



# Essential Trade

---

*Vietnamese Women  
in a Changing Marketplace*

ANN MARIE LESHKOWICH

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII PRESS

*Honolulu*

© 2014 University of Hawai'i Press

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

19 18 17 16 15 14 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Leshkowich, Ann Marie, author.

Essential trade : Vietnamese women in a changing marketplace / Ann Marie Leshkowich.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8248-3990-1 (hardcover : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-8248-3991-8 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Women merchants—Vietnam—Ho Chi Minh City. 2. Clothing trade—Vietnam—  
Ho Chi Minh City. 3. Sex role in the work environment—Vietnam—Ho Chi Minh City.  
4. Cho Bến Thành (Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam) I. Title.

HD6072.6.V52H667 2014

381'.4568708209597—dc23

2014010398

This book was supported in part by the AAS First Book Subvention Program.

University of Hawai'i Press books are printed on acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for  
permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Series design by Rich Hendel

# Essential Trade

# Southeast Asia

POLITICS, MEANING, AND MEMORY

*David Chandler and Rita Smith Kipp*

SERIES EDITORS

*For Noah and Allegra,  
whose love, patience, and wit have sustained me and  
who have taught me to find joy in the  
little pleasures of daily life.*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Like the traders in Bến Thành market, I have benefited from a rich network of colleagues, family, and friends. This project began at Harvard University, where both Mary Steedly and Hue-Tam Ho Tai nurtured my interest in Vietnam, gender, life narratives, and political economy. Innovative, generous scholars both, their mentorship continues to support me. Courses and conversations with Rubie Watson, Stanley Tambiah, Sally Falk Moore, Michael Herzfeld, Woody Watson, and Ted Bestor shaped methodology and content. Numerous colleagues at College of the Holy Cross have provided advice and constructive criticism: Daniel Goldstein, David Hummon, Jerry Lembcke, Royce Singleton, Edward Thompson, Caroline Yezer, Jennie Germann Molz, Susan Crawford Sullivan, Karen Gottschang Turner, and Diane Niblack Fox. Mary K. Arseniadis, Suzanne Roath, and Martha Walters served as research assistants, Michele Latour provided administrative support, and John Buckingham prepared the figures for publication. From the moment I joined this vibrant community, Susan Rodgers has been an incomparable role model of a scholar and teacher. Her experience guides me on a daily basis, for which I am enormously grateful.

Over the past twenty years, scholars conducting research in Vietnam have offered intellectual and ethnographic insight, as well as friendship: Narquis Barak, Mark Bradley, Lisa Drummond, Martin Gainsborough, Erik Harms, Laurel Kendall, Hy Van Luong, Ken MacLean, Pamela McElwee, Shawn McHale, Ngo Nhu Binh, Nguyễn-võ Thu-hương, Kim Ninh, Stephen O'Harrow, Natasha Pairaudeau, Melissa Pashigian, Philippe Peycam, Harriet Phinney, Merav Shohet, Mark Sidel, Nora Taylor, Allison Truitt, and Quang Phu Van. I am particularly indebted to Christina Schwenkel for reading the entire manuscript and providing astute suggestions about how to refine and reorganize the argument. This project has been nurtured throughout by the Cambridge Writing Circle: Manduhai Buyandelger, Jennifer Cole, Elizabeth Ferry, Marla Frederick, Sara Friedman, Sandra Teresa Hyde, Smita Lahiri, Janet McIntosh, Heather Paxson, Karen Strassler, Ajantha Subramanian, and Christine Walley. Carla Freeman has helped to refine my observations about gender and class. Carla Jones has become a dear friend, who on numerous occasions has put aside her own pressing deadlines to



brainstorm about developing an argument or reorganizing a chapter, or to convince me that this work is ready to be sent out into the world.

In Vietnam, the University of Social Sciences and Humanities of the National University of Ho Chi Minh City has sponsored my research. Võ Văn Sen, Bùi Khánh Thế, Nguyễn Thị Ngọc Hân, and Nguyễn Thị Oanh offered practical, intellectual, and linguistic advice. My research assistant Trần Thị Kim Liên became a trusted colleague who expanded my understanding of Bến Thành market. Hồ Đào, Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy, and Trương Thị Xuân Mai and her family provided friendship and practical support. The stallholders of Bến Thành market welcomed and befriended me. While I cannot name them here, I hope that I have related their stories in a manner befitting their trust and *tình cảm*.

My fieldwork and writing have been funded by a variety of sources: the Joint Committee on Southeast Asia of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Henry Luce Foundation; a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship; a Merit Fellowship from Harvard University; an International Pre-dissertation Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies with funds provided by the Ford Foundation; the Cora DuBois Charitable Trust; a Mellon Foundation Dissertation Completion Fellowship; the American Philosophical Society; an O'Leary Faculty Recognition Award; and Faculty Fellowships and Research and Publications Awards from the College of the Holy Cross.

Pamela Kelley of the University of Hawai'i Press has provided astute guidance throughout the submission, revision, and production process. Series editors David Chandler and Rita Smith Kipp offered detailed comments on the entire manuscript, as did Sara Freidman and other reviewers for both the University of Hawai'i and the University of California Press. Earlier versions of portions of Chapters 2 and 7 previously appeared in "Making Class and Gender: (Market) Socialist Enframing of Traders in Ho Chi Minh City," *American Anthropologist* 113, no. 2 (2011): 277–290. An earlier version of Chapter 5 was published as "Wandering Ghosts of Late Socialism: Conflict, Metaphor, and Memory in a Southern Vietnamese Marketplace," *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 1 (2008): 5–41. Some ethnographic material from Chapter 3 appeared in "Entrepreneurial Families in Vietnam," *Education about Asia* 13, no. 1 (2008): 11–16.

Personal thanks to Meredith Leshkowich, whose experiences as a single mother first made me aware of the intersection between gender, agency, cul-



ture, and economics; to my husband, Noah Berger, who encouraged me to pursue my interest in Vietnam and unreservedly supported the entire process, even though it meant that I repaid him by traveling halfway around the world, isolating myself in my study, and taking far longer to complete this book than either of us imagined; to his parents, Pamela Berger and Alan Berger, who have taught me how to balance kinship and intellectual pursuits; and to my daughter, Allegra, who embodies the energy and joy that is her name and has added to it a wisdom, humor, strength, and care for others that is uniquely her own.

\* \* \*

All photographs were taken by the author. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

CPSIA information can be obtained at [www.ICGtesting.com](http://www.ICGtesting.com)

Printed in the USA

BVOW03\*1348070515

399330BV00004B/102/P



9 780824 839901

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	<i>ix</i>
Introduction: Trading Essentialism under Market Socialism	<i>1</i>
1. Placing Bến Thành Market: The Naturalization of Space and Commerce	<i>30</i>
2. Marketing Femininity: Gender Essentialism in Traders' Daily Lives	<i>48</i>
3. Relative Matters: Family Values and Kinship Relations in Market Stalls	<i>77</i>
4. Inside and Outside: Sociofiscal Relationships and the Risks of Doing Business	<i>97</i>
5. Wandering Ghosts of Market Socialism: Governmentality and Memory in the Marketplace	<i>127</i>
6. Superstitious Values and Religious Subjectivity: Stallholders' Spiritual Beliefs and Practices	<i>150</i>
7. Producing Down and Consuming Up: Middle Classmaking under (Market) Socialism	<i>174</i>
Epilogue: "If You Haven't Been to Bến Thành Market, You Haven't Been to Vietnam"	<i>195</i>
Notes	<i>207</i>
References	<i>221</i>
Index	<i>245</i>

# Introduction

## *Trading Essentialism under Market Socialism*

---

He doesn't sell as well as me. Naturally, it's because he's a man.

Bến Thành market clothing seller, speaking about her husband

When I first visited Ho Chi Minh City in 1988, trade was sluggish. Bến Thành market, one of Vietnam's most famous and enduring symbols of commerce, was dingy and in ill repair, its stained cement walls and stall counters crumbling and its aisles strewn with dirt and trash. Haggard and bored, the female sellers beseeched customers to buy produce, housewares, and clothing displayed in baskets or arranged on tarps. The quasi-legal trade on the streets outside the market seemed to fare only slightly better.

This disheartening state of commerce contrasted sharply with optimistic accounts in the international press that for the previous two years had heralded market-oriented policies known as *Đổi mới* as a sign that Vietnam would move away from socialism and follow China down the road of reform and prosperity. Literally "change to the new" and commonly translated as "Renovation," *Đổi mới* did not yet have readily apparent effects in Bến Thành market and its environs. In fact, 1988 proved an economically trying year. A poor harvest in the north fueled rumors of impending famine. Annual inflation rates soared to 500 percent. Declining foreign aid and continuing military involvement in Cambodia left the Vietnamese government unable to fund social services such as education and health care. Everyone I met voiced concern about the growing gap between those with means and those without.

Less than a decade later, the promise of *Đổi mới* seemed closer to being realized. Downtown Ho Chi Minh City, which residents continued to call by its pre-1975 name of Saigon, buzzed with commerce. Almost every housefront and curbside was taken over by petty traders. A casual walk down

most streets in the former capital of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) yielded a cornucopia of items for sale. As one local saying goes, "Step outside your house, and there's a market" (*Bước ra khỏi nhà là chợ*).

In the midst of this resurgent metropolis-as-market, the literal marketplace known as Bến Thành also seemed reborn. Its iconic clock tower repainted and its stalls repaired (Figure 1), Bến Thành was recovering its former luster, its prominence on tourist itineraries, and its reputation for cutthroat competition and sweet-talking traders that required buyers to beware. The market offered just about every conceivable commodity: housewares, prepared food, vegetables, fruit, meat, fish, clothing, cosmetics, sundries, shoes, handicrafts, jewelry, and cloth. Stallholders responded to growing tourist traffic by stocking souvenirs, such as lacquerware, beaded slippers, embroidered handbags, artwork, and fabric for *áo dài*, Vietnam's much-touted national costume. Perhaps because of this growing international clientele, which included both foreigners and emigrated Vietnamese returning to visit relatives, many Saigon residents preferred outlying markets with cheaper goods and selections that better met their needs. Others worried that the exuberant consumption occurring in Bến Thành and elsewhere signaled the rise of a selfish materialism that would exclude the working class and poor. For the city's growing middle classes, however, Bến Thành remained a popular shopping destination, particularly on Sunday afternoons and in the weeks leading up to the Lunar New Year (Tết), when the aisles were packed with women and families comparing goods and prices.

Its prominence made Bến Thành market a focal point in debates about Vietnam's cultural heritage and future. In preparation for the city's three hundredth anniversary in 1998, several readers of local newspapers proposed the French colonial structure as the city's symbol due to its international renown and significance to Vietnamese domestically and overseas (Nguyễn Vinh San 1997; Trần Hoàng 1997). With its recently recovered vitality providing evidence of the benefits of market-oriented reforms, it seemed an apt emblem of past, present, and future commercial fortunes. Its more than 1,400 stalls packed into 10,800 square meters also suggested the dynamism of Vietnam's grassroots entrepreneurship and the hope voiced in the ubiquitous government slogan, "Rich people, strong country" (*Dân giàu nước mạnh*).<sup>1</sup>

Less favorable reports suggested that Bến Thành was not modern enough. City planners entertained proposals to raze the building and replace it with an international trade center. The economic crisis that hit the region in 1997 granted a reprieve from these plans. Soon after, tourism and the expansion of the urban middle class rebounded and, with them, the market's fortunes.



Figure 1: Bến Thành market, Ho Chi Minh City.

By 2006, trade had become so lucrative that the international press reported the value of one square meter of retail space in Bến Thành to be the most expensive in the world (Aglionby 2006; Vũ Bình and Hoài Trang 2006). Although rightly doubted by the denizens of the marketplace, this exaggerated claim, plus a new floor, video monitors displaying ads, and a bustling outdoor night market, enhanced the market's cachet as a retail hotspot (Figure 2). Talk of rebuilding surfaced once again, only this time with greater attention to preserving the market's "traditional" charm.

Bến Thành's straddling of timelessness and change, of tradition and modernity, may have fueled its economic fortunes, but it also raised contradictions that frequently worked to denigrate or marginalize its traders. Far from being appreciated as part of modern growth, Bến Thành evoked images of an old-fashioned *chợ* (marketplace) in which women hawked small amounts of goods, many of them produced at home, in order to support their families. This presumed character of the *chợ* and of the *tiểu thương* (petty traders) who operated its stalls in turn rested on two kinds of essentialism that ascribed their distinctive features to supposedly underlying, natural

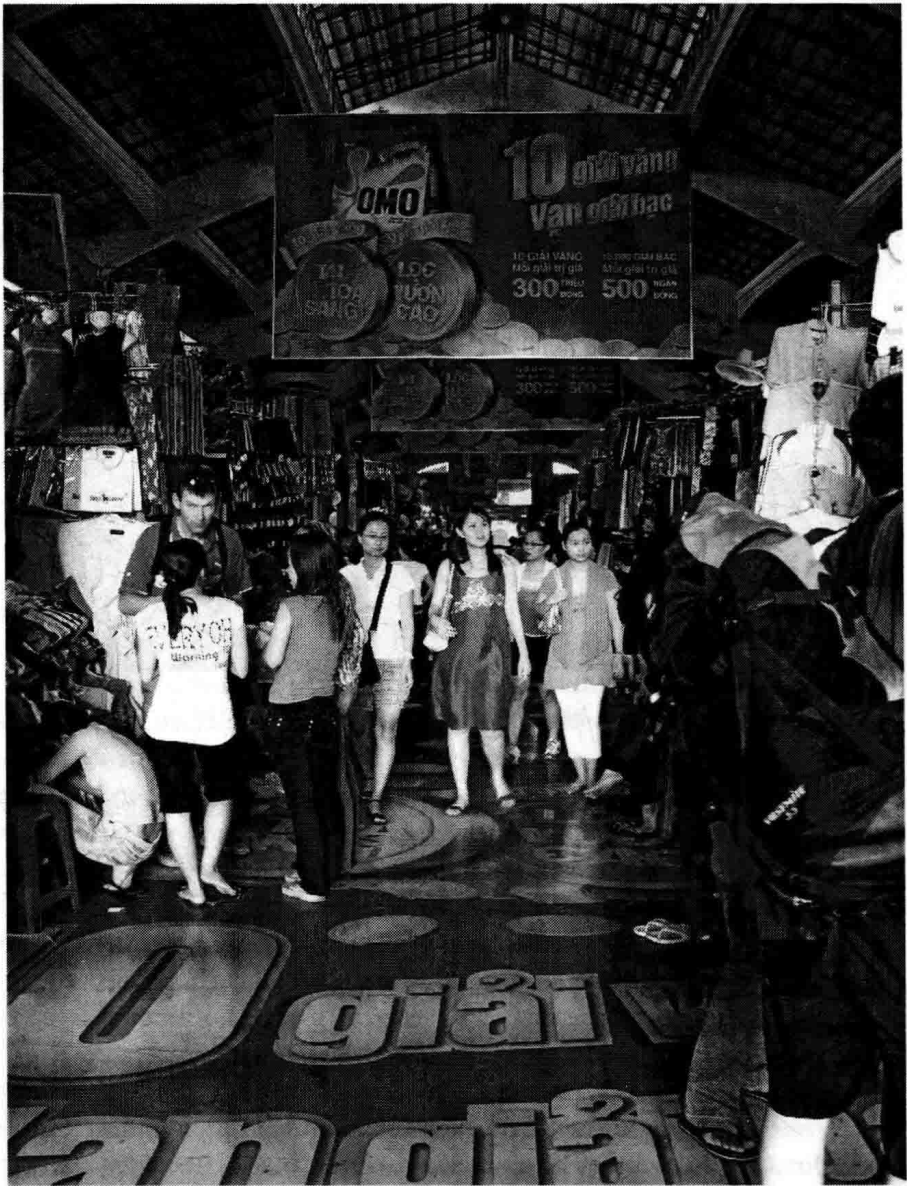


Figure 2: The market's central aisle in 2008.



qualities. First, the *chợ* is said to have always been a woman's domain because of Vietnamese women's natural aptitude for trade. Unlike men, women are thought to possess the patience and sweet-talking charm needed to clinch a sale. Although the prominent role of women in commerce is sometimes nationalistically heralded as the survival of an indigenous tradition predating the imposition of Chinese Confucian patriarchy, it is more often used to support a second essentialism: that trade falls outside the core of Vietnamese cultural identity rooted in an agrarian and scholarly ethos. *Tiểu thương* are assumed to be self-interested and greedy, resistant to the norms of morality and social order.<sup>2</sup> Banners strung from the rafters of the market reminding traders to conduct business in a civilized (*văn minh*) manner worthy of the city bearing Hồ Chí Minh's name clearly suggested that, left to their own devices, they were liable to behave otherwise.<sup>3</sup>

During the 1990s, the marginalization of *tiểu thương* centered on claims that traders generally lacked culture (*thiếu văn hóa*) and had low educational levels (*trình độ học vấn thấp*), two phrases that indicated a backward (*lạc hậu*) view of the world inimical to the civilized modernity sought through Đổi mới. Traders were also criticized for following superstitious (*mê tín*) practices, including divination and the worship of spirits of fortune. Such forms of marketplace spirituality compared unfavorably to the officially recognized religions of Buddhism and ancestor worship that were experiencing a revival and were redolent with presumably positive aspects of Vietnamese heritage. Taken together, these claims positioned female traders in the context of rapid economic growth in the 1990s as naturally, essentially backward—a source of disorder ready to undermine rational development.

We have, then, two visions of chợ Bến Thành: one of a marketplace in step with and contributing to broader economic and cultural transformations, the other of a repository of timeless femininity mired in unseemly Vietnamese traditions that should be abandoned. Given that Ho Chi Minh City and Vietnam had by the mid-1990s fallen under the thrall of development ideologies, one would expect traders to embrace the first image and combat the gender and identity essentialisms that trapped them in the second. Instead, during nearly two years of fieldwork in Bến Thành market, I found quite the contrary. Traders frequently said and did things that affirmed essentialism. The trader quoted at the beginning of this introduction provides a typical example: "He doesn't sell as well as me. Naturally, it's because he's a man." The statement asserts the trader's selling skill to be due to her own femininity. Her husband, as a man, "naturally" cannot sell as well as she does. That women were "naturally" at home in the marketplace could be further confirmed by a quick look around

Bến Thành, where women ran approximately 85 percent of the cloth and clothing stalls on which my research focused.

As is often the case with essentialism, it did not take much digging to unearth causal factors shaping Bến Thành market's trade and women's roles in it that were anything but natural or timeless. Over the previous forty years, traders and their businesses had weathered the seismic political, economic, and social shifts of civil war, postwar economic restructuring, socialist cooperativization, and *Đổi mới*. One can scarcely imagine a more volatile context for retail trade. As we will see, it was precisely these complicated twists and turns of political economy that women explained had led them to pursue trade and made it easier for them, as opposed to men, to acquire stalls in Bến Thành market. Many traders pointed to these histories to rail against the stereotypes that denied them respect. Far from ignorant and backward, they assured me, they had educations that had been interrupted by war and its aftermath. Their subsequent success came from hard work, sacrifice, and savvy, not from natural femininity. Traders also invoked essentialism strategically to secure advantage in the marketplace. When faced with critical officials, skeptical customers, or demanding creditors, a trader might refer to herself self-deprecatingly as a mere woman lacking knowledge and sophistication. Because strategy is often assumed to rest on artifice and insincerity, one might conclude that women traders mobilized gender essentialism precisely because they did not believe it—yet another throwaway claim in a marketplace in which hyperbole is just as trafficked as any material good.

These suspicions—that essentialism is objectively false, that it marginalizes or oppresses by reducing people to some presumed inevitable natural quality, and that the only constructive approach for victims of essentialism would be its rejection or, possibly, crass manipulation for strategic advantage—would all find ample support in critical scholarship on gender. In opposition to Western Enlightenment claims that who we are stems from some essence or internal core that predates our physical embodiment, most gender scholars and cultural anthropologists tend toward a constructivist position that the human subject does not exist prior to its formation through language, culture, and social relations. Such claims are inspired in particular by the work of Michel Foucault (1990 [1978]) and Judith Butler (1999 [1990]), who argue that the idea that individuals could have a presocial sex or gender is itself a cultural notion shaped through historically specific power relations. It follows from this perspective that human agency, defined as the capacity to engage in meaningful action and interaction, is not something that in-