**Cultivators in Hmong & Yao villages, upland Lào Cai Province, Vietnam**

**Intermediaries (Kinh or Giáy)**

Villages & local towns

**Wholesalers (Kinh)**

Towns (such as Sapa)

**Wholesalers (Kinh)**

Lào Cai City

**Lowland traders (Kinh)**

Hanoi

**Long-distance wholesalers (Zhuang & Han)**

Hekou

**Cardamom wholesalers & manufacturers**

**(Zhuang & Han)** e.g.Kunming, and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region

**Herbal medicine retailers (Kinh)** Lowland medicinal markets

**Phở** **and Chè** **vendors (Kinh)**

Lowlands

**Consumer markets**

Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, S. Korea, Mongolia

***Vietnam***

***China***

***Other Asia locations***

**Cultivators in Hmong, Yao & Hani villages, Honghe & Wenshan Prefectures, Yunnan**

**Intermediaries (Zhuang & Han)**

Local county towns