



Distilling Culture into Commodity? The Emergent Homemade Alcohol Trade and Gendered Livelihoods in Upland Northern Vietnam

June Y.T. Po , Jennifer C. Langill , Sarah Turner & Jean Michaud

To cite this article: June Y.T. Po , Jennifer C. Langill , Sarah Turner & Jean Michaud (2020) Distilling Culture into Commodity? The Emergent Homemade Alcohol Trade and Gendered Livelihoods in Upland Northern Vietnam, The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 21:5, 397-415, DOI: [10.1080/14442213.2020.1846207](https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2020.1846207)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2020.1846207>



Published online: 13 Dec 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Distilling Culture into Commodity? The Emergent Homemade Alcohol Trade and Gendered Livelihoods in Upland Northern Vietnam

June Y.T. Po *, Jennifer C. Langill ,
Sarah Turner  and Jean Michaud

Ethnic minorities in the uplands of northern Vietnam are experiencing rapid state- and market-induced economic and agrarian transformations. These communities are having to make important livelihood adaptations to adjust, while living at Vietnam's economic and political margins. We analyse one such market-induced transformation that some upland communities are deciding to engage with, connected to an increasing demand for locally distilled alcohol. Against the backdrop of traditional production for domestic consumption, distilled alcoholic beverages are now (re)emerging as a cash-earning opportunity. Drawing on interviews and observations with ethnic minority Hmong and Yao women and men in Lào Cai Province, we analyse the degree to which household members have engaged with this market opportunity and the often complex reasons behind their choices. We reveal how an apparently simple shift in scale of a customary activity generates nuanced cultural, gendered and generational debates that, at times, are at odds with mere profitability.

Keywords: Commoditisation; Dao; Distilled Alcohol; Ethnic Minorities; Gender; Hmong; Livelihoods; Tourism; Vietnam; Yao

* June Y.T. Po is affiliated with the Natural Resources Institute at the University of Greenwich. Jennifer C. Langill and Sarah Turner are affiliated with the Department of Geography, McGill University, Québec. Jean Michaud is affiliated with the Department of Anthropology, Université Laval, Québec. Correspondence to: June Y.T. Po, Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich, Central Avenue, Chatham Maritime, Kent, ME4 4TB, United Kingdom. Email: j.y.t.po@gre.ac.uk

Introduction

In recent years, the uplands of northern Vietnam have become a popular tourist destination for middle-class residents from Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. Since a highway from Hanoi to Lào Cai City, the capital of Lào Cai Province bordering China, was completed in 2014, and a cable car to the summit of Fansipan mountain, the ‘rooftop of Indochina’, was inaugurated in 2016, domestic tourism to the region has boomed (Michaud and Turner 2017). Hordes of vehicles arrive every weekend in Sapa District, a focal point of this tourism expansion, with visitors to the district’s capital, Sapa town, overwhelming local infrastructure. Electricity blackouts, dwindling water supplies and increasing pollution and rubbish levels are leaving some town residents wondering if this is the economic success they were hoping for (BBC Vietnam 2016).

Concurrently, a number of Hmong and Yao (a transnational group called Dao in Vietnam) ethnic minorities, who form two-thirds of the District’s population, live in rural villages surrounding Sapa town that are now being targeted for tourism day-trips. Many minority women from such villages have taken the initiative to sell tourist trinkets to earn household funds for increasingly expensive hybrid rice seeds, chemical fertilisers and school fees (Turner and Oswin 2015). Other households have set up small snack shops along popular walking tracks or have rented out land to lowland Kinh entrepreneurs (the Vietnamese ethnic majority) jumping on the tourism bandwagon. In comparison, other villages that are more distant or not easily accessible are largely left alone, with residents there needing to think of creative ways to gain economic rewards from the tourism upswing—if they wish to engage with it at all.

Sapa District’s tourist boom is one of many transformations underway across these uplands. As the Vietnam government encourages a modernist development approach for the countryside, numerous important changes are occurring to local upland livelihoods (Jamieson, Cuc, and Rambo 1998; Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015). Since the mid-1980s, *Đôì mới* (economic renovation) has opened up the previously centrally planned collective economy to market forces, along with a number of policies promoting greater market integration, private land use rights instead of common property arrangements, the settling of shifting cultivators and the promotion of cash cropping and wage work. Ethnic minority populations have been increasingly persuaded to integrate more directly into the market economy (Scott 2009; Sikor 2011), and an important push factor in this regard has been the government’s encouragement of farmers to switch to hybrid seeds for staple rice and maize crops. This has resulted in ethnic minority households requiring cash for annual seed supplies and chemical fertilisers. As a consequence, along with rising school fees and other costs of living, households are looking for new ways to enter the cash economy more than ever before (Bonnin and Turner 2012).

To gain the cash necessary for these livelihood needs, most ethnic minority farmers rely on limited sales of fruit, vegetables, forest honey and other forest products and

livestock at weekly markets or traded between villages. Although small-scale trade is a long-established activity among these groups, it is the scale and speed of change that are noteworthy here. In recent years, ethnic minority households have increasingly engaged in the cash-cropping of black cardamom in upland areas with suitable forest cover, as well as silviculture and fruit tree orchards (Sowerwine 2004; Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015). Around Sapa town, there has also been a recent rise in the number of farmers growing orchids for sale, as well as an increase in wage-work participation. For Hmong and Yao men, this work tends to be as construction or farm labourers, notably across the border in China. For women, limited opportunities for wage work have tended to be as local hotel or café staff. Another possible route for cash income is the selling of home-distilled alcohol, usually made from rice or maize. While a customary part of Hmong and Yao social life and rituals such as weddings and funerals (detailed below), upland minority-distilled alcohol has recently attracted the attention of both the Vietnamese state as a possible ‘development initiative’ and Kinh and Western entrepreneurs as a private business opportunity.

Given that many ethnic groups have long brewed or distilled alcohol in upland Vietnam, there is remarkably little written about how local livelihoods incorporate alcohol production as compared to the lowlands. In lowland Vietnamese settings, research by Peters (2012) and Sasges (2012) focuses on the unpopular colonial state-administered alcohol monopolies, while Mehta (2017) discusses lowland rice alcohol in the 1960s to 70s. Lưu, Nguyễn, and Newman (2014) study Vietnam alcohol production traditions and consumption behaviours among the ethnic majority Kinh, while Vu and Nguyen (2016) take stock of fermented foods and beverages, again focusing on the Kinh. Taking a slightly different focus, Lincoln (2016) reviews contemporary Kinh drinking culture, finding alcohol consumption to be rising.

Turning to the mountains, while fermented rice beer in the Central Highlands has received some attention (Izikowitz 1951; Condominas 1957; Cort and Lefferts 2013; see also Fiskesjö 2010), homemade distilled alcohol in the north is only mentioned in passing in French colonial archives (Michaud 2015; Michaud and Turner 2016). However, it has been descriptively touched upon in a few Vietnamese language articles by researchers from the state Institute of Ethnology. For example, alcohol is briefly mentioned in a piece by Vuong Xuan (2017) discussing Thái livelihoods in an upland village in the north-central province of Nghệ An. Here the author notes alcohol’s importance for labour-sharing activities like house building and for funerals. Alternatively, Bonnin (2015) and Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud (2015), writing on livelihoods and alcohol distilling by Hmong and Yao in Lào Cai Province, focus on the trade networks distillers have become involved in. They reveal how the state has been keen to brand the alcohol of a few select Hmong and Yao villages east of the Red River, reputed to make high-quality spirits, and how enterprising lowland Kinh have also been quick to acquire stakes in this specific upland alcohol market.

While drawing from this limited literature, the aim of this paper is to examine the changing roles that alcohol distilling is playing in Hmong and Yao minority villages in Sapa District. Examining distilling as both a traditional craft and as a cash commodity option, we highlight its relations with gender dynamics within households and villages, and critically reflect upon the consequences of alcohol production on longstanding cultural values, tourist trade interactions and beyond. We place this investigation against a backdrop of agrarian transformations that are accelerating across this region and rising but uneven tourist-driven economic opportunities. Next, we introduce our conceptual framework drawing on livelihoods perspectives, paying specific attention to cultural and gender critiques. We then provide more contextual details, briefly explaining the livelihood roles alcohol has traditionally played for Hmong and Yao households, as well as its cultural significance. We investigate the present day production and trade patterns for locally distilled alcohol while comparing two upland *xã* or communes (the smallest official state administrative unit, often consisting of a few scattered villages). One of these communes is highly integrated into tourism, while the other is far more isolated from tourism opportunities. We then dig deeper into how the potential alcohol trade in these two communes is influenced by gendered, generational and cultural factors, while also noting the innovations occurring in upland alcohol production and the lack of state officials' interest in these. Finally, we deliberate over the cultural nuances of alcohol production and the degree to which ethnic minority households are deciding to engage with its commoditisation and trade—or not.

While members of this research team have been conducting research in this region since the mid-1990s, the specific ethnographic fieldwork for this paper was undertaken between October 2018 and March 2019. We undertook fifty semi-structured and conversational interviews and participant observation with Yao (23 women, 3 men) and Hmong (14 women, 2 men) current and former distillers; Tày, Giáy, and Kinh distillers (3 women); as well as Kinh traders and hotel owners in Sapa town (2 women, 3 men). Two communes were purposively selected to reflect the differential integration of ethnic minority livelihoods into Sapa District's tourism sector: Thanh Kim Commune, which has remained largely 'off the map' for Kinh tourism, and Tả Phìn Commune, which is highly engaged with the Sapa tourism boom. Fieldwork was undertaken with Hmong and Yao women interpreters, or alone when talking with Kinh hotel owners. Interview themes focused on the production, use and trade of alcohol among Yao and Hmong rural households and their connections with tourism among other livelihood options. Furthermore, we explored the preservation of ethnic minority knowledge and the gendered, cultural and generational roles and norms regarding alcohol production.

Conceptualising Alcohol-based Livelihoods in the Vietnam Uplands

We conceptually frame this study of Hmong and Yao alcohol production in upland northern Vietnam by drawing on a livelihoods approach. This literature questions

within what contexts and with which assets and capabilities, individuals and households undertake specific livelihood activities, and what outcomes are achievable (Chambers and Conway 1991; Scoones 1998). The livelihoods literature notes the high prevalence of activity diversification often found in rural settings in the Global South. This diversification can be due to push factors, such as poor health, environmental crisis or increasing cash needs, or due to pull factors, such as opportune new income streams to complement current portfolios (Ellis 2000; Bouahom, Douangsavanh, and Rigg 2004). Turner (2007) suggests that selective diversification is also possible, whereby individuals maintain flexible and diverse livelihood portfolios as opportunities arise and when individuals wish to engage with them.

One of the critiques of livelihoods approaches, in general, is their limited attention to culture, power relations and human agency (Oberhauser, Mandel, and Hapke 2004; de Haan and Zoomers 2005; Scoones 2009). Attention to culture is vital in determining individual and shared values and identities and understanding how it facilitates or constrains livelihood opportunities and decision-making (Tao, Wall, and Wismer 2010; Forsyth and Michaud 2011). Moreover, a growing body of livelihood analyses have illustrated how power relations are involved in intra-household divisions of productive and reproductive tasks and livelihood diversification, especially along gender lines (Deere and Doss 2006; Wangui 2008; Arun 2012; Radel 2012; Sumner, Christie, and Boulakia 2017).

More specifically, we focus on livelihood diversification processes, while also explicitly integrating culture and gender into our conceptualisation of livelihoods. This provides a deeper analysis of power dynamics and temporal transformations in structures and social relations. Building upon Bourdieu's (1979) original meaning of 'cultural capital', and drawing on extensive ethnographic experience, we situate this investigation within the context-specificities of Hmong and Yao cultures in northern upland Vietnam. This allows us to directly engage with how the alcohol-related livelihood activities of our study population are deeply rooted in and contingent upon their identity.

Contextualising Alcohol Production in Hmong and Yao Upland Livelihoods

Literature on Hmong and Yao livelihoods notes that the main household staple foods, rice and maize, are traditionally complementary crops in the agricultural calendar as they require high labour input at differing times of the year (Song 1991; Sowerwine 2004; Vue 2018). Hmong and Yao husbands and wives have traditionally discussed crops and seed selection together, although this is now being challenged due to the introduction of hybrid seeds purchased on the market, about which decisions tend to be made by men (Bonnin and Turner 2014). In addition to core agricultural production, Hmong and Yao households typically raise livestock in small numbers, most commonly buffalo, with important decisions regarding their upkeep made by men, while pigs, goats, ducks and chickens tend to be raised by women (Cooper 1998; Lee and Tapp 2010). These animals are raised for farm

labour, household consumption and animal sacrifices, the latter being an important component of animist ceremonies, healing and life-cycle events. Households also maintain home gardens with a variety of vegetables, herbs and fruit trees, with most gardening undertaken by women. In the past, opium poppy cultivation was an important cash-earning activity involving both men and women, but it has since disappeared.

Hmong and Yao women have customarily made hemp cloth and embroidered clothes for their whole household, particularly leading up to the lunar New Year, when everyone is expected to don a new set of hand-made and hand-embroidered clothing (Lee and Tapp 2010; Bonnin 2011). In Sapa District, selling one's worn-out textiles to tourists for cash income has taken place on a small scale over the past hundred years, with a sharp increase since the 1990s (Turner 2007). Each of these livelihood activities is directly linked to traditionally distilled alcohol in diverse ways.

Alcohol is produced from the rice, maize or cassava harvested by individual households, with both women and men taking part in its distillation (detailed below). Each year, the timing of the first alcohol distillation of the harvest season is carefully determined based on a ritual book for Yao, or animistic characteristics of the day for Hmong, believed to engender prosperity for the next agricultural year. Alcohol is then distilled afresh at least three to four times per year in preparation for social and ritual gatherings. At lunar New Year, the largest celebration in the annual calendar, households produce alcohol for domestic consumption and sharing with kin and community members. While consumption is predominantly by men, at times women do also take part. Any remaining alcohol is kept for other events throughout the year, including most life-cycle ceremonies (Bonnin 2015). Engagements, weddings, healing ceremonies, funerals and ancestral ceremonies each include alcohol consumption, both for the attendees and as an offering to ancestral spirits. Alcohol is also traditionally included within the bride price paid by the groom's family, usually along with livestock, silver and money—part of an important tradition that formalises the alliance between the bride and groom's families (Song 1991; Symonds 1991; Lee and Tapp 2010).

Alcohol is also expected at labour-sharing events during the annual agricultural calendar, with the host offering food and drink as a gesture of gratitude. Alcohol is often served to guests simply paying a short visit as well, with this ethic of sharing home-distilled alcohol strengthening social networks. While sharing alcohol amongst kin and networks is not unique to Hmong and Yao communities, the formal role that alcohol plays in cultural, spiritual and social life cannot be overlooked, with home-distilled alcohol preferred as an indicator of deep respect and connection given the cultural value it holds as well as the time and labour input its production requires.

Distilled alcohol, due to its high alcohol concentration, is also used as a medicinal carrier (*ruợu thuốc* in Vietnamese) when infused with various medicinal plants that are commonly collected and prepared by women. These traditional remedies are

orally administered for specific ailments such as muscle aches, stomach pains and fatigue. They can also be administered topically for sprains for people or large animals such as buffalo. Pre-boiled fermented rice mash is also cooked into a sweet porridge with very low alcoholic content, which is highly nutritious for children and lactating mothers. Alcohol is thus central to cultural livelihood practices concerning natural-based remedies and care.

Finally, traditional alcohol is an oft-overlooked element of subsistence livelihoods. For example, alcohol distillation leaves a nutritious by-product from the mash that can subsequently be fed to livestock. In fact, larger-scale alcohol distillers generally pair their production with pig farming, which leads to profitable returns. Moreover, alcohol plays an important role in the production of homemade garments. To produce the dye for hemp cloth, Hmong women mix alcohol with a vat of indigo plants or previously produced indigo concentrate to facilitate colour adhesion later in the process. Thus, by paying attention to the cultural and social embeddedness of Hmong and Yao alcohol production, it becomes clear that it should not be viewed as a specific livelihood event or commercial practice independent from other livelihood activities. Instead, it is an integral component of local cultures and semi-subsistence livelihoods, and is deeply embedded in forms of productive, reproductive and care labour, all of which need to be considered to better analyse its changing production and trade.

Comparing Two Communes' Engagement with Distilled Alcohol Trade

Hmong and Yao distilled alcohol production varies slightly by the source of starch, equipment, duration of fermentation and distillation process (cf. Bonnin 2015); however, in our study sites, the process consists of three main steps. First, the starch is steamed or boiled in a wok or large pot for two to five hours (in our case study communes, unhusked rice is preferred, but in other upland locations maize or cassava are alternatively used, see Bonnin 2015). The second step, fermentation, involves spreading the cooked mash to cool, adding a fermentation starter (*bánh men* in Vietnamese) to the cooled mash and mixing until they combine. Distillers sometimes also add specific herbs at this stage to create their own unique-tasting alcohols. After two to three days, the mixture is then stored in a carefully sealed container and left to ferment for one to four weeks depending on temperature, season and the household's available time. The final process is distillation. The fermented mash and liquid are transferred to an open barrel that is partially submerged and heated in a metal pan with water and an open wood fire below. A conical metal pan containing cold water is fitted carefully on top of the barrel, such that the alcohol vapours condense upon contact with the cool metal. Droplets of the distillates are collected by a homemade apparatus fitted inside the barrel that funnels the distillate out to a storage vessel.

This final step requires close attention, as the producer needs to maintain a consistent heat, adjusted by adding or removing fuelwood, and replace the water on top periodically to sustain the condensation process (Figure 1). Producers taste the

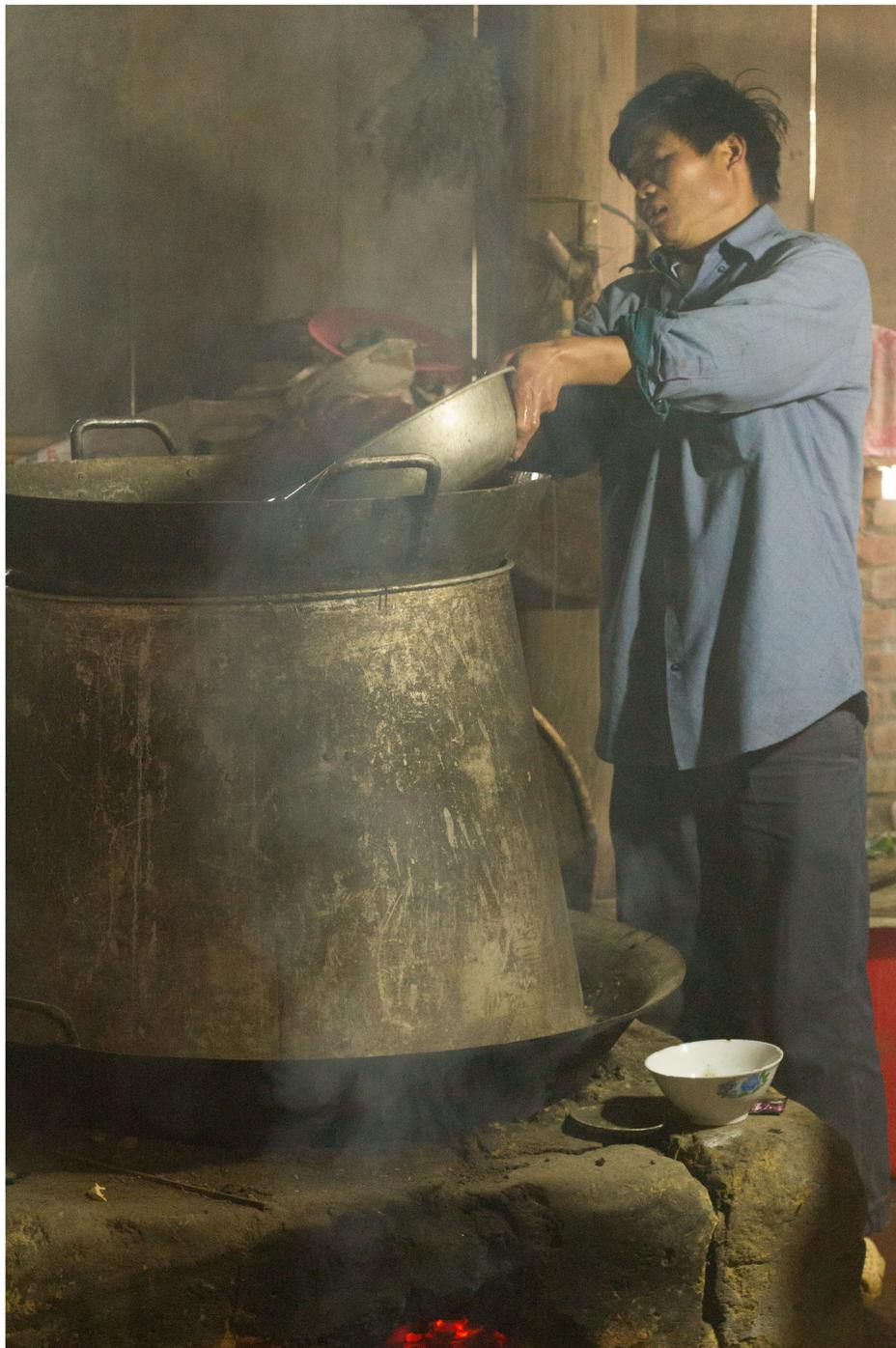


Figure 1. Yao man distilling alcohol (Photograph by June Po).

distillates to determine when the process is complete. While the distilled alcohol is ready for consumption immediately after distillation, at times it is concentrated further with a second distillation. Storage causes the flavours to mellow over time. Alcohol production is a skill learnt by observation and participation in the processes involved, generally from a young age.

Over the past two decades, the demand for distilled alcohol has grown in Sapa District due to tourism from the lowlands, offering a potential avenue for income-generation for upland households at a time when farmers' cash needs are increasing for on- and off-farm expenses (Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015). While comparing our case study sites of Thanh Kim Commune (largely beyond the reach of Kinh tourism) and Tả Phìn Commune (highly engaged with tourism), we analyse the role of alcohol in contemporary household livelihood portfolios and the degree to which households have decided to diversify their livelihoods into the alcohol trade.

Thanh Kim and Tả Phìn Alcohol-Producing Communes

Thanh Kim Commune (population 1736 in the 2009 census; 21 km²) is located approximately 25 km southeast of Sapa town and remains largely beyond Sapa town's tourism development (General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSO) 2009). It is chiefly inhabited by Yao farmers. Benefiting from a pre-existing reputation for producing excellent alcohol, the alcohol trade has burgeoned in this commune over the last two decades, and a range of different arrangements among producers have emerged—from collectivised to individual specialised production. For example, in one village in the commune, a few Yao households have informally collectivised production, maintaining distillation within each home and then combining production to meet large orders. One lead producer accepts the order (minimum of 80 litres), then enlists other producers to help fill it, with each producer being paid the same rate (VND 30–40,000 [USD 1.30–1.73] per litre in 2019). Another Yao woman engages in a specialised arrangement with distillers in her village, making and sharing batches of traditional *bánh men* fermentation starter agent (made from rice-flour and plants containing microbial molds and yeasts; see Nguyen et al. 2020). Labour is thus often flexibly divided within and between households through collective production or specialised support, building on social networks and cultural reciprocity.

Alternatively, there are cases of individual producers successfully producing and marketing their alcohol without the need (or interest) for collectivisation. One such producer explained that her husband's employment at the commune's People's Committee (local administrative organisation) gave her direct access to Kinh consumers for her unhusked rice alcohol. Her house was designed with an outdoor kitchen for larger-scale distillation, with a reliable and secure water source. Other individual producers in the commune sometimes struggled to produce large quantities, unable to afford the input costs of fuelwood, rice and

starter agents without the guarantee of prospective buyers. As one elderly Yao woman interviewee, Pham, noted:

Thanh Kim alcohol is the best in the district but I can't make it because I'm a widow. My sons are married and have their own lives; I don't want to burden them, so no one can collect the firewood I need.¹

The growing demand for Thanh Kim alcohol has led to new roles emerging in the local alcohol trade. For example, two Yao men from the commune started to collect alcohol from different producing households, transporting it to Kinh buyers in Sapa town. Being local residents, the social capital of these Yao intermediaries allowed them to transport the alcohol to Sapa and sell it, before paying the producers. However, they have been subsequently squeezed out of this role after a Kinh man rented a house in the commune and began buying distilled alcohol directly from individual households, paying cash upon delivery of the alcohol, much to the dismay of the previous intermediaries. The Yao intermediaries believe that their fellow Yao villagers now receive lower than market prices but do not feel that they are in a position to protest or prevent this.

In contrast, villages in Tả Phìn Commune (population 2772 in the 2009 census; 27 km²), located approximately 12 km north of Sapa town, are not known for their distilled alcohol, but are highly integrated into the tourism sector, with daily arrivals of international and domestic tourists in vans or as trekking groups, and many Hmong and Yao households offering homestays, trekking services and souvenirs. Yao women also run tourism businesses providing herbal baths based on Yao traditional knowledge of medicinal plants, and Yao men and women distill essential oil from indigenous plants. Many tours include a 'packaged lunch' with Hmong or Yao cuisine served at a local house with home-distilled alcohol. Yet, compared to the large volumes of alcohol purchased from Thanh Kim Commune for external markets, sales in Tả Phìn are inconsistent and at a much smaller scale, seldom more than one to two litres per tourist.

Homemade alcohol is also a common feature at Hmong and Yao tourist homestays in Tả Phìn. With dinner usually included in the tour price, sharing homemade alcohol has been promoted by tour companies as part of the 'authentic' village experience. One Yao homestay owner noted that this relationship with tourism has directly affected his household's stock of home-distilled alcohol; notably, since their household opened a homestay one year prior, the majority of their alcohol has been allocated to homestay visitors and incorporated into the homestay fees. However, a Yao woman explained that families always attempt to keep enough alcohol for domestic consumption and ceremonies; if they do run out during a gathering, they will borrow from a neighbour or kin, returning the same amount when they distill their next batch.

Few Hmong or Yao households in Tả Phìn have entered the alcohol trade outside of this tourism-linked production, and none are involved to the degree of households in Thanh Kim. Instead, families operate along kinship ties to benefit from the

consistent flow of tourists generated by their close proximity to Sapa town. In this context, tourists visit for the high reputation of medicinal herbal baths and essential oils, while household-distilled alcohol remains a secondary but still desirable souvenir to take home. As one Yao middle-aged homestay owner explained: ‘We have to do tourism here; it’s the only way we make some money to pay for the new seeds and pesticides’.²

Gendered Connections and Complexities in the Alcohol Trade

Sapa District’s tourism sector incorporates alcohol as a culturally representative product, available in homestays, hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops and marketed romantically as an ‘authentic’ slice of the Vietnamese uplands, still ‘sheltered’ from the undesirable impacts of the lowland industrialised world. Through this commodification process, the role of locally distilled alcohol within household, livelihood portfolios is being transformed. Offering home-distilled alcohol to tourists enables ethnic minority-run small-scale eateries and homestays to feature this cultural product proudly while maintaining the social, cultural and spiritual roles that alcohol has played in their semi-subsistence livelihoods for generations. However, the transient nature of homestay guests and trekking tourists generates a transactional relationship. Moreover, eatery or homestay owners who cannot produce good quality alcohol themselves or are short of time now purchase it from renowned distillers in their village—or if necessary, from Kinh at shops in commune centres. Thus for the first time in generations, alcohol is being *purchased* by ethnic minority individuals rather than homemade, borrowed or bartered through customary networks of reciprocity.

While alcohol production can be undertaken by both men and women as noted earlier, the trade of alcohol is increasingly along gendered lines that are interlinked with time commitments to care labour activities, restricted mobilities for women due to childrearing responsibilities and gendered social networks and norms. For example, when her orchids were too young to be sold and her husband was working at an essential oil distillery and herbal bath company in Tả Phìn, Ting, a young Yao mother, identified alcohol as a potential income-generating activity that she could engage in with relatively low opportunity costs, and started a small business in July 2018. This idea came to her after visiting a friend who had moved upon marriage to Ta Van Commune, a popular destination for tourists in the Mường Hoa Valley, and whose family had been able to buy a truck from selling distilled alcohol to tourists and retailing pigs to local farmers and restaurants. As Ting was at home caring for her young baby and thus not engaging in increasingly acceptable income-generating activities for young Yao and Hmong women like working as a trekking guide or selling textiles, she proposed to her husband and in-laws the idea of selling home-distilled alcohol. Together with her household, she has been able to generate a small but important income estimated at VND12–14 million/year (500–600 USD/year) from selling

their distilled alcohol, building on her father-in-law's social networks to connect with buyers. Ting's father-in-law is a shaman in the community. It was through a neighbour who needed his help, that he was introduced to a Kinh restaurant owner looking for an upland alcohol provider. This restaurateur has since purchased 20 litres of alcohol at a time from Ting's household. While this is a relatively new venture for the household, Ting is seeking new ways to increase publicity and find other businesses to purchase her family's alcohol stock. In this case, a combination of reduced mobility due to childrearing responsibilities and her social networks with other young minority women has led to Ting's decision to test the viability of traditional alcohol production as a modern income-generating option. Additionally, her father-in-law had both the traditional skillset to teach her to distill good quality alcohol and the social network and opportunities required to connect with buyers.

Many female Yao distillers in Thanh Kim Commune who sell alcohol to Kinh buyers mentioned that their trade links are also initiated by male household members. This is primarily through men's professional networks working as teachers, police officers or employees at the commune's People's Committee. One Yao woman distiller explained that when her husband visits a colleague's house for dinner, he takes a bottle or two of their home-distilled alcohol to share. His colleagues are subsequently more likely to purchase extra alcohol from them—having already sampled it—particularly for special occasions such as lunar New Year. Therefore, alcohol-producing households draw on male household members' networks with Kinh individuals to facilitate local sales. As Pang, a middle-aged Yao woman distiller, explained, with a knowing smile: 'My husband works at the People's Committee here. I make alcohol with my son and my husband sells it or sometimes gives it away to keep good connections with his boss'.³ In contrast, Yao female distillers without male household members who are well-connected within the community have fewer opportunities to link to alcohol traders or consumers, reducing the potential for alcohol to provide them with cash income.

One alternative route to alcohol sales had been found by an elderly Yao distiller, Mei. It was through Mei's daughter who was working at a restaurant in Sapa town, that Mei had been able to sell her home-distilled alcohol to the restaurant owner. However, upon marriage, Mei's daughter left the restaurant and moved to her husband's village, a standard cultural norm of virilocality. This meant that Mei lost her trade connection to the restaurant and, unable to speak Vietnamese and communicate with the Kinh restaurant owner directly, lost her regular buyer. Unable to secure another similar arrangement, Mei no longer produces alcohol to sell and this cash income opportunity has disappeared. On a more positive note, another Yao woman from Tà Phìn, Fei, explained that despite being told as a child there was no point for her to go to school, since 'Yao boys are responsible to learn how to read Yao scripts and Yao girls are responsible to learn how to embroider', she is teaching herself to read and write Vietnamese and English as she has noted it to be helpful for building networks on social media.⁴

Generational Expectations and Cultural Shifts

From the traditional process of producing the fermentation starter, *bánh men*, to current alcohol distillation, Hmong and Yao interviewees confirmed that both men and women participate in the production process. Often, it is the household member with time available who makes the alcohol. Most producers added that their children are given the choice to learn the craft of traditional distilled alcohol; if they are interested, their parents are happy to teach them. Yet Chao, a Hmong female farmer, noted with a wry smile that while her adult sons often ask *her* to make alcohol for them, whenever she asks them to learn to make it for their own consumption, they claim to be too busy with other tasks, or that their alcohol will not taste as good as hers.

The transfer of alcohol-related knowledge to younger generations is also enmeshed with gendered expectations regarding reproductive labour in Hmong and Yao households, but now also productive labour. Younger women in Tả Phìn are finding they are being double burdened with new expectations to participate in income-generating activities relating to tourism, while continuing pre-existing familial expectations in the home, which include caring for children, small livestock and home gardens, as well as undertaking or helping with alcohol production. It is overwhelmingly young Hmong and Yao women, rather than men, who have become involved in the tourism industry as trekking guides, small eatery operators or souvenir vendors. None of our informants could really explain why this was the case beyond the mention that their menfolk are 'more shy' and 'more busy on the farm'. While men's farming tasks are considered the most important in the household, this gendered pattern might also exist because Hmong and Yao young men receive greater encouragement than young women to go to school (by both their own families and Kinh teachers). Thus when tourism took off after 1993, it was young women who started to meet overseas tourists in Sapa town, learn English and other languages and informally guide treks. While some fathers, brothers and new husbands have not been happy with their daughters, sisters or wives' involvement in these income-generating activities, noting that women should be at home fulfilling their reproductive activities, as financial benefits have accrued and cash needs have risen, some men—especially the younger generation—are shifting their perspectives. This means that young women are now often encouraged and expected to take on this double role (Bonnin and Turner 2014). As Lan, a young Hmong trekking guide noted:

At first my husband was jealous of me going trekking with tourists and worried I'd fall in love with one! But then he saw the amount of money they paid me and is okay with me going. Sometimes he'll even look after our daughter, but mostly I trek with her [on my back].⁵

A young, unmarried Yao woman, Lieu, explained with regards to her father: 'He doesn't like me to go sell things to tourists, and he complains that I should be at home; but he seems to like the motorbike I could buy for him!'.⁶

Li, a middle-aged Yao homestay owner and father, explained that in order to preserve Yao traditions, when his daughters are not working as trekking guides they should learn how to make alcohol, while Moo, a Hmong man with two teenage daughters, noted proudly that both his daughters can make excellent alcohol. It thus becomes apparent that as for any other practical skill like cooking or farming, learning how to distill alcohol is viewed similarly as a core component of semi-subsistence livelihoods. Both younger and older Hmong and Yao women trekking, selling trinkets or operating homestays noted that they know how to produce alcohol, acknowledging their responsibility to have this skillset. Yet, they often do not see the relevance of producing it for sale as an income-generating activity, given the barriers they face in finding stable outlets and customers and the relatively higher cash incomes possible via other activities.

State Involvement and Priorities

While not involved in trading alcohol to the same degree as some ethnic minority households in Bắc Hà District east of the Red River (see Bonnin 2015), local officials in Thanh Kim Commune have been attempting to find ways for ‘improving’ and expanding alcohol production. A government-developed distiller cooperative was initiated in the commune in 2008 with more than fifty households now participating. Each year the cooperative produces 2000–3000 litres of alcohol for the market according to state media (Lào Cai 2019). The government wants to attribute the alcohol produced here to ethnic minority traditional knowledge and natural ‘pure’ resources, such as mountain spring water and homegrown traditional rice from the region. This is despite the fact that to produce such large quantities, ethnic minority producers have readily adopted modifications such as externally sourcing older and drier hybrid rice left from past seasons and purchasing manufactured fermentation starters.

Conversely, some of the local distillation techniques introduced to us in both communes lie beyond the imaginaries of state officials regarding ‘authentic’ upland alcohol products. For example, interviewees mentioned different traditional starch bases they might use, such as canna roots, glutinous rice or combining maize and rice bases, to achieve different flavours and reduce the required fuelwood. These tend to be techniques shared among family members. As noted earlier, a variety of herbs can also be introduced to produce specific medicinal properties and tastes. While respondents mentioned that these variations can benefit trade, both in terms of quality and profit, they remain undervalued and disregarded by state officials. Such an essentialist approach ignores alcohol’s integrated roles in cultural livelihoods, roles that are dynamic and allow for innovations to existing practices.

Concluding Thoughts: Cash Commodity, Culturally-Valued Symbol, or Both?

Given the hurdles that Hmong and Yao producers face with regard to expanding their alcohol trade or even initiating such trade, it becomes clear that as a possible

livelihood diversification strategy to gain cash for farm inputs, school fees, motor-bikes and other rising expenses, selling alcohol has been promising for only a limited number of households in our case study communes. Specifically, those able to diversify their livelihoods in this way to an important degree are residing in Thanh Kim and have social capital ties to Kinh purchasers through male household members. To a lesser extent, some distillers in Tả Phìn have also been able to sell their alcohol but only as a subsidiary product to their small-scale eateries or homestays, which depend on a daily flow of tourists. When women distillers in both communes have wanted to enter the alcohol trade, they have faced a number of barriers, including a lack of social connections with Kinh traders, illiteracy and childcare responsibilities. We thus see other livelihood diversification options to earn cash income being adopted when they are deemed more reliable or accessible, such as tourism-linked enterprises in Tả Phìn. Likewise, in Thanh Kim, those without the necessary alcohol trade connections are gaining cash from small-scale livestock sales or cardamom cultivation instead. While the livelihoods literature acknowledges that many structures and processes mediate diversification (Ellis 2000; Bouahom, Douangsavanh, and Rigg 2004), as well as the known potential exclusionary effects of social capital (Portes and Landolt 2000), we stress here the cultural, gendered and temporal dimensions of these considerations; as new opportunities present themselves, there are ongoing negotiations of access and inclusion to these activities.

Yet at the same time, residents in both communes continue to consume homemade alcohols for important rites of passage and lunar calendar events, with all interviewees valuing this alcohol far more than Kinh-made alcohols that they can potentially buy at local stores. They note that their home-distilled or bartered alcohols taste better, are more pure and are far less likely to give one a headache or make one sick. As one middle-aged Hmong woman, Chi, exclaimed, ‘we have to have homemade happy water [alcohol] at weddings. It wouldn’t be a Hmong wedding without it!’⁷ Here the importance of paying due attention to cultural considerations in livelihood portfolios is reiterated (Tao, Wall, and Wismer 2010; Forsyth and Michaud 2011) and underlines the oft-selective participation in productive activities (Turner 2007, 2012).

But it is critical to acknowledge that alcohol production is being altered by current pressures, as changes are certainly occurring and time-saving options are being adopted. For example, La May, a Yao woman in her mid-60s, compared the two-week long process of creating the traditional fermentation starter agent—including collecting and pounding plants, and then forming and drying the *bánh men* at home—to the way most distillers now purchase Kinh or Chinese manufactured *bánh men* sold cheaply in village shops. Although it is still recognised that alcohol produced using hand-made *bánh men* has a superior taste, manufactured fermentation starters are inexpensive, with important labour and time savings. Using the analogy of making traditional indigo-dyed garments, another valued reproductive livelihood activity, La May explained: ‘Before, every family had to grow the indigo and dye their cloth. But now, everyone wants it easy, they just go get chemically

dyed cloth. A lot of families use it, they don't dye themselves'.⁸ What should be noted, however, is that rather than fully embracing modern conveniences such as purchasing what are referred to locally as 'Vietnamese clothes' like t-shirts and jeans, the expectation and cultural norm is still to hand embroider and sew traditional garments, albeit purchasing the dark blue fabric now instead of home-dyeing it. Hence, ethnic minority women purposively preserve and practise certain forms of reproductive labour, while selectively engaging in 'modern' alternatives. Likewise, while upland homestay operators sometimes buy Kinh-made alcohols to provide to tourists, homemade alcohol is still considered essential for numerous cultural events and rituals. Similarly, while manufactured *bánh men* is sometimes bought for alcohol production, alcohol is still homemade, rather than a complete switch to purchasing industrially produced alcohols.

We are witness here to cultural resilience, identity preservation and customary livelihood activities coming head-to-head with market-led economic standardisation, monetisation, wage work and workforce mobility. At this intersection of culture, ethnicity and gendered and generational change, we observe homemade alcohols remaining centrally placed in the social and cultural fabric of Hmong and Yao lifeworlds. Sahlin (2005) has proposed that when faced with modernist imperatives and new options that can make material life easier, non-Western societies do not hesitate to test these new possibilities. However, contrary to the Vietnam state's prevailing discourse of rapid 'linear' modernisation and an agrarian transition deemed inevitable and highly desirable for all (Michaud 2009; Nguyen 2017), upland societies in northern Vietnam seem to be taking a more complex and thoughtful approach. Rather than turning to industrialised alcohols that would save farmers' time, energy and resources, they 'vernacularise' modernity (Michaud 2012, 1854). Specifically, as stressed by Engel Merry (2006) and Michelutti (2007), Hmong and Yao individuals work towards adapting economic and material changes to their worldviews (and not the other way around) so that their activities and lifeworlds continue to make sense not just pragmatically, but culturally too.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the research participants for their time and discussions. We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier draft of this article and extend our gratitude to Diana Glazebrook for her editorial contributions. This work was carried out with the support of a postdoctoral fellowship from the Fonds de recherche du Québec–Société et Culture and Université Laval and with funds from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We would like to acknowledge the additional field support of Dr Nguyen An Think, Vietnam National University.

ORCID

June Y.T. Po  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6124-8235>

Jennifer C. Langill  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5463-8681>
Sarah Turner  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6542-8767>

Notes

- [1] Interview with Pham, Thanh Kim Commune, June 2017.
- [2] Interview with San, Tả Phìn Commune, June 2017.
- [3] Interview with Pang, Thanh Kim Commune, July 2016.
- [4] Interview with Fei, Tả Phìn, January 2019.
- [5] Interview with Lan, Sapa town, July 2017.
- [6] Interview with Lieu, Sapa town, October 2019.
- [7] Interview with Chi, Thanh Kim Commune, October 2019.
- [8] Interview with La May, Tả Phìn Commune, December 2018.

References

- Arun, S. 2012. "We are Farmers Too: Agrarian Change and Gendered Livelihoods in Kerala, South India." *Journal of Gender Studies* 21 (3): 271–284.
- BBC Vietnam. 2016, February 2. "Khai trương cáp treo Fansipan [Fansipan cable car opens]." Accessed June 21, 2020. http://www.bbc.com/vietnamese/vietnam/2016/02/160202_fansipan_cable.
- Bonnin, C. 2011. "Markets in the Mountains: Upland Trade-scapes, Trader Livelihoods, and State Development Agendas in Northern Vietnam." PhD thesis, McGill University.
- Bonnin, C. 2015. "Contestations in the Production and Trade of Upland Alcoholic Spirits in Northern Vietnam." *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 30 (3): 819–859.
- Bonnin, C., and S. Turner. 2012. "At What Price Rice? Food Security, Livelihood Vulnerability, and State Interventions in Upland Northern Vietnam." *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences* 43 (1): 95–105.
- Bonnin, C., and S. Turner. 2014. "A Good Wife Stays Home': Gendered Negotiations Over State Agricultural Programmes, Upland Vietnam." *Gender, Place and Culture* 21 (10): 1302–1320.
- Bouahom, B., L. Douangsavanh, and J. Rigg. 2004. "Building Sustainable Livelihoods in Laos: Untangling Farm from Non-Farm, Progress from Distress." *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences* 35 (5): 607–619.
- Bourdieu, P. 1979. "Les trois états du capital culturel." *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 30: 3–6.
- Chambers, R., and G. R. Conway. 1991. "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century." *IDS Discussion Paper* 296.
- Condominas, G. 1977 [1957]. *We Have Eaten the Forest: The Story of a Montagnard Village in the Central Highlands of Vietnam*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Cooper, R., ed. 1998. *The Hmong: A Guide to Traditional Lifestyles*. Singapore: Times Editions.
- Cort, L. A., and L. Lefferts. 2013. "Jars in the Central Highlands of Mainland Southeast Asia." In *Materializing Southeast Asia's Past*, edited by M. J. Klokke, and V. Degroot, 233–241. Singapore: NUS Press.
- de Haan, L., and A. Zoomers. 2005. "Exploring the Frontier of Livelihoods Research." *Development and Change* 36 (1): 27–47.
- Deere, C. D., and C. R. Doss. 2006. "The Gender Asset Gap: What Do We Know and Why Does it Matter?" *Feminist Economics* 12 (1–2): 1–50.
- Ellis, F. 2000. "The Determinants of Rural Livelihood Diversification in Developing Countries." *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 51 (2): 289–302.

- Engel Merry, S. 2006. "Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle." *American Anthropologist* 108 (1): 38–51.
- Fiskesjö, M. 2010. "Participant Intoxication and Self-Other Dynamics in the Wa Context." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 11 (2): 111–127.
- Forsyth, T., and J. Michaud. 2011. "Rethinking the Relationships Between Livelihoods and Ethnicity in Highland China, Vietnam, and Laos." In *Moving Mountains: Ethnicity and Livelihoods in Highland China, Vietnam, and Laos*, edited by J. Michaud, and T. Forsyth, 1–27. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- General Statistics Office (GSO) Vietnam. 2009. *The 2009 Vietnam Population and Housing Census: Completed Results*. Hanoi: Central Population and Housing Census Steering Committee.
- Izickowitz, K. G. 1951. *Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indo-China*. Göteborg: Etnografiska Museet.
- Jamieson, N., Le Trong Cuc, and A. T. Rambo. 1998. *The Development Crisis in Vietnam's Mountains*. Report 6. Honolulu: East–West Centre.
- Lào Cai, T. V. 2019, June 18. "Tim đầu ra cho rượu thóc Thanh Kim, Sa Pa [Find the sources of Thanh Kim paddy wine, Sa Pa]." Accessed June 25, 2020. <http://laocaitv.vn/kinh-te-moi-truong/tim-dau-ra-cho-ruou-thoc-thanh-kim-sa-pa>.
- Lee, G. Y., and N. Tapp. 2010. *Culture and Customs of the Hmong*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood.
- Lincoln, M. 2016. "Alcohol and Drinking Cultures in Vietnam: A Review." *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 159: 1–8.
- Luu, B. N., T. T. Nguyễn, and I. M. Newman. 2014. "Traditional Alcohol Production and Use in Three Provinces in Vietnam: An Ethnographic Exploration of Health Benefits and Risks." *BMC Public Health* 14 (1): 731.
- Mehta, H. 2017. "Moonshiners, Black Marketers, and Thieves among Us: Economic Crime in Wartime North Vietnam." *The Historian; A Journal of History* 79 (3): 523–559.
- Michaud, J. 2009. "Handling Mountain Minorities in China, Vietnam and Laos: From History to Current Issues." *Asian Ethnicity* 10 (1): 25–49.
- Michaud, J. 2012. "Hmong Infrapolitics. A View from Vietnam." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (11): 1853–1873.
- Michaud, J. 2015. "Livelihoods in the Vietnamese Northern Borderlands Recorded in French Colonial Military Ethnographies 1897–1904." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 16 (4): 343–367.
- Michaud, J., and S. Turner. 2016. "Tonkin's Uplands at the Turn of the 20th Century: Colonial Military Enclosure and Local Livelihood Effects." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 57 (2): 154–167.
- Michaud, J., and S. Turner. 2017. "Reaching New Heights. State Legibility in Sa Pa, a Vietnam Hill Station." *Annals of Tourism Research* 66: 37–48.
- Michelutti, L. 2007. "The Vernacularization of Democracy: Political Participation and Popular Politics in North India." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13: 639–656.
- Nguyen, M. T. N. 2017. "The New Countryside and the Pocket of the People: Narratives of Entrepreneurship, Local Development and Social Aspirations in Vietnam." *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Paper* 181: 1–18.
- Nguyen, V. H., C. X. Chen, T. N. Phan, and V. Q. Nguyen. 2020. "Indigenous Knowledge in Using Plants for Alcohol Yeast of the Tay Ethnic Group in Vietnam: A Case Study at Ham Yen District, Tuyen Quang Province." *Journal of Medicinal Plants Studies* 8 (4A): 6–13.
- Oberhauser, A. M., J. L. Mandel, and H. M. Hapke. 2004. "Gendered Livelihoods in Diverse Global Contexts: An Introduction." *Gender, Place and Culture* 11 (2): 205–208.
- Peters, E. J. 2012. *Appetites and Aspirations in Vietnam: Food and Drink in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Portes, A., and P. Landolt. 2000. "Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of its Role in Development." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32: 529–547.

- Radel, C. 2012. "Gendered Livelihoods and the Politics of Socio-Environmental Identity: Women's Participation in Conservation Projects in Calakmul, Mexico." *Gender, Place and Culture* 19 (1): 61–82.
- Sahlins, M. 2005. "On the Anthropology of Modernity, Or, Some Triumphs of Culture Over Despondency Theory." In *Culture and Development in the Pacific*, edited by A. Hooper, 44–61. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Sasges, G. 2012. "State, Enterprise and the Alcohol Monopoly in Colonial Vietnam." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 43 (1): 133–157.
- Scoones, I. 1998. "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis." *IDS Working Paper* 72.
- Scoones, I. 2009. "Livelihoods Perspectives and Rural Development." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36 (1): 171–196.
- Scott, J. C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sikor, T. 2011. "Introduction." In *Upland Transformations in Vietnam*, edited by T. Sikor, Nghiem Phuong Tuyen, J. Sowerwine, and J. Romm, 1–24. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Song, Enchang. 1991. "The Family System and its Ethos among the Yao of Yunnan." In *The Yao of South China: Recent International Studies*, edited by J. Lemoine, and Chiao Chien, 229–247. Paris: Pangu/ Éditions de l'Association Française pour les Études sur les Yao.
- Sowerwine, J. C. 2004. "The Political Ecology of Yao (Dzao) Landscape Transformations: Territory, Gender and Livelihood Politics in Highland Vietnam." PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- Sumner, D., M. E. Christie, and S. Boulakia. 2017. "Conservation Agriculture and Gendered Livelihoods in Northwestern Cambodia: Decision-Making, Space and Access." *Agriculture and Human Values* 34 (2): 347–362.
- Symonds, P. V. 1991. "Cosmology and the Cycle of Life: Hmong Views of Birth, Death and Gender in a Mountain Village in Northern Thailand." PhD thesis, Brown University.
- Tao, T. C. H., G. Wall, and S. Wismer. 2010. "Culture and Sustainable Livelihoods." *Journal of Human Ecology* 29 (1): 1–21.
- Turner, S. 2007. "Trading Old Textiles: The Selective Diversification of Highland Livelihoods in Northern Vietnam." *Human Organization* 66 (4): 401–416.
- Turner, S. 2012. "Making a Living the Hmong Way: An Actor-Oriented Livelihoods Approach to Everyday Politics and Resistance in Upland Vietnam." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102 (2): 403–422.
- Turner, S., C. Bonnini, and J. Michaud. 2015. *Frontier Livelihoods. Hmong in the Sino-Vietnamese Borderlands*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Turner, S., and N. Oswin. 2015. "Itinerant Livelihoods: Street Vending-Scapes and the Politics of Mobility in Upland Socialist Vietnam." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 36 (3): 394–410.
- Vu, Nguyen Thanh, and Thi Viet Anh Nguyen. 2016. "Ethnic Fermented Foods and Beverages of Vietnam." In *Ethnic Fermented Foods and Alcoholic Beverages of Asia*, edited by Jyoti Prakash Tamang, 383–409. New Delhi: Springer.
- Vue, P. 2018. "Hmong Livelihood Strategies: Factors Affecting Hunting, Agriculture, and Non-Timber Forest Product Collection in Central Laos." PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison.
- Vuong Xuan, Tinh. 2017. "Coping Mechanisms of the Ethnic Minorities in Vietnam's Uplands as Responses to Food Shortages." In *Redefining Diversity and Dynamics of Natural Resources Management in Asia*, vol. 2, edited by M. V. Thanh, T. D. Vien, S. J. Leisz, and G. Shivakoti, 115–136. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Wangui, E. E. 2008. "Development Interventions, Changing Livelihoods, and the Making of Female Maasai Pastoralists." *Agriculture and Human Values* 25 (3): 365–378.