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Traditional Fresh Markets and the Supermarket Revolution: A Case Study on Châu Long Market

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Traditional Fresh Markets and the Supermarket Revolution: A Case Study on Châu Long Market

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Abstract

In many middle income countries throughout the world, yet particularly in Asia, public markets face pressure from the simultaneous forces of globalization, commercialization, and urbanization. One such country is Vietnam due to its rapid rates of urban growth since opening its doors to the global economy in 1986. In Hanoi, public markets face particularly intense pressure because the Hanoi People Committee's Market Redevelopment Plan is systemically redeveloping its traditional fresh markets into commercial centers and building supermarkets and hypermarkets throughout the city. The purpose of this plan is to civilize the city and combat food safety concerns through modernizing retail outlets that distribute food (Geertman 2011) despite evidence illustrating how public markets tackle many of the complex challenges cities face (PPS, 2003).

The purpose of this project is to complete a case study on Châu Long Market, a neighborhood market in Hanoi, Vietnam, that was slated for redevelopment into a commercial trading center in 2007 (Huong 2007). This study sought to understand the role Châu Long Market plays in local people's daily lives, how local people perceive the market's redevelopment plan and the rise of supermarkets in Hanoi, and how they envision the market to meet their needs in the future. To complete this study, 26 interviews with vendors, customers, local chefs, and local architecture professionals were conducted. Additionally, guidance was received and work was undertaken through a short-term internship at HealthBridge Vietnam, a Canadian NGO with a program that advocates for the protection of public spaces with public health goals in mind. The combination of these methods led this study to recommend that the Hanoi People's Committee, its investors, and the local people who rely on Châu Long Market should collaborate to create an alternate plan for the future of the market that preserves and improves the space while keeping its authentic form, function, and character intact.

Keywords: Public Markets, Traditional Fresh Markets, Supermarket Revolution, Hanoi's Market Redevelopment Plan

Abbreviations: Châu Long Market (CLM), HealthBridge Vietnam (HBV), Hanoi People's Committee (HPC), Hanoi Cooking Centre (HCC)

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Lastly I would like to thank my translators, Vi, Tet, Ly, and Tram, for donating their time and talent to my project. All four of them approached visiting the market with enthusiasm and were always willing to help when I needed it! I feel incredibly lucky to have had such wonderful translators by my side.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this paper to the vendors I spoke with at Châu Long Market. I feel incredibly lucky that this project lead me to meet such hard working women and I cannot thank them enough for the time they took out of their busy days to speak with me. By the third and fourth times I visited the market, several of the vendors recognized me and waved or said hello. Receiving these forms of recognition, however slight, as well as learning from my translators about how much they appreciated my interest in their opinions, truly inspired me to throughout the duration of this study.

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Introduction and Background

In many middle income countries throughout the world, yet particularly in Asia, public markets face pressure from the simultaneous forces of globalization, commercialization, and urbanization. One such country is Vietnam due to its rapid rates of urban growth since opening its doors to the global economy in 1986. In Hanoi, public markets face particularly intense pressure because the Hanoi People Committee's Market Redevelopment Plan is systemically redeveloping its traditional fresh markets into commercial centers and building supermarkets and hypermarkets throughout the city. The purpose of this plan is to civilize the city and combat food safety concerns through modernizing retail outlets that distribute food (Geertman 2011) despite evidence illustrating how public markets tackle many of the complex challenges cities face (PPS, 2003).

The purpose of this project is to complete a case study on Châu Long Market (CLM), a neighborhood market in Hanoi, Vietnam, that was slated for redevelopment into a commercial trading center in 2007 (Huong 2007). This study sought to understand the role Châu Long Market plays in local people's daily lives, how local people perceive the market's redevelopment plan and Hanoi's rise in supermarkets, and how they envision the market to meet their needs in the future. Finally, with local voices understood, this study seeks to shed light on a wider Hanoi issue as it unfolds.

Part 1: Understanding and Defining Public Markets

Like streets, sidewalks, street markets, playgrounds, parks, and community centers, public markets are public spaces where people can relax, chat, stroll, shop, and exercise their communal freedom to be in that space. Public markets can assume different sizes, shapes, smells, and stockpiles depending on where they are located and how they are managed. As the Project for Public Spaces outlines, however, public markets share three key characteristics (PPS 2003):

1. Public markets uphold public goals and promote community engagement
2. Public markets are located in or create a shared community space
3. Public markets are comprised of local owners and operators

Based on these characteristics, public markets are places that stimulate the local economy because they provide local people with the opportunity to buy and sell local goods. Beyond this

basic economic function, however, public markets provide community's with several benefits, such as providing a safe and accessible place for people of all ages, classes, races, and genders to shop and meet. Additionally, they provide a distinctive shopping experience for local consumers through their employment of local entrepreneurs (PPS, 2003).

In many cities throughout the world, markets are positioned at the epicenter of economic, and social life (Daniel and Nestico, 2015), though they are referred to with different phrases depending on their geographic region. In most of Asia, public markets are called fresh markets or wet markets (Daniel and Nestico, 2015). However, in Europe they are typically called markets and in North America they are typically called farmers markets (Daniel and Nestico, 2015). For the purposes of this paper, the term "public market" will be used when making general statements about street markets selling fresh foods to local people around the world. Meanwhile, the term "traditional fresh market" will be used to describe the same in Hanoi. The wording "traditional fresh market" is important to this study of CLM because it represents a larger scale Vietnamese tradition and exists as the most accessible source of fresh food in the ward it is located in.

In Hanoi, as in other cities, there are three types of traditional fresh markets. Type 1 refers to a large-scale market that serves the whole city, while a Type 2 Markets serve an area radius of 2,500-3,000m and a Type 3 Market serves a large ward or residential area (HealthBridge Presentation 2011). A Type 3 Market is comprehensively referred to as a neighborhood market, while a Type 1 Market is considered a city market. In 2010, there were 13 Type 1 Markets, 67 Type 2 Markets, 300 Type 3 Markets and 30 non-categorized markets in Hanoi (HealthBridge Presentation 2011). This study will focus specifically on a Type 3 or neighborhood market, called Châu Long, that serves the Trúc Bạch ward in the Ba Đình district of Hanoi. The reason for selecting a Type 3 or neighborhood market for this case study is because these types of markets have the greatest effects on local people's daily lives. Since their location makes them convenient for nearby residents, they are usually visited by the same local shoppers every single day. In order to grasp an understanding of how the supermarket revolution impacts local people, a neighborhood market is thus the best choice of study.

Part 2: Introduction to Châu Long Market

As mentioned before, Châu Long Market is a neighborhood, or Type 3, market located in the Trúc Bạch ward in the Ba Đình district of Hanoi, Vietnam. This market occupies an area of about 2,000sqm and serves a ward populated by 12,000 people (Dinh 2014). As a neighborhood market, the majority of CLM's vendors and customers live within Trúc Bạch ward. Thus, as tradition holds, this market exists at the epicenter of the economic and social fabric of Trúc Bạch ward (Daniel and Nestico, 2015). CLM, like any traditional fresh market in Hanoi, is a delightfully colorful, yet admittedly nauseating mix of sights and smells that verify the freshness of the meats, poultry, fish, vegetables, and fruits sold there. As handfulls of hasty shoppers scoot from stall to stall on their motorbikes and vendors stand alert behind mounds of fresh vegetables and entrails of every variety, it is easy to sense the importance of this space to the livelihoods of the people who frequent it. This observation, and others, has played an integral role in the evolution of the following study.

Part 3: Research Questions and Initial Assumptions

The overarching goal of this case study is to understand how traditional fresh markets and the local people that shop at them are effected by the supermarket revolution in Hanoi, Vietnam. More specifically, the purpose of the study is to understand the role in which a traditional fresh market plays in local people's daily lives, to understand the threats the market faces, and to understand how local people envision its future. Originally, I hoped to learn about future visions of Châu Long Market with a more focused look at policy, however decided to base my policy recommendations through a research questions based on how local people envision the market's future based on their needs rather than focusing on policy in a more determined manner. Thus, to complete this study, the following questions were considered:

1. What role does Châu Long Market play in the daily lives of local vendors and customers?
2. How is Châu Long Market threatened by Hanoi's rapid urbanization and the effects of globalization and how do local people perceive these threats?
3. How do local people envision the future of Châu Long Market and why?

Based on preliminary literature review and conversations with HealthBridge staff, I hypothesized that vendors and customers would describe their daily interactions at CLM in terms of economic considerations, social relationships, cultural ties, and health concerns. I also expected that CLM

vendors would feel threatened by the competition from supermarkets and fearful of the redevelopment plan, while assuming customers would dislike the higher prices of goods at both of these outlets. Finally, knowing that many redeveloped markets in Hanoi are operating ineffectively, I assumed that most of my interviewees would wish for Châu Long Market's preservation as a traditional fresh market, rather than the completion of the redevelopment plan. Overall, I hoped to fill a void I have noticed in the existing research that does not include thorough, micro-level case studies on individual traditional fresh markets, especially in South East Asia. Thus, I also hoped to capitalize on the uniqueness of my study by testing international experience at the micro-level.

Work Undertaken

In addition to completing the research goals of this project, I also completed a short-term internship at the NGO I partnered with, HealthBridge Vietnam (HBV). HealthBridge is an international NGO with its headquarters in Canada. HealthBridge has a variety of policy advocacy campaigns, all of which assume a public health agenda and promote public awareness of key issues such as maternal health, tobacco control, and the livability of cities. I worked specifically with HBV's Livable Cities Program, which advocates for access to parks and public spaces, access to healthy transportation, and the preservation of local public markets (HealthBridge Vietnam 2014). Due to the vibrancy of HealthBridge's program for public markets, my project was well supported by their resources and staff. The purpose of the internship portion of my project was to utilize these resources and gain first hand experience with the daily functions of an international NGO, yet I also hoped to contribute to the office's projects and programs in any way that I could and I hoped that my research findings might be a useful addition to their campaign.

Over the course of the ISP period, I spent a total of thirteen eight-hour days at the HealthBridge office, totaling 104 hours. The majority of this time was spent working on my project and discussing questions with my ISP advisor, Chi Ha, as need be. However, I also participated in the daily functions of the office, such as daily lunch and afternoon exercise, and helped edit several English reports. Additionally, I gave a presentation called "Using Social Media for Advocacy Campaigns" per the request of HBV's country director. To do so, I

organized an online survey to get a sense of what staff members would want to learn about during my presentation and utilized blog and media posts that I composed last summer to provide examples of my relevant experience. HBV staff is relatively new to using social media as an advocacy campaign tool and I was happy to share my experiences with them. I hope that they continue reaching out to me via email if I can be of any assistance in the future!

Literature Review

To achieve the goals of this study, a literature review of relevant reports and studies providing international as well as Vietnamese and Hanoian background information was completed. HealthBridge provided me with several of the key resources necessary to achieving this, however, I also found numerous other resources to supplement and expand the following breadth of information.

Part 1: How Public Markets Benefit a Community

As public spaces, public markets benefit a community in all of the ways in which other public spaces do because they are inclusive, their costs of upkeep are relatively low, and they provide people with interactions and experiences that cannot be replicated in someone's private world (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007). Though all public spaces are important, existing literature has found that public markets are particularly beneficial to the communities they serve because they address some of the most complex challenges that communities face across the globe (PPS 2003). Though several organizations have contributed to answering the question of how public markets benefit a community, HealthBridge in particular has identified several reasons why public markets are keys to making cities more livable and vibrant. Some of these reasons include the social relationships public markets help foster and maintain, the urban-rural linkages they create, the local economies they stimulate, the fresh food they make equitably available and the cultural traditions they preserve (Geertman, 2011).

HealthBridge finds that public markets benefit a community because they help foster and maintain healthy social relationships and interactions. This happens because public markets are a safe and inclusive space for people to meet each other, to feel a sense of belonging in and attachment to their community (Geertman, 2011), and to interact in ways impossible within their own private worlds (Zsuzsanna 2010). Another report, published by the Joseph Rowntree

Foundation, finds that public markets are particularly important social spaces for older people (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007), while a Project for Public Spaces report also found that public markets are particularly important because they promote the social integration of people representing different ethnic and economic backgrounds into a community (PPS 2003). Overall, public markets are unique in the way they create a sense of locality by bringing bring different types of people together and allowing them to converse, shop, listen, and wander freely.

Since fresh markets exist at the cross-roads between rural supply and urban demand, HealthBridge suggests that public markets create important links between urban and rural communities (Geertman 2011). Urban and rural linkages are important to maintain, especially due to the supply and demand of food, because such localizes the food system of an urban community. This is important because it combats the tendency of urban dwellers to lose sight of where their foods come from, a sentiment demonstrated in the American promotional slogan, “No Farms, No Food” (Scruggs 2015). These linkages are also important to maintain because they circulate money between two local communities (Geertman 2011), rather than between local people and large corporations.

Public markets also benefit a community because they stimulate local economies. Public markets are economically conducive to the needs of people of all income levels because they offer more affordable prices than supermarkets, hypermarkets, and commercial trading centers. (Figuié and Moustier 2009; Geertman 2011). They also provide jobs with minimal overhead costs to vulnerable populations, such as women, ethnic minority, and low income people (PPS, 2012). Thus, economic factors also contribute to the inclusivity of a public market. At markets where customers can bargain, the price of food is flexible. Thus, markets self-create social equity because those you can pay more do, and those who cannot do not have to (Geertman 2011). Aside from the price of foods, public markets are also more affordable because the cost of parking is lower or non-existent (Figuié and Moustier 2009; Geertman 2011); shoppers can simply drive, ride or walk up to vendor stalls depending on the style of the market.

As suppliers of mostly fresh, healthy, and whole foods, public markets also benefit communities because they make nutritional options readily available and easily accessible to local people (Geertman 2011). HealthBridge highlights that one of the most negative public health consequences of the supermarket revolution is that it has made foods high in fat, sugar, and salt more accessible and affordable (Daniel, K., Nestico, S. 2015 and Geertman 2011).

Public markets combat trends of both over-nutrition and under-nutrition because they notoriously sell healthy fresh foods, rather than unhealthy processed foods (Geertman 2011). On the topic of health, however, there exists a divide on the topic of public markets, food safety, and hygiene. Since public markets sell fresh foods, food sold is expected to look fresh. Though this sounds trivial, it is not because oftentimes vendors are accused of adding dangerous preservatives to their goods to attract customer attention (Geertman 2011). In Vietnam, and in many other middle-income countries, supermarkets are esteemed as places where people can find out the origin of the foods they buy, thus leading them to believe that supermarkets carry higher quality foods (Figuíe and Moustier 2009).

Finally, public markets benefit the communities they serve by preserving and perpetuating cultural practices and traditions. Not only do public markets maintain culinary cultures by selling ingredients unique to specific regions, nations, and cities (Geertman 2011), they also maintain social culture because they represent various types of social relationships in the communities they are located in. In Vietnam, for example, Figuíe and Moustier's 2009 study found that Vietnamese people make roughly thirteen trips to a food retailer per week, displaying the Vietnamese habit of frequenting traditional fresh markets. This means that customers and vendors interact with each other thirteen times per week, leading them to build a social and habitual understanding. Finally, public markets promote cultural exchange because they are attractive to foodie tourists that seek an "authentic culinary experience" (Figuíe and Moustier 2009). Supermarkets, hypermarkets, and commercial centers lack the cultural character of traditional fresh markets, thus they make for less of a unique and local shopping experience than the latter.

Given the long list of benefits which public markets provide a community and ways in which they can tackle the most complex challenges cities face, they have gained international attention as a potential solutions for large global issues. In fact, numerous stakeholders are calling for public markets to be recognized in the Post-2015 Development Agenda.

Part 2: Public Markets and the Post-2015 Development Agenda

There are several reasons to believe that public markets are vital to global urban sustainability, a statement well supported by the attendees representing 40 different countries at the 9th International Public Markets Conference held in Barcelona, Spain from March 26-28,

2015. At this conference, public markets were discussed as “a potential solution to meet Sustainable Development Goals and targets on topics as diverse as poverty alleviation, food security, cultural heritage, and public space” (Scruggs 2015) and a declaration was signed to promote the importance of this discussion.

The location of the conference was particularly important because Barcelona is considered the quintessential “market city” (PPS) and, as such, a true “city for the people” (UCLG 2015) in today’s rapidly urbanizing world. Barcelona deserves these titles because it has not forgotten public markets in its path to modernization, instead it has reinvested and revitalized them like all other public services in the city. Along these lines, Kelley Verel from PPS describes how Barcelona has “...an incredibly thriving network of around 43 permanent public markets serving 73 neighborhoods because when they planned out the city in the late 19th century, they considered markets the same way that you consider all utilities – like, where does the water go, the power, the garbage, etc.” (PPS). From 2011-2015, Barcelona invested in the restoration of 25 of the city’s 43 markets (PPS) given a belief that using funds to revitalize public markets, considered the second most valuable public services to Barcelona residents, would lead to significant economic gains necessary in light of the city’s financial struggles (PPS). When cities face financial struggles and are trying to modernize at the same time, they often cut funding for public spaces first (PPS 2012). However, the Barcelona example illustrates the payoffs which people-first reinvestments can provide to rapidly modernizing cities. In her TED Talk, titled “How Public Spaces Make Cities Work, New York City’s former Chief City Planner, Amanda Burden, describes how “... open spaces in cities are opportunities. Yes, they are opportunities for commercial investment, but they are also opportunities for the common good of the city, and those two goals are often not aligned with one another, therein lies the conflict” (Burden 2014). Barcelona is an example of a city that has resolved this conflict. Furthermore, it has proven that private, public, and community collaboration is possible when modernizing a city with the public’s interests at heart and without sacrificing powerful private goals.

Given Barcelona’s success and other international experience proving the capacity of public markets to tackle major global issues, attendees at the the 9th International Public Markets Conference, including staff from HealthBridge Vietnam, called on public markets to be recognized in the Post-2015 Development Agenda, a working list of development strategies to follow-up the deadline of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015 (UNECOSOC). This

advocacy was driven by the belief that “...unlike other forms of commercial enterprise, public markets are operated by and for the public, and add great value to the economic, social, physical, and environmental health of the communities they serve” (Declaration of the 9th International Public Markets Conference 2015). On the final day of the conference, a Declaration was signed by representatives from over 40 countries making a commitment to (Declaration of the 9th International Public Markets Conference 2015):

1. Promote the benefits of public markets.
2. Promote the inclusion of public markets in political agendas, specifically reinvestment and revitalization of these spaces.
3. Promote inclusion of public markets in the new Post-2015 Development Agenda in light of how they effectively tackle global challenges.

This declaration, and the international support behind it, is proof that the world needs to capitalize on the capacity of public markets to tackle complex challenges. Given the purpose of this study, this can start at the neighborhood level. However, it is important to understand how public markets are threatened, before it can be understood how their capacity should be capitalized.

Part 3: Public Markets Under Threat: International Experience

Public markets have received international attention in recent years because they have been proven vital to communities for critical economic, cultural, social and public health reasons, yet face a great deal of pressure to modernize, especially in the developing world. Globalization and the rise of supermarkets is responsible for the majority of this pressure, leading food distribution in these countries to shift away from traditional markets and towards supermarkets and hypermarkets. Some of the most acute pressures public markets face include war, infrastructural negligence, competition from international grocery chains, inadequate management, and real estate pressures (PPS 2015), as well as an overall lack of policies or resources supporting their upkeep and management (Declaration of the 9th International Public Markets Conference 2015). In addition to these pressures, one (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007) study also adds the “urban renaissance agenda” to the list. This refers to the emphasis urban authorities and planners place on “...matters of urban design, as well as being distinctly metropolitan in character” (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007). Governments are utilizing the development of supermarkets, hypermarkets, and commercial centers as instruments for modernizing their cities (Reardon 2011) and reducing

the uncleanly or untidy features of them (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007) because they are deemed “untidy” and “unsuitable for modern life” (VietNamNet Bridge 2013). This is changing the fabric of local economies, social ties, urban-rural ties, health concerns, and cultural norms, or the benefits of public markets, as they were discussed before.

As the result of this shift, a supermarket revolution, or, as Reardon describes, “...the rapid increase of modern retail shares in food retailing at the expense of traditional shops and wet markets,” (Reardon 2011) has emerged in nearly every region of the world. This kind of revolution began in the United States and Western Europe in the 1920s and 30s (Reardon 2011), with Eastern and Central Europe, Latin America, and South Africa following suit in the 1990s (Reardon, et. al. 2003). Most recently, however, the supermarket revolution has spread to Asia, considered the so-called “last frontier” (Reardon 201) available to international chains looking to increase their shares in one report. The rapid rise of supermarkets in Asia began in the 2000’s for China, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. A few years later, India and Vietnam followed suit reporting the highest growth rate in the shortest amount of time in modern food retail shares in supermarket revolution history (Reardon 2011).

What drives the supermarket revolution? In a 2003 study discussing the rapid increase of supermarkets in Asia, Latin American and Africa, Reardon et. al. discusses how the main drivers of diffusion are universal, however unique factors exist in several Asian countries specifically. Universally speaking, supermarket demand is derived from income growth and the subsequent growth of a middle class, urbanization and the drive to modernize a city’s design and functions, and the increase in number of women working away from home, leading to an increase in interest in prepared and processed foods (Reardon et.al. 2003). Two demand factors unique to Vietnam, for example, include the rising number of western-minded shoppers, especially young people living in cities, as well as changing cultural perceptions of food quality that conflict with dual appreciations for freshness and hygiene (Dries 2013). On the supply side, Reardon et al. describes how the supply of supermarkets is driven mostly by foreign direct investment made possible by economic liberalization policies, however multilateral trade agreements and structural adjustment have also played a role (Reardon et.al. 2003 and Reardon 2011). In China, India, and Vietnam, the rapidity of modern food retail growth has also been catalyzed by state investment due to the relatively strong presence of their governments in economic affairs (Reardon 2011). For example, in Vietnam, several state owned enterprises, such as the

supermarket chains Vietnam Textile and HAPRO have made significant contributions to the availability of modern food outlets in major cities across the country (Dries 2003).

How does a supermarket revolution take shape in a country? The study by Figuié and Moustier (2009) describes this process in three waves. In the first wave, where they placed Vietnam on the spectrum in 2009, the majority of a country's food market is dominated by traditional distributors, however, modern retailers have begun to infiltrate and attract affluent customers. In the second wave, supermarkets have diffused enough so that their prices have been reduced and they are accessible to a wider variety of people. Observations support that Vietnam is inching closer and closer to this second wave today. Traditional retailers continue to exist, however they face a high degree of competition from modern outlets. Finally, in the third wave, where the United States lies on the spectrum, traditional food suppliers make a slight comeback as skeptical shoppers question the monopoly corporate chains have over local food producers and sellers. In search of verifications, such as origin and organic, they turn to more specialized food outlets, like farmers markets and health food stores (Figuié and Moustier 2009). As the JRF research provides, environmental and health issues have reminded urban and suburban Americans in the last few decades that they cannot forget where their food comes from, even if agricultural lands are far away (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007). Personal observations of changing attitudes towards the American food system support this as peer pressure to buy local, skepticism of supermarket monopolies, and social trends popularizing "earthy" habits, have lead many urban and suburban communities to recreate the markets they once destroyed. Figuié and Moustier's (2009) three-wave formula is helpful because it demonstrates how countries will eventually have to recreate the traditional markets they destroyed when trying to modernize. Thus, this phenomenon will repeat itself in countries like Vietnam, so a good balance between traditional food retail and modern food retail should be maintained. Personal research and analysis will support this idea and how it could be possible later in this study.

Part 4: Public Markets Under Threat: Hanoi, Vietnam

Of the pressures public markets face across the world, traditional fresh markets in Hanoi, Vietnam primarily face real estate pressures and competition from global grocery chains (PPS 2003) as well as the effects of what JRF calls "urban renaissance agenda" (Warpole, K., Knox, K. (2007). Public markets are not just threatened by supermarkets, they are also threatened by

redevelopment schemes. Due to lack of reports on redevelopment schemes found in other countries, it can be assumed that this sort of threat to traditional fresh markets is rather unique to Vietnam.

Public Markets have played critical roles in the the social and economic life of Hanoi since the 17th century when the city held its original name, *Ke Cho*, or marketplace (Daniel, et.al. 2015). However, the HPC has been implementing a plan to redesign Hanoi's market system since 2011, driven by pursuit of modernization, concerns for food safety and traffic congestion (Daniel et. al. 2015). In 2009, the Hanoi Trade Department proposed to the HPC a Market Redevelopment Plan to build 489 markets, 162 shopping centers, and 178 hypermarkets and redevelop 402 existing markets by 2020 (Geertman, 2011). The plan was approved in 2011 (Geertman, 2011) and by 2014, 135 supermarkets and 28 trade centers had been built (VOV.VN 2014). In addition to supermarkets, today 7 public markets have been redeveloped, 2 of which have already been shut down due to inefficiency and 5 of which are still operating, yet ineffectively (Xay Dung 2016).

The two markets that have closed were two of the oldest markets in Hanoi, Cua Nam and Cho Dua. The spaces they used to occupy now house a convenience store (Cua Nam) and a karaoke club (Cho Dua) (Ms. Ha, 2016). The redeveloped markets have proven to be ineffective because they do not conform to habits. As one news article details, the redeveloped markets are "...put in the basement of the building which is not convenient for business and shopping purposes of the people" (Xay Dung 2016). Numerous newly developed supermarkets have also been idle due to similar issues of inconvenience, as well as oversupply (VietNamNet Bridge 2014, September 29) and Asian, thus, Vietnamese, preferences that equate "fresh" to "as close to the live plant or animal as possible" (Cadilhoun, et.al 2006). Thus, as the city attempts to modernize its food retail sector, people continue to prefer traditional outlets to modern ones. Cadilhoun et al. dives into this topic a bit further at a Vietnam-wide scale through a study they performed on this shift away from traditional food outlets and toward modern food outlets in Ho Chi Minh City in 2006. This study found that modern food outlets faced issues of diffusion due in part to Vietnamese consumer preferences for buying fresh foods as well as intense supply chain complexities. The most profound conclusion of this study was the suggestion that Ho Chi Minh city strive to develop its modern and traditional food retail outlets simultaneously (Cadilhoun et. al. 2006).

To return to Hanoi specifically, a Fall 2014 survey conducted by the Hanoi Socio-Economic Development Research Institute found that 87.1% percent of consumers primarily grocery shop at traditional fresh markets and they planned to maintain this habit (VietNamNet Bridge 2014, September 20). Furthermore, this study found that 61.2 percent of consumers do not shop at supermarkets regularly and 38.4% did not find their shopping experience at supermarkets satisfactory (VietNamNet Bridge 2014, September 20). Despite the ineffectiveness of modern food retail outlets, plans to continue redeveloping old markets and building supermarkets will continue (VOV.VN 2014). The findings of this study will contribute and reinforce existing findings about the threat traditional fresh markets face in Vietnam and conclusions about how to address this threat in the future.

Methodology

This section discusses the qualitative research methods utilized to collect, record, and analyze my data, as well as limitations and biases to the study. To collect data, various methods were relied on to gain macro, meso, and micro understandings of the shift away from traditional fresh markets and towards supermarkets. Thus, answers to research questions were sought from international experience, Vietnamese and Hanoian experience, and Châu Long Market-specific experience.

Part 1: Location

As discussed in the Introduction, Châu Long Market was chosen as the case for this project because it is a Type 3, or neighborhood market in Hanoi, Vietnam. Like many neighborhood markets in Hanoi, the future of this market is threatened by the Hanoi People's Committee's Market Redevelopment Plan, which was approved in 2011 (Geertman, 2011) and revamped in 2014 (CAFEF 2014). Under these conditions, Châu Long Market promised to provide insight on the role neighborhood markets play in people's daily lives as well as Hanoi resident's opinions of their municipality's Market Redevelopment Plan. It also promised to provide an opportunity to test international experience documenting the shift away from traditional forms of food retail and toward modern forms of food retail at a micro level.

Part 2: Understanding Topic at the Macro-level: International Context

To gain a macro-level understanding of the benefits public markets provide for a community, the threats they face, and the implications of these threats, I relied on an extensive review of academic studies, NPO and NGO campaign reports, and news articles. In addition, learning about the latest International Public Markets Conference was particularly helpful in understanding how the importance of public market is discussed on a global scale. Since the pressure to modernize the retail of food has impacted and continues to impact cities across the world, achieving basic comprehension of where the pressure originated, how it spreads, and how it effects local communities provided me evidence to test my findings against given the unique nature of my localized study of a global, national, and municipal issue.

Part 3: Understanding Topic at the Meso-level: Vietnamese and Hanoian Contexts

To gain a meso-level understanding of this topic, I relied on four key methods. First, I read reports published by HealthBridge detailing the role public markets play in the culture and character of Hanoi as well as the logistics and implications of the Hanoi People's Committee's Market Redevelopment plan. Second, I reviewed Vietnamese newspaper articles related to the rise of supermarkets, hypermarkets, and commercial centers and the shift away from traditional fresh markets to gain a current and thorough sense of how the topic is discussed in the local news, better referred to as the mouthpiece of the government. Third, I read and analyzed a few scholarly articles detailing similar research in either Ho Chi Minh City or Hanoi, Vietnam. Finally, fourth, I spoke with two Hanoian architecture professionals as well as ten vendors and eleven consumers at Châu Long Market. Though I primarily learned about the form and functions of Châu Long Market from its vendors and consumers, I also asked questions pertaining to the way in which Hanoi has changed in their memory given the way in which city-wide policy holds the future of this market.

Part 4: Understanding Topic at the Micro-level: Châu Long Market Context

Finally, to gain a micro-level or localized understanding of this topic, I relied on on-site interviews with nine vendors and twelve customers and off-site interviews Hanoi professionals and chefs, observations. I also utilized Vietnamese newspapers that discussed the redevelopment

plan for CLM's as well as a historical writing piece, written in Vietnamese, documenting the market's history.

Part 4a: On-site interviews

I conducted a total of twenty one on-site interviews that ranged from roughly 15-20 minutes each. I spent nearly sixteen hours conducting these interviews at the market, or eight hours over two days, and an additional two hours observing the layout of the market, taking photographs, and becoming familiar with its sights and smells. Most of the on-site interviews were conducted with the help of a translator, a local university student, who translated my questions and my interviewees responses while I scribed. I also scribed the few interviews conducted in English. The guides for these sets of interviews can be found in this paper's **Appendix** on Page 44. On the first day of interviews, two sets of guides were used, one for customers specifically, and one for vendors specifically. On the second day of interviews, a single guide was used to learn from customers and vendors. Questions asked on the second day were altered versions of the first day's questions or completely new ones based on analysis of the data collected after the first day of the study.

The central purpose of my on-site interviews was to learn about CLM from the local people who rely on it the most: vendors and consumers. In order to do so, I asked a mix of open-ended questions, guiding questions about the role of the market in their daily lives and the ways in which their community have changed over the years, as well as more intentional probing questions that tested international experience. In total, I conducted semi-formal random sample interviews with seven vendors working at the market. I also conducted semi-formal non-random interviews with three vendors that an off-site respondent, Ms. Lister (HCC), suggested that I speak with. I spoke with three of the most talkative and seasoned vendors twice, thus I had the opportunity to ask them follow-up questions. Each of these interviews was assisted by a translator and conducted in Vietnamese. In addition to vendors, I also conducted semi-formal random sample interviews with twelve customers either shopping at the market, walking on the street, or sitting nearby. In most cases, people shopping in the market were in a rush to complete their shopping, thus they were more reluctant to speak with me. Approaching people found relaxing at coffee shops nearby, walking with their children, or working idly at nearby businesses

resulted in my most thorough interviews. All but two of my customer interviews were assisted by a translator and conducted in Vietnamese.

Part 4b: Off-site interviews

In addition to interviews with people shopping or selling at the market, I also conducted five off-site interviews: two formal interviews with Hanoi architecture professionals and three interviews with chefs associated with HCC, two informal and one formal.

I was introduced to the architecture professionals by my ISP Advisor, Chi Ha. One of these interviews was conducted with the assistance of a translator in person and the other was conducted in English. As Hanoians, these architects gave me insight regarding this topic's relevance in Hanoi, however they each provided CLM-specific insight as well, one from a history perspective and one from a market design perspective. Specifically, Ms. Luong, the architecture professional I skyped with, shared insights one of her students found through his design of an alternate, and more public space-oriented plan for CLM's redevelopment.

Additionally, I conducted three separate interviews with the founder, head chef, and kitchen manager at Hanoi Cooking Centre, a cooking school and restaurant located nearby CLM. I was fortunate enough to visit the Hanoi Cooking Centre (HCC) on a whim one afternoon, where I met Tracey Lister, an Australian woman who has authored numerous books about Vietnamese street food and culinary culture and who founded HCC. HCC provides cooking classes and tours to foreigners looking for an authentic culinary experience during their visit to Hanoi. To meet these needs, HCC brings each of its classes and tours to CLM as part of preparing to cook a meal. Additionally, HCC purchases the ingredients used in their restaurant's dishes from CLM. I conducted a semi-formal interview with Ms. Lister and her kitchen manager Hau on the day that I discovered HCC, as well as a formal interview with her head chef, Duyen, a few days later. Ms. Lister was particularly helpful in pointing out vendors that would be open to interviews. The interviews I conducted with HCC staff introduced a chef's perspective into my research and provided me with insight on the ways in which it fosters cross-cultural exchange.

Part 4c: Observations

In addition to interviews, observations were made and analyzed during and after all six of my visits to CLM. By tuning my ears, eyes, and nose into the sounds, sights and smells of the market, I gained a true sense of its atmosphere and functions. Additionally, I made detailed observations during a visit to Hàng Da Market in Hoan Kiem to understand what CLM's future would look like should the redevelopment plan be followed through with.

Part 4d: Limitations

Over the course of this study, I faced several logistical limitations, the most critical one being the language barrier. I worked with three different local university students to complete my interviews. To my knowledge, each of them interpreted my questions and the respondents answers incredibly well, however there is a possibility that information or accuracy was lost in translation. An additional limitation to my study was the largely informal nature of my interviews with vendors and consumers. Given the timeline and availability of my translators, I was unable to request formal interviews with any of my on-site interviewees, thus each of interview was performed informally, and usually standing, at the market. Finally, I was challenged by lack of academic and updated information available in English and available in general pertaining to Hanoi's Market Redevelopment were only available in Vietnamese newspapers. Though I found several Vietnamese newspapers written in English to supplement, there was a great deal of information that I could only access from Vietnamese newspapers, which I had to translate on my own through online sources or ask for help from my translators. Additionally, I was limited by a lack of information on cities in other countries that have developed a market redevelopment plan like Hanoi. The way this plan hopes to relocate a traditional market into a modern commercial trading center is obviously unique, but seemingly rare due to the lack of similar situations, to my knowledge, in other major cities.

Aside from these logistical limitations, I also encountered geographical and cultural limitations. My quest to test international experience at a micro-level was limited by the challenge of conveying western ideas and experiences to local people in Hanoi, Vietnam. Due to this limitation, I had to rely on more leading questions than open-ended questions at times.

Part 4e: Biases

In addition to limitations to this study, biases should be acknowledged. As a US citizen, my perception of fresh markets and the benefits they provide to a community are inherently strong. Many Americans are currently wondering if a shift away from modern food retail and towards traditional food retail due would tackle pertinent environmental and public health problems. While Hanoi and Vietnam attempt to modernize by abandoning traditional fresh markets, America is trying to recreate them given the way modern food retail has made the country's diet less healthy and used an incredible amount of natural resources as well as not-so-natural chemicals to sustain a conventional, mechanized farming system. Additionally, this study may be biased by the guidance I received from HBV and my high regard for their work in advocating for the preservation of public markets. Given this climate, as well as my past work experience as a farmers market vendor in the US, I was inherently aware and in support of the benefits public markets provide to a community and the need for them to be protected before beginning this project.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Part 1: Châu Long Market History

Châu Long Market was founded in the early 20th century, before the last dynasty of Vietnam, Bao Dai, which reigned from 1926-1945 (Dinh 2014). It is positioned at the edge of Trúc Bạch lake, a beautiful waterway positioned to the southeast of West Lake. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the land belonged to Yen Thanh Village and housed Mandarin tombs, two of which remain in place today and are survived by two influential families, Tran and Nguyen (Ms. Luong (1) 4/15/16; Thâng Long – Hanoi). The pagoda of this village was called “Châu Long,” the name the market would eventually be given (Thâng Long – Hanoi). In roughly 1910, an electric factory opened near the lake. The coal waste from the factory was deposited into the lake and filled in a section of the waterway completely, the land which the market is situated on today (Tran 4/14/16). Under French rule pre-1954, residents pressured the French government to help them build a market, however these efforts failed due to the presence of the tombs (Thâng Long – Hanoi). During the mid 1950s, the local government took the land from the electric factory and allowed people selling coal, wood and steel to set up shop (Tran 4/14/16; Thâng Long – Hanoi)

At this time, the market operated without a roof or walls, thus the sellers were in charge of the condition and upkeep of their stalls and materials (Thăng Long – Hanoi). As the informal market grew popular, however, it can be assumed that market management, local authorities, and residents decided to continue developing the market and make the tombs part of its infrastructure. By the 1970s, many of the vendors were selling oil instead of coal and wood and when Doi Moi reforms were introduced in 1986, the market was transitioned into an open air food market (Tran 4/14/16). A written account states that a steel roof was built in 1976 to cover the market (Thăng Long – Hanoi), however interviewees remember an open air market dominated by street vendors until the 1990s (Tran 4/14/16; Ms. Luong (1) 4/22/16). At this time, market management built the existing steel roof to protect the market from rain and built four walls to organize it into a formal market (Ms. Luong (1) 4/15/16). Since then, only minor changes and repairs have been made to its infrastructure, mainly to its roof, water, and sanitation systems (Ms. Luong (1) 4/22/16). In true wet market fashion, Châu Long Market is a mix of both delightful and nauseating sights and smells where vendors sell an eclectic mix of meats, poultry, fish, vegetables, fruits, rice, ancestor worship materials, and clothing.

Part 2: Châu Long Market Layout and Logistics

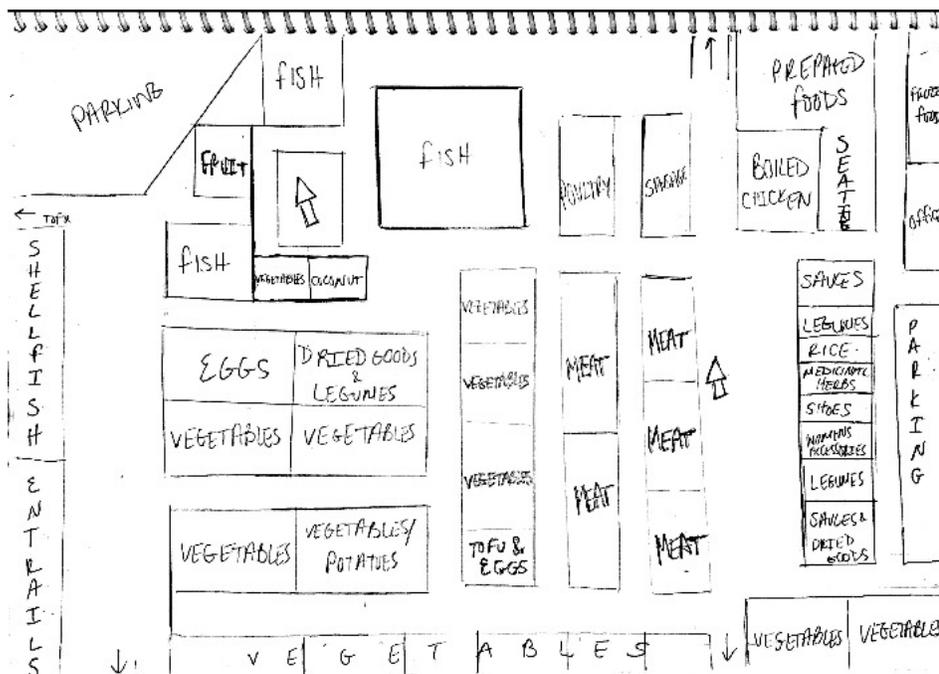


Figure 1: Layout of Châu Long Market. Sketch by Carly Giddings.

Figure 1 is a sketch of CLM's floor plan. As discussed in previous sections and depicted in the sketch, there are two tombs in the market: the smaller one is located directly in front of the lower right entrance, the main entrance, and the larger one is located near the upper left side of the market. The tombs are represented by the house symbol in the sketch. The market has five entrances, two parking areas, and one manager's office. Trúc Bạch Lake is located to the rear of the market, thus at the top of this map. Aside from indoor vendor stalls, the market also has various outdoor vendor stalls that are not pictured. The market is busiest from 6:30-7:30am. The meat vendors are busy again around 3:30pm and the vegetable vendors are busy again at 4:30pm (Mr. Hau 4/10/16). These times are dictated by when vendors receive a fresh stock of goods, as well as when customers are inclined to shop.

Part 3: Châu Long Market And Daily Life

This study found that CLM plays a significant role in the daily life of local people due to the way it contributes to their economic livelihoods, their participation in its social atmosphere, and, finally, the way in which it represents Vietnamese culture and tradition.

Part 3a: Economic Livelihoods

First, CLM plays a significant role in the economic livelihoods of vendors and customers, as well as the economic well-being of the Tru community. CLM is of economic importance to the daily lives of vendors because it is their place of work and central source of income. Aside from helping the vendors to pay for daily fees, such as taxes (Ms. Luong (1), Ms. Duyen, Ms. Xuan 4/22/16), market income also supports the economic needs of their families (Ms. Viet and Mr. Linh 4/22/16). One vendor in particular, a butcher named Ms. Viet, discussed how her job at CLM feeds the 8 people in her family and employs the 5 people who work for her. The market also impacts the economic sustainability of vendors and their families because it is a generational position; it provides job security for vendors and job security for their children. To exemplify this, one vendor, Mr. Linh, described how he often works at his mother's stall when she needs assistance and he considers it a family business that could provide his children with jobs in the future. Specifically, he discussed how "...his sons can learn and do any other job, its ok, but if they can't, they can sell here" (Mr. Linh 4/22/16). Thus, the market is important to the economic livelihoods of present and future vendors. The market also plays a significant role in the economic livelihoods of customers because it offers affordable prices that are appropriate for

everyone who shops there (Ms. Hang, 4/22). The prices at CLM are affordable first because such is the nature of a traditional fresh market, but also because customers are able to bargain the prices lower, if they feel inclined (Mr. Han, 4/22). Finally, shopping at CLM is both time efficient and cost efficient for customers because they can shop from their motorbikes, which means they do not have to take the time it takes to park or pay for parking (Anonymous Customer 4/15/16 and Ms. Ly (4/22/16).

This data suggests that CLM is critical to the present and future economic livelihoods of vendors, as well as that of their family members. Since the grand majority of vendors at CLM are women, it makes sense that most vendors consider their families when discussing the role the market plays in their personal economic well-being because when a woman is supported, her family is supported too. Since it is likely that most of the vendors are carrying on a family trade in selling grocery goods, the security of these jobs is particularly important because the skills and experiences required are likely the only skills and experiences that these women have knowledge of. Thus, the HPC's plan to systematically shift away from traditional food retail, both formal fresh markets and informal street vending, threatens the job security of the thousands of women who work these jobs.

This data also suggests that CLM plays an important role in the economic livelihood of customers. Since prices are affordable for everyone and bargaining is allowed, the market is accessible to people of all socioeconomic backgrounds. This makes the market an inclusive space like any public space (PPS 2003). Economic access reinforces its existence as a public space since it employs local entrepreneurs, which contributes to the way it represents and preserves local character (PPS 2003). CLM also has an impact on the economic livelihoods of customers because the style is convenient. People are allowed to shop from stall to stall without parking their motorbikes, thus without paying for parking. Thus, they can shop with efficiency, measured in both time and money, and have more of both to spend on other tasks and purchases. Convenience of the market is an economic factor because the less time people spend shopping, the more time they spend on other productive and profitable parts of their daily lives. Since the majority of respondents claim to enjoy themselves while shopping at the market, it is even more productive for their daily lives because it contributes or at least does not detract from their comfort and happiness.

Part 3b: Social Atmosphere

In addition to its contribution to economic livelihoods, this study found that CLM plays a considerable role in the daily lives of the people who frequent it because of the social relationships it fosters and the social atmosphere it provides. Since vendors work at the market everyday, several of them describe having friendships with other vendors, especially those near their stalls (Ms. Xuan, Ms. Duyen, Mr. Linh; 4/22/16). Furthermore, several of the vendors described the market as a generally harmonious and sociable place (Ms. Luong (1), Ms. Xuan, Ms. Duyen 4/22/16) where "...people are very happy and they smile all day" (Ms. Duyen 4/22/16). Though all vendors seemed to appreciate the social atmosphere of the market, the eldest vendors had the deepest social ties. For example, one of the eldest vendors, Ms. Luong, considers other vendors close to kin, for she stated, "I feel close to lots of other vendors, I treat them like my children" (Ms. Luong (1) 4/22/16). Another of the eldest vendors, Ms. Viet, described the market as "...a place to talk together and meet up" (Ms. Viet, 4/22/16) even when she is not there to sell. Two vendors noted occasional conflict between vendors and customers, as well as occasionally between vendors, however they did not suggest that these occasions dimmed their vision of the market's social atmosphere. They explained that the conflicts were usually resolved with intervention of market management soon after they broke out (Ms. Huyen, 4/15/16 and Ms. Xuan, 4/22/16). Aside from social interactions with other vendors, vendors also discussed having customers that would frequent their stalls every day. Vendors noted having frequent customers ranging from 3-4 of the same restaurants (Ms. Duyen 4/15/16) to 100 of the same individual customers (Ms. Viet 4/22/16), numbers that suggest such ties between vendors and customers as well.

Since most customers shop at the market everyday, or nearly everyday, they also described having social relationships at the market mostly through mutual trust with the vendors they buy from frequently. This study found that most customers buy from the same vendors during every visit (Ms. Lan 4/15/16; Ms. Ly, Ms. Thanh, Ms. Hang 4/22/16), though there are some that buy from certain vendors during every visit and other vendors sporadically (Ms. Giang and Ms. Nga 4/15/16). Regardless of frequency, however, the majority of the customers interviewed regarded mutual trust as a major factor in their appreciation for and engagement in the social atmosphere of the market. Social interactions were further described by one customer as "intimate" because "...When you shop there (CLM), you meet your friends or the people you

know, which builds intimacy. For older people, they don't need to shop, but just need to see people and talk and make friends" (Ms. Hang, 4/22/16). Additionally, customers consider the vendors "friendly" (Ms. Loan 4/15/16 and Ms. Thanh 4/22/16) which contributes positively to their shopping experience and their perception of the market's social atmosphere. To conclude, CLM plays a significant role in the daily social life of its customers because it is a place where they can build and maintain long-term relationships, as well as form new ones.

This study found that economic and habit-following functions of the market have a more pronounced impact on the daily lives of vendors and customers than the social benefits it provides. However, the social functions of the market were also found to have an impact. For both vendors and customers alike, CLM is more than just a trading place, it is a social space. This result was expected because the shopping style of a traditional fresh market is social in nature: the greater variety of goods a customer wants to buy, the greater variety of vendors they have to converse with. Additionally, the longer a vendor works at the market, the longer they spend selling next to the same vendors and selling to the same customers, thus emphasizing age and frequency as factors that contributed to the formation of social relationships. For example, the market's social function was found to be particularly important to the daily lives of elderly vendors and customers. This is congruent with the findings of existing literature (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007) that found public markets to be particularly important social spaces for elderly people. Aside from this, frequency contributed to the network of relationships built on mutual trust that form at the market. Networks of mutual trust are both characteristic and practical of traditional fresh markets in the sense that they are unique to the experience of shopping at a market and they sustain the market by enabling customer frequency. Furthermore, when people feel socially active in a space, they generally feel comfortable in a space, a fact supported by findings discussed in this study. When describing their opinions about the social atmosphere of the market, customers generally admitted to feeling comfortable and at peace because of the friendliness of the vendors, the markets familiarity, and the lack of rules. For example, Mr. Hau, the Kitchen Manager at HCC, described how, as a chef, he can touch, cut, and pick ingredients before he buys them because the vendors allow him, unlike he would be able to do at a supermarket (Mr. Hau, 4/13/16). Finally, this study found that the market management plays a role in the upkeep of this comfort and harmony. This is important to recognize because existing

literature found poor management as a threat to public markets (PPS 2015), however, CLM appears to be under the direction of rather strong and thoughtful management.

Part 3c: Culture and Tradition

Finally, this study found that CLM also plays an important role in preserving and exchanging the cultures and traditions of people who shop and sell there. CLM is a particularly fascinating place to study the role culture plays in the daily of people who shop at a traditional fresh market because the presence of the two illustrate ancestor worship. Every morning, vendors pray to the tombs for a day of strong sales and the families whose ancestors are buried there come to pray on the first day of every month and during the Tet Holiday (Ms. Duyen 4/22/16), per Buddhist tradition. The vendors also preserve parts of Vietnamese culture and tradition everyday due to the variety of fresh foods they sell and the style that they sell them in. This study found that it is Vietnamese tradition to base grocery shopping decisions on how fresh a piece of produce or meat looks. This is congruent with the findings in existing studies (Cadilhon, et. al. 2006). If a food looks fresh, customers trust its quality. Thus, vendors are inclined to stock their stalls with the freshest meats, fish and vegetables everyday. To exemplify this, take the seafood aisle at CLM.

From buckets of snails and mussels, to tubs full of water and oxygenated fish of every size and shape, the variety of seafood available at CLM is inherently obvious, though the style takes a few minutes to realize. While interviewing a fish seller, Ms. Duyen, a customer came by and asked for a fish and within roughly two minutes a fish that had been swimming in the bucket was de-scaled and sitting in the bag around the customers wrist. In those two minutes, Ms. Duyen had caught the fish out of the water, killed it, cut off its head and tail, emptied the blood onto other dead fish for sale, likely as a preservation method, descaled the body, cut up the body, and placed in a bag for the customer. After making the sale she stated, “Vietnamese don’t like frozen fish” (Ms. Duyen 4/22/16). This anecdote clearly describes how Vietnamese people, thus CLM consumers, value markets like Châu Long because they maintain preferential grocery habits, namely their partiality towards the freshest foods possible. What Ms. Duyen meant by her final statement applies to any food good: it is Vietnamese tradition to buy the freshest ingredients and buy them from the most convenient location, which means it is Vietnamese tradition and habit to grocery shop at a fresh market, a statement supported by other vendors (Ms. Xuan, Ms. Duyen and Mr. Linh 4/22/16).

Customers also discussed how CLM represents Vietnamese tradition because of its convenient supply of fresh foods, thus shopping there is an important part of the everyday or habitual aspects of their culture. For most customers, deciding to shop at a market like CLM is more of a given than a decision because that is where their families taught them to shop and where their friends and neighbors shop. One customer, a middle aged man who has lived in TrúC Bắch and shopped at CLM for 40 years, confirmed this by stating how, “when people think of where to shop, this is what they think about” (Mr. Han 4/22/16). Customers at CLM seemed to take pride in this facet of their culture and everyday life as something that differentiates the Vietnamese and Asian lifestyle from other lifestyles maintained in other regions of the world, namely Europe (Ms. Hang 4/22/16). This brings up another way in which CLM plays a role in the cultural heritage and daily life of the people who shop there. Multiple customers noted seeing foreigners shopping at the market. Foreigners are attracted to markets like CLM because they represent Vietnamese culture in a way that few other relics or sights can. Public markets are a free and open opportunity to learn about one of the most important parts of daily life and culture in a new place: food. One customer noted how CLM is “...a bridge to connect cultures together” (Ms. Nga 4/15/16) because of the foreigners that visit everyday, usually with a guide from HCC, to learn about and experience Vietnamese culture and cuisine.

This data suggests that CLM plays an important role in preserving and celebrating the religious, culinary, and social cultures of Vietnamese people. Due to the tombs and close proximity to a temple, CLM is a place of religious importance, as well as a place of economic importance. This data also provides insight into the everyday life of Vietnamese people. The concept of culture is vast and multifaceted. It normally surfaces images of bright colors and big celebrations, but CLM displays a hidden, yet vital facet of all cultures: the daily habits people keep and the foods they eat. This is why tourists looking for an authentic experience visit the market, because they can peak into the daily lives of new people and converse with them about a topic that makes everyone human, food. Tourists that come to the market, mostly under the guidance of HCC, which not only supports CLM revenue, it counteracts the stigmatization of wet markets as “intimidating” (Amber from Husband in Tow 2014). This sentiment is supported by the blog post of a foreign tourist who visited CLM in May 2014 and admitted to feeling intimidated by the sight of CLM before entering it with a guide from HCC. However, she ultimately regarded her experience as a truly positive one. This experience was made

particularly special due to the lesson she received on to how to make her favorite Vietnamese dish, frogs with lemongrass and chili; a lesson she would not have learned in as authentic of a fashion anywhere else. Thus, traditional fresh markets play an important role in supporting cultural habits of Vietnamese vendors and customers, as well as, allowing people who visit from afar to experience the same.

This study on the role Châu Long Market plays in the lives of the local people who frequent it found that this market contributes to the daily life of local people and benefits its community in several of the way HealthBridge discussed. Specifically, CLM helps to stimulate the local economy, create and maintain social relationships, and preserve and exchange cultural norms (Geertman 2011). However, it did not find significant congruence with HealthBridge findings about how public markets contribute to a community's nutritional habits and the creation of urban-rural linkages, thus suggesting a potential topic of further research.

Part 4: Châu Long Market Under Threat

In April 2015, the Project for Public Spaces declared Châu Long Market one of the “World’s Most Endangered Markets” (PPS 2015) due to a plan proposed in 2007 to redevelop it into a commercial trading center (Huong 2007). The completion of this plan would relocate the market into the first and second floors of a building with twenty-five floors. Aside from the market, the basement of the building would be reserved for parking space, the third through fifth floors would house a shopping mall, the sixth through fifteenth floors would accommodate office rentals, and the sixteenth through twenty-fifth floors would contain apartment units (Huong 2007). In 2014, the HPC pressured the investor to accelerate the investment plan because it was running behind its proposed schedule. This delay was due to problems in obtaining the land (CAFEF 2014), which was likely rooted in the physical presence of the two tombs located on the markets land (Tran 4/14/16) and the investor’s lack of sufficient funding (Ms. Duyen 4/15/16). Despite these obstacles, there is no telling how long the investor’s plans will be delayed, for as one of the architecture professional’s interviewed stated, “the threat is never supposed to be clear” (Luong 4/14/16). Aside from the threat of redevelopment, the market also faces increasing pressure from the Hanoi People Committee’s plan to build nearly 1,000 supermarkets and commercial centers by 2020 (VOV.VN 2014). Since this study sought to test the ideas of international commentators discussing how the supermarket revolution has impacted the lives of

local people, vendors and customers were asked their opinions about CLM's potential redevelopment and the rise of supermarkets in Hanoi.

Part 4a: Perceptions of Redevelopment

The most immediate and direct threat which Châu Long Market faces is the proposal for its redevelopment (Huong 2007). Both on-site and off-site interviewees had strong opinions regarding how this threat would impact their daily lives, as well as the daily life of the Trúc Bạch community.

On-Site Interviews

This study found that several on-site interviewees are doubtful that the plans to redevelop their market will be carried out due to the location of the tombs, lack of investment money (Ms. Duyen 4/15/16) and the small size of the market compared to others that have already been redeveloped (Ms. Tu, Ms. Hong, Ms. Hau, Ms. Duyen, and Ms. Luong; 4/15/16). It is likely that these feelings are also rooted in the length of time that has passed since the plans were proposed in 2007. Despite doubts that redevelopment will happen soon, customers and vendors were nonetheless vocal about how the redevelopment of CLM would impact their life.

Most vendors and consumers referred to the redevelopment of Hàng Da Market as a frame of reference for their opinions toward CLM's redevelopment. Hàng Da was once a traditional fresh market located in Hoàn Kiếm District. However, in 2009, construction began to turn the market into a multi-floor commercial center (Geertman, 2010). Today, the market operates in the basement floor of the building. Observations provide evidence of the appearance and atmosphere of the new Hàng Da. At CLM, fresh air flows through the open parts of the roof and through the markets five entrances. People walk, bike, and motorbike through it's aisles and light shines from single bulb lights dangling from the ceiling and the sunlight peaking through its roof. The smells are strong, some sweet, and some fleshy, yet they are not overwhelming because the openness of the market's infrastructure maintains airflow. At the new Hàng Da, an above-ground entrance and a flight of stairs separates the below-ground market from the parking lot. The market is lit by fluorescent lights alone: there are no windows and no sunlight. Without airflow, the stench of room temperature flesh and fresh produce is overwhelmingly strong. With these observations in mind, it is easier understood why this study found that on-site interviewees generally dislike the idea of CLM looking and functioning like Hàng Da. Aside from disregard for the aesthetics, economic, social, and cultural factors contribute to their opinions as well.

Firstly, vendors anticipate being economically disadvantaged by the market's redevelopment because shopping at the market will be less convenient and more expensive for customers, thus deterring them. Shopping at the market will be less convenient for customers because they will no longer be able to drive through the market and will have to park their motorbikes outside (Ms. Hong and Ms. Tu 4/15/16). Shopping at the market will be more expensive for customers because they will have to park their motorbikes in order to shop (Ms. Luong, Ms. Duyen, Mr. Linh, 4/22/16) and because vendors will have to pay higher taxes, thus making prices of food higher (Ms. Xuan; Mr. Linh, 4/22/16).

Second, vendors discussed how redevelopment would impact their social lives. If the market is redeveloped, the layout of stalls will most likely change. As previously discussed, many of the vendors' relationships at the market are with vendors nearby their stalls (Ms. Xuan, Ms. Duyen, Mr. Linh; 4/22/16), thus if redevelopment reorganized the layout, these relationships would suffer. Customers did not feel strongly about how redevelopment would alter their social lives, however if the market undergoes serious infrastructural change and drives away certain customers and vendors, social ties and mutual trust previously kept between customers and between customers and vendors will fade. Also, several customers agreed that if the market was redeveloped, the atmosphere of the market of the change because they would feel less comfortable and less free (Ms. Thanh and Mr. Han 4/22/16).

Third, this study found that redevelopment would disrupt cultural norms widely held and valued at CLM. As discussed before, shopping in a traditional fresh market lies at the core of Vietnamese daily activity (Ms. Giang 4/15/16 and Ms. Ly 4/22/16). Redevelopment of the market would make important factors of this everyday habit disappear, such as the freedom to drive through the market on one's bike (Ms. Luong (1) 4/15/16) and the existence of a open space with fresh air (Ms. Luong (2) 4/15/16). To this point, one vendor, whose stall is located on the outside of the market under an awning, noted that she would be content with redevelopment only if the market encompassed the same kind of "open gate" (Ms. Luong (2) 4/15/16) that it has now. Unfortunately, however, it is likely that this will not be the case should the market be redeveloped.

Aside from altering the economic, social, and cultural climates of the existing market, redevelopment would result in the destruction of a place strongly linked to people's memory. One customer who has shopped at CLM since she was a teenager expressed great sadness at the

thought of a place that has been part of her daily life for changing form and function so drastically (Ms. Ly, 4/22/16). To this point, Mr. Hau from HCC discussed how much he cherishes memories of visiting the market in his childhood neighborhood with his mom. He reminisced about how, when he was 10 years old, he was rewarded for his hard work at school with a trip to the market with his mom and a treat from one of the vendors there.

Off-Site Interviews

Off-site interviews also provided insight into how the redevelopment of Châu Long Market would impact local people's daily life, as well as the wider community at large. First of all, modernizing the market by destroying, rather than preserving its authentic infrastructure and atmosphere will decrease the appeal of the market to culinary tourists. Considering the number of tourists that visit the market, mostly through classes at HCC, loss of appeal to culinary tourists would lead to a significant loss in revenue for the market (Ms. Lister 4/13/16). Second of all, redevelopment of the market into a twenty-five story building would negatively alter the landscape of neighborhood because it would block residents' view of the lake (Luong, 4/14/16). This fact was highlighted by an architecture professor, Ms. Luong, whose former architecture and design student completed a final project that suggested an alternate redevelopment plan for the market, one that "preserves the appearance of the market and turn it into a new square for the people" (Luong 4/14/16). Thus, data collected in off-site interviews illustrates how the redevelopment of the market would be less inclusive, thus alternative forms of modernizing through revitalization and reinvestment, rather than redevelopment should be considered.

To sum, this study found various ways in which the daily life of vendors and customers at CLM would be negatively impacted if the market was redeveloped, thus they generally hoped that such would not be a reality. When people were asked to discuss their feelings about the markets potential redevelopment, they returned to discussing ways in which the market positively impacts and sustains their daily life. Though vendors and customers do not believe that the redevelopment threat is imminent, they fear its consequences anyway. HCC chefs and Hanoi architecture professionals perceive the threat a bit more seriously and they also dislike the idea of its repercussions. All of these opinions will be weighed heavily in the Recommendations Section of this paper.

Part 4b: Perceptions of Supermarkets

In addition to opinions about the the market's redevelopment, CLM vendors and customers also had opinions about Hanoi's increase in supermarkets and hypermarkets. Collected data tests whether or not vendors feel pressure or competition from supermarkets and whether and how customer opinions weigh into the pros and cons of supermarkets.

The majority of vendors interviewed fear the repercussions of the rise in supermarkets in the long run, however they do not feel economically disadvantaged by competition or pressure from it at this time. The rise in supermarkets threatens the job security of vendors in the long run, especially those selling traditional wares or other items not found in western-minded modern outlets. In discussing this, Ms. Lister from HCC asked, "where will the woman with the medicinal herbs go? The supermarket won't take her." Additionally, from my own experience, where will Ms. Duyen, the woman who can kill and de-scale a fish in less than five minutes go? Observations support that fish sold at supermarkets in Vietnam are more often frozen than fresh. The question of job security for these vendors is a serious one. Despite this long-term threat, eight of ten vendors were asked if they felt as though their business has been affected by the rise in supermarkets and only two responded yes. These two vendors, one vegetable seller and one dried food and household goods seller, noticed only a slight decline in sales since last year (Ms. Xuan, Ms. Loan; 4/15/16). The vendors who claimed that their businesses have not be affected by the rise in supermarkets explained mutual trust between customers and vendors, higher priced foods at supermarkets, Vietnamese preferences for fresh foods and convenience, and Vietnamese habit for grocery shopping at a traditional fresh market as reasons for the lack of pressure they feel (Ms. Yen, Ms. (1) Luong, Ms. Huyen, Ms. Duyen, Ms. (2) Luong, Ms. Kimanh; 4/15/16).

The testaments of these vendors support reasons why the majority of customers interviewed prefer traditional food retail outlets, such as CLM, to supermarkets. To exemplify one of the factors listed by vendors, the higher price of foods, Mr. Hau from HCC described how at supermarkets customers pay for the lights, air conditioning and other higher-end features of a modern retail experience, while at markets like CLM, customers pay solely for the food they purchase (Mr. Hau 4/10/16). In another example of the factors provided by vendors, one customer described how supermarkets cater to foreign habits, while markets like CLM cater to local habits. Thus as a local, she prefers shopping at CLM despite her skepticism of food origin (Ms. Giang 4/15/16). In addition to the factors provided by vendors, customers also described

their preference for CLM over a supermarket given variety (Ms. Nga 4/15/16), freedom (Mr. Hau 4/13/16), food quality (Ms. Lan 4/15/16), and social atmosphere, and suitability for daily life (Ms. Loan 4/15/16) that the market provides. To exemplify one of these factors, Mr. Hau from HCC described the necessity of the freedom he feels at CLM. He explained how, at a supermarket, "...if you touch the food, you have to buy it" (Mr. Hau 4/13/16) whereas at CLM, he can cut, sniff, pick, and choose his ingredients selectively because there are less rules. In an additional example, Ms. Hang described how the social atmosphere she appreciates at CLM is lost at a supermarket because "...at a supermarket, it is only for shopping, not for making friends." Though this study found majority customer preference for shopping at traditional fresh markets like CLM, it also found that customers appreciate the cleanliness and hygiene habits at supermarkets (Ms. Giang and Ms. Huyen 4/15/16).

Despite the overwhelming preference for traditional markets over modern ones, this study found conflicting opinions about which outlets sell the highest quality and safest foods. Food safety and quality in CLM is generally guaranteed by mutual trust between vendors and customers (Ms. Ly, Ms. Thanh, Ms. Luong (1) 4/22/16) yet several customers and vendors raised concerns for food safety and questioned food origin at CLM (Ms. Giang 4/15/16; Ms. Luong (1) 4/22/16). Several respondents regarded supermarkets of providers of greater certainty when it comes to food safety and origin (Ms. Giang 4/15/16; Ms. Hang 4/22/16). Thus, this study finds congruence with the 2009 Figuié and Moustier study that found poor customers in Vietnam to prefer traditional food outlets for a variety of reasons, yet regard supermarkets highly for food safety reasons nonetheless (Figuié and Moustier 2009). Additionally, Ms. Lister from HCC added an interesting point to this dialogue by suggesting that products supplied to both traditional and modern markets come from the same wholesalers (Ms. Lister 4/13/15). Though vendors and customers did not discuss this idea, it is a topic that should be looked into in the future. Additionally, data collected illustrates how local people maintain high regard for the cleanliness of supermarkets in contrast to markets like CLM (Ms. Hang 4/22/16). In sum, this study finds that customers prefer markets like CLM over modern food retail outlets, however high regard for the food safety guarantees and cleanliness of supermarket exists. These preferences will be taken into account when recommendations are made in the final section of this paper.

Given that Vietnam is in “Wave 1” of supermarket diffusion (Figuié and Moustier 2009), the prices at supermarkets for fresh produce and meats target higher income people. Thus, traditional fresh markets remain the most affordable option so it is not incredibly surprising that vendors do not feel intense competition from supermarkets. However, it is surprising that vendors do not feel competition from supermarkets due to the concerns of managers, vendors, customers for food safety and food quality. Though supermarkets are mostly accessible to higher income people at this time, Figuié and Moustier (2009) found that people of all incomes hold supermarkets in high esteem due to the perceived quality and safety of the foods they sell. One might imagine that health conscious customers would pay higher prices for the sake of their concerns, however this study did not find this to be true. It is likely that Vietnamese habit and trust of vendors informs this data. Thus, the threats supermarkets pose to CLM are not perceived as immediate right now due to unwavering consumer preferences for traditional fresh markets.

Châu Long Market: Expectations and Visions for the Future

This study found that customers and vendors oppose the redevelopment plan and prefer shopping and selling at traditional fresh markets compared to supermarkets, hypermarkets, and commercial centers. The majority of respondents favor the cleanliness and food safety guarantees of such modern outlets, however they prefer CLM as a traditional space, rather than redeveloped into the bottom or ground floor of a commercial center. As one vendor stated, “Everyone wants a beautiful market, but the people need the market to function traditionally, like being able to drive through” (Ms. Luong (1) 4/15/16). These sentiments led this study to understand local visions for the market’s future. In the future, on-site interviewees hope that infrastructural improvements will be made to the road within the market as well as the drainage and sanitation systems (Ms. Viet 4/22/16). They also hope that the market will be more clean and spacious someday (Ms. Duyen 4/22/16). Customers hoped for several of the same improvements as vendors (Ms. Lan, Ms. Hau, Ms. Giang 4/15/22), however they also hoped for more knowledge of origin and better categorization of goods within the market (Ms. Giang, Ms. Nga 4/15/16). Two customers also wish there was a better system within the market to organize vehicle traffic (Mr. Hau, Ms. Nga 4/15/22). Overall, interviewees expressed content with the market’s existing form and function, however, their input on how they envision the several improvements they noted will be further considered in the recommendations section. To

highlight a final sentiment, one respondent hopes for a future market that has a “...mix of modern and traditional so that old people can still do what they do, but young people can get more information” (Ms. Giang 4/15/16). One way she suggested to achieve this is through incorporating the use of technology into the basic functions of the market. Though this might sound like an overwhelming task, it is important to acknowledge what this example displays: local people are thinking about the market’s future, one that mirror’s the current state of Vietnam as a mix of modern and traditional, where the needs of multiple stakeholders are met.

Conclusions

The overarching aim of this study was to grasp an understanding of how traditional fresh markets in Hanoi, Vietnam are threatened by the supermarket revolution through a micro-level case study on local people’s perceptions of the form, function, and future of a single neighborhood market called Châu Long. Specifically, this study sought to learn about how the market impacts local people’s everyday lives, how local people perceive the threats pressuring the market to change, and how local people expect the market to function in the future to meet their needs. Through understanding these themes at the micro-level, there exists a hope that this information will be useful at the meso- and macro-levels as Hanoi carries on its Market Redevelopment Plan and as cities in developing countries across the world make investment decisions about how resources should be used to modernize their urban space.

This study hypothesized that vendors and sellers would describe their daily interactions with CLM in terms of economic consideration, social relationships, cultural ties, and health concerns. Data and analysis found that CLM is important to the daily lives of vendors and customers for similar reasons, however vendors put the most emphasis on the economic necessity of the market while customers put the most emphasis on the cultural and habitual necessities of the market. While vendor’s daily lives depend on the market as a source of income and form of employment, customer’s daily lives depend on the market for the convenience, freshness, and variety that it provides. In terms of the threats which the market faces, this study hypothesized that CLM vendors would feel threatened by the competition from supermarkets and fearful of the redevelopment plan, while assuming customers would be nervous about a change in price. Knowing how ineffectively redeveloped markets are operating in Hanoi, I also assumed

that most of my interviewees would hope for CLM's preservation as a traditional fresh market, rather than the competition of the redevelopment plan. However, results confirmed that both vendors and customers have relatively negative opinions regarding the redevelopment of the market and would prefer to shop at sell at CLM rather than a supermarket, hypermarket, or commercial center. The study also hypothesized that CLM vendors would feel competition from the rise of supermarkets in Hanoi, however it found that most vendors do not feel significant competition because CLM customers prefer to shop at CLM over supermarkets, even though they maintain high regard the cleanliness and food safety guarantees of supermarkets. Though these results confirm that vendors and customers are largely content with the market as is, they also believe some improvements would enhance the atmosphere and character of the market, without disrupting the traditional style they hold so dear.

Recommendations

With local voices in mind, several recommendations can be made, such as recommendations for the improvement of Châu Long Market, for alternate policy in Hanoi, for popularizing HealthBridge advocacy campaigns, and for future research.

Firstly, to modernize and improve CLM without sacrificing the characteristics that make it unique, recommendations can be made for improvements that do not require large scale infrastructural changes. In light of respondent's wishes for greater cleanliness and hygiene, hiring custodial help to keep the market clean throughout the day would not only eliminate the presence of food scraps on the floor, but would employ more local people. To address concerns raised about congestion in the market, perhaps there could be traffic regulations implemented for the market's busiest times to make it more pedestrian friendly. These regulations could take the form of one-way aisles which would alleviate frustration with congestion, however, might also detract from the freedom and convenience people cherish the market for. Several respondents also raised interest in more definitive categorization of the markets' goods. They value the market's wide variety of goods, but wish the goods were organized by type of product, such as vegetables, poultry, etc. In other words, the customers appreciate how products are organized by category in supermarkets. The market management should raise this concern with vendors to see if some would be willing to move stalls in order to meet customer demand. Since reorganizing

the market by category of goods could disrupt the social relationships between vendors, this recommendation should be raised with them before changes are made. Second, recommendations can be made for improvements that require larger scale infrastructural changes. For example, respondents raised concerns for the insufficiency of the drainage and sanitation systems in the market. Thus, funding should be directed toward this project next. Concerns were also raised regarding the condition of the roads, though observations support the funding the improvement of the drainage system first because it contributes to wetness of the roads and smell of the market.

International experience, off-site interviews and personal observations also inform recommendations for how to modernize and improve CLM, without sacrificing its character and with enhancing its existence as a public space in Hanoi. As I learned from personal observations collected during the month I lived in Hanoi, as well as from my interview with Ms. Luong, a Hanoian architecture professional, there exists a trend in the city today to creatively fund public spaces (Ms. Luong 4/14/16). For example, Hanoi Creative City is a project that refurbished an abandoned high rise building, called Zone 9, and turned it into a multi-use entertainment space geared toward young people (Hanoi-Online.net). During my visit to Hanoi Creative City, I watched young people of all ages enjoy themselves at an outdoor skate park as well as indoors at cafes, restaurants, boutiques, and a recreational game center. This example demonstrate how Hanoi residents are driven to be creative with the city's dwindling free space. Public markets like CLM should be included in the list of spaces that are lucky enough to reap the benefits of this public creative energy. Though respondents discussed the market as a community space because anyone is free to enter, there are several ways the market could take from the lessons of projects like Hanoi Creative City and incorporate other, more advanced elements of public spaces, such as holding free events or providing places for children to play.

There are several relatively simple, yet nonetheless impactful ways in which the public space atmosphere of CLM could be enhanced. Firstly, existing literature supports that a sufficient sitting space can have a significant impact on the likelihood that people will stay, chat, and enjoy themselves within a larger public space (Zsuzsanna 2010). I have personally observed the importance of seating to the vibrancy of a public spaces during my time in Vietnam. In both Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi, I have noticed the importance of coffee shops to the social relationships and leisure activities of Vietnamese people. Thus, one of my recommendations for

the revitalization and reinvestment of CLM as a public space is to increase and expand the amount of seating in the prepared foods section inside the market (see **Figure 1**, page ?) as well as the prepared foods stalls located along the exterior of the market for reference. Improving these spaces by making their seating areas bigger and their overall appearance brighter and more clean would enhance the appeal of the space. Additionally, seating, such as benches or picnic tables, could be built on the outer far side of the market that faces Trúc Bạch lake. The lake's proximity to the market is beautiful and significantly under capitalized. Since CLM has so much activity everyday, creating a new public area nearby would enhance the community atmosphere of the area and create a space for people to enjoy nature and the view. Additionally, these improvements would not only provide people who frequent but the market places to relax and interact, it might also welcome underrepresented demographics, such as children, young people, and men of all ages.

Second, the results of this project have created some policy recommendations for the city of Hanoi. First of all, and consistent with conclusions from existing literature (Warpole, K., Knox, K. 2007), Hanoi should set their sights on a city where traditional markets and modern markets co-exist, so that local people have access to the benefits of both, especially given high preferences for convenience and notable concerns for food safety issues. If Hanoi wants to truly invest in modernizing its city, it should alter the focus of its Market Redevelopment plan towards reinvigorating and reinvesting in existing public spaces, rather than redeveloping them or eliminating them completely. Châu Long Market is over 100 years old because people like it and depend on it. Tradition is habitual because it works for people, it sustains them. Changing a place so drastically for the sake of building a city that looks and operates like any other concrete jungle is not sustainable for Hanoi's people based on the results of this study. As cases like the success of Barcelona's markets have proven, collaboration between investors, government officials, and the public is possible and advantageous when deciding the fate of public spaces. Furthermore, history repeats itself, and the US has learned the hard way that destroying traditional markets for the sake of convenience, modernization, and progress, for the appeal of modern big box stores, has reaped numerous negative consequences and forced the recreation of public markets across the country. Hanoi and Vietnam should learn from Barcelona and the US and rethink the focus Market Redevelopment Plan. Funds should be reinvested in the existing infrastructure of markets to preserve, yet revitalize them and policymakers, investors, and the wider public should join

hands to tackle the real source of food safety concerns that begin much deeper in the supply chain.

Third, the results of this project have also led to some recommendations for how HBV can strengthen its public market campaigns. HBV is in the process of developing its web presence, which I think should continue to be developed given the power of social media as a news resource and a platform for grassroots organizing. The Hanoi Tree Movement, a recent campaign to save thousands of trees from being cut down by the HPC, was incredibly successful in the way it gained public support through social media. Though HBV's work is mostly purposed to pressure policy makers with reports and evidence of their advocacy goals, I think social media would garner more support for their hard work and help them gain the government's attention even more than they do now. Developing a social media presence would not only raise greater awareness to this issue in Vietnam, it would also help HBV engage younger Vietnamese people and international voices in their conversations. Given the current movement in the US to recreate the farmers markets it once destroyed, HBV could also strengthen its projects by partnering with US organization that are advocating for a more localized system of food distribution like they are.

Finally, this study also resulted in several suggestions for future research. Firstly, more case studies on a single traditional fresh market in Hanoi would be helpful in comparing local experience to international experience. In exploring the literature on this topic, no other case studies that focused on the effects of the supermarket revolution on a single market, Vietnamese or otherwise, were found. Second, further research on what the Vietnamese conception of convenience means when grocery shopping would be an interesting topic for further study. This form of convenience sells stop-and-stir meals or non-perishable food goods that can be bought with meals for the next few days in mind. As Vietnam's middle class grows and more and more women work away from home, furthermore as western food habits continue to diffuse in Vietnam, supermarkets may grow to represent a new form of convenience that replaces or redefines the forms of conveniences appreciated in traditional fresh markets. A study documenting and analyzing this likely shift in conceptions of convenience would be incredibly worthwhile. Third, there exists a need for an extensive research project purposed to address food safety and food quality issues along the supply chains of Hanoi's food system. Understanding

these issues is critical to making accurate and sustainable decisions about the future of Hanoi people's access to healthy food.

To conclude, public markets occupy a fascinating position at the crossroads of international, national, municipal, and local experience. I would highly recommend studying this topic and hope that my findings make a viable contribution to the existing dialogue today.

Appendix

Interview Guide 1: Architecture Professionals

Name of Translator: Ly and Vi (for interview with Mr. Anh only)

Date: 4/14

Location: Coffee shop (Mr. Anh) and Skype (Ms. Thao)

Goals:

- History of Chau Long Market
- Impacts of urbanization
- Specific details regarding the investment plan

Initial Questions:

- What is your current profession?
- What is your relationship with HealthBridge?
- How is your work tied to Chau Long Market?
- Do you usually grocery shop at supermarkets or fresh markets? Why? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the places you grocery shop?

History and Urbanization:

- What is unique about the history of Chau Long Market?
- Why should this history be preserved? What will be lost if it isn't?
- How has the market's infrastructure changed overtime? How much of this change has been the result of urbanization/modernization?
- What challenges does this market face because of urbanization and modernization?
- How is the government and its investors planning to face these challenges?

Market Logistics:

- Location
 - What is good about this market's location?
- Funding
 - Who funds the market?
- Design
 - Why is the market designed the way that it is?
- Management
 - Who manages the market?
 - What faction of the government makes decisions that affect the government?
- Promotion
 - How is the market promoted?

Improvement Strategy:

- What are the specifics of the investment plan?
 - Timeline?
 - New layout?
- Is the investment plan a threat in the near future?

- Who or what organizations have decided what the new market will look like and why?
- Does the proposed investment plan weigh community opinions and needs?
- Based on your knowledge, what sort of improvements would best fit community needs?
- What steps should be taken to advocate for these improvements instead of the proposed redevelopment plan?

Final Questions:

- Are there any additional resources you can suggest that I use for my project?
- Where can I find more information about the proposed investment plan?
- Do you know of other case studies like mine that I could use as a reference?

Interview Guide 2: Châu Long Market Vendors Session 1

Name of Translators: Ly (morning) and Tet (afternoon)

Date: 4/15/16

Location: Châu Long Market

Goals:

- Understand the role of this market in the daily life of a vendor
- Understand the challenges the market faces through a vendor's eyes
- Inquire about what improvements should be made

Initial Questions

- What is your name?
- Where are you from?
- What do you sell at Chau Long Market?
- How long have you been a vendor here?
- What is your daily schedule like?

Logistics

- Relationships
 - Do you have frequent customers?
 - Do you have friends or family that also work at the market?
 - Why do you think your customers like to shop here?
- Location
 - How far is your house from the market?
 - How do you travel to the market?
- Management
 - Who is your boss?
 - What do you know about the market management?
 - What would you change?
- Design
 - Do you like where your stall is located?
 - Do you like how the market is designed?
 - What would you change?
- Tourism/Expats

- Do you ever sell to tourists or foreigners in the market?
- If so, what do they buy?
- If not, why don't they shop here?

Market Challenges

- What challenges does the market face?
- How does pressure from supermarkets and convenience stores intensify these challenges?
- Why does the government want to redevelop this market?
 - How is modernization (and the rise of supermarkets and convenience stores) impacting this market?
- What do you know about the investment plan?
 - How would redevelopment impact your life?
 - What do you like about it?
 - What do you dislike about it?
 - Who do you talk about it with?

Market Improvements

- What would you change about this market?
- What would you keep the same?
- What should be improved and how should these improvements be made?

Interview Guide 3: Châu Long Market Customers Session 1

Name of Translator: Ly (morning) and Tet (afternoon)

Date: 4/15/16

Location: Châu Long Market

Goals:

- Understand the role of this market in the daily life of a consumer
- Understand the challenges the market faces through a consumer's eyes
- Inquire about what improvements should be made

Initial Questions:

- What is your name?
- Where are you from?
- Do you shop at Chau Long Market?
- What do you buy there?
- Why do you buy these items there?
- How frequently do you shop there?
- How long have you shopped there?
- What time of day do you shop there?

Logistics:

- Relationships
 - Do you buy from the same vendors every time you shop at the market?

- Do your neighbors shop at the market?
- Do you know any of the vendors personally?
- Location
 - How far is the market from your house?
 - How do you typically travel to the market?
- Consumer Preferences
 - What do you like about shopping at Chau Long market?
 - What do you dislike about shopping at Chau Long Market?
 - If you had to choose, would you shop at a supermarket or a fresh market? Why?
- Tourism/Expats
 - Do you ever see foreigners shopping at the market?
 - If so, what do they buy?
 - If not, why don't they shop there?

Market Challenges

- What challenges does the market face?
- How does pressure from supermarkets and convenience stores intensify these challenges?
- Why does the government want to redevelop this market?
 - How is modernization (and the rise of supermarkets and convenience stores) impacting this market?
- What do you know about the investment plan?
 - How would redevelopment impact your life?
 - What do you like about it?
 - What do you dislike about it?
 - Who do you talk about it with?

Market Improvements

- What would you change about this market?
- What would you keep the same?
- What should be improved and how should these improvements be made?

Interview Guide 4: Châu Long Market Vendors and Customers Session 2

Name of Translator: Ly (morning) and Tram (afternoon)

Date: 4/22/16

Location: Châu Long Market

Part 1: Open-ended questions:

- Why do people come to this market?
- What do you like best about this market?
- Do you think of this market as a community space?
- How does it benefit the community?
- Do you ever shop at stores nearby this market?

Part 2: Guiding Question: What roles does this market play in your daily life?

Probing Questions:

Social Role

- Do you have frequent customers/vendors?
- How do you feel about the social life or social atmosphere of the market?
- How would the market's redevelopment change this?

Economic Role

- How does this market impact your neighborhoods economy?
- How does it contribute to your economic well-being?
- Is this market important to the local economy? If so, why?
- How would the market's redevelopment change this?

Cultural Role

- Does this market represent Vietnamese culture? If so, in what ways?
- In what ways is this market traditional?
- How would redevelopment change this?
- Is it important to preserve these traditions?

Health Role

- How does this market contribute to your health and the health of your family?
- How do health concerns influence your decision to shop for food here/your customer's decision to shop for food here?

Part 3: Guiding Question: How is Hanoi's rapid urbanization and the effects of globalization impacting this market?

- How has Hanoi changed since you started living in it?
 - How has it changed since Doi Moi? and why?
- How has this neighborhood changed since you started living/working in it?
 - How has it changed since Doi Moi?
- How long have you been selling or shopping at this market?
 - How has this market changed since the time you started shopping or selling at it?
 - How do you expect it to change in the future?

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