

Anthropology on Economic Development in Hanoi, Capital of Vietnam Analysis of Commercial Activities of Hanghom Paint Shops Street

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ベトナムの首都ハノイの旧市街にある「ハンホーム通り」は、漆の木工芸の通りであったが、この歴史的な伝統文化を保持しながら、現代の需要に応えるために塗料販売の通りへと変遷してきた。1986年のドイモイ政策以降、ハンホーム通りの塗料販売店の店主らは、出稼ぎ労働者を販売員や運搬労働者として多く雇用してきた。都市民は、地方からの労働者を受け入れるだけでなく、海外の塗料関連製品を購入し外国籍の会社との取引もおこなって、グローバル化を自分たちの生活に巧みに取り込んでいる。ハンホーム通りの販売店が、村落から海外の企業まで幅広く関わりをもつだけでなく、各店が交流をはかることでモラル・エコノミーを創生し、現代のベトナムの資本主義経済のなかで、ハンホーム通りを「塗料販売の通り」として確立させ時代変化に対応することにつながっている。

これは、ハンホーム通りの塗料販売店の日常の商業活動を細かく分析することで明らかになる。これまで、ベトナムの経済についてはマクロな経済学で多く論じられてきたが、人類学的な手法を用いた、塗料販売店の雇用や取引についてのローカルな資料を具体的に分析することで、ハノイの経済発展と出稼ぎ労働者の関わりを解明することができる。本稿では、ハンホーム通りの塗料販売の各店が出稼ぎ労働者「チョーハン」(運搬労働者)を共有する雇用状況から、ドイモイ政策以降、都市が村の労働力を取り込んで経済発展をしていく様態を明らかにし、ここに、ハノイ市民経済の経済人類学的考察を提示する。

Purpose of this article and method of participant observation

Hanghom street in the old ward of Hanoi, capital of Vietnam, was established as a street gathering lacquer craft shops and later, has been changed as a street collecting new technology of modern paint shops relating to and deriving from lacquer. This change of working form of this street can be said to be the dynamic response toward the modern social and economic change of Vietnam herself. After the open economic policy

of Doimoi accelerating capitalization of the nation, Hanghom street has been accepting many workers coming from rural areas, importing the oversea paint and materials and even treating with goods of companies abroad. Hanghom street has been able to connect workers from villages with urban life and even breathing globalization. Here in this paper, the writer intends to make it clear how economic activeness by the government's open economic policy of Doimoi can penetrate into peoples' everyday life, by concretely analyzing the street commercial deeds such as wholesales,

deal, etc., with special focus on hiring people from villages and circulation of commodities with my anthropological participant observation. This is the purpose of this article.

Japan has been rapidly establishing the economic development after the World War II. But shopping streets of local areas now cannot help closing their shops because the big shopping malls opened in the suburb areas and the management of their commercial activities dropped into much difficulty. People call this situation Shatter street in Japan. Big nationwide chain stores hired local people and as its result, personal shops are declining not to hire workers from village areas and cannot maintain the social exchange between city and village, young and old, street original members and outsiders in the community activities. This is the big problem in Japanese societies now. But, looking at Akihabara street for electric appliances, Kanda Jinbou-chou for books and Ueno for motor bikes in Tokyo, capital of Japan, these streets can be found as the streets for specialized merchandises where people can find out the same sort of materials in the same category that they can choose. That is why customers can be satisfied with frequenting to this kind of special streets.

Parallels can be seen in the commercial situations of ongoing development in today's Vietnam. Urban economy must activate the commercial activities of streets sustaining regional community in each street. I would like to show as a good example of success Hanghom street activities.

1 Historical change of Hanghom street

Hanghom street has changed its characteristics famous from for lacquer-painted art craft to for paint including chemicals. This change can be

understood as mixture of change and continuity because street maintained treatment with materials relating to painting matters whether its form and means are old or modern. Traditional painting culture of this street responds to the modern needs. Hanghom street has been accepting many workers coming from rural area, importing the oversea paint and materials and even treating with goods of companies abroad. Hanghom street has been able to connect workers from villages with urban life and even succeed in breathing and adopting globalization in local street life. This catch up with modern change by local urban street can be established by collaboration of small personal shops of street, which can consequently lead this street to the one noted for the specialized character of common merchandise of paint.

This is able to be made clear by analyzing everyday commercial activities of paint shops in Hanghom street. Up to now, Vietnamese economy has been discussed mainly by economics. So, the writer intends to make it clear how economic activeness by the government's open economic policy of Doimoi can be carried out by peoples' everyday life, by concretely analyzing the street commercial activities. I will focus on the dynamism of employing people from villages and circulation of commodities with my anthropological participant observation in local peoples' ordinary activities of the street. Thus, I would like to reveal the economic and commercial anthropology of ordinary citizen's activities of Hanoi and citizen's moral economy.

Hanghom street was established by people coming from Havi village, 28km in the south of capital of Hanoi, with original traditional technology of lacquer paint. This street had been selling the wooden boxes, bags, furnitures and other tools with lacquer traditional painting. Until 1947, this whole area involving adjacent streets

such as Hangnon, Hangquat, Hangmanh, Yenthai streets, had been dwelled by people with the origin of Havi village. When anti-France war occurred and France bombed Hanoi city in 1947, wealthy Hanoi inhabitants ran away to the southern Vietnam or even oversea. Instead of the former inhabitants, people of villages different from Havi began to dwell here. Havi pagoda or small shrine settled by people from Havi village was destroyed by French bombing but reconstructed by inhabitants of this street.

Since the Doimoi open economy policy began in 1986, Hanghom street changed its occupation from lacquer sales to synthetic paint sales. Even inhabitants who came to Hanghom street after 1947 as new-comers without origin of Havi village imitated and followed this vocation of paint sales. Today, there are twenty eight paint shops, ten souvenir shops, four hotels, two travel agents, restaurants, Foh noodle restaurants etc. in Hanghom street (February 2009). In accordance with acceleration of tourism in town, Hanghom street as well has had a rapid and big change. For five years between 2005-2009, A paint shop changed into a souvenir shop (2008). A furniture shop changed into a souvenir shop (2008). A gallery changed into a souvenir shop (2008). Now, since too many souvenir shops increased in this area and in Hanoi, souvenir shops changed again into an open gallery where they showed real western paintings (2007), again into a restaurant for foreigners and middle-class Vietnamese (2009), and again into a tour agent (2007). A clothing shop for foreigners and tourists changed into a tour agent (2006). In accordance with the acceleration of capitalism, one vacant shop of this street changed into two paint shops (2006). A part of paint shop changed into plastic shop (2006), but it returned into a paint shop again (2007). Paint sale matches to the times because of many buildings

newly constructed in Hanoi.

In this way, a half number of shops of this street changed into the souvenir shops and tour agents in accordance with augmentation of sightseeing of the times. On the contrary, phenomenon of revival of the paint sales symbolically reveals that Hanghom street can be identified as specialized place for paint by ordinary residents in Hanoi. Hanghom street has good reputation famous for paint sales even now. Furthermore, a paint sale is the proper species of job which can tie up with the times because there can be seen so many parts of the city with new constructions and new reformings which need painting houses and buildings. The commercial life with paint sales involves good efficiency in modern rapid change of economy in Vietnam.

Although a half number of shops changed into the domain of tourism, the rest remains to be paint retail stores or paint wholesale dealers. Merchandises sold at wholesale are not only paint for wall, color spray cans, but also wax for cars, brushes, adhesive, gasoline, sandpaper, varnish, dyestuff and so forth. In addition, they deal with several sorts of chemical liquid such as acetone (solvent), nitroglycerine (gelatinizer), polyurethane (high-functioned resin), nitrocellulose (synthetic resin) etc.. In fact, these sorts of chemicals are made in foreign countries rather than Vietnam, for example, sandpaper from Korea and Japan, and lubricant oil from Australia. Namely, they are connecting with foreign countries overseas and catch up with globalization. That is to say, these commodities with foreign origin and multi-nationalities can show that open economy policy of Doimoi is actually penetrating into the corners of daily lives of ordinary middle-class people.

2 Employment and shares of ‘Chohang’ transport workers among paint stores in Hanghom street

Now, we pay attention to how residents in Hanghom street, relating to paint dealing, accept the workers from villages. In addition to the employers and employees of family members in the paint stores of Hanghom street, there are hired salespersons coming from villages. Sellers and salespersons are employed by each paint store but transport workers using motor-bikes called Chohang always staying in this specialized street of Hanghom are shared by all paint stores of this street. So, Chohang bike transporters are waiting in the corner of this street, gathering together. We are observing more up to details of this common hiring system of transporters of merchandises related with paint by employers, or shop managers.

Chohang transports a load of paint-related commodities that clients bought to the shops or destinations that clients designated. There are about nineteen Chohangs in Hanghom street (2007). All are male, six of the age 30's, eleven of the age 40's and two of the age 50's. All except one native of Hanoi are deriving from the east Hungyen district, in the east of Hanoi capital. They have been coming to Hanghom street to work as contract transporters with recommendation or introduction of their acquaintances and friends. In the former marginal area of the capital, now sinking in the central zone of enlarged today's city area, consequently out of old wards of Hanoi capital, for example at Phuctan ward, Chohang workers lodge in poor hostels and barracks. And they moved to Hanghom street at seven o'clock in the morning to begin to work and keep on waiting for the orders of transportation by the clients or managers of paint shops about up to five o'clock in the evening. Chohang workers move to the paint

shops when managers call their names and upload their merchandises to the bike. These bikes are obtained and kept by Chohangs themselves and have no insurance in case of accidents. Taking bike maintenance and no guarantee in case of accidents into accounts, this job of Chohang is not an easy work in the least. But on account that they are paid at each transporting occasion one by one, they can be sure of gaining liquid money and comparatively higher earning than salespersons employed in each store with 30,000-70,000 dong a day (about 150-300 yen), in spite of risk of accidents.

Because Chohang bike transporters are shared by all the paint shop managers in the street, works of villagers in the city and urban street economy are tightly connected each other, which can be said that urban economy itself can be maintained by the villagers' works and strong urban-rural relationship.

3 Monograph of labor of Chohang bike transporters

3-1 Labor situation of bike transporters of Chohang

Chohang in general means goods or freight in Vietnamese language. Strictly speaking, there are two sorts of Chohang workers; one is truck Chohang and the other is bike Chohang. Chohang bike transporters are waiting in the Hanghom street where paint shops are located and Chohang truck transporters are waiting in the other streets of old wards of capital a little far from Hanghom street.

I will show you example of ten days' labor of 6-15 February as labor situation of Chohang bike workers in Hanghom street, with cases of bike transporters c,d,f (table1,2,3). Laborer d and f of age more than 45 and laborer c of age of 20's, all these Chohangs are male. Owing to the New-Year festival days according to the old lunar calendar, laborer c and laborer f are absent from

transportation working in the street, going back to their home villages. The destinations that they transport merchandises to are not only in the city, but also companies, markets and jetties located far in the districts of HaDong, HaTay, BacNinh and other distant places where clients demand to go.

They distribute the paint-related materials to the destinations and come back to their working home land of Hanghom street and their managers of paints stores, who pay them by cash in accordance with load's volume, number and distance for transportation. This sum of fare for transportation that bike Chohang receive is completely equal to the whole sum that store managers received from clients, which can lead to the reliable relationship between store managers and Chohang transporters.

So, transportation fare depends on its distance, load's volume and number. Generally speaking, the average prices of transportation charge in the city of Hanoi is about 20,000 dong, 50,000 dong for HaDong, 60,000 dong for HaTay, 50,000-60,000 dong for BacNinh, 80,000 dong for HungYen, and 120,000 dong for ThaiNguyen (estimation in 2007).

Chohang bike transporter d, on 6 February for example, carried goods to XuanDinh district being demanded by store L, from which he was paid 40,000 dong. On the date of 7 February, he went to LongBien district demanded by store L, next to GiapBat district by the demand of store A, and finally to XuanDinh district again demanded by the store L with total income of 100,000 dong a day. He worked being demanded by four stores, E,C,L,Q on 8 February, by three stores E,L,G on 9 February, by three stores S,F,Q with transportation of twice by store Q on 10 February. Transporter d worked for stores A,E,N,H on 11 February, and for G,B,E on 12 February. He worked for three stores L,Q,I on 13 February, for four stores A,M,

L,N on 14 February and for four stores E,F,A,N on 15 February. Chohang d worked thirty three times for this period of 10 days for many different stores totally receiving 1,190,000 dong. The highest fee of this period that he received was for BacNinh district with 100,000 dong and average of charges of this period for one time was 36,000 dong.

Thirteen stores in Hanghom street used Chohang d transporter with seven times by store L, five times by store E, four times by store A and Q, three times by store N, twice by store F and G, and once by store B,C,H,I,M,S, which leads us the correct understanding of the clear fact of sharing of Chohang bike transporters by all the street paint stores of Hanghom. This can be said the creation of commercial community by close-knit communication among stores and bike transporters.

table 1: cho hang d (6/2/2009~15/2/2009)

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date	shop	frequency	destination	amount (VNĐ)	date	shop	frequency	destination	amount (VNĐ)
6/2	L	1	Xuan Dinh	40,000	12/2	G	1	Long Bien	20,000
7/2	L	1	Long Bien	20,000	13/2	B	1	Gia Lam	35,000
	A	1	Giap Bat	40,000		E	1	Bat Trang	80,000
	L	1	Xuan Dinh	40,000		L	1	Ha Dong	60,000
	L	1	Xuan Dinh	40,000		Q	1	Tay Ho	30,000
8/2	E	1	Giap Bat	40,000	14/2	I	1	Gioi market	35,000
	C	1	Nuoc Ngam	35,000		A	1	Cat Soi	20,000
	L	1	Xuan La, Xuan Dinh	40,000		M	1	Giap Bat	35,000
	Q	1	Giap Bat	40,000		L	1	Gia Lam	35,000
9/2	E	1	Gia Lam	35,000	15/2	N	1	Thuoc Bac	10,000
	L	1	Ha Dong	60,000		E	1	Ba Trieu	20,000
	G	1	Bat Trang	60,000		F	1	Nuoc Ngam	40,000
10/2	S	1	Bac Ninh	100,000		A	1	Dong Xuan	20,000
	F	1	Nguyen Tuan	40,000		N	1	Long Bien	15,000
	Q	1	Thuoc Bac	10,000					
	Q	1	Dong Xuan, Long Bien	20,000					
11/2	A	1	Giap Bat	40,000					
	E	1	Cat Soi	20,000					
	N	1	Thuoc Bac	15,000					
	H	1	Gia Lam	40,000					

table 2: cho hang f (6/2/2009~15/2/2009)

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date	shop	frequency	destination	amount (VNĐ)	date	shop	frequency	destination	amount (VNĐ)
6/2	holiday				13/2	S	1	Gia Lam	35,000
7/2	holiday					M	2	Ha Dong	100,000
8/2	holiday					N	1	Thuoc Bac	10,000
9/2	holiday				14/2	C	1	Bat Trang	60,000
10/2	S	5	Hanoi port	100,000		F	1	Cau Giay	40,000
	N	1	Giap Bat	40,000		S	2	Long Bien	40,000
	G	1	Luong Yen	30,000	15/2	L	1	Giap Bat	40,000
11/2	G	1	Van Dien	40,000		N	1	Ha Dong	60,000
	S	1	Hanoi port	30,000		Y	1	Ha Tay	80,000
	Q	1	Gia Lam	40,000					
12/2	S	1	Hanoi port	30,000					
	S	1	market	30,000					
	G	1	Lo Duc	25,000					
	N	1	Lo Ren	10,000					

table 3: cho hang c (6/2/2009~15/2/2009)

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date	shop	frequency	destination	amount (VND)	date	shop	frequency	destination	amount (VND)
6/2	holiday				13/2	A	1	Gia Lam	40,000
7/2	holiday					N	1	Bat Trang	60,000
8/2	holiday					E	1	Cat Soi	20,000
9/2	holiday					G	1	Thuoc Bac	10,000
10/2	E	1	Giap Bat	40,000	14/2	L	1	Van Don	30,000
	M	1	Giap Bat	40,000		L	1	Giap Bat	40,000
	G	1	Thuoc Bac	10,000		L	1	Xuan Dinh	40,000
	N	1	Dong Xuan	15,000	15/2	E	1	Bach Mai	30,000
11/2	L	1	Van Dien	50,000		G	1	My Dinh	60,000
	L	1	Ha Dong	60,000		L	1	Gia Lam	30,000
	l	1	Xuan Dinh	40,000		N	1	Thuoc Bac	10,000
	E	1	Cau Giay	40,000					
12/2	L	1	Xuan Dinh	40,000					
	N	1	Cat Soi	30,000					
	F	1	Ha Dong	60,000					

3-2 Employment of Chohang bike transporters by store — example of store No.14.

Table 4 shows how the store in Hanghom street demanded several different Chohang bike workers waiting on the edge of the street where usually tea shop for their waiting in the street was located. And this can show how transporters or workers coming from villages can contribute to the urban or national economic development after the economic open and accelerating policy of Doimoi. When the load is too big and too numerous for bike to upload, the store managers demand big truck transporters waiting in the other areas of the city.

Now, we are going to analyze the situation how stores hire Chohang bike transporters taking an example of store No.14 (see table 4). Observation and analysis of employment situation of bike workers by employers or store managers in the local context of Hanghom street can lead us to real understanding of actual representation

of economic development after the Doimoi open economic policy in the national level and clear understanding of concrete contribution of immigrant workers form village areas to urban and national active economy (see table 4).

Destinations where Chohang transporters go being ordered by stores are many places from the core area of Hanoi to its periphery, sometimes to the outskirts of the city and even to the adjacent prefectures of Hanoi capital, if necessary. They are going to companies, markets and ports of various places, such as old wards of central Hanoi, HaDong district in the suburbs, GiaLam district, the former HaTay Province, BachNinh Province, Haiphong port, HungYen Province and QuanNinh Province. When the volume and quantity of ordered merchandises is too big for Chohang bikes to transport, one store in collaboration with other stores, orders a truck waiting in the other streets of old ward of Hanoi.

For example, looking at seven days from 1 Oct. to 7 Oct. in 2008, store No.14 used five

Chohang bike transporters (Muon, Huong, Oanh, Hiep, Bon) and three truck transporters (Hung, Huy, Tan), and totally ordered eighteen times a week of transporting. On 1 October, this store ordered Hung truck transporter to go to GiaLam district and return to Hanghom, paying totally 100,000 dong. It ordered Muon bike Chohang to go to DongXuan market in Hanoi city, paying 20,000 dong. To Huong bike transporter, paying 15,000 dong for 'go and return' between Hanghom and LongBien market area. On 2 October, this store used Chohang bike transporters, first Oain to BachMai area, paying 30,000 dong and next Huong to HaDong district, paying 100,000 dong. On 3 October, it used two Chohang trucks, Huy truck transporter to QuangNinh Province, 200 km in the north of Hanoi, paying 250,000 dong and Hung truck to distant HaTay district, paying 900,000 dong. On 4 October, it used three transporters, two bike Chohangs and one truck, and bike Hiep went to BatTrang village being paid 70,000 dong and Huong bike to HungYen province being paid 150,000 dong. Tang truck went to Longbien area in the periphery of Hanoi, being paid 70,000 dong. On 5 October, store No.14 used bike Hiep to BachMai area, paying 60,000 dong and bike Huong to GiapBat street, paying 40,000 dong. On 6 October, Oanh to GiapBat street, paying 40,000 dong and to ThangLong

bridge, paying 60,000 dong and Hiep to CauGiay ward, paying 45,000 dong. On 7 October, it used two bike Chohangs, Bon to HaibaTrung ward, paying 450,000 dong and Muon to CauDien area, paying 60,000 dong, and Huy truck transporter once to HaDong district, paying 150,000 dong.

Looking at one month from 27 Sep.to 28 Oct., paint shop No.14 ordered transportation eighty five times a month; trucks waiting in the other streets twenty four times and bikes waiting in the home ground of Hanghom street sixty one times (see table 4). This clearly shows the strategy of Hanghom paint stores that in ordinary situation they used bike transporters and if too many or too heavy load or too much quantity, they telephoned to truck transporters waiting in the other streets. They use mobile and flexible means of transportation or bike Chohang usually and constantly, which is very available for street store managers. It means the close mutual relationship between paint store managers and bike transporters sharing the same street life and as a result, both of two together would be able to create street community in collaboration. Thus, we can understand the social structure that bike workers or transient immigrant labors in the city coming from village area are strongly contributing to the urban economy and vividly to the total development of national economy.

table 4:No.14 (27/9/2008-28/10/2008)

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date	Cho hang	vehicle	frequency	destination	amount (VND)
27/9	Hung	truck	1	Dan Phuong	250,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Bach Mai	30,000
28/9	Huy	truck	1	Ha Dong	180,000
	Tan	truck	1	Bai Da	70,000
29/9	Hiep	bike	1	Nguyen Tuan	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Cau Giay	40,000

	Huong	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
30/9	Bon	bike	1	Nguyen Tuan	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Gia Lam	20,000
	Huy	truck	1	Ha Dong	150,000
1/10	Hung	truck	1	Gia Lam	100,000
	Muon	bike	1	Dong Xuan	20,000
	Huong	bike	1	Long Bien	15,000
2/10	Oanh	bike	1	Bach Mai	30,000
	Huong	bike	1	Ha Dong	100,000
3/10	Huy	truck	1	Quang Ninh	250,000
	Hung	truck	1	Ha Tay	900,000
4/10	Hiep	bike	1	Bat Trang	70,000
	Huong	bike	1	Hung Yen	150,000
	Tan	truck	1	Long Bien	70,000
5/10	Hiep	bike	1	Bach Mai	60,000
	Huong	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000
6/10	Oanh	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Thang Long bridge	60,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Cau Giay	45,000
7/10	Bon	bike	1	Nuoc Ngam	45,000
	Muon	bike	1	Cau Dien	60,000
	Huy	truck	1	Ha Dong	150,000
8/10	Tuan	truck	1	Ha Tay	250,000
	Huy	truck	1	Phuc Tan	80,000
	Huong	bike	2	Buoi	40,000
9/10	Hiep	bike	1	Luong Yen	50,000
	Muon	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000
10/10	Huong	bike	1	Bat Trang	80,000
	Huong	bike	1	Gia Lam	35,000
	Huong	bike	1	Long Bien	20,000
11/10	Huy	truck	1	Ke	250,000
	Huong	bike	1	Xuan Dinh	80,000
12/10	Tuan	truck	1	Quang Ninh	900,000
	Dam	truck	1	Ha Dong	200,000
13/10	Huy	truck	1	Su Thach Tri	180,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Ha Dong	150,000
	Huong	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
14/10	Muon	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000
	Chen	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
15/10	Hiep	bike	1	Bac Giang	150,000

	Huong	bike	1	Nuoc Ngam	40,000
	Quang	bike	1	Luong yen	30,000
	Huy	truck	1	Tran Khanh Du	80,000
16/10	Huong	bike	1	Van Dien	50,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Cau Dien	80,000
	Huy	truck	1	Cat Soi	80,000
	Tan	truck	1	Van Dien	150,000
17/10	Huong	bike	1	Van Giang	120,000
	Huong	bike	1	Dong Xuan	15,000
18/10	Hung	truck	1	Hai Phong	800,000
19/10	Huong	bike	1	Nhom	80,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
	Muon	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000
20/10	Hanh	bike	1	Giap Bat	35,000
	Quang	bike	1	Nuoc Ngam	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Xuan La	60,000
21/10	Huong	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Co Ca	80,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Bach Mai	35,000
22/10	Muon	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
	Chen	bike	1	Ha Dong	60,000
	Huong	bike	1	Minh Khai	70,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Long Bien	15,000
23/10	Hanh	bike	1	Cau Giay	50,000
	Huy	bike	1	Cau Dien	190,000
	Quang	bike	1	Dong Xuan	15,000
24/10	Tuan	truck	1	Quang Ninh	90,000
	Huy	truck	1	Cat Soi	80,000
26/10	Chen	bike	1	Gia Lam	40,000
	Muon	bike	1	Long Bien	15,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Cau Dong	15,000
	Huy	truck	1	Long Bien	70,000
27/10	Quynh	truck	1	Hai Phong	900,000
	Huy	truck	1	Bat Trang	120,000
	Huong	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000
	Hiep	bike	1	Tu Liem	80,000
28/10	Hiep	bike	1	Nuoc Ngam	40,000
	Huong	bike	1	Giap Bat	40,000

Conclusion — Genesis of urban community based on moral economy

Almost all Chohang bike transporters working in the street come from villages or rural area. They became intimate workers staying to be mixed in among the urban street dwellers in terms of introduction or recommendation of acquaintances and friends by private networks. Street paint stores share Chohang labors, and as its result, every store makes use of many bike transporters. From the opposite standpoint, every bike transporter works for many stores, as can create cross-knit communication system in the urban street and generate urban communal society with mutual collaboration between hiring employers and hired employees, sales and circulation, the city inhabitants and transient workers of village origin, and urban and rural. This would be able to create urban commercial networks with both economy and culture because this is based on the reliable social economy often without cash dealing especially among store managers. Urban ordinary people including rural workers are catching up with the gigantic globalization based on social and moral economy. Although they sometimes confront with difficulty of too much speedy change, they manage to take this modernization in their daily life with their own way and grass-roots strategy, as to combine the urban and rural and to contribute to developing the urban or national economy as a whole. Urban economy should activate street community economy, which is realizable as mentioned and analyzed above. We can make it clear the economic development not from macro economics' standpoint but from micro anthropological standpoint, based on the street grass-roots description and analysis of daily lives carried out by my detailed above-mentioned explanations and analysis. Hereby, I made it clear that economic or commercial anthropology of the

urban street activities by means of analyzing the daily labor of workers deriving from rural area can reveal the total reality of national acceleration of capitalization or the meaning, especially for ordinary people, of open economic policy of today's Vietnam.

photo 1 (2007)



photo2 (2013)



photo 3 (2009)



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