

Notes

1. *Văn minh* (civility, civilization, civilized) is generally associated with ideas of progress and modern (urban) life and features most prominently in official campaigns aimed at promoting urban civility (*văn minh đô thị*), that is, moral discipline and proper behavior in the public sphere (Harms 2014, 2016).
2. In its assessment report preceding the new 2015 master plan (Bộ Công Thương 2015), the Ministry of Industry and Commerce admitted that these aims had been way too optimistic (Bộ Công Thương 2014: 64–70).
3. These markets are known as *chợ cóc* (toad market) because of their vulnerability to police attention and the vendors' fear of having goods confiscated, which requires them to be ready to “hop around” from place to place (Higgs 2003).
4. Upland periodic markets are usually held in sequence on different days of the week in order to not interfere with each other. Besides being supplied by local producers, these periodic market systems also provide opportunities for itinerant traders who move through the market circuit in regular patterns for sale of their wares. In the 1970s and 1980s, a number of anthropologists and economic geographers built on the concepts of central place theory to study the spatiotemporal organization of such regional marketing systems. The three-part article of G. William Skinner (1964/65) on periodic marketing systems in rural China was particularly influential. His macroregional perspective provides valuable insights into broader patterns and processes of spatial differentiation in economic systems that are often neglected in ethnographic accounts.
5. In 2015, fifteen cities were listed as grade 1 provincial cities, and another three are administered by the central government (Haiphong, Danang, and Cần Thơ). Twenty-five cities were listed as grade 2, 42 as grade 3, 74 as grade 4, and approximately 630 as grade 5 (Wang and Nguyen 2017). Only Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City have “special city” status (*đô thị loại đặc biệt*).