

Market Economy, Cultural Capital and Gender Issues in the Dao Community in Northwest Vietnam

Bui Minh Hao

(Faculty of Anthropology, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Hanoi National University, Vietnam)

Abstract: In the Dao community, gender is both a factor and is governed by the traditional socio-economic structure. The development of the market economy has changed the traditional socio-economic structure and changed the gender issue under a new structure. And cultural capital is an important factor in reshaping gender relations in the process of socio-economic restructuring of the Dao. Based on years of fieldwork in the Dao community in Sa Pa district, Lao Cai province, the article wants to emphasize that gender equality is a difference that is respected, and a factor that contributes to creating equality gender in the Dao is cultural capital and the development of the market economy. Therefore, gender issues also need to be considered along with the change of the socio-economic structure of the Dao.

Key words: market economy in mountainous areas; cultural capital; gender equality; Dao people; feminism

JEL codes: Z1

1. Introduction

Gender is an important issue and is of interest to many researchers. Gender studies are discussed from different perspectives (Le Thi Quy, 2013; Nguyen Thu Huong, 2016,...). And research on gender in ethnic minority areas is also discussed in many ways (Pham Quynh Phuong, 2012; Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2017). But most studies emphasize gender inequality and aim to establish gender equality from the perspective of women's rights or capacity building to access development resources. They see women as a weak object in the gender structure and fight for gender equality associated with the process of women's liberation. Gender cultural issues are also mentioned in order to seek interpretations of gender differences in the development process. It creates a diverse and multi-dimensional debate on gender issues in Vietnam, contributing to deepening gender awareness.

The Dao people are an ethnic minority community living in the mountainous areas of northern Vietnam. In particular, the Dao community in Sa Pa district, Lao Cai province is a group with a relatively high level of socio-economic development. Research on the Dao people over the years has focused on cultural traditions and socio-economic issues, while economic transformations have not been given due attention (Ly Hanh Son, 2018). Gender studies, although mentioned, have not yet gotten out of the rut in their approach. The argument goes that:

Bui Minh Hao, Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of Anthropology, University of Social Sciences and Humanities; research areas: Development anthropology, Research on cultural capital in developing market economy in mountainous Vietnam, Critical indigenous research. E-mail: buihao261@gmail.com.

for a long time, attention to inequality between men and women has taken place when considering the inheritance of property as well as the distribution of material benefits. However, if men inherit more material assets, women also receive separate cultural capitals from their parents. And in the context of a developed market economy, their cultural capital is promoted, becoming an important resource for development to help them have a greater voice in their families and communities. Accordingly, this article focuses on analyzing the complex relationship between factors of gender, market economy and cultural capital.

2. Research Methods

The issues presented in the article are the result of a long and quite comprehensive research on the life of the Dao community in Ta Phin commune, Sa Pa district, Lao Cai province. The Dao people in Sa Pa with a population of 15,136 (2019), accounting for 23.04% of the district's population, mainly belong to the Red Dao branch (Mien Xi), are an important part of the Dao people in Vietnam. The Dao are present in most of Sa Pa district, concentrated in a few main communes such as Ta Phin, Ban Khoang, Thanh Kim, Nam Cang, Ban Ho, Trung Chai, Ta Giang Phin, Su Phan, Suoi Thau.... The main study area is Ta Phin, a highland commune located in the North of Sa Pa district, about 12 km from Sa Pa town. With a natural area of 2,718.3 ha, Ta Phin is a relatively small commune in Sa Pa district (accounting for more than 4% of the area) and has a population of 3,663 people (accounting for 5.2%). In the commune, there are 245 households with 1369 people of the Dao ethnic group, the second largest population group after the Hmong.

The research process began at the end of 2007 and lasted for many years with many field trips. From 2016 to 2020, four long-term field surveys were conducted. Phase 1 in March 2016; phase 2 in September and October 2017; Phase 3 in March and April 2018, and phase 4 in October 2020. The focus of the field trips was to explore gender issues in traditional Dao society. How has the market economy affected gender and what role does cultural capital play in re-establishing gender relations? Is it true that women are the recipients of a lot of cultural capital from parents handed down in the family? In traditional society, their cultural capital does not have much role in economic development, so they live a closed life and mainly play a role in the family. But as the market economy develops, cultural capital becomes an important resource for economic development. The Dao women rely on their cultural capital, reaching out to develop their economy and change their social status. Thus, the changing socio-economic structure causes changes in gender relations and cultural capital plays an important role in that change process.

To prove our arguments and answer our questions, we conducted extensive fieldwork. The most important method in fieldwork for data collection is in-depth interviews. To create the data system related to the thesis, I conducted 43 in-depth interviews. Interviews focused on gender relationships, their perceptions and thoughts about gender in specific contexts and specific family situations, at different ages and jobs. In addition, in order to have more multi-dimensional discussions, we conducted 6 group discussions in the study area on topics related to gender, market economy and cultural capital. Each discussion usually has 6-8 people participating in open discussions on different topics set by the consultant. Besides, we pay much attention to the participatory observation method. Stories related to the many problems we experienced during the fieldwork were recorded and discussed with each other through each field study (Bui Minh Hao, 2018a).

3. Gender in the traditional socio-economic structure of the Dao people

3.1 Gender and Gender Awareness in Anthropology

For many years now, gender studies in Vietnam are often associated with women's liberation, fighting for women's rights, and as a default, women are the disadvantaged group and need to be liberated as well as helping them to be equal (Scott Stephanie et al., 2007; Le Thi Quy, 2013). Discussions on gender associated with gender equality often reflect on the aspects of the law, the origin and manifestation of gender inequality and consider it as the foundation for building social movements related to gender equality. Even the concept of feminism was received and developed in the direction of fighting for women's rights (Nguyen Thu Huong, 2016). Causing feminism to be understood as “a social movement aimed at changing social status. This understanding has been criticized by some scholars. Rosalind Delmar (1194, pp. 20-21) “criticized the “fascination” of feminism in front of women as the cause leading to the long slide from feminist to woman and vice versa: feminist became the representative of women women, as well as the history of feminist seems to be the history of women” (Nguyen Thu Huong, 2016, p. 229). The association of gender, feminism with women leaves shortcomings as Nguyen Thu Huong (2016, p. 229) emphasized: “Reading gender only/is/about women will ignore men who are a gendered subject”

Since Doi Moi 1986, research on gender has changed a lot. “Scholars all believe that gender and relationships are socially and culturally constructed according to specific historical periods. Therefore, gender research tends to seek specific definitions and interpretations of gender relations in specific cultures. Research on this approach is important and necessary to gain a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural and local impacts on gender interactions” (Nguyen Thu Huong, 2016, p. 230). Accordingly, in the traditional society of the Dao people in Sa Pa, gender issues are also governed by their socio-economic structure) and more broadly the cultural structure (in which the concept of culture is understood in a broad sense including economic, social, political, etc.).

3.2 Gender in the Traditional Socio-Economic Structure of the Dao People

Traditional societies of the Dao (as well as many other ethnic groups) are considered “primitive” which, in Strauss' words, are “cold societies”. Cold societies are like machines that do not burn coal, do not generate explosions, and are clocks (pendulums) powered by natural forces such as the gravity of the earth, the sun's sunshine, the wind of the air, the currents of water of the river. (Tran Ngoc Ninh, 2009, p. 22). Before the 2000s, the Dao society still developed with their traditional socio-economic structure. The economic structure is mainly agriculture, handicrafts and forestry, in which agriculture and handicrafts play the most important role. Commodity exchange has appeared but has not really developed strongly into an economic field. The traditional economy of the Dao people in Ta Phin is still heavily self-sufficient. People produce mainly to serve basic needs in the family. In agricultural production, the Dao in Ta Phin grow wet rice in terraced fields, grow crops, and dry rice on upland fields. The Dao also raise a variety of livestock and poultry from buffaloes, cows, pigs, chickens, dogs, swans, ducks, horses... (Be Viet Dang et al., 1971; Ly Hanh Son, 2019). In which, the terraced fields of the Dao people have reached a high level of cultivation and have high productivity (Nguyen Truong Giang, 2015). On swidden fields, besides growing food and food crops, the Dao people also develop many important medicinal herbs, especially cardamom cultivation — a type of shifting cultivation that plays an important role in economic life. Dao people (Bui Minh Hao, 2020a). The handicrafts of the Dao are quite developed, especially brocade weaving, knitting bamboo and rattan products, silverware making, forging...

Based on that traditional production, the social structure of the Dao also has its own characteristics. The Dao follow the patriarchal system, children follow their father's surname, and men have the right to inherit property in the family. That makes many people, when analyzing gender issues, often think that Dao women suffer many disadvantages when they do not inherit property in the family. In everyday life, the division of labor also has gender discrimination. Men are often in charge of heavy jobs, favoring muscle strength and physical strength, while women focus mainly on household chores, mainly jobs that require ingenuity. In many important jobs, men and women work together. Accordingly, the division of labor in a family is usually: Men do the following: Go to the forest to cut wood, cut trees to clear fields, transport heavy objects, build houses.... Women usually do housework, textiles, rice planting, child care, etc. However, in reality, almost all household chores are coordinated by men and women. Both husband and wife go to the fields, work in the fields, raise livestock, take care of household chores... “Once a Dao couple is married, they have to work together. Peaceful families are husband and wife who know how to share work with each other. You can’t just push hard work to your husband or make your wife do all the housework. Everyone has to do the same. There are cases where the husband is drunk all day, so the wife has to do it all, but such cases are not many and drunken husbands will be criticized by their parents, siblings, uncles, and family lines. change” (Men, Dao people in Ta Phin, interview on October 18, 2020).

In society, in important things, it is true that men have a more important voice than women. The general work of the village is in charge of men. The relocation of the village, the decision to fight the common enemy, the punishment of those who violate the village rules... are all decided by the men. But in the family, the relationship between men and women is relatively equal. Nearly all families choose harmony and coziness. Husband and wife together share the work and also discuss making decisions on family livelihood.

In the socio-economic structure, access to resources is an important issue. In which, the inheritance of resources in the family such as inheritance of properties is a clear gender issue. Agarwal (1994) analyzed the structure in which fixed assets, with much attention paid to land as an important resource to help women fight poverty, gain access to other issues such as credit, technology or raising financial capital. This argument has similarities with the research of Stephanie Scott (2003). Based on analysis of laws and policies, Scott delves into gender, hukou and land-related power issues and emphasizes access to women's empowerment. Obviously, in traditional societies, power is related to inheritance and enjoyment of property in the family, the lineage still contains the concept of gender. And usually, women rarely inherit material assets from their families and clans, and they are also the most vulnerable group in the matter of inheriting assets from their parents. Of course, those are physical assets such as land and houses. Meanwhile, with the transmission of cultural capital in the family, gender issues are reflected in other angles. Then there is no longer gender discrimination but mainly based on differences to transmit. If the experience and skills of going to the forest, cutting trees for farming, hunting..., skills to defend and protect families and villages, which are inherently strong and passed on to his son by his father, Experiences and skills in embroidery, knitting, needlework, and household management, which are inherently ingenious, are passed on to the daughter by the mother. That transmission/inheritance is based on gender differences rather than gender distinctions.

In summary, in the traditional socio-economic structure, the gender issue in the Dao is quite evident in the division of labor as well as in the expression of social status. There, the man exerts power outside the family more clearly from making important decisions for the community. Men also have nominal power in the family, as they are considered the head of the family, the owner of the family’s assets, the one who makes the important decisions as well as the one who carries the heavy lifting. As for women, their outward expression of power is extremely

limited. Due to cultural constraints, they are not allowed to show their personality and resistance when disagreeing with decisions from men. However, women also have inner power, power within the family. They pass on cultural values to their children and maintain harmony in family life. Women are not allowed to inherit property, but in life, they also receive other cultural values, which when the market economy develops, these values become important development resources to help women grow. Women have a higher status and have greater external power.

4. Market Economy and the Process of Traditional Socio-Economic Deconstruction

4.1 The Socio-Economic Transformation of the Dao People

Modern societies are what Strauss calls “hot societies”, which are “societies that have entered technology and, like steam engines (trains, ships), consume a lot of energy with strong “entropy” according to the principles of thermodynamics, which require a widening disparity in society (to create pressure), sophisticated political organization and constant instability to exploit the labor force fully” (Tran Ngoc Ninh 2009, pp. 21-22). Accordingly, the Dao society in the last two decades is witnessing a transition from a “cold society” to a “hot society”. And the market economy is an important factor in that transition.

In the past two decades, with the development of tourism wave from Sa Pa, the socio-economic life of the Dao people in Ta Phin began to change rapidly. The development of the market economy of the Dao people in Sa Pa is reflected in most of their economic sectors. In agriculture, the Dao are taking great strides in the transition from subsistence agriculture to commodity farming for the market. If in the past, they mainly cultivated shifting fields and terraced fields to meet their food needs, now they have begun to focus on producing goods with other commodities. They grow medicinal plants to sell to pharmaceutical and food businesses such as medicinal plants, Astiso plants. Growing cardamom is an important source of income for the Dao in this area. Income from cardamom cultivation is an important source of money in family life, both as wealth to accumulate or to do great things. The Dao people also started to get used to raising salmon, raising hill chickens and growing clean vegetables to sell to restaurants in Sa Pa town.

In the handicraft industry, products that previously only served their own needs such as brocade and jewelry have now become commodities. Brocade became an important handicraft item of the Dao people. Brocade production and trading clubs were born, typically Ta Phin Brocade Club (sometimes it gathered nearly 300 women in the area to produce brocade). Brocade products are not only sold to tourists locally but also at handicraft dealers in Sa Pa town, Lao Cai city, Hanoi capital and sometimes even Laos, Thailand through travel agencies. The Red Dao bathing medicine has also become a big brand whose production cradle is in Ta Phin. Annually, the bath medicine company has collected 8-10 billion dong in business.

Trade and tourism services were not a sector before, but now they have formed and developed quite strongly. In addition to buying and selling specialties, people began to know how to buy and sell other items for tourists. The most exciting activity is community tourism service. The organizational form of production also changed. In addition to the traditional family-based production and business, there have appeared new forms of production organization such as clubs, new-style cooperatives, joint-stock companies, etc. In particular, people’s beliefs are growing rapidly changing under the influence of the market economy. If in the past, people would sell their products right after harvesting, now they know when and who to choose to sell at the highest price. They also know how to use the money they earn to invest in reproduction for the most efficiency. Many Dao people know

how to go out and contact travel agencies and handicraft sales agents to create a social network for business (Bui Minh Hao, 2021). This proves that the market economy of the Dao people in Sa Pa has developed quite strongly.

4.2 The Change in Gender Issues Under the Impact of the Market Economy

In the market economy of the Dao people in Ta Phin, women are the largest and most important participating force. Almost every market-related activity is associated with women while men play a supporting rather than decisive role. Women participate in most economic activities in the market, from hawking to tourists, taking bath medicine, manufacturing and trading in bath medicine, selling groceries and souvenirs, and especially making community tourism. In which, two important fields, namely pharmaceutical economy and tourism economy, are mainly in charge of women. The pharmaceutical economy focuses on obtaining raw materials, producing and trading baths and some other medicinal herbs. Men are almost exclusively involved in collecting ingredients with their wives and children, while women participate in almost everything. Similarly, in the tourism economy with many activities such as street vendors, souvenir sales, contacting and welcoming guests to community tourism, cooking for tourists and even chatting and interacting with guests... mainly performed by women. Men still mainly focus on agricultural production activities, assisting their wives in picking up guests or picking up goods... It shows that an important feature in the development of the market economy here is the attachment with women's faces. And the names of the women in the family who are in charge of community tourism or the bath medicine business are also often named for their brands. This lady's homestay, that woman's bath medicine... is what people call it to confirm an important thing about the position of women in these economic activities.

The change in gender issues takes place in many different ways. If in the traditional society, the meeting to discuss important issues of the village was attended by men and made decisions, but now it is completely different. A survey of 198 households about whether a husband or wife often goes to a neighborhood meeting when there is a business to discuss. The results obtained were 67 cases answered that the wife went to the meeting (nearly 34%), 71 cases answered that the husband went to the meeting (nearly 36%) and the remaining 60 cases answered that whoever was free should go to the meeting (30%). This shows that the proportion of women participating in the discussion of common village affairs has increased rapidly. With development projects or trainings on socio-cultural issues, development programs, the proportion of women participating is often higher than that of men. "Women attend training classes and programs more than men because they think there are opportunities to develop. Initially, they participate in programs mainly for women, later when women participate in tourism, trade or other activities, they are more interested in accessing policies. Men are not very interested in meetings because they do not directly participate in development programs from projects, except in some cases when they are younger and more active" (Dao women in Ta Phin district, interview on March 4, 2018).

In the family, gender issues also have many changes. Women play an increasingly important role in making decisions related to the family's livelihood strategy, from selling land or buying land for business development to selling cardamom, cattle or other valuable assets for investment in trade or tourism. Of course they don't have to decide for themselves because there is always a mutual exchange between husband and wife, but women are increasingly taking a decisive role than men. Of 43 households doing community-based tourism, 41 households answered that the woman decided to renovate the house to welcome tourists, only 2 households decided by the man. The men explained that their wives were mainly involved in the community-based tourism business, so they rarely participated, leaving their wives to decide. Men are no longer the center when guests come to visit, but on the contrary, almost women are more and more involved in receiving guests, especially partners related to business. Usually, if the guests are from the same ethnic group in the village or the surrounding area to visit, the

men will continue to be the main ones. As for tourists who are Kinh or foreigners, coming from other places, the woman is the main host. There are cases, when a guest comes, both husband and wife go out to receive the guest, after a while the husband will gradually retreat to do other things. Regarding property, although the inheritance still belongs to the son, the daughters also receive other help from their parents. In many cases, a daughter is given a portion of the field by her parents or a capital support when she gets married as part of the benefit in inheriting property. The Dao women in Ta Phin also changed a lot in their daily life. If they work all day, the husband can still take care of the housework or take care of the children at home, as long as the job brings benefits to the family. And women also gather together to drink wine, have fun with each other, not only men gather.

The concept of love is also the same, the man is not the object of deciding the entire marriage, but women also have an important voice. Freedom to love and marriage based on love is respected, there are no more constraints on marriage. Women also have the initiative in marriage and decide on their marriage. But it also entails a breakup in the family when the relationship between husband and wife is not cohesive. If from 2005 onward, the Dao people in Ta Phin did not know what divorce is, then in nearly a decade now, there have been 6 couples who have divorced each other. In which, 4 cases were caused by the wife actively asking for a divorce.

Thus, under the influence of the market economy, gender issues in the Dao people's society in Ta Phin have changed rapidly. Women are increasingly actively participating in the market economy, playing a more important role in the economic development of the family, so their position is constantly increasing. It makes the prepositional structure heavy on men to be more balanced or to some extent women have a higher status, although it has not created institutions or restructured gender issues. The question is what factor has the greatest influence on gender in that new commune economic structure?

5. Cultural Capital and Gender Influence in the New Socio-Economic Structure

5.1 Cultural Capital in the Development of Market Economy

The concept of "Cultural Capital" was developed and applied by the French scholar — Pierre Bourdieu in the research process. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three main states: 1) Embodied state, which is cultural elements expressed through its subject (ie human), existing existence and enduring in the mind and body of the cultural subject. In other words, cultural capital in the state of expression is the human cultural potential and the ability to apply cultural factors to create value in the development process. Cultural capital in the state of expression is the system of cultural factors expressed through human factors. 2) Objectified state, is a system of cultural elements in the form of an objective existence outside the human being, which is the material forms of cultural capital such as books, tools, and houses. equipment, machines... and intellectual and spiritual products such as traces, realization of theories or critiques of theories. Cultural capital in an objective state can be the product of an individual or a community that exists and can be used for exchange and rotation to create value. 3. Institutionalized state, is cultural factors organized into patterns, shaping the existence and operation of cultural factors based on those patterns (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital was further developed by Robert Putnam (2000) and Francis Fukuyama (2001). According to these scholars, cultural capital is the tangible and intangible assets involved in the production process to create material wealth to serve society. If Bourdieu considers cultural capital as the personal property of each person, Putnam and Fukuyama consider cultural capital as individual and collective property. And the development of the concept of cultural capital by these scholars is considered a turning point in the

process of applying it to development research in the context of the market economy.

In development research in Vietnam, the concept of cultural capital should be understood in a broad sense, including economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital that Bourdieu analyzed. This is also understandable when culture is a broad concept that includes economy, society, institutions, symbols and people... Accordingly, cultural capital is understood as tangible and intangible resources, individual or community expressions, that can be circulated and participate directly or indirectly in economic processes to create benefits for human. In other words, cultural capital is understood as the totality of social networks, individual cultural capitals, community cultural capital and institutional cultural capital that an individual or a group can use to develop economic development and create benefits for themselves. Cultural capital plays an important role in the development of the market economy of the Dao people in Ta Phin.

First of all, the market economy of the Dao is based on community cultural capital. It is a system of folk knowledge, community cultural activities, tangible cultural characteristics such as village landscapes, traditional houses, costumes, cuisine, and intangible cultural values such as: customs and habits, folk songs and dances, festivals such as the putong ceremony, the cap sac custom, etc. To develop the medicinal economy, the Dao people rely on folk knowledge about medicine, exploiting the value of traditional medicine to create products to serve customers. First of all, the market economy of the Dao is based on community cultural capital. It is a system of folk knowledge, community cultural activities, tangible cultural characteristics such as village landscapes, traditional houses, costumes, cuisine, and intangible cultural values such as: customs and habits, folk songs and dances, festivals such as the putong ceremony, the fine custom, etc. To develop the medicinal economy, the Dao people rely on folk knowledge about medicine, exploiting the value of medicinal plants. traditional medicine to create products to serve customers. They are bath remedies, bone and joint medicines, foot rubs and other pharmaceuticals, from which they create commodity products to bring to the market. The pharmaceutical economy is developing strongly and playing an increasingly important role in family life. The same goes for community tourism. The Dao people in Ta Phin attract tourists from their festivals, customs, traditional costumes and typical cuisines. Combined with medicinal baths, they create a feature that appeals to visitors. Along with that is the production and trade of brocade. This is a commodity produced based on the knowledge of textile industry. Brocade of the Dao people is very beautiful and popular with tourists. The Dao people produce and trade brocade from street vendors, selling at shops, sending to hotels, or going to big cities to sell goods and participate in fairs.

Besides the community cultural capital, the market economy also develops based on individual cultural capital, institutional cultural capital and social network. These are all important factors in the economic development of the Dao. From the individual capacity of the participants and the supportive policies of the State and NGOs, the Dao have formed a large social network to develop the market economy. It is the social network of the Dao that has created their important commodity chains in the market. It is the cardamom commodity chain in the cross-border cardamom trade network; is a chain of medicinal goods, the most important of which is bath medicine in the pharmaceutical trade network across the country; brocade goods chain in the handicraft trade network or the community tourism commodity chain in the tourism network in Sa Pa. These chains of goods, on the one hand, represent the market economy activities of the Dao, and on the other hand, also affirm the important role of cultural capital in their market economy development.

Such analysis shows that cultural capital is an important factor determining the path to the market economy as well as choosing the main fields and activities to develop the market economy of the Dao people in Ta Phin. Cultural capital is the fundamental basis, an important resource for the development of the market economy of this

community. And it also has a strong influence on gender through economic activities.

5.2 Cultural Capital and Gender Issues

We want to mention the life story of a Dao woman in Ta Phin. This is a woman born in 1955, used to be a commune official, and is a successful person in exploiting cultural capital to develop the market economy that almost everyone in the commune knows: "I was born in A family whose father is a magician, and mother is a woman who is very good at taking medicine and has good hands, so brocade weaving is very beautiful. From a young age, my mother taught me to embroider and then taught the traditional medicine of the Dao people. At my husband's house, like other Dao girls, my husband and I produce and take care of the housework and children. Things in the family I only listen to, but rarely comment because my father-in-law is quite difficult. During the subsidy period, I was the leader of a production team. After that, she worked as a women's cadre and then as Chairman of the Commune Women's Union. I can attend training classes and access development policies. In 2007, I renovated my house to welcome guests and became the first homestay to develop community tourism in Ta Phin. Tourists like to use bath remedies of the Dao people. But since I was a child, I was taught by my mother, so I started thinking about cooking medicine to serve tourists. Just like that, visitors to Ta Phin know about the Dao people's medicinal baths. Then I thought about selling medicine to tourists to take away or to those who cannot afford to come to Ta Phin. So think about extracting bath medicine and some other types to sell. I saw that my house was far from the center, so I discussed with my husband to sell buffalo, cardamom and some other properties to buy a piece of land near the commune committee to build a house to facilitate business. When my business is lucky and I have more income, I buy more land and invest in my children's education. My husband mainly stays in the old house, rarely goes out to the new house and rarely cares about doing business out here...". This story shows that daughters in the family do not inherit assets from their parents, but they are passed on cultural capital such as brocade weaving skills, folk knowledge about medicine and traditional culture of the people. And it changes the position of a woman, a person who only listens but does not dare to give her opinion to a real homeowner when she can make important decisions in the family. This shows that, in today's Dao society, cultural capital strongly influences gender issues.

First of all, cultural capital, specifically personal cultural capital and social network, helps the Dao people access other resources for economic development, thereby making them a higher position in the family as well as in society, making their voices heard more. Economic status also increases the role of women in society, sometimes even surpassing that of men in the family. Remember what happened on March 17, 2016 in Ta Phin, a man after a quarrel with his wife went out to drink and confided that from 2-3 years now his family has been doing better thanks to in developing community-based tourism as well as selling bath medicine, but husband and wife often have conflicts. He thinks that because his wife earns more money than her husband from work, she despises her husband and often decides on all the household chores. Meanwhile, although he does not work as a tourist or sell bath medicine, he still takes care of the fields and livestock. And he said that "before, she always consulted me about everything and never dared to argue with me, but now money has made her ugly".

Social networks promote community interaction and intervene heavily in gender issues, especially in combating domestic violence. Violence here does not only include women but also abuses men, as well as both physical abuse and emotional abuse. In September 2017, a young Dao woman posted on her facebook social network a picture of her face with a bruised face with a status line "No matter how many years we live together, he still doesn't trust me, so I don't need him anymore!". Immediately, many of her friends, including many brothers and friends in the village, commented on the violent behavior towards the woman. Then the family also

called the husband to clarify everything. It turned out that the woman worked as a tour guide, so she often went away from home, her husband listened to his friends' provocations, so he got jealous. When she got home, he caused trouble and beat her up. Seeing that his family and friends were all condemning, that very night he ran over to his wife's parents' house to apologize to his family, apologize to his wife and pick up his wife. Obviously, a tight social network like that of the Dao not only affects economic development but also affects many other socio-cultural issues, in which gender is an important issue. Social networks are an important communication channel to help people access information and policies related to their rights, help individuals share gender experiences, increase social interaction to put pressure on the abusers.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Gender is a social construct and is governed by the socioeconomic structures of the community. With the Dao community in Ta Phin, in a traditional society, gender issues have received little attention from people. In the Dao society, like many other communities, they view men and women differently, so they will have to do different jobs, and consider it normal. Women are disadvantaged in inheritance of property, but also inherit some other resources, namely cultural capital. Women are disadvantaged because they cannot bring into play the cultural resources they have inherited from their parents in economic development. However, when the market economy developed, everything changed. Women's cultural capital becomes an important resource for economic development. And from their economic position, their social status also increased rapidly. However, it should be emphasized that, whether in the traditional socio-economic structure or the market economy structure, and no matter how the gender roles change, the Dao family still values harmony. Couples always seek to share and support each other to have a peaceful family, without placing heavy emphasis on gender discrimination. In gender issues, the views from the outside and inside are often not exactly the same. In the past, when discussing gender, people emphasized discrimination. That distinction is the basis of creating inequality. So, instead of gender discrimination, we should discuss gender differences, both natural and cultural. Nature rules women differently from men. Although today, people can choose the sex of their children from infancy, can also choose their own sex through medical intervention, but it does not change the rules of nature. Since the dawn of time, the male-female division has taken place for the purpose of reproduction, supplementing labor, and maintaining the race. Nature makes a difference, but not inequality. In nature, men and women are equal to each other and cooperate with each other based on their own differences. As for humans, with their natural instincts, they cooperate with each other to live in the so-called family, both creating an economy and creating a race to supplement resources and prolong survival. In that partnership, they make their own agreements with each other and live by those agreements. When the agreement limit is exceeded, the family is separated. In a family, men and women perform their own functions, where it is difficult to say whether equality or inequality, but acceptance from individuals. Women give birth to children to perpetuate the race. Men protect women and their children. Gender is the difference and gender equality is respecting the difference.

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