Hanoi.

Second, there are three core reasons that youth migrants explained lead them to take up vending careers in Hanoi including the flexibility afforded by vending, the lack of suitable jobs or land available in the countryside, and their low level of formal education restricting them from other employment opportunities. Most significantly, the majority of participants partake in circular migration whereby they travel to and from Hanoi and use vending as a livelihood diversification strategy among a variety of other approaches, such as farming.

Third, it is overwhelmingly the case that young migrants seek out the assistance of other vendors in order to begin their vending careers. These individuals draw on their social networks in order to learn tried-and-true vending practices including how to select the best products depending on the season and the day, which areas are best for vending, and how to avoid the police. While previous studies have been conducted on Hanoi's youth vendors, I add depth to their findings by illustrating that there is a gendered divide with regards to the reasons youth migrants begin vending and the vending strategies they adopt.

CHAPTER 5: YOUTH ITINERANT VENDORS' RELATIONSHIPS TO PUBLIC SPACE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past three decades the nature of public space in Hanoi, who has the right to access it, and for what reasons has undergone drastic changes. This is largely due to modernization projects that the state and private sector is supporting and implementing, and more specifically, the implementation of the 2008 street vending ban (see Chapter 1). Such an approach disproportionately affects informal economy workers in the city, including migrant street vendors, and their access to the city's networks of streets and sidewalks. In this chapter I present key findings that relate to my second research question: *What urban spaces do youth migrant street vendors utilize in Hanoi, how do they use them, and why?* In doing so I consider how youth migrant street vendors use public space for work (Section 5.2) and for leisure (5.3).

5.2 USE OF PUBLIC SPACE FOR WORK

Despite numerous attempts by the government of Hanoi to modernize its streets by clearing them of informal activities (Eidse, Turner, Oswin 2016, Koh 2008), the pavement has remained an important site for the livelihood activities of young migrant vendors. By touching on where vendors sell and which areas they avoid, in this section I contribute to understandings of how youth itinerant vendors interact with Hanoi's urban environment for their trade.

5.2.1 Where vendors sell

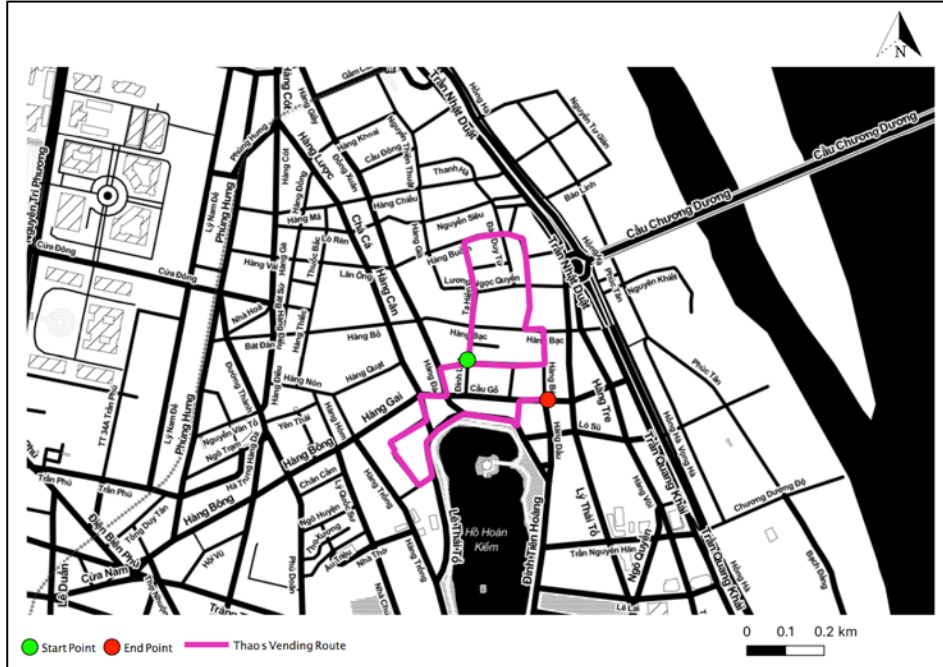
In order to formulate a picture of how itinerant vendors interact with Hanoi's public spaces I began by inquiring into their vending routes within the city. Although the vending routes of participants varied spatially as well as temporally, some similarities across them can be identified. First, just under one quarter vend only within the Old Quarter, while over one quarter vends outside of the Old Quarter, and the remaining half vend both within the Old Quarter and beyond. Many participants, including Thao suggested that they vend in the Old Quarter "because there are more people in the streets than other places" (see Figure 5.1; male, 24/06/2018). On the other hand, some felt that it was better to avoid the Old Quarter because of its reputation for having a high concentration of ward police.

A handful of participants also explained that they choose to vend in areas where the residents are known to be wealthier so that they can sell their products for a higher profit. Similarly, some participants suggested that if the product they are selling is inexpensive they might go to a lower-income neighbourhood outside of the Old Quarter. Overall, while a small portion of participants explained that they tend to vend in areas where there are few other vendors and thus less competition, the majority were of the mind-set that it is best to vend where they can expect to encounter many customers.



Figure 5.1: The Old Quarter, Hanoi (Author)

The six maps presented below provide further insight into the vending routes of a small sample of participants (see Maps 5.1-5.6). The length of the route does not correspond to the amount of time the vendors spend selling as some vendors choose to stay longer in specific places and move around less. For instance, Thanh's route is the simplest but it is also one of the longest (Map 5.2). She vends fruit between 4:00am and 2:00pm but stays at Văn Chương Market for almost the full ten hours of her day. On the other hand, Thao's route is more complicated but it is also shorter (Map 5.1). He vends fruit throughout the Old Quarter between 4:00 am and 10:00am every day. There is also variation in the type of product the vendors sell and their route within the city. While half of maps presented below correspond to the routes of fruit vendors (see Map 5.1, Map 5.2, Map 5.4), the only similarity across them is that they enter the Old Quarter at some point in the day. The other three maps represent the routes of a sticky rice vendor (Map 5.3), a flower vendor (Map 5.5), and a vegetable vendor (Map 5.6) and are illustrative of the extensive network of streets and areas that this group accesses for their trade.

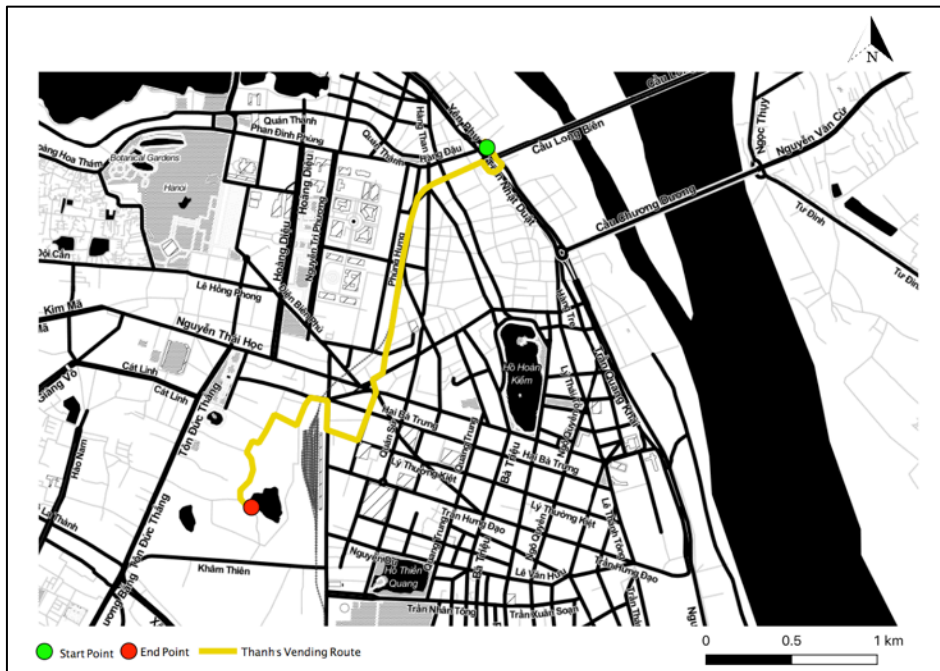


Map 5.1: Thao's Vending Route (Author)

Product vended: Fruit from Long Biên Market

Gender: Male

Length of route: 6 hours

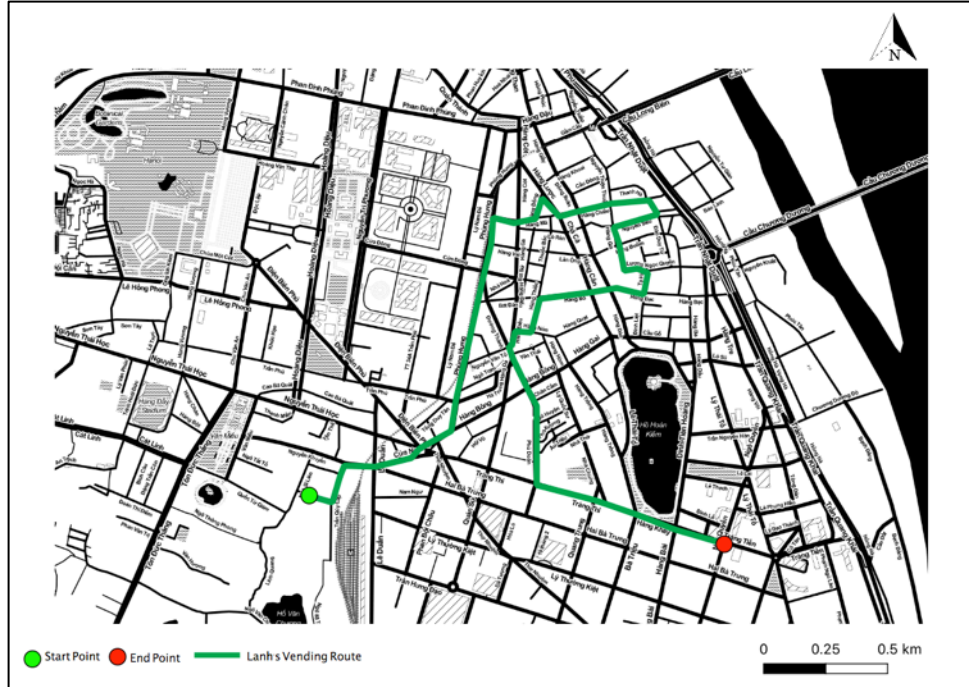


Map 5.2: Thanh's Vending Route (Author)

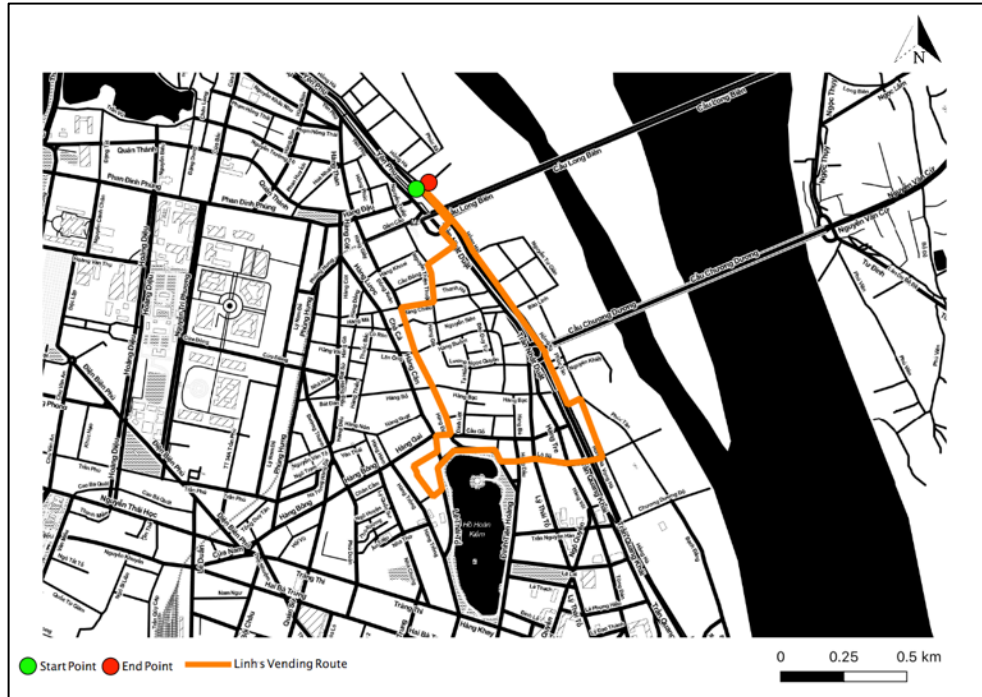
Product vended: Fruit from Long Biên Market

Gender: Female

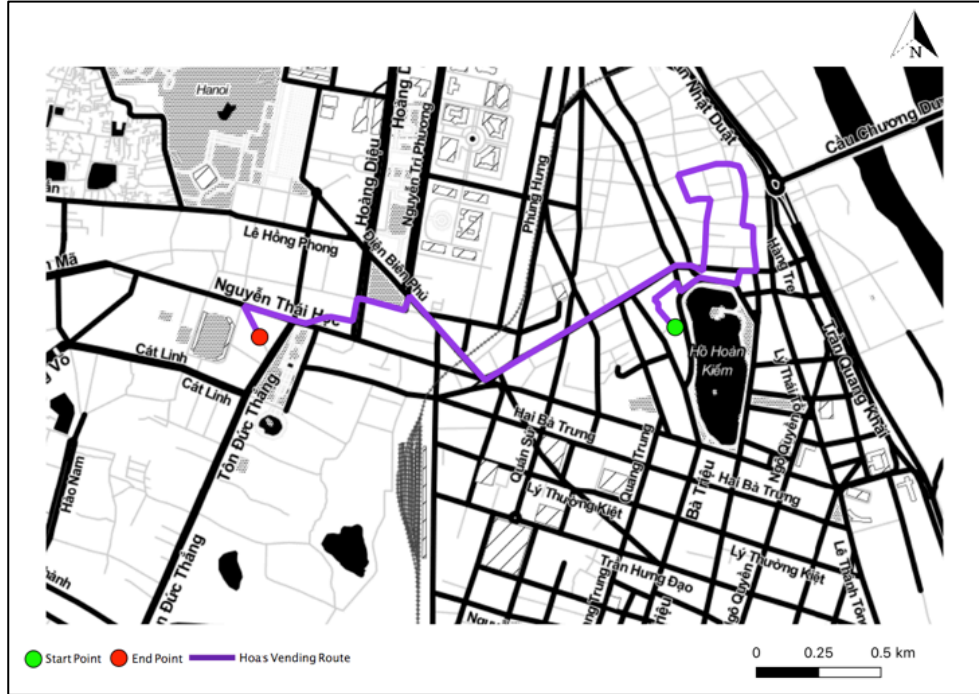
Length of route: 10 hours



Map 5.3: Lanh's Vending Route (Author)
 Product vended: Sticky Rice, made each morning
 Gender: Female
 Length of route: 9 hours



Map 5.4: Linh's Vending Route (Author)
 Product vended: Fruit from Long Biên Market
 Gender: Female
 Length of route: 4 hours

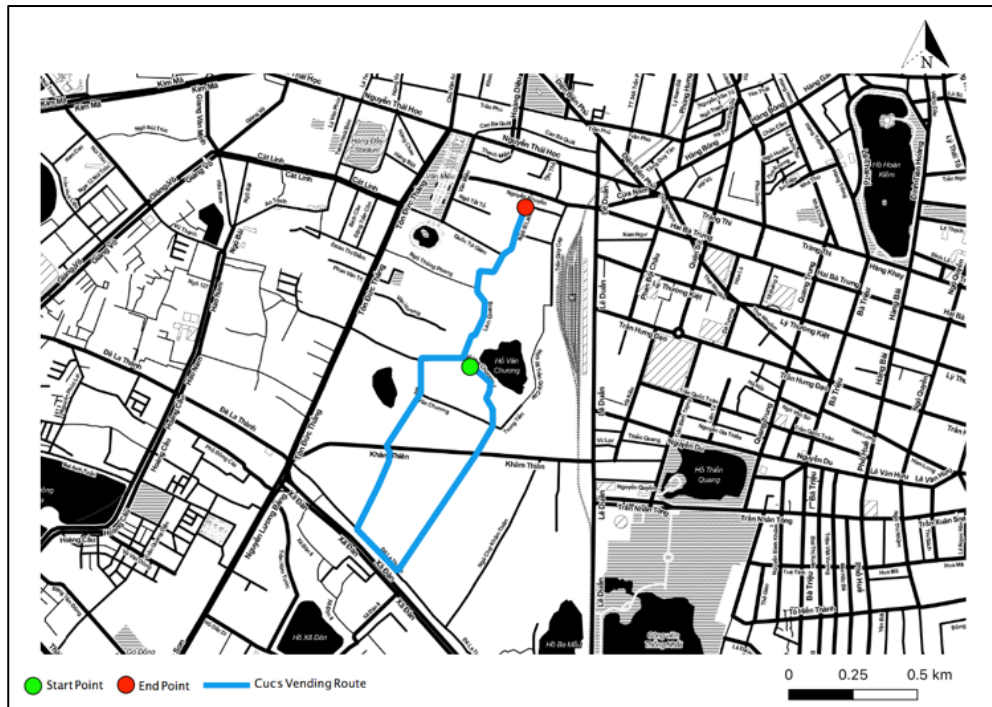


Map 5.5: Hoa's Vending Route (Author)

Product vended: Flowers from Quảng Bá Flower Market

Gender: Female

Length of route: 10 hours



Map 5.6: Cuc's Vending Route (Author)

Product vended: Vegetables purchased in Hưng Yên Province

Gender: Female

Length of route: 10 hours

Although it is clear that the vendors' routes have an explicit spatiality, it should be noted that they are also shaped by a specific temporality. Most significantly, a large portion of the vendors explained that they aim to match their vending route to the schedules of residents; their customers. For some this involves arriving to a recreation area, such as a lake, early in the day to catch the residents ending their morning exercise, while for others it involves standing alongside roads that are known to be busy during rush hour (See Figure 5.2). Many explained that vendors learn to anticipate a lull in customers around midday when they then take a rest, eat their lunch, or use this time to move to a new location. In other words, vendors are highly attuned to the rhythms of Hanoi's residents, and know how to exploit these rhythms for their economic gain.



Figure 5.2: Flower vendor selling on busy road during rush hour (Author)

More broadly, some participants described how they determine their vending route depending on the day of the week and the time of the month. For instance, Nhung suggested: she has two separate routes: one for the week, and one for the weekend when the 'walking streets' are open (14/07/2018). Further, nearly half of vendors marked a difference in their vending practices on the 1st and 15th of the lunar calendars. On these days residents buy fruit and flowers to offer to their ancestors, hence creating a higher demand for vendor products. Some vendors suggested that leading up to these days they will start earlier in the day in order to ensure they get the best products from the market, and are able to sell to as many residents as possible. Overall, the average work day of my participants was ten hours, with some working as long as 16 hours and none working less than five.

It is interesting to note that over three quarters of participants suggested that they follow the same route every day. Nearly all of these vendors felt that it was important for them to be consistent in their route in order to develop relationships with regular customers. That being said, some vendors will deviate from their standard route when it is exceptionally hot or rainy. While some will stop vending altogether, others will simply alter their routes. Some vendors like Bich explained: “if it is too hot I take the day off because customers don’t leave their houses to go to the market to buy from me”(female, 19/7/2018). That being said, others like Thao feel they have no choice but to continue to vend no matter the conditions. He noted: “I never change the route or the amount of produce I buy. Last week when it was so hot, 38 degrees Celsius, I didn’t change my route and I was so tired and I had a headache”(4/6/2018). For those continuing to vend but altering their route in adverse weather conditions, they might choose to start the day off with fewer products, visit fewer areas, sell from under a shelter such as a bridge or a storefront, or spend less time in each area (see Figure 5.3).



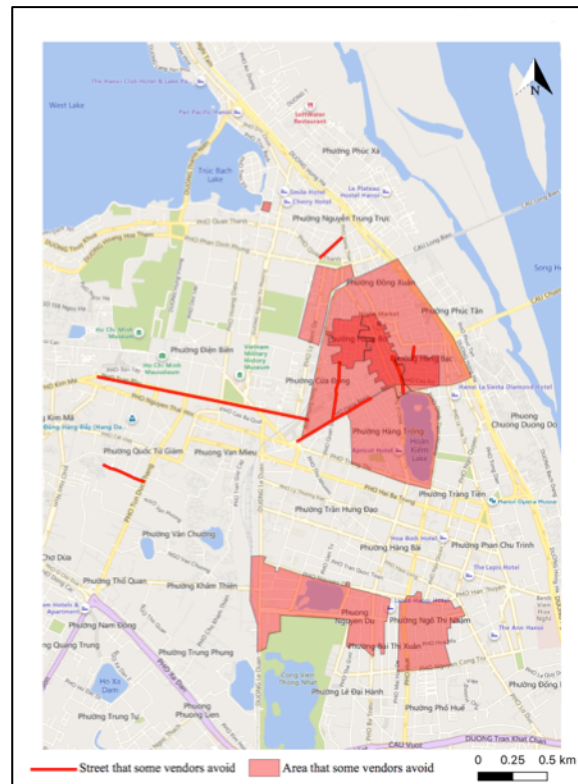
Figure 5.3: Itinerant vendor selling in the rain (Author)

5.2.2 Areas vendors avoid during work

A significant finding from my research is that vendors do not feel they have the ability to access all of Hanoi’s public spaces for their work. Indeed, over three quarters of vendors stated that they avoid at least one street or area (see Map 5.7). While many of these are streets or wards intersect or overlap with the Old Quarter, others are located outside of its boundaries. Overall, participants tend to avoid specific areas: with particularly harsh or expensive fines; where the street vending ban is implemented more intensively; that have a larger number of police; and where they have

been caught in the past. Illustrative of these trends, Truc, selling flowers, explained “I avoid Thành Công⁸ because I was fined 150,000 [USD\$6.50] twice in five days in this area. There are so many police there and they work very hard” (female, 12/7/2018). Similarly, an increased presence of police in the Old Quarter has caused some vendors to make permanent alterations to their routes. Lanh, a 30-year-old sticky rice vendor explained: “I used to vend more in the Old Quarter where I could sell my products for a higher price. Now there are too many police so I vend here [Ngô Sĩ Liên market⁹] and I have to sell my product for a lower price as this market is for lower income people” (7/7/2018).

Just as the vendors’ routes are positively shaped by understandings of areas as having lots of customers, little competition, or high profit margins, they are also negatively shaped by areas that have high concentrations of police and greater fines. This confirms that the implementation of the street vending ban, has to some degree, impacted the way youth itinerant vendors relate to Hanoi’s public spaces for work.



Map 5.7: Streets or Areas That Some Vendors Avoid (Author)

⁸ Thành Công is 5km from the Old Quarter

⁹ Ngô Sĩ Liên Market is 2km from the Old Quarter

5.3 USE OF PUBLIC SPACE FOR LEISURE

While a few interesting studies have captured the ways in which specific groups of Hanoi's youth engage with the city's public spaces for leisure¹⁰ (Drummond and Nguyen 2009, Geertman, Labbé, and Boudreau 2016), none have focused specifically on youth migrant street vendors. Here I make a first attempt to capture the relationship of young itinerant vendors to the public spaces of Hanoi for leisure.

To begin, it was overwhelmingly the case that young vendors do not utilize public spaces for leisure. Three quarters responded that they had little to no time for leisure, and hence no time to visit public spaces. These respondents explained that between working and their other responsibilities, such as farming and looking after their children, frequenting public space for leisure was out of the question. Chau, like many others, suggested: "When I take days off and stay home I just sleep, I'm so tired" (29-year-old female, 9/7/2018).

Others, like Ài found that there were constraints other than time preventing her and her vendor friends from accessing public space for leisure. She explained: "I have time but no money to visit public spaces for leisure" (28-year-old female, 7/7/2018). This quote is particularly evocative of Drummond and Nguyen's (2009) research on how youth in Hanoi relate to public space. Indeed, they suggest that in Vietnam there is a tendency to conflate *Công cộng* meaning "public" with *Của chung* meaning "for the use of everyone" (Drummond and Nguyen 2009: 185). This is a particularly important distinction as while the Western conceptualization of public space entails a space that is universally accessible (Mandanipour 1999), a Vietnamese understanding of the term includes spaces of recreation and leisure that are actually fee-based and commercialized (Drummond and Nguyen 2009, Drummond 2000, Drummond 2012).

Amongst the vendors (one quarter of participants) who suggested they did have time for leisure, many voiced a clear preference for public spaces with no entrance fees. Indeed, while Drummond and Nguyen (2009) found that while youth in Hanoi see service spaces (cafés, food stalls, Internet cafés, music venues, computer games cafés), cultural spaces (theaters, cinemas, art galleries, clubs, cultural centers, libraries, exhibition halls), recreational spaces (parks, lakes, playgrounds, zoos, pools, sports halls, stadia), sacred/spiritual spaces (temples, pagodas, churches, memorials), and historical spaces (Ba Đình Square, Văn Miếu, the Ancient Capital) as

¹⁰ Leisure activities include socializing with friends, exercising, eating, using a computer, relaxing, or playing games (Drummond and Nguyen 2009)

available to them, my group of participants only described visiting the last four categories of spaces. Most commonly these participants like to visit sacred or spiritual spaces either in Hanoi or in the countryside. These participants explained that they go to pagodas, temples, or churches for various religious rituals such as death anniversaries, to pray for a good year, and to pay respects to their ancestors on the 1st and the 15th of the lunar calendar. Many also described visiting recreational spaces such as lakes, parks, and the ‘walking streets’ – areas with no entrance fees. Only a small number stated that they would occasionally bring their children to the zoo or the water park. Historical spaces, such as the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum, were also a semi-popular destination within this group of participants. Hoa, a 30-year-old female flower vendor from Đông Anh District explained to me: “on the weekend I sell my flowers faster so I can take my children to Hoàn Kiếm Lake or to Uncle Ho Mausoleum” (5/6/2018).

Finally, nearly two-thirds of participants explained that they often nap during the day in a public space. Specifically, these participants explained that they enjoy napping or resting on streets, sidewalks, or under trees around lunchtime when there are few customers. Exemplary of this, Dũng stated: “I like to nap on the sidewalk under the trees” (male, 29/6/2018). Similarly, Duc disclosed “I like to take a nap in the hammock of a tea shop from 1-2 PM every day” (male, 8/7/2018). The remaining one-third of participants that do not nap in public spaces explained that they would rather finish vending sooner and that they are afraid of being fined or having their goods taken while sleeping. Indeed, some vendors mentioned that they had been fined while napping in the past. Overall, I found that while the majority of vendors do not have time to partake in leisure activities, the minority that do only access a narrow range of Hanoi’s public spaces.

While a minority described visiting service spaces such as tea stalls and food stalls, none mentioned visiting the other spaces included in this category such as Internet cafés, computer games rooms, or restaurants. Similarly, there was no mention of visiting cultural spaces such as museums, art galleries, or movie theaters. Clearly, fee-based leisure spaces are out of reach of these youth migrants, confirming findings of past scholarship that categorised commercialized spaces of recreation and leisure as sites for the middle class (Drummond and Nguyen 2009, Drummond 2000, Drummond 2012).

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

Circling back to my second research question: *What urban spaces do youth migrant street vendors utilize in Hanoi, how do they use them, and why?* conclusions can be drawn regarding the nature of the public spaces youth itinerant vendors draw on for work and for leisure. First, youth migrant vendors' utilization of public spaces and their work practices are deeply intertwined. These individuals access an extensive range of roads and sidewalks, both within and beyond the Old Quarter on a daily basis. It is largely the case that these vendors follow the same vending routes daily, given the relationships they have developed, or wish to develop, with regular customers. However, many of these vendors experience pressure to limit the spaces they access due to the street vending ban and the police who enforce it. Consequently, there is a high number of vendors that completely avoid certain public areas within Hanoi for fear of being fined.

Second, in this chapter I have shown that the majority of the participants included in this study do not access public spaces for leisure. The primary reason for this is that the vendors work exceptionally long hours with few days off, and simply do not have time for leisure. Those few who engage in leisure-related activities primarily frequent sacred spaces and recreational spaces, and to a lesser extent visit historical spaces and services spaces. Further, a notable portion of this study population utilizes the streets and sidewalks of Hanoi to take naps. They do not, however, access cultural spaces such as museums, art galleries, and movie theaters.

In closing, youth itinerant vendors access a wider range of public spaces for work than they do for leisure. That being said, their access to public spaces for both activities is being limited by government policies that aim to eliminate informal and low-income populations from Hanoi's public spaces (Drummond 2000, Drummond and Nguyen 2009).

CHAPTER 6: UNDERSTANDING YOUTH ITINERANT VENDORS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS WARD OFFICIALS AND HANOI RESIDENTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Street vendors in Vietnam's capital have long been seen as a hindrance to the city's ambitions of modernity (Drummond 2000). They are widely criticized for their informal nature and tendency to cause traffic congestion in Hanoi's streets and sidewalks (Bromley 2000, Koh 2008, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Since the 1980s the government has actively sought to eliminate their presence from the city's pavements, most recently implementing the 2008 ban on street vending in 63 streets and 48 public spaces, as outlined earlier. Past research has explored how the livelihoods of itinerant street vendors are highly dependent on the street vendors' ability to move throughout the city's areas to meet customers and make sales (Eidse 2017, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Scholars have also contended that this mobility is ascribed with particular meanings as a result of the city's various discourses and policies aimed at manufacturing a modernity that does not include the informal sector (Eidse 2017, Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016). In this chapter I attempt to contribute to these findings by presenting data that answers my third research question: *How do state officials and long-term Hanoi residents treat itinerant youth street vendors?*

I approach this question in four ways: first, I begin with a discussion of the implementation of the 2008 street vending ban in order to gain an understanding of the treatment of itinerant vendors by state officials (Section 6.2). Second, I investigate differences in the treatment of male and female and young and old vendors by police in order to determine how their mobility may be subject to a different degree of policing (6.3). Then, I look into the treatment of itinerant street vendors by Hanoi residents (6.4). I finish by investigating whether the gender or age of vendors impacts their treatment by residents in order to add depth to our understanding of the vendors' experiences of mobility (6.5).

6.2 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 2008 STREET VENDING BAN

In line with what has been reported in the relevant literature (Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016, Eidse 2017, Turner and Schoenberger 2012), over three quarters of the youth vendors I interviewed confirmed that they are continually and harshly marginalized by state officials. The list of negative encounters that these youth have endured at the hands of the police is extensive.

They recounted that the police routinely take their baskets, scales, and products, keep their identity cards or driver's licenses, insult and yell at them, hold their motorbikes, and fine them. In an interview with 29-year-old Hau selling chillies, limes, and taro, she shared some of her worst confrontations with the ward police:

One time when I was caught they took away all of my products until 6:30pm. Another time in a different ward when I was caught by the police I was so scared that I peed myself. They were going to take away all of my products! (11/07/2018)

The fear expressed in Hau's statement is testament to the fact that the fee to have goods released can be crippling, often equalling more than their daily income. Although the amount that the vendors are fined ranges, all vendors answered that the typical fine is between 150,000 VND and 200,000 VND (USD\$6.50-8.50). Therefore Thi, 26-year-old jasmine plant vendor from Hung Yên Province, explained: "When I am caught and fined, the whole day's earnings are gone" (female, 9/06/2018). Clearly, such fines have a significant impact on the vendors' ability to secure their livelihoods, especially given the frequency with which many are fined. Indeed, many vendors explained that the police catch them so often that the vendors and the police recognize each other by sight.

In their research on Hanoi's street vendors, Turner and Schoenberger (2012) reported that the street-vending ban is enforced at the level of the ward and that the specifics surrounding its implementation are often at the discretion of ward officials. Similarly, many of my participants reported that the street vending fines differ by ward. Indeed, some vendors reported that there are wards where the police hand out fines upwards of 500,000 VND (USD\$21) (Truc, 12/07/2018). Consequently, many vendors have begun to avoid specific wards where fines are more expensive (see Chapter 5), even if it means losing out on potential sales.

Vendors also expressed concern regarding the inconsistent nature with which the ban is implemented within wards. Numerous participants felt that the severity of the fine depends on the character of the specific police person who is fining them (Thi, 29/06/2018). Thao, a pineapple vendor from Hung Yên province attested to this fact in the following statement:

Sometimes when the ward police stop me they will fine me and give me a ticket. Other times I am fined, but I am not given a ticket so the police can "eat" my money. Many of the ward police have been to jail; they are bad and mean (male, 4/6/2018).

These findings reflect Turner and Schoenberger's (2012:1034) conclusions, namely that ward officials will often abuse their positions and power in order to "supplement their income".

Along similar lines, two-fifths of participants pay daily, or monthly fees to security guards or ward police in order to vend in certain places. First, some vendors mentioned that they pay a small sum, such as 2,000-5,000 VND [USD\$0.1-0.2], to vend in a particular area, like Văn Chương Market or Ngô Sĩ Liên Market. These payments are made on a daily basis to a security guard but the vendors are still at risk of being fined by the ward police. Similarly, Yen, a 29-year old rose and lily vendor from Hưng Yên Province explained: “I pay a fixed daily fee to arrange my flowers at the market and then a fee when I am caught outside of the market” (11/6/2018).

Others pay monthly fees to the ward police in order to be allowed to stay in particular areas at particular times. For example, many respondents explained that they pay to vend at early morning markets, such those near Hoàn Kiếm Lake and Thuyền Quang Lake, that run from around 5:00am to 6:30am (see Figure 6.1). These fees range from 100,000 VND to 400,000 VND [USD\$4.3-17.3], but vendors are still at risk of being fined outside that locale or beyond the permitted times frame.



Figure 6.1 Morning market near Hoàn Kiếm Lake (Author)

6.2.1 Changes in street vending ban

Amongst my participants there was a general consensus that the severity with which the ban is implemented changes over time. First, the majority opinion was that the vending ban is being enforced to a stricter degree every year. Dũng explained: “There are more police this year than last year and they are working harder than before” (19-year-old male, 29/06/2019).

More specifically, some vendors suggested the severity of the ban’s implementation had increased since the 2017 ‘Sidewalk clean-up campaign’ that aimed to remove all informal

activity from the city's sidewalks.¹¹ In general, the increasing intensity of the ban has resulted in more frequent and more expensive fines. Lanh, a 30-year-old female vendor explained: "When I first started vending, if I stopped to rest on the sidewalk and wasn't selling to anyone I wouldn't be fined. Now if I stop on the sidewalk I will be fined even if I am not selling" (7/07/2018).

Many participants also indicated that the severity of the ban changes more drastically from one day to the next, than in the past. First, a significant portion of vendors stated that the ban gets much worse on national holidays, when there are certain meetings at parliament, when they announce a new campaign to eliminate informal activity, and when an overseas head of country visits. Second, many participants found that the ban is worse at the beginning of the week and much less severe on the weekends. Indeed, Thi, a 17-year-old fruit vendor from Ba Vi suggested: "On Mondays and Tuesdays the police start earlier and work harder to catch the vendors but on the weekends there are less police" (29/06/2018).

Finally, there seems to be a correlation between the severity of the ban and the lunar holidays. Specifically, two-thirds of participants feel the ban is implemented less rigorously on the 1st and the 15th of the lunar calendar. Thao explained: "The police work less hard because they want people to buy fruit to offer their ancestors" (4/06/2018). Consequently, Bich feels that even though "on the 1st and the 15th the police still want to get rid of her, if they catch her they may forgive her" (19/07/2018).

6.3 POLICE TREATMENT ACCORDING TO GENDER AND AGE

Beyond understanding the power differentials between ward police and street vendors, I was also interested in understanding if the vendors' experiences of mobility are affected by the social categories they inhabit. Here I explore whether the vendors are marginalized along other axes, specifically gender and age (Johansson and Vinthagen 2014). An intersectional approach to power dynamics is important for understanding the vendors' differential access and experience of mobility (Cresswell 2010, McCann 2011).

Overall, a majority of my participants explained that youth itinerant vendors do not receive different treatment by police depending on their gender. Tuyen, a 22-year-old female vendor, voiced the majority sentiment that: "The police treat male and female vendors the same.

¹¹ 1 The "Sidewalk clean-up campaign" was started in Ho Chi Minh City in 2017 and was adopted by Hanoi later that year in order to take back the streets for Hanoi's pedestrians from food stalls and motorbikes (Viet Nam News 2017)

If the vendors break the law they will be fined” (11/07/2018). Nonetheless, a minority of participants feel female vendors are forgiven more frequently. These participants suggested that it is part of the ‘female nature’ to be able to ask for forgiveness, even if it is granted very rarely. On a similar note, Thao, a 24-year-old male vendor stated: “The ward police explain more gently to female vendors but fine them the same amount” (4/06/2018). Finally, Hue, a 30-year old female vendor explained: “The ward police have more sympathy for male vendors and so treat them less severely. They see that the young men vending are the same age as the young male police officers and that they are doing very hard work” (11/07/2018).

Similarly to my findings for gender, my results indicate that there is no significant correlation between the age of the vendor and their treatment by police. Indeed, the majority of participants feel young and old vendors receive the same treatment by state officials. Chau explained: “Big and small, young and old, if the police want to catch you they will. Everyone gets fined” (29-year-old female, 9/07/2018). That being said, a small portion of participants feels that the police have more sympathy for older vendors. Nhung defended this stance by stating: “the police don’t forgive male or female vendors, they just forgive the old vendors because they are weaker” (29-year-old female, 14/07/2018). Conversely, some participants have experienced the police being more lenient with younger vendors. In line with this view, Ngoc a 16-year old female vendor explained: “some police feel sorry for us young vendors and decide not to catch us” (29/06/2018). These results suggest that while the ward police do not encourage the mobility of any itinerant vendors, they may permit some of the weakest and most vulnerable to carry out their movement with less friction (Cresswell 2010).¹²

6.4 TREATMENT BY LONG-TERM HANOI RESIDENTS

Past research on Hanoi’s street vendors has found there to be a clear hierarchy between fixed stall vendors and itinerant traders (Koh 2008, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). While long-term Hanoi residents are often permitted to set up fixed stalls on Hanoi’s pavement in exchange for a payment to the ward police, migrant itinerant vendors are actively targeted with fines (Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Adding to the tension between these two groups is the fixed traders’ low opinion of the migrant vendors. Indeed, Turner and

¹² It should, however, be noted that given that my sample of participants was composed primarily of young, female vendors, these results may be skewed. Nonetheless vendors appeared to think carefully about their comments and reflect on the experiences of others before responding.

Schoenberger (2012: 1034) explained that fixed traders look down upon itinerant vendors due to their countryside origins and “their lowly position in the social hierarchy”.

Given this context, it is not surprising that over three quarters of my participants felt that residents and police give fixed stall traders favourable treatment. Many held similar perceptions to Ngoc who stated: “The police do not say anything to fixed stall vendors but want to get rid of itinerant vendors like me. This is because the fixed stall vendors pay a monthly fee and rent the stall to sell their products” (29/06/2018).

Nonetheless, less than one quarter of my participants have an overall negative perception of Hanoi residents. The most common view, held by three quarters of respondents, is actually that there are both ‘good and bad’ long-term Hanoi residents. This opinion was voiced by Nguyet, a 24-year-old female vendor from Hung Yên Province who stated: “The residents that are originally from Hanoi are very good to the vendors, but those who have moved to Hanoi from other provinces are not nice, even if they have lived here a long time” (5/06/2018). These vendors explained that ‘bad’ residents do things such as bargain down prices, yell insults and threats at the vendors, steal or throw their products, and charge them to vend in front of their houses. Many participants feel that they are treated this way because they are poor and from the countryside. Mai a female vendor from Hung Yên Province expressed her perception of why she is treated badly by residents, namely: “Residents think that we come to Hanoi to get sympathy and to make money. The residents think that we should stay in the countryside where we have land” (Mai, 5/6/2018).

On the other hand, ‘good’ residents do not bargain much, offer the vendors food or water, give them water to clean their products, allow them to rest or vend in front of their houses, treat the vendors with kindness and respect, ask the police not to fine them or pay their fines, and even give them extra money (see Figure 6.2). I would argue that the relationships that the vendors develop with these ‘good’ residents are an important form of bridging social capital. By creating such ties with residents in higher social positions, the vendors are able to draw on different forms of support to help build sustainable livelihoods (Adler and Kwon 2002, PRI 2003, Turner 2017).



Figure 6.2: Two itinerant vendors making sales to Hanoi residents (Author)

6.5 TREATMENT BY HANOI RESIDENTS ACCORDING TO GENDER AND AGE

Given the greater social and financial capital that Hanoi residents have compared to migrant vendors, they are in a position to exert their power and authority over the vendors as described above. For this reason it is also relevant to my analysis of mobility and livelihoods to understand whether Hanoi residents exercise a different level of kindness or severity depending on whether they are interacting with male or female, or young or old itinerant vendors.

First, the majority of participants feel that their gender does not factor into their treatment by Hanoi residents. Instead, these participants feel that they are marginalized instead on the basis that they are migrants and itinerant vendors. However, it is important to note that female vendors expressed having more safety concerns than male vendors. While both male and female vendors are afraid of being mistreated by the police, scammed with fake money, and physically hurt by the weight of the products they carry, only female participants mentioned the fear of sexual assault and robbery. From the participants' statements, this perception factors into their experience of mobility within Hanoi. For instance, 27-year-old female vendor Binh explained: "If my bike breaks down on the road late at night and I need to get home, I'm very afraid of being robbed or sexually assaulted" (8/07/2018). Further, Nhung, a 29-year-old female vendor explained: "Sometimes if I go to a street with less people and I think there's a man who might tease me or try to sexually harass me I move through that area very quickly and go into a crowd of people" (14/07/2018). Clearly, these women vendor's fear of being harmed directly affects their relationship to space and the way they move through it.

Turning to age, while the majority of participants feel that residents treat vendors of all ages the same, a considerable portion suggested that old vendors are treated more kindly than young

vendors. Indeed, they suggested that the sight of old vendors with heavy products evokes sympathy from Hanoi residents. Dũng explained:

Residents feel sorry for the very old vendors and let them sit in front of their shops and homes. The residents think that the young vendors are stronger and so they should keep walking, they cannot stop and sit in front of their shops or homes (29/06/2018).

This reflects my earlier finding that some police will also treat older vendors more leniently. From this point of view, the mobility of older vendors is subject to less restrictive forces than that of younger vendors. The velocity and rhythm of the older vendors' mobility may be slower and less smooth than that of younger vendors, but the overall experience potentially faces less friction due to the identity of the mover (Cresswell 2010).

6.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

Looking back to my third research question, namely: *How do state officials and long-term Hanoi residents treat itinerant youth street vendors?* this chapter revealed four sets of useful conclusions. First, my data aligns with past findings and shows that state officials treat itinerant vendors more harshly than fixed traders. Further, I found that the severity at which the ban is enforced varies by ward, by ward official, and over time (both weekly, according to the day of the month, and from one year to the next). Second, while the majority opinion was that young, old, female and male vendors are all treated the same by the police, some feel that the mobility of most vulnerable vendors is policed more leniently. Third, while participants explained that there are cruel Hanoi residents that actively hinder their ability to secure their livelihoods, some kind residents act as an important form of bridging social capital for specific vendors. Fourth, while the majority of participants feel that they are marginalized by Hanoi residents because of their position as poor migrants rather than their gender or age, some vendors have witnessed old vendors being given more pity and hence tolerance from residents. Finally, it is important to note that the mobility of some female vendors is impacted by their fear and concerns for their safety.

CHAPTER 7: NEGOTIATING THE TERMS OF THEIR SUBORDINATION (DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Reviewing past studies on Hanoi's street vendor population reveals that attempts to carry out acts of overt resistance within Vietnam do not often yield positive results (Turner and Schoenberger 2012, Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016). This does not, however, mean that the street vendors refrain from engaging in political activity (Johansson and Vinthagen 2016, Kerkvliet 2009, Scott 1990). In this chapter I build on past research in order to conceptualize an everyday politics of youth itinerant street vendors in Hanoi.

This discussion is guided by the research question: *What mechanisms do youth itinerant street vendors draw on to cope with their treatment by state officials and long-time Hanoi residents?* In the first two sections of this chapter I present data that relates to the vendors' tactics of everyday compliance (Section 7.2) and their strategies of everyday resistance (7.3). In the final two sections I represent the experiences of four vendors through the use of narrative maps (7.5) and summarize my key research findings (7.6).

7.2 EVERYDAY COMPLIANCE

Over the course of my fieldwork it became clear that there are important ways in which itinerant vendors engage in forms of everyday compliance (Kerkvliet 2009). To clarify, compliance entails engaging in acts that may reinforce the system of authority, but doing so without the desire to sustain its domination (Kerkvliet 2009). These activities are closely related to Scott's (1990: 2) concept of the *public transcript* whereby those in subordinate positions shape their actions to match the "expectations" of "those who dominate". Scott (1990: 4) suggests: "an analysis based exclusively on the public transcript is likely to conclude that subordinate groups endorse the terms of their subordination". It is only through analyzing the discrepancies between the public and hidden transcripts that the subordinates' contempt for the dominant groups may be revealed (Scott 1990).

Reflecting these ideas, my data suggest that youth migrant vendors largely conform outwardly to the demands of police and residents. For instance some participants explained that they give money to the ward police either monthly or on national holidays not as a fine or a fee, but a 'gift'. Dũng explained:

When there is a national event, me and other vendors contribute money to the ward police. This is a customary practice – the vendors work in a ward where they are taken care of by the police. Even if police ask the vendors to move, they still take care of the ward. You want to have a good relationship with the police.

At first glance this deed could be interpreted as *support* for the ward police and even for the street vending ban that subordinates them (Kerkvliet 2009, Scott 1990). That being said, the discrepancy between this act and the critical words that this participant shared with me about their unfair treatment at the hands of the police reveals that it is more a matter of *compliance* (Kerkvliet 2009). In the words of Scott (1990: 18) “the safest and most public form of political discourse is that which takes its basis in the flattering self-image of elites”.

Many vendors expressed feelings of anger and sadness regarding when residents or police mistreat them, but feel they have no grounds to stand up for themselves. This view was held by Thanh, a vendor from Hà Tây Province, who explained: “when I am treated badly by the bad residents I am very sad but I cannot say anything, I’m not from here” (female, 14/07/2018). Echoing these sentiments, Quang, a vendor from Ba Vì confessed: “I feel very angry towards these bad Hanoi residents but I can’t say anything because I’m not from Hanoi. I just have to leave” (female, 24/06/2018). This relates directly to Scott’s (1990: 37) work on infrapolitics, as he suggests: “conformity in the face of domination is occasionally—and unforgettably—a question of suppressing a violent rage in the interest of oneself and loved ones”. Indeed, this group of participants explained that their marginalization by Hanoi residents was a condition they had to accept in order to continue vending in Hanoi.

On a related note, some participants shape their public transcript in order to appease the residents that subordinate them. For instance, it is common for young vendors to modify their accents when speaking to customers. Scott (1990: 3) explains: “one of the key survival skills of subordinate groups has been impression management in power-laden situations”. These vendors feel that they will be treated better if the residents cannot tell that they are from the countryside.

7.3 EVERYDAY RESISTANCE STRATEGIES

Beyond complying with the expectations imposed by police and residents, itinerant street vendors also find subtle and covert ways to navigate, negotiate, and resist the terms of their subordination (Scott 1990, Johansson and Vinthagen 2016, Kerkvliet 2009). Building on the

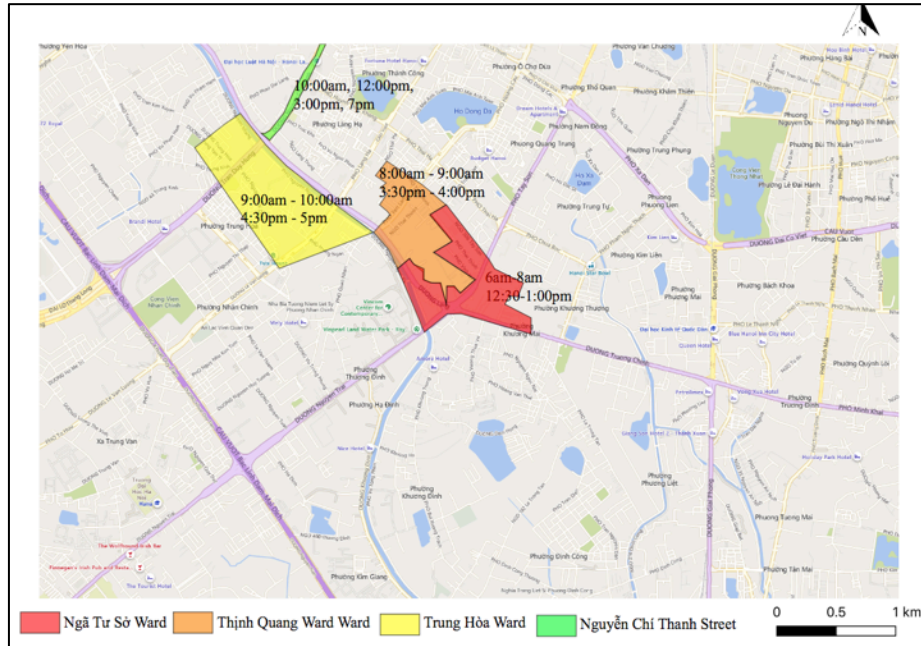
work of Eidse, Turner and Oswin (2016) and Turner and Schoenberger (2012) I argue that vendors do not simply acquiesce to the terms of the street vending ban.

Every time the vendors trade on streets or public spaces targeted by the street vending ban (or since 2017 by the Sidewalk Clean Up Campaign) they are resisting the terms of the ban by continuing to use public space for their informal, commercial activities. This is illustrative of Johansson and Vinthagen's (2016:425) argument that everyday resistance is closely "linked to space" and that "certain social groups have a higher degree of access to or power over space, while others have more limited access to space". Indeed, while both fixed stall and itinerant vendors are technically resisting the terms of the ban, this takes on a much more subversive meaning for itinerant vendors due to their lack of social capital ties with ward police and Hanoi residents.

Regarding a slightly more direct form of resistance, nearly every participant described how they must constantly be on the lookout for police and be ready to run when they see them. Many described how they run to small alleyways, or in the opposite direction, to avoid the police (see also Eidse, Turner and Oswin 2016, Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Many vendors explained the importance of always putting their weighing scales back on their bike after a sale, to avoid leaving them behind on the ground when they have to run away. Similarly, Tuyen explained: "In order to avoid the police I need to always walk around and never put down my carrying pole or basket. I need to be able to leave right away" (11/07/2018).

Further, it is clear that the participants' strategies of everyday resistance have a specific "temporalization" (Johansson and Vinthagen 2016: 427). Some vendors explained that they learn to coordinate their vending routes with the schedules of the police. For instance, at temporary morning markets near Hoàn Kiếm Lake and Thuyền Quang Lake, vendors know to clean up and leave before the police arrive around 6:30am, but may return to the same place after the ward officials have moved on to other areas. As a result, while this presents a public transcript of conformity, the hidden transcript is characterized by defiance (Scott 1990). This type of "false compliance" (Scott 1989: *ix*) happens throughout the city over the course of the day (see also Turner and Schoenberger 2012). For instance, Truc explained: "I know the schedule of the police so I can avoid being caught" (female, 12/07/2018) (see Map 7.1). Similarly, some vendors recounted that they are very strategic about the times they go into wards with expensive fines, targeting late night or weekends, when there are few police. Further, Linh explained that in order

to avoid paying the monthly fee to vend at the temporary market near Hoàn Kiếm Lake, she often arrives early and leaves before the police arrive at 6:30am so they think she only vends there a few days a week and do not make her pay the full month's fee (see Figure 7.1).



Map 7.1: Street vendor Truc's nuanced knowledge of the times police are patrolling certain areas where she vends. Times outside this schedule are when she will enter these areas to vend (6km from Old Quarter) (Author)



Figure 7.1: Police arriving at the morning market near Hoàn Kiếm Lake, 6:30a.m. (Author)

It is clear that the social networks these vendors develop among themselves, namely bonding social capital, contribute in important ways to their ability to simultaneously resist the police and to secure their livelihoods (see Figure 7.3). Indeed two-thirds of the vendors explained that they yell to nearby vendors to warn them when they see the police approaching (reflecting similar findings by Turner and Schoenberger 2012). Further, a small portion of participants also described how they use their cell-phones to warn friends and family that the police are in the area. This reflects Scott's (1990: 200) theory that "resistance is confined to the informal networks of kin, neighbours, friends and community".



Figure 7.3: It is common to see itinerant vendors selling in a group. Vendors warn each other about the presence of the police (Author)

In addition, hoping to modify the ban's regulations, many vendors will beg the police not to fine them when they are caught (Kerkvliet 2009). Indeed, Yen suggested that sometimes when vendors go to the police station if they "look really miserable . . . they may be forgiven" (11/06/2018). However, some participants suggested that only female vendors can ask the police for forgiveness, as in the words of Dũng "male vendors don't want any pity" (29-year-old female, 29/06/2018). Similarly, many suggested that females cry much more when the police catch them as a strategy – in the hopes that this might reduce their fines. Overall, these participants draw on numerous strategies to avoid being fined by police.

Finally, resistance is not just against local authorities; it can also be against local residents. Some participants described the methods they use to deceive residents or resist their authority. For instance, some vendors hide deformed or wilting flowers in the center of bouquets so residents cannot see them. Other participants suggested that during lotus season vendors pass off different flowers as lotuses so that they can charge more money. On a similar note, some participants feel that male vendors are more able to stand up against Hanoi residents that try to

over-negotiate prices or steal from the vendors. In sum, the everyday politics of youth migrant street vendors spanned the range of forms outlined by Kerkvliet (2009), as vendors strive to maintain viable livelihoods in the city.

7.4 NARRATIVE MAPS

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to provide insight into the place-based practices, strategies, and experiences of being a youth itinerant vendor within the context of Hanoi. This task has allowed me to challenge the top-down state narratives that exclude the voices of the city's migrant vendors and that construct their livelihoods as incompatible with the city's vision of modernity.

Following on from this goal, here I draw on narrative mapping as a strategy to represent the relationships between the lived experiences of individuals or groups and their socio-spatial environments (Caquard 2011, Kwan 2008, Kwan & Ding 2008). By integrating qualitative data into traditionally quantitative maps, narrative maps have become a popular method for representing the ways in which the mobility of marginalized bodies is constrained (Fawaz *et al.* 2018, Kim 2015, Matthews *et al.* 2006). Here I present four of such maps that depict the vendors' unique migration path to the city as well as their vending route within the city. The inspiration for these maps was drawn from Annette Kim's (2015) cartography project on Ho Chi Minh City.

The first map presented below represents the experience of a female vendor Vinh (Map 7.2). She is 28-years-old and has been vending in Hanoi for four years. Vinh and her husband first came to Hanoi from Ba Vi by motorbike and they pay to stay on a boat when they are in the city. She buys fruit from Long Biên Market around 4:00 am every day and vends on her bicycle until around 10:00am.

Represented in the second map is the narrative of Truc, a 28-year-old flower vendor from Thanh Hóa province (Map 7.3). She first came to Hanoi by bus and has since been vending there for five years. Every morning she purchases her products from Quảng Bá Flower Market and then vends on her motorbike from 9:00am to 10:00pm. Truc rents a room with other vendors near Quảng Bá Flower Market.



Map 7.2: Vinh's Narrative Map (Author)



Map 7.3: Truc's Narrative Map (Author)

The third map illustrates the experience of Thao, a fruit vendor from Hung Yên Province (Map 7.4). He is 24-years-old and has been vending for the past six years. Thao goes to the market at 3:00am to buy his fruit and vends around the Old-Quarter on his bicycle until 10:00am. The first time he came to Hanoi he went by bicycle. When he's in Hanoi he stays in a rented apartment near Long Biên Market with his mother.

The final map represents the experiences of Thanh, a fruit and vegetable vendor from Ba Vi (Map 7.5). She has been vending in Hanoi for ten years. Thanh initially migrated to Hanoi by bus, but she sometimes takes her bicycle to go home to the countryside. Every day she buys her products around 4:00am then cycles to her first location. Around 2:00pm she finishes vending and returns to her rented room near Long Biên Market.

Instead of advancing one uniform narrative of what it means to be a youth itinerant vendor, these maps seek to capture some of the “multiple subjectivities, truths, and meanings” of being a youth migrant vendor within Hanoi (Knigge & Cope, 2035).



Map 7.4: Thao's Narrative Map (Author)



Map 7.5: Thanh's Narrative Map (Author)

7.5 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

This project was shaped by the principal aim to: **to investigate the decision making process of young migrant street vendors (16-30) regarding why and how they undertake vending livelihoods in Hanoi, how they navigate the regulations of the street vending ban, and how they cope with the treatment they receive from local residents.**

To satisfy this aim in full, I answered four main research questions:

1. Who are the young migrant itinerant vendors of Hanoi, what are the reasons that lead them to take up vending, and how do they get established in this livelihood?

I answered this question in Chapter 4 by drawing on 35 interviews with youth itinerant vendors in Hanoi. First, I confirmed the findings of past scholarship that Hanoi's itinerant vendors are largely female migrants who are lacking higher levels of formal education, are

married, and are predominantly middle aged. I also found that *youth* migrant street vendors are a relatively small group of those vending on Hanoi's streets. This is due to the fact that youth are commonly able to gain factory or other urban work instead (there is a bias against older women workers in factories) and due to the perceived hardships vendors must endure. Similarly, I found that the disproportionate number of female vendors can be explained by the gendered norms ascribed to the practice that constructs it as 'women's work' and the greater availability of informal jobs for male migrants.

Second, I drew on the conceptual underpinnings of livelihoods scholarship to conclude that youth migrants engage in vending as a strategy of livelihood diversification in order to supplement other household incomes. Many migrants go to Hanoi to vend when their family's farming income is not sufficient, when there are problems with their crops or livestock, or when there is no planting or harvesting to be done. Vending is preferred over factory work as its flexibility affords vendors the opportunity to return to the countryside when need be.

Finally, I found that youth migrant vendors overwhelmingly draw on bonding social capital in order to begin their vending careers, gaining knowledge from extended family and friends regarding products to sell, favourable routes, and potential customers.

2. What urban spaces do youth migrant street vendors utilize in Hanoi, how do they use them, and why?

My investigation of this question in Chapter 5 was guided by mobilities and everyday politics literature and revealed two sets of notable conclusions. First, I found that young itinerant vendors travel an extensive network of Hanoi's sidewalks and roads for work especially to reach regular customers. In selecting a route, the vendors tend to pick areas with a high concentration of customers and a reputation for having wealthier residents. Additionally, the vendors' routes are sensitive to the spatiality and temporality of their customers' daily routines including the time and location of their morning exercise, their lunch break, and their daily commute. However, many vendors are forced to access a more narrow range of spaces than they would like, given that the city's street vending ban is enforced more intensively in certain areas.

Second, while the majority of youth itinerant vendors do not have enough time to engage in leisure practices in public spaces, those that do tend to visit spiritual spaces, historical spaces, recreational spaces, and to a lesser degree service spaces. They do not have the financial capital

to access spaces that charge an access fee such as some larger parks, cinemas, or specific cultural spaces. Thus due to both policy and lack of financial capital, young street vendors access a very precise and fairly confined range of public spaces, finding their mobility curtailed during both work and leisure times.

3. How do state officials and long-term Hanoi residents treat itinerant youth street vendors?

To address this question I referenced key elements of mobilities scholarship and everyday politics literature. In Chapter 6, my investigation revealed that youth itinerant vendors are highly marginalized by state officials and many Hanoi residents. First, ward police actively hinder the vendors' abilities to secure their livelihoods by giving them fines and confiscating their products and equipment. Significantly, many feel the severity at which the ban is implemented has increased in recent years resulting in more frequent and more expensive fines. That being said, a small number of participants feel that the more vulnerable members of the street vending community, including the very young and old vendors, receive more lenient treatment from the ward police.

Second, many Hanoi residents act as a significant source of friction for the vendors as they impede their ability to secure their livelihoods. These residents over negotiate prices, steal from the vendors, yell at them to go away, or charge them to stand in front of their houses. That being said, some good residents act as an important form of bridging social capital for vendors as they offer them various forms of support. For instance some 'good' vendors offer the vendors water to clean their products, a place to vend in front of their shops or houses, food and drink when it is hot out, and assistance in avoiding the police. Further, while some participants feel that the mobility of young and old vendors is policed more leniently, others feel that Hanoi residents have more pity and tolerance for older vendors. Finally, some of my female participants shared how their mobility within Hanoi can at times be shaped by their safety concerns.

4. What mechanisms do youth itinerant street vendors draw on to cope with their treatment by state officials and long-time Hanoi residents?

The discussion of my final research question was guided by everyday politics concepts outlined in Chapter 2. Notably, I found that young itinerant vendors draw on the strategies of

everyday compliance and resistance in order to navigate the street vending ban and to cope with the negative treatment they receive from Hanoi residents. Their strategies of compliance include giving ‘gifts’ to the ward police, staying silent when treated badly by residents, and adopting a different accent when talking to customers. These actions allow the vendors to shape their ‘public transcripts’ when interacting with ward police and long-term Hanoi residents (Scott 1990).

Further, although overt acts of resistance are not possible in the semi-authoritarian context of Vietnam, these vendors find covert and subtle ways to negotiate the regulations of the ban and to secure their livelihoods. Many vendors engage in everyday resistance strategies by vending on streets included in the street-vending ban, running away from the police, and learning the police schedule in order to avoid being caught. Similarly, many participants explained how social networks comprised of other vendors act as an important form of bonding social capital whereby the vendors call or yell to one another to warn each other about the presence of the police.

Within this thesis, I have sought to formulate a comprehensive picture of the experience of being a young migrant street vendor in the highly antagonistic context of Hanoi, Vietnam. This research offers one of the first attempts to tie together livelihoods literature, mobility studies literature, and everyday politics scholarship for the purpose of understanding the perceptions, motivations, and experiences of *young* itinerant vendors in Hanoi. How this community of vendors will continue to access Hanoi’s streets, as the city continues to experience dramatic change in urban form and restrictive policies regarding access to public spaces, is not yet known. That being said, this thesis has shown that while a small group of the city’s public space users, young migrant street vendors are resilient in the face of a number of obstacles and setbacks that hinder their ability to create sustainable livelihoods.

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Appendix A: Pseudonyms and details of 35 street vendor participants.

Name	Location of Origin	Time Vending	Goods Vended	Gender	Age
Thao	Hung Yên Province	6 years	Pineapples	Male	24
Hoa	Đông Anh District, Hanoi	16 years	Flowers	Female	30
Linh	Thái Bình Province	6 months	Lychee	Female	28
Mai	Hung Yên Province	5 years	Recycled Objects	Female	24
Nguyet	Hung Yên Province	10 years	Fruit	Female	24
Phuong	Ba Vì, Hanoi	6 years	Mango	Female	28
Tam	Hung Yên Province	15 years	Clothing and Accessories	Female	29
Thi	Hung Yên Province	2 years	Jasmine Plants	Female	26
Thuy	Hung Yên Province	10 years	Lotus Flowers	Female	25
Tien	Hung Yên Province	4 years	Small White Flowers	Female	27
Yen	Hung Yên Province	10 years	Roses and Lilies	Female	29
Tuyet	Hoài Đức, Hanoi	5 days	Green Buddha	Female	25
Vinh	Ba Vì, Hanoi	3.5 years	Lychee, Pineapple, and Limes	Female	28
Minh	Hòa Bình Province	5 years	Live Chicken and Geese	Male	29
Quy	Ba Vì, Hanoi	3 years	Fruits, Garlic, Shallots	Female	24
Quang	Ba Vì, Hanoi	2 years	Fruits and Limes	Female	24
Thom	Ba Vì, Hanoi	11 years	Fruit	Female	27
Thi	Ba Vì, Hanoi	2 years	Fruit	Female	17
Ngoc	Ba Vì, Hanoi	6 months	Fruit	Female	16
Dũng	Ba Vì, Hanoi	4 years	Fruits and Lemons	Male	19
Lanh	Từ Liêm District,	3 years	Young Rice	Female	30

	Hanoi				
Hue	Hà Nam province	11.5 years	Lychee	Female	30
Ái	Thường Tín District, Hanoi	13 years	Morning Glory	Female	28
Duc	Ba Vì, Hanoi	3 years	Fruits and Lemons	Male	19
Binh	Ba Vì, Hanoi	13 years	Bananas and other Fruits	Female	27
Chau	Từ Liêm District, Hanoi	15 years	Flowers	Female	29
Hau	Ba Vì, Hanoi	4 years	Chilies, Limes, Root Vegetables	Female	29
Tuyen	Phú Thọ Province	3 years	Sticky Rice	Female	22
Danh	Thanh Hóa Province	2 years	Flowers	Male	23
Truc	Thanh Hóa Province	5 years	Flowers	Female	28
Thanh	Hà Tây Province	10 years	Small Green Fruit, Limes, Taro	Female	29
Cuc	Hưng Yên Province	8 years	Taro, Garlic, Tomatoes, Ginger	Female	27
Xuan	Nam Định Province	2 years	Coconut Snack	Female	29
Nhung	Hà Tây Province	6 years	Cooked Sweet Potato	Female	29
Bich	Ứng Hòa District, Hanoi	5 years	Lychee	Female	27