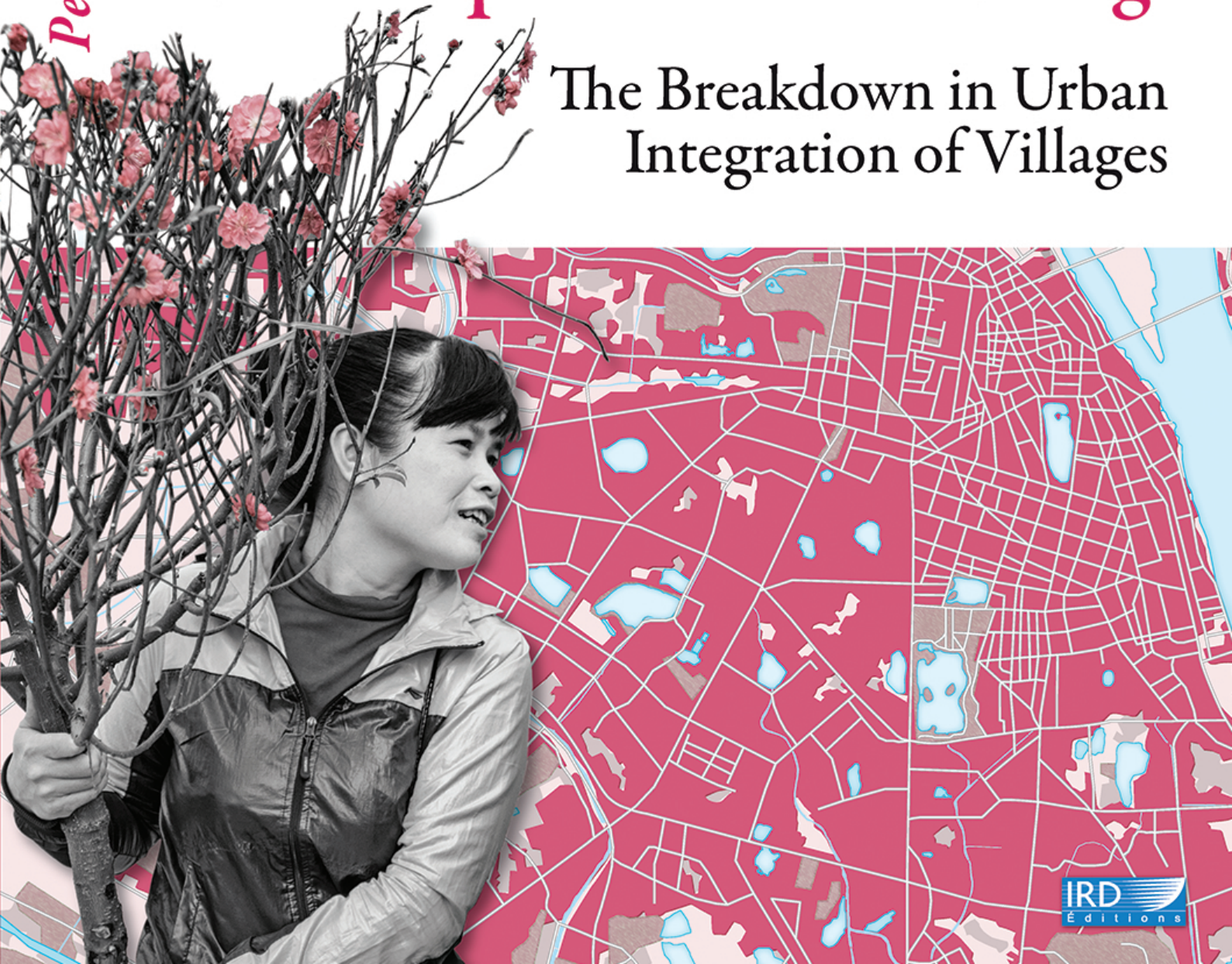
Petit atlas urbain

Edited by Sylvie Fanchette

Hà Nội, a Metropolis in the Making

The Breakdown in Urban Integration of Villages



IRD Éditions

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a Metropolis in the Making

The Breakdown in Urban Integration of Villages

Foreword by Rodolphe De Koninck

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A Vietnamese woman holds branch of peach tree in blossom in a street of Hà Nội
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Foreword

Located at the head of the Red River delta and dotted with lakes, the city of Hà Nội has a definitely amphibious nature. Still partly agricultural, it also harbours, along with its industrial and trading functions, a dynamic cottage industry sector. While some of these attributes are shared with several other Asian metropolises, Hà Nội has a unique character. That of a millenary political capital having long shied away from mainstream globalisation influences, while attending to pressing local problems, but today increasingly intent on catching up and expanding! In the early 1990s, by which time several Southeast Asian metropolises, in particular those located in countries well engaged on the road to capitalist type development, were undergoing rapid expansion, Hà Nội still retained a country town atmosphere. High-rise buildings were virtually absent from the landscape, while massive dykes channelling the Red River through the city appeared as its dominant landmarks, and lakes as its major esplanades. Since then, and with increasing urgency, the Vietnamese capital is being thoroughly overhauled.

The ensuing transformations have been examined and interpreted by a team of university researchers, following an analytical scenario which allows them to highlight the many contradictions of competitive and rapid urbanisation largely imposed from above. The nine case studies assembled here by Sylvie Fanchette, who has been involved in six of them, paint a dynamic historical and geographical picture of a metropolis intent on transforming itself but having to cope with increasingly inescapable problems. Inescapable, because contemporary Hà Nội, weighed down by complex legacies and responsibilities, has inherited some huge and cumulative problems to which urgent solutions must constantly be found.

These legacies are first those of a city resting on a 'mesh of water bodies and villages' Devoted to the examination of these legacies, four chapters make up the first part of the book, laying down the scenario of an unusual urban saga. A first determining legacy is the city's location at the head of the very densely populated delta, that of the heavily silted and impetuous Red River, eager to modify its course and overflow its banks. A large number of earthen works, in particular dykes and canals, represent a second key inherited feature. Ever since the city's early days, these have allowed for a domestication of the river, channeling or diverting its waters, evacuating for retaining them for further use. As a result, water is present in several forms, around as well as within the city, as streams and canals, lakes and ponds play a key function in the fine topographical design of a very flat city. As for water use, in this well watered (annual rainfall of over 1,700 mm) and well irrigated deltaic plain, it concerns first and foremost agriculture, particularly rice cultivation, which largely encircles the city. There lies the third heritage, that of village networks which structure the countryside along with much of the city itself, initially 'formed in part on a dense web of villages' including, the Old Quarter with its 36 streets and corporations, located at the historical heart of the city.

In fact, 'following the Chinese model, laid down during a period of colonial control which lasted over 1,000 years, the Vietnamese imperial administration (1010-1872) had incorporated within the city limits some 100 villages, which formed an agricultural and cottage industry belt supplying the capital'. The high degree of interconnection between rural and urban Hà Nội, without any real equivalent in Southeast Asia and largely attributable to the rural-urban continuum involving cottage industries and trade networks, was however imperiled during both the French colonial and collectivist eras. This represents a fourth legacy. To which has been added a fifth, consisting in a new form of integration of the agricultural belt, henceforth targeted by urbanisation. Beginning in the 1990s, and even more since 2008, rescinding on its commitment to political decentralisation, 'the Vietnamese government decided to extend the administrative limit of the capital' by incorporating into its territory an entire neighboring province and portions of an additional one. The nature and the scale of Hà Nội were thus fundamentally modified as overnight its dimension was multiplied by a factor of over three and its population by more than two.

Through this official expansion of its domain and granting itself the necessary territorial and demographic dimensions, Hà Nội confirmed its claim to the new status of international metropolis, intent on monitoring and accelerating the economic opening of the country, of which it had remained the indisputable political capital. Such new responsibilities entailed deep land reform policies, needed because of the multiplying urban development projects, particularly transport infrastructure, all things leading to a real territorial overhaul, upsetting livelihoods among residents in Hà Nội's suburbs and green belt on the one hand and on the other even in the inner city.

Foreword

Representing, as elsewhere, a highly problematic runaway solution – remarkably well analyzed in the three chapters of the book's second part and in the two making up the third part – Hà Nội's urban sprawl has since followed innovative as well as somewhat classic paths. Unusual to the extent that, for a period of time, local populations launched themselves in independent ventures of urban development, including the establishment of new businesses and small-scale workshops and factories without any central coordination nor any attention being paid to environmental impacts. In fact, these initiatives represented a form of resistance on the part of populations accustomed to having to adapt to instructions from above, or lack thereof, while innovating, including in the realm of industrial or semi-industrial production. Such initiatives can also be considered unsurprising, classic even, to the extent that, in Hà Nội, land prices have literally exploded, reaching levels comparable to those of major metropolises in the region and in the world, thus favouring rich local and foreign investors as well as real estate agents. Urban developers, particularly those involved in large infrastructure projects, were in fact answering calls for tender issued by Vietnamese authorities, backed by international agencies such as the Asian Development Bank, or bilateral ones, such as the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

In short, the territorial urban scale involved, that of a 3,300 km^2 metropolitan area inhabited by some seven million persons now keen to assert their own needs and not simply to adapt to the directives of an authoritarian state, is expanding along with the number of concerned citizens. The issues and problems appear more often than not contradictory, largely because of the irreconcilability of the objectives of the many categories of actors involved. These include local, metropolitan and national authorities, habitually unfamiliar with consultative governance, international and bilateral agencies attempting to promote their development models, national and international investors wanting to cash in on the said development and, finally, local populations, demanding increasingly direct involvement in the search for new solutions to new problems.

Among such problems, are the pressure, arising from the urban transition, including densification and concretization – the latter closely linked to the worrying development of a city increasingly dependent on motor vehicles – on water control infrastructures. However, these pressures may eventually be reduced thanks to the implementation of ambitious plans for the development of massive green corridors cutting across the metropolitan region. There is also the most pressing problem of currently fast climbing land costs, resulting essentially from all these development projects and their massive impact on land use. This threatens what has for a long time constituted one of Hà Nội's a major assets: a rural belt harbouring a dense and competent population, practising pluriactivity, largely content with its territorial allocation and generally uninterested in migrating into the inner city. In fact, several of the studies presented here do point out the surprising resilience of these rural communities who gradually become urban, but *in situ*, without migrating or relocating, managing instead to maintain their pluriactivity, by modifying whenever necessary the nature of these activities. But given that surrounding land parcels, whether still agricultural or not, constitute land banks at the disposal of urban expansion, one is justified to fear for the future of these communities.

It has become evident that Hà Nội, located at the heart of one of the world's most densely populated urban-rural region in the world, and endowed with a classical Chinese, colonial collectivist and, finally, neoliberal urban heritage, must now compete with world class metropolises. This occurs in a context whereby the urbanisation of Asian countries, until recently still predominantly rural, represents huge business opportunities, whetting the appetite of global investors. In fact, actors involved are multiplying, as competition reaches the international scene, far beyond national (with Hồ Chí Minh City) and regional borders. However globalisation imperatives do impose a number of particularly demanding constraints on a country whose political transition, to say the least, is slow in adapting to the rhythm of its economic transition, whether agrarian or urban.

This transition actually relates to the history of the huge transformations that occurred throughout much of Vietnam's countryside, following the mid-1980s adoption of *Đổi mới* policies. The resulting opening of the country, comparable to the one initiated in China, which had followed the implementation of the 'new responsibility systems' in the countryside, definitely contributed to the liberation of productive forces. But the ensuing rising demand, including for an acceleration of urbanisation, compelled the authorities, in China as well as in Vietnam, to quickly favour once again urban primacy, a policy in obvious contradiction, at least in theory, with socialist principles. By favouring urban expansion, including at the expense of some of the country's most fertile agricultural land, Vietnamese authorities, once again as the Chinese ones before them, were betraying their original commitment to peasant populations, after all still the most numerous. After having relied on the rehabilitation of family-based agriculture, they quickly turned their sights on the demands of globalisation, which meant assigning the cities the responsibility to monitor Vietnam's insertion in the global market. While Hồ Chí Minh City had initially played that role, it had become obvious that the political capital had to get involved.

Among the major achievements on the part of the authors of this book is that of having clearly laid out the wide and complex spectrum of problems and contradictions having resulted from this transition. They do this by revealing the results of their elaborate research endeavours, while making use of refined and eloquent forms of cartography as well as striking photographs, well integrated into the analysis. Hà Nội, the millenary city, comes out even grander!

Rodolphe De Koninck *

* Foreword translated by R. De Koninck.

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She studies reconstructions, economic but also spatial, of craft villages in the peri-urban area, within the context of the city's expansion, of rising urbanisation and its neighbouring areas, and of administrative reorganisation.

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Introduction

S. Fanchette

This introduction aims to situate Hà Nội within its Southeast Asian context and to understand what makes it stand apart from other major cities in the region. Hà Nội is unusual in that it is the capital of one of the most deeply Chinese-influenced countries in Southeast Asia, by dint of its administrative, urban and hydraulic organisation, after a millennium of Chinese colonisation, and having entered the global capitalist market much later than other countries. We will therefore present several elements of comparison with the Chinese urbanisation process, particularly that which occurs *in situ*.

Southeast Asia: a region marked by a process of extensive metropolisation

Over several decades, Southeast Asia's big cities have begun a process of metropolisation, at varying speeds depending on the duration and degree of their integration into the global market, their population size and the scale of demographic, economic and social change that the outskirts of these cities have undergone. Metropolisation is a process linked to globalisation, which relies on the development of transportation and communications to create conurbations (larger and more densely-populated territorial units than traditional towns) and within which the cadences of population mobility are intense and increasingly complex. 'Metropolised areas stretch over many tens of kilometres from town centres and bring more and more outlying small towns and villages within the ambit of the daily workings of these great conurbations, thus creating new kinds of not only urban morphologies but also rural ones' (Asher, 2003).

In these very populous regions of Southeast Asia, where the borders between rural and urban are poorly defined, comprehending this process requires a deconstruction of the classic approach to urban analysis offered by statistics. The picture given by official statistics on the scale of the urbanisation process in Southeast Asia is in fact a misleading one. This region appears sparsely urbanised when compared with others in the world – 42% of the population live in towns as of 2010, compared with a worldwide average of 50%, while there is an urban population of approximately 80% in North or South America and more than 70% in Europe – and this regional percentage is only just higher than Africa's 39% of city-dwellers [1]. Within Southeast Asia, Vietnam shares relatively low rates of urbanisation with Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar, when compared with those of Malaysia (68%), the Philippines (63%) and Indonesia (48%). As of 2009, Vietnam's figures are close to those of moderately urbanised Thailand (36%) and Myanmar (31%). These very variable rates do not necessarily correspond to higher levels of economic development in more urbanised countries: this is demonstrated by a comparison between Thailand, where GDP per

capita is 5,473 USD/inhabitant as of 2009, and that of the Philippines, officially almost twice as urbanised, is 2,587 USD/inhabitant (Jones, 2002). Attribution of urban status varies from one country to another, and it is difficult to compare levels of urbanisation between countries, even in the same region.

In addition, Southeast Asian population densities are higher than those of very urbanised European or American countries[2], namely 111 inhabitants/km² in the Indochinese Peninsula (Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam), and 153 inhabitants/km² in the island countries of the region (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore). Above all, these densities of population are unequaly distributed among them, they are very high in important areas of the three largest countries: Java-Bali in Indonesia, the Red River delta in Vietnam and the Visayan region of the Philippines exceeds 650 per sq. km.

This suggests that urbanisation, as defined by official statistics, is not the only process that explains the clustering of population, or that Asian towns are not the only places for settlement capitalisation, unlike their European counterparts. If we call urbanisation the process of obtaining maximum advantage from demographic density, diversity of activities and people, we can state that Southeast Asian countries have very much embarked upon the process: high demographic densities are associated with multi-activity practices in conjunction with intensive rice farming in several regions (more than half of the population in certain parts of Java, Malaysia or Vietnam) and the scale of daily commuting is intense (Jones, 2002).

Within metropolitan areas of Southeast Asia, a triple process of urbanisation can be observed: the expansion of urban sprawl, which stretches beyond the boundaries of a city's inner rings of suburbs, the acceleration of *in situ* urbanisation, linked to high densities of a multi-activity population, and administrative urbanisation through promotion of rural localities into towns and urban districts. Some researchers (Jones, 2002 and 2004; McGee, 2012) have studied urbanisation trends in Southeast Asia by widening the space defined as urban by official statistics, and particularly the metropolitan area, a space that they label respectively as Extended Metropolitan Region and Mega-Urban Region. They identify several rings of zones (inner and outer) within these urban regions and study their demographic and economic processes, going beyond official definitions. These very dynamic regions vary from one metropolis to another, but they have a certain number of characteristics in common:

– they are in constant evolution and are composed of several rings of zones that T. McGee has divided into: peri-urban, *desakota* (town-village), *desakota* in formation, outlying rural area, these various areas being interspersed with new urban areas, satellite towns, industrial parks, new urbans areas for low-income populations (McGee, 2012);
– they are densely populated and based on a foundation of very intensive rice farming;
– they are difficult to comprehend in the Asian context owing to widely differing definitions as to what is urban: in some countries dense peri-urban areas are considered as urban (Philippines) while in others, they are not (Thailand, Vietnam);
– population mobility in the form of commuting and circular migrations is intense;
– they undergo acute fragmentation and an aggravation of socio-spatial inequalities produced by a capitalist logic founded on territorial inequalities, expulsions from agricultural land and access to a depreciated land market;
– main connecting roads leading to the fringes of these mega-urban regions receive preferential development and are lined with new urban areas of luxury accommodation, industrial parks and private housing estates, which sometimes become development corridors, while areas poorly connected to urban networks develop *in situ*, enduring the negative impact of territorial fragmentation;
– a high proportion of urban growth occurs on the outskirts of towns, at once associated with migrations and with reclassification of rural localities into urban ones;
– these areas receive a high proportion of activities devolved from town centres: polluting industries, undesirable populations and space-hungry infrastructure (universities, etc.).

The driving forces accelerating urbanisation in Southeast Asia are principally associated with globalisation and with very heavy international and domestic investment in real estate, communications and industry. However, a change in the use of peri-urban areas, corresponding to the inner ring of suburbs of these mega-urban regions, began to happen as early as the 1960s, before the major Western and Asian projects, particularly industrial ones, were established. In the area around Bangkok, paddy fields were transformed into horticultural and market gardens to supply the capital's consumer market with fresh produce. Many villages were polarised by towns, following the improvement in their linkage to the road network, commuting of population and shuttle services have increased, and farmers' better-educated children are progressively joining the urban employment market. This integration into the market economy, along with the end of food self-sufficiency among rural households, has transformed these stretches of peri-urban countryside (Askew, 2002).

With the economic crisis of the 1970s, linked to the increase in petrol prices, most industrial capitalist countries started to show an interest in the cheap labour markets of populous Southeast Asian countries to relocate their businesses. Indonesia was one of the first destinations in the region, supported in this by very favourable policies towards foreign investment from the government of the day (Peresthu, 2002). From 1980 onwards, the increase of foreign investment into import substitution industries led to an industrialisation of the hinterland immediately surrounding these towns and that in turn attracted numerous waves of workers. Industry has become the main activity in the megalopolises that Jakarta, Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur have become (Rimmer & Dick, 2009). Meanwhile, the scale of investments in the real estate market, linked to banking policies favourable towards loans helping the middle classes acquire property, led to a construction boom and a very rapid expansion of urban sprawl. 'It is not so much demographic processes or migratory flows that carry waves of pioneers towards the outskirts, beyond the physical or administrative boundaries of cities, so much as public and private urban development projects, seeming to confirm recognition of the paradoxical role that has fallen to urbanisation as the driving force of economic growth' (Goldblum, 2010).

These areas formerly considered as outlying, but becoming urbanised *in situ*, are now an integral part of mega-urban regions. Villages integrated into the inner rings of their suburbs house migrants and become dormitory villages, while villagers develop fresh strategies to access resources, especially land, principal means of accumulating capital. In the 2000s, the outskirts of these metropolises underwent rapid demographic and economic changes and acute social upheaval, within a radius of more than 30, sometimes as much as 50 km (in the cases of Bangkok and Jakarta) from the town centres. Although some parts of these urban regions remain extremely rural in terms of landscape, they constitute valuable reserves of land for major metropolitan projects (Jones, 2004).

A process of metropolisation specific to Southeast Asia in an environment deeply affected by water

In Southeast Asia, most metropolises are located in coastal regions, or along rivers, not far from their mouths, and were originally built for their primary function as ports on sites favoured by the maritime routes of the time, like Jakarta and Manila. In most cases, the colonising powers set up their governing bodies in such places, as did the major Western commercial companies, their customs and warehouse districts, first foundations for a rapid metropolisation of these cities. 'This construction flowing from the sea sets Southeast Asia apart from neighbouring continent-sized countries China and India' but this location renders them strongly dependent on the dynamics of globalisation (Goldblum *et al.*, 2012). Even Hà Nội and Kuala Lumpur, located at a fair distance from the coast, are linked to ports that make up part of their wider metropolitan regions. The scale of these mega-urban regions and the recent nature of their very rapid growth – Jakarta has seen its population double between 1971 and 1995 (Forbes, 2004) – can mostly be explained by their commercial function, and more recently by their industrial one: located not far from the sea, port cities have profited from the boom in international trade.

Each city had its Chinese business quarter and other very cosmopolitan districts where could be found a mixture of Indians, Malays, Chinese, Persians, Arabs and other ethnic traders operating in the region. According to the Thai dynasties, the Chinese were encouraged to settle in the city. Located away from the political centre, usually an imperial or royal citadel, the commercial district was connected to a myriad of villages, particularly craft villages, where markets were held, some of them floating. 'Thai cities have always been turned resolutely towards the outside world with a cosmopolitan aspect contrasting strongly with the very agricultural nature of their hinterland' (Askew, 2002). Most metropolises contain a business district of this kind, such as the Old Quarter of 36 Streets in Hà Nội.

T. McGee (2012) compares the process of metropolisation in Southeast Asian cities and suggests that Hà Nội shares with Bangkok, Manila and Jakarta the particularity of spreading out over densely-populated irrigated areas permeated with intensive rice growing, that he calls *desakota*, while Kuala Lumpur spreads out over much more sparsely-populated outskirts, where agriculture is mixed and less intensive. In addition, these cities share their aquatic features, being deltaic for the most part. They have spread out over water and between stretches of water, along canals, on river levees, with much recourse to dykes and polders. Indeed, Bangkok was known as the Venice of Asia until most of the *klong* (canals) were filled in to build roads, thus sounding the death knell for free exchange of water with the river. Their privileged situations, built along rivers, at the interface between their valleys, of which they consume part of the produce, and the sea, opening out onto foreign markets, confer upon these cities the role of international commercial capitals, as well as being hubs for trade with their hinterlands, to which they are connected by a dense network of canals and rivers.

The outskirts of these deltaic cities (Bangkok, Hà Nội, Jakarta) are crisscrossed with waterways, the levees of which are crowded with dense and multi-

activity villages. Although these river communication routes within an organised hydraulic network have galvanised the trade and prosperity of these cities, the presence of water in this monsoon region does however make them very vulnerable to flooding. This implies that public services provide support for urban development with dykes and hydraulic systems, but also laws formulated to protect areas covered with water. Many lakes, canals and bodies of water of all kinds, not to mention paddy fields, which represent storm water retentions in monsoon season, are progressively filled in as construction becomes denser and spreads out over the fringes of a city. The change in land use, converting flooded or irrigated paddy fields into permanent, impermeable structures, limits natural rainwater drainage and requires a revision of the hydraulic system to improve drainage.

This poses the question of whether this very costly work is financed by the private sector, which is more interested in a rapid return on its investment. In the context of liberalisation of land laws, of pressure on urban plots of land at speculative prices, in town centres as well as along major road routes, and of climate change, catastrophic flooding in these excessively low-lying cities (Jakarta, Bangkok, Hà Nội) puts their ever-rising populations and their infrastructure in danger.

McGee (2012) considers it important to take environmental diversity into account, as well as spatial differentiation between the urban core and the peri-urban and megapolitan areas, because one must expect that demographic growth will be concentrated in these fringes over the coming decades. Similarly, he suggests that the restructuring of urban centres and their growing reorganisation linked to globalisation will create fiscal imbalances between the core cities and the margins.

These important changes in the process of urbanisation of places and people in the context of metropolisation lead to a reflection on the governance of vast areas labelled greater metropolitan regions, but whose boundaries remain unclear. It is the case that these regions are managed by various levels of administrative units with fragmented responsibilities on their fringes and with little power. 'Proceeding by fits and starts at the whim of planning and schedules for finance of public and private works, this fragmentation indeed appears to be an integral part of the way projects that initiate transformations of outlying districts are conceived' (Goldblum, 2014). Some authors bear witness to the impossibility or inability of the government or the metropolitan administration controlling the process of project urbanisation. A. Peresthu (2002) admits frankly that the government no longer controls development of the Jakarta's metropolitan area, because it is outstripped by capitalist logic, while Wilson (2009) questions the validity of the Master Plan for Hà Nội, because no public agency is capable of putting it into force.

These evolutions create a complex managerial environment and the numerous decisions taken at local level conflict with those taken centrally, particularly those concerning land. In Southeast Asia, many different governance models are implemented: municipalities have been set up at provincial level, as in Vietnam for Hà Nội or in the case of Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, which has become a federal territory. However, Hà Nội Province does not cover the whole metropolitan region and there is no co-operating system or supra-provincial entity, a Hà Nội Region, for example, that could manage the entire mega-urban region. In Manila, the metropolitan authority takes action in precedence over smaller local bodies without these losing their political power. For large urban regions that encompass many political jurisdictions, various models exist based on collaboration agreements (McGee, 2012).

Hà Nội, a city unusual in Southeast Asia

Hà Nội was set apart from its Southeast Asian counterparts, until the 1980s, by the great geopolitical and economic divide between countries with free market economies (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand), and socialist countries, with very different urban evolutions (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia). The first group underwent urban, industrial, commercial and tourism development, whereas the second saw a stagnation, even an urban decline, the limiting of trade and population mobility, and anti-business urban policies (Goldblum, 2010).

The integration of the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia and above all Malaysia into the global market was established long ago, aided by their openness to maritime trade, and their adherence to the capitalist system, unlike communist Vietnam, locked into the Soviet market for three decades until halfway through the 1980s. In the aftermath of World War II, this first group of cities developed rapidly, while the Vietnamese capital entered into a long period of commercial decline. In addition, Hà Nội, unlike the great metropolises of the region marked by Indian cultures, is deeply influenced by China, at once in its urban design, its water management and its administration. The situation has changed radically since the second half of the 1980s under the cumulative and convergent

influences of the liberalisation of Southeast Asian socialist countries (who have become members of ASEAN) and a rise to power of Southeast Asia in international trade, emphasising the role of big cities in the processes of economic growth (Goldblum, 2010).

In comparison with other Southeast Asian metropolises, Hà Nội has a modestly sized population. It has grown very slowly, particularly during the anti-urban period of the collectivist era (1954-1986), while its outskirts became rapidly denser by developing numerous parallel activities to intensive wet rice farming. Similarly to the large deltaic Chinese cities, particularly Canton and Shanghai, it has not experienced a demographic boom linked to mass migratory movements that very rapid economic development in the 1970s, stimulated by foreign investment in industry and real estate, generated in the other Southeast Asian metropolises. Migratory movements were strictly controlled by means of domestic passports or identity cards, called *hai khau*, equivalent of the Chinese *hukou*. This in part explains the very high population densities on the outskirts of Chinese-influenced cities, given the growing populations prevented from moving elsewhere and the stabilisation of the rural exodus.

In 2008, before it absorbed the province of Hà Tây, the Vietnamese capital had a population of barely 3 million inhabitants, namely two to three times smaller than that of Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila. In addition, since its foundation, Hà Nội has developed very close commercial and artisanal ties with the surrounding villages, through the Old Quarter of 36 Streets and Corporations, which was at the root of a village urbanisation process well ahead of its time. Indeed, having adopted the Chinese model, inherited during over 1,000 years of colonisation, the authorities integrated about a hundred villages into the city limits, making up a green, craft belt that supplied the capital (Papin, 1997). Although in administrative terms the city includes this belt of villages, the continuous urbanised space, as calculated by statistics to define urban districts, is limited. This explains the relatively small size of the Vietnamese capital, while the villages on its outer fringes have become much denser.

In contrast, cities in Southeast Asia that were created to do business from the start have opened up more to international trade than to their hinterlands, with which they have not developed close ties. They have been able to spread over surrounding areas, expropriating village land for use in urban projects, in an unregulated political context favourable to foreign investment and not very concerned about the strong-arm methods used by investors to acquire land (Dorléans, 1993): 'In many respects the complete opposite of agrarian towns, these trading cities... maintain few direct links with their respective hinterlands, busy as they are with long-distance trade' (de Koninck, 2012).

With the economic liberalisation of the 1980s, Hà Nội encountered several obstacles to its expansion: difficulty in securing land for building in the absence of a real land market, village densities among the highest in the world, which eat into potential building space on the fringes of the city, the government's food self-sufficiency policy that limits expropriations of land producing three annual rice harvests and the water management constraints linked to the specificity of this delta, very vulnerable to the risks of river and rain flooding.

Finally, a distinguishing feature of Vietnam is its metropolitan bipolarisation. Hà Nội is in competition with its southern counterpart, Hồ Chí Minh City, the former colonial Sai Gon, economic capital of Vietnam, far more economically dynamic, and more populous (the population topped 8 million inhabitants in 2014, of which 6 million in its urban districts). As in most Southeast Asian countries, 'one can identify one or several cities, usually the capital and the main port city, whose origins or at least their fortunes are linked to their function as trading posts during the colonial period. Their dominant influence contributes to the marginalisation or the overshadowing of older, interior cities, closer to pre-colonial cultural roots. One can consider the peculiar nature of the contrasts that exist between the two 'capitals' of Vietnam' (de Koninck, 2012). An open door onto the global economy, Hồ Chí Minh City attracts more foreign capital (on average 20% compared with 15% for Hà Nội between 1989-2010, according to GSO), and its neighbouring provinces play host to numerous industrial parks and free-trade zones, particularly the triangle of strongly attractive growth that it forms with the port of Vung Tau to the south, and the industrial area of Bien Hoa to the north.

Hà Nội: a city made up of villages that it has slowly integrated into the urban fabric

The thousand-year-old city of Hà Nội, built on 'the bend in the Red River' at the apex of the eponymous Delta (figure 1), is among Southeast Asia's most ancient metropolises. It took shape in part from a dense substratum of villages that it slowly absorbed into its fabric. The capital of feudal Vietnam was originally made up of a citadel, place of imperial power, and of the commercial district, the Old Quarter of 36 Streets and Corporations, linked to a myriad of more distant peri-urban villages that supplied it in craft and agricultural

products. It has extended its limits, integrating very populous and multi-activity villages and lake basins around its fringes.

It has grown up along the Red River, where it flows out into the Duong River that joins the Thai Binh River further to the east of the Delta, 'between' the waters and 'on' the waters at very variable rhythms in this environment extremely vulnerable to flooding and under threat of spates from a dangerous river flowing above the level of the plain. The inhabitants are grouped together in dense and elevated villages to afford protection from the waters and for many centuries have practised craft and trade activities in parallel with growing wet rice. These villages have thus become socially urbanised with division of labour, social differentiations and a higher standard of living among more economically active households.

Hà Nội's spread over its very populous fringes through integration of villages has taken place according to various different patterns throughout its history, depending on the nature of the state development policy in force, the town planning model upon which it was based, the economic activities of the villages in question and the particularities of the local authorities running these villages.

Although during the imperial era, the urban model promoted was one of integration of villages into the administrative limits of the city, at the time of the colonial era (1873-1945), then during the collectivist period (1954-1986), a clear separation took place between that which was defined as urban and as rural – inherited from the Chinese administrative model – with development plans concentrated on the city centre. During this latter period, rural development was favoured and village populations strictly confined to their countryside. Cities retained a strictly administrative role and their place in the landscape remained limited: high population densities were a feature of village life. Hà Nội, the small capital of a country of more than 80 million inhabitants, remained restricted to an area limited to 4 urban districts until 1995.

After having recovered its legitimacy, partly lost during the post-reunification years (1975-1980), the Vietnamese state sought to regain control of land management about 10 years after the first reforms of *Đổi mới* (economic liberalisation), in 1986. It chose to accelerate the urban transition and to integrate the country into the global economy. It initiated a number of institutional and land reforms to decentralise some of its prerogatives to the provinces concerning regional development and to accelerate the process of 'liberating' agricultural land to make it accessible to property developers. This facilitated the creation of large, private real estate groups made up of what was left of former state-owned construction companies. With the help of foreign capital, within the framework of joint ventures, these developers, very well connected with state networks, undertook the construction of new urban areas or *khu đô thị mới*. The land market overheated and anarchic construction took place, in keeping with urban models imported from elsewhere in Asia. However, the involvement of private developers working with short-term profit margins changed the social policy of this communist state regarding construction of housing for low-income families.

In addition, in August 2008, the province-capital absorbed the whole of Hà Tây Province (to the west) and a few other communes from neighbouring provinces. In this manner, it tripled its area and doubled its population. At the head of a country of 88 million inhabitants, Vietnam's capital seeks a standing equal to that of the great Asian metropolises, in particular Hồ Chí Minh City, the economic metropolis in the south of Vietnam. Its administrative expansion aims in theory to make it more competitive on the international stage and to offer investors far-reaching control over land for the construction of new urban areas. This urban expansion takes place on densely populated rural fringes, with diversified productive activities that could be compared to Asian *desakota*. More than 500 villages, classified as 'craft villages', are specialised in handicrafts and industry, activities that use a lot of workforce and that are practised in a very high residential density environment.

The change in speed brought about by the state and by property developers in the construction and planning of the province-capital poses the problem of village integration and that of their urbanisation *in situ*, their inherent economic dynamics, the importance of preserving a green belt around Hà Nội to supply the city with fresh produce, and protection from flooding... The city-countryside fusion, which has always constituted the Red River Delta's specificity and which in part explains why the capital as such has been limited in its expansion, appears to have been challenged. Until recent times, Hà Nội has been a socially viable city, capable of retaining and integrating low-income village populations.

In addition, the Vietnamese government's decision to integrate westerly neighbouring Hà Tây Province into the province-capital of Hà Nội has far-reaching consequences in terms of water management, as half of this region is vulnerable to overflow from the Đáy and Tich Rivers, in the event of diversion of high waters from the Red River, and to subsidence of its poorly stabilised alluvial land. In an urban context, where the market forces dictate the return on land for development and impose high-rise buildings, regulating land use and urban sprawl is a difficult challenge to meet.

Figure 1 – HÀ NỘI PROVINCE IN THE UPPER DELTA OF THE RED RIVER



Source: Fanchette S., based on online map server of Urban Planning Departement, Ministry of Construction of Vietnam

Working from a rich body of maps of various scales, this publication seeks to describe and analyse how 'bottom-up' urbanisation (urbanisation *in situ*) meets 'top-down' urbanisation (metropolisation) and the stages of village integration into the thousand-year-old city of Hà Nội.

This takes place in several different ways. Integration can be spatial (linking up with the urban sprawl through uninterrupted construction all along the main roads), administrative (integration of rural communes into urban districts, with compliance to the norms of urban management), economic (participation in non-agricultural activities for the urban consumer market) or social (installation of economic migrants or students into villages that become dormitory towns, creating a diversified settlement that leads to changes in the way of life).

The encounter between these two processes, 'top-down' urbanisation and 'bottom-up' urbanisation, can in some conditions be positive, the latter being galvanised by the former. On the other hand, in some cases, too rapid metropolisation can limit the process of 'bottom-up' urbanisation and hold back the economic development of these villages, particularly owing to the competition for land at too high and inaccessible prices for villagers, even the richest ones. Some craft village business people find themselves obliged to set up their activities in remote industrial parks, where land is cheaper, threatening to damage the dynamic of productive clusters.

In the dense peri-urban region, once all agricultural land has disappeared, craft-industrial, commercial and service-related activities that have developed

Introduction

in situ will constitute a dynamic economic urban fabric. Unlike the suburbs of Western cities, which were built on a sparsely populated village substrate and required heavy investment in amenities, housing and production infrastructure to receive the many migrants, peri-urban Hà Nội enjoys several advantages. Limited investment, bringing buildings and means of production up to standards, but with access to productive and residential land at lower than market prices could integrate them into the city, providing them with the means to maintain their activities and to house migrant workers.

Several specialists have demonstrated the fragility of the suburbs, now residential areas, once they have lost the industrial and craft activities that maintained their dynamism. The urban model mapped out for the Hanoian metropolis, with zoning of residential, craft-industrial and recreational spaces, connected by a major road system, all this within the context of liberalisation of land laws, flies in the face of land multi-usage and threatens to undermine the very 'people-intensive' production system, capable of supporting very high population densities, developed in the Red River Delta.

By studying villages in the different rings of suburbs around the city, it is possible to measure through time and space the details of this integration and the endogenous capability of village communities to urbanise spontaneously. There are numerous differences in village integration patterns between the first ring of suburbs in the perimeter defined as urban, when compared to the second ring currently being urbanised, but this sheds useful light on future problems with which the new urban districts will have to deal.

This work is made up of three parts.

The first part entitled '*A city woven from water and villages*' presents the village features of the capital and the urban ones of the villages, at the root of the fusion between the two components of the feudal city: the administrative and commercial city and its productive villages. We begin with its lakeside features, water having shaped from the very beginning the foundation of this deltaic city, since it makes up a quarter of its territory. Its lakeside features and above all its vulnerability to flooding must be taken into account for the future of this metropolis in a context of state disengagement from development of this hydraulic territory. Next, a presentation of the Old Quarter of the 36 Streets and its relations with the outlying peri-urban villages provides evidence of the originally rural nature of the capital, its capacity to integrate villagers, and particularly artisans, and of the still vivid presence of an architectural and cultural heritage, symbol of village heritage in some districts. Several chapter subsections describe the various processes of integration of villages into the city, depending on the urban policies implemented by the state: taking villages into account or ignoring them.

The second part, '*The 2000s: Raising Hà Nội to the rank of metropolis*' looks at the steps towards the constitution of various land and territorial reforms since the economic liberalisation or *Đổi mới* of the 1980s and major projects within the framework of the master plan, signed in 2011, to build the new Hà Nội for 2030. The acceleration of the metropolisation process, 'top-down' urbanisation, and reforms to liberalise property laws came into conflict with the dynamism of urban outskirts lacking any control over land issues, given that agricultural land belonged to the state. The densification of built-up land in the most dynamic villages and strategies to expand village production space are limited, large-scale urban developers being considered as being the only ones capable of building the metropolis of tomorrow. So the question arises of how to retrain villagers having lost their agricultural land and the search for extra sources of income for multi-activity artisans.

The third part, entitled '*Urban fringes:integration in opposition to village dynamics*', examines the process of population densification, the demographic dynamics linked both to metropolisation and *in situ* urbanisation, especially multi-activity, and the implications of the encounter between 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' urbanisation based on several case studies, and this on several different scales. The emergence of new stakeholders, conflicts over land, the questioning of local powers, some of which are implicated in corrupt land deals, and mul tiform village strategies are symptomatic of a society undergoing profound change, product of a liberal society after several decades of collectivist management. However, the harshness of some conflicts, the very rapid social and economic stratification associated with the property boom, the end of peasantry in the peri-urban outskirts, challenge the foundations of this multi-millennial, deeply village-oriented deltaic society.

This work is part of a research programme completed in 2012, *Les dynamiques territoriales à la périphérie des métropoles du Sud*, financed by the ANR 'Les Suds' and conducted in partnership between the UMR Prodig (Paris I, CNRS, IRD), Cirad and the Casrad of the Vietnamese Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

Since the expansion of the Vietnamese capital over the neighbouring province of Hà Tây in 2008, from now on, it appears necessary to consider the city from the perspective of its relations with its outskirts, integrated into the scope



© Dominic Blewett / Nội Pictures

Photo 1
A city spreading out along major roads and absorbing peri-urban gardens

for action of the new municipality. Although Hà Nội has been the subject of much research since the 1990s, undertaken by urban planners, architects, geographers and historians, which has given rise to the appearance of several publications (Charbonneau & Đỗ Hậu, 2002; Papin, 2001; Clément & Lancret (eds), 2001; Logan, 2000; Decoster & Klouche, 1997; Parenteau (ed.), 1997), only the very interesting peri-urban computer graphics atlas from the Franco-Vietnamese team led by Vu and Rossi (VTGEO & UMR Regard, 2002) had undertaken the study of the peri-urbanisation of Hà Nội, most studies focussing on the city centre. Studies concerning migrations towards the two metropolises of Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh City, or within them, have given rise to several publications (Gubry *et al.* (eds.), 2008 and Gubry*et al.* (eds.), 2002), but, in the case of the second, it only concerns the former delimitation of Hà Nội. Many doctoral theses in French over the last decade or so on the subject of Hà Nội, some of them by contributors to this publication, but none has so far been published (Bùi Tú Uyên, 2012; Chabert, 2004; Cerise, 2009; Labbé, 2011a; Musil, 2013; Pandolfi, 2001; Papin, 1997; Phạm Thái Sơn, 2010; Pulliat, 2013; Quertamp, 2003; Segard, 2014; Trần Nhật Kiên, 2010).

Introduction

This book seeks to unite and promote the work of several French, Vietnamese and Canadian researchers, on the process of Hà Nội's urbanisation and peri-urban dynamics. The multidisciplinary dimension (architecture, urban planning, sociology, geography and economics) that we have given to this work can be explained by the interest in combining very spatial approaches at various scales by architects, urban planners and geographers and those of sociologists, anthropologists and human geographers, more sensitive to questions of social dynamics and of the impact of major projects on the lives of villages integrated into the city's fabric. We have made a diagnosis of the peri-urban area in order to present its strengths and its capacity to participate in a new enlarged city without losing sight of its diversity. We wish to demonstrate the interest in taking into account the village stratum as a stakeholder in the enlarged capital's master plan for 2030 and of incorporating into it the land use plans of rural communes.

Within the framework of the ANR programme ' Perisud ' that I guided for the city of Hà Nội in partnership with Đào Thế Anh, the director of the Center for Agrarian Systems Research and Development (Casrad) of Vietnam, we drew up several maps showing the communal network of the new capital province. These recent maps (with statistics from 2009) are a basis for particularly innovative reflection to analyse the social and land context in which the new city seeks to expand and enable us to show the social risks to which these projects can expose these peri-urban spaces that are among the most densely populated in the world (1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants per km^2), particularly because the existence of this multi-purpose environment is denied by the planners.

The many contributors are part of a wide network of researchers, doctoral students and post-docs with whom we have worked for many years in Vietnam. This will enable them to publish under their own names the various chapter sections that they have written or co-written. Many of these contributors possess a large corpus of hitherto unpublished maps and plans that our atlas intends to present and analyse. Some contributors work in the field with Vietnamese stakeholders (such as the l'Institut des métiers de la ville, the Institute for Urban Policy, jointly run by Emmanuel Cerise) and have an 'insiders' view' of the capital's planning process that has enabled us to enrich our project's reflection. The land issues of Hà Nội's expansion over its outskirts are a central, hot topic with high social, economic and hydraulic risks. The municipal authorities and the relevant ministries are appealing to international experts to participate in the reflection on this major project to elevate Hà Nội to the status of international metropolis. Through this work, we therefore wish to contribute to this reflection.

1) Source : UN, 2011.

2) 38 and 49 inhabitants/km^2 respectively for North and South America, and Europe 163 inhabitants/km^2 in 2011, where urbanisation has long been established.

Part One

A city woven from water and villages

A deltaic city, Hà Nội shares its aquatic nature with most of the other Southeast Asian capitals and with its neighbour Canton (Guangzhou). In many instances, these cities were erected on sites protected from river flooding (levees or raised construction), as for Phnom Penh, built several metres above the plain, or on alluvial terrace as in the case of Sai Gon (PIERDET, 2012). Since its foundation, Hà Nội has been protected from Red River flooding by high dykes and the rivers that pass through the city, like the Tô Lịch River, have also been the objects of similar protective measures. In contrast, the other major cities in the region, built alongside less dangerous rivers, have not been equipped to such a degree with protection from flooding. Canals were opened up in Bangkok to drain urbanised land and enable communication with the new urban areas; for protection from the Mekong in spate, Phnom Penh was surrounded by dykes on a polder; while Jakarta, founded by the Dutch in the 17th century, benefitted from the colonial civil service's hydraulic know-how, which drained and dug a dense network of canals to clean up and improve this low-lying and regularly flooded port site.

The spread of these cities over their low-lying fringes poses two main problems that we will address in this section: firstly, their outskirts are dotted with a dense hydraulic network destined for growing rice. This poses the problem of revising the hydraulic system with the change in use from agricultural land to building

plots: polders must be created that are closed off with dykes and dried out with a complete drainage system made up of canals, sluices and pumping stations. In addition, the villages over which these cities spread, like Jakarta's *kampong*, and particularly like those around Hà Nội, are very densely populated. The change in use of land intensively farmed for rice concerns a very large population that must switch to a fresh activity or at the very least find supplementary income to compensate for the loss of agricultural land.

The integration of villages into Hà Nội City has taken place according to various different patterns throughout its history, depending on the state development policy in force, the town planning model upon which it was based, the economic activities of the villages in question and the dynamism of the local authorities present. As much interpersonal and economic as territorial, it has fostered the urbanisation of village economies and a ruralisation of the city by discouraging the migration of village populations. Through the Old Quarter of 36 Streets and Corporations in the Vietnamese capital, itself originally founded on a substrate of villages, craftsmen's and tradesmen's villages in outlying communes have been integrated into the market economy. This formed part of the wider sphere of international trade, particularly within Asia. For several centuries, not without its ups and downs, this district has functioned in step with the rhythm of production in the villages. In exchange, it has launched them onto the international market.

Since 1995, 148 villages have been integrated into the city's fringes by changing the status of rural districts into urban districts. Paddy fields have been progressively eaten away by village expansion, but above all by the establishment of residential and industrial projects, without these being accompanied by drainage infrastructure or the installation of wastewater disposal systems. The liberalisation of land market and anarchic construction of housing, shops and factories, some without permits, marked the individualisation of building practices in a context requiring a concerted use of land and the hydraulic system.

The scale of metropolitan projects for the two coming decades, the expansion of the capital province over neighbouring Hà Tây Province and the construction of satellite towns and very dense peri-urban areas all call for a revision of the means of control over construction on agricultural land and for the installation of hydraulic infrastructure in keeping with the municipality's ambitions in terms of urban planning.

Hà Nội between the 'waters'

S. Fanchette, R. Orfeuvre, Trần Nhật Kiên

Originally made up of urban villages dotted with ponds and pools, the Old Quarter of 36 Streets and Corporations, and a citadel where water flowed through a moat linked to the hydraulic system, the city of Hà Nội has spread out over its fringes, integrating very populous and multi-activity villages and lake replacement basins in the surrounding area.

It has been erected 'between' the waters and 'on' the waters at very variable rhythms in an environment very prone to flooding and threatened by spates from a dangerous river that flows above the level of the plain. Water is an integral part of Hà Nội City, and even if the capital turns its back on the Red River, hidden behind imposing dykes, water is visible in the multitude of lakes that permeate the city's territory. In addition to their function countering flooding, these lakes play several other roles: economic ones for craft villages, but also cultural and symbolic. In this 'hydraulic' civilisation, many rituals are practised during village festivals to invoke the protection of 'Heaven' from flooding.

The Vietnamese government's recent decision to integrate Hà Tây, the westerly neighbouring province, into Hà Nội Province-capital, has significant implications in hydraulic terms: this territory can be vulnerable to the Đáy and Tích Rivers overflowing in the event of Red river floods diversion in these tributaries. In a context of urban development where land market forces dictate the profitability of building land and impose high-rise buildings, control of land usage and urban expansion is a difficult challenge to meet. Hà Nội's Master Plan for 2030, signed in July 2011, took good note of the vulnerability of the enlarged Province-capital by stipulating the preservation of a green belt, to promote a 'sustainable and environmental city'. However, one might well wonder just how feasible such a measure may be in this country in transition towards the market economy, of weak institutions at all level of administrative hierarchy, and of the need for both foreign and national investors (seeking a maximum return on their capital) in order to build the new metropolis.

Control over bodies of water and the spread of construction has been lacking up until now in Hà Nội City's public policy. Already during the collectivist period, the state and the municipality, the main suppliers of housing, did not have the means to finance such infrastructure. With the liberalisation of land market and the establishment of the policy dubbed 'The state and the people build together', local authorities have been overwhelmed by the advance of urban sprawl. The spread of unregulated self-building on the fringes of big cities without hydraulic infrastructure, as was the case in Hà Nội in the 1990s-2000s, poses serious drainage problems during the monsoon. The creation of hydraulic polders by the dykes makes it difficult to evacuate

rainwater by gravity. A complexe network of gates and pumping stations allows water transit and drainage of mounsoon rain from each polder.

The many lakes, ponds and paddy fields absorb some of the rainwater, but in city centres and villages they are increasingly filled in to make room for new buildings. Natural drainage happens slowly and in the absence of pumping equipment, rainwater stagnates and floods these new residential urban and industrial areas.

The lack of building land obliges many peri-urban villagers and those newly integrated into the city to fill in ponds and stretches of water to build their houses, workshops or businesses there. Only the sacred and religious function of some of these ponds, testimony to their former function in water cults for protection from the violence of 'Heaven' in the face of man's excesses, seems to have preserved some of them from building fever.

Vulnerability of a deltaic city

• Geographical and hydraulic factors

Hà Nội City is built on a lacustrine alluvial soil with a complex micro-topography, reshaped over millennia by the whims of the river and its distributaries fettered within a tight network of dykes. Water is an integral part of the city and plays a significant role in shaping its structure. It is so closely associated with Vietnamese land that the same term *nước* is used to designate both water and the country.

Three elements founded on hydrology, alluvial soil formations and man-made installations must be taken into account to understand Hà Nội's vulnerability in the face of flooding caused by water from the river and from the sky, concentrated into the summer months (75% of the 2,000 mm of annual rainfall pours down onto the city during the monsoon).

Firstly, the Red River, when it flows into its tightly enclosed delta, becomes one of the most dangerous watercourses on the planet: very frequent and rapid spates, water levels that rise very rapidly, fuelled upstream by torrential rains during the monsoon. Without major embankments along its flood plain, the Red River could inundate large parts of the Delta and destroy rice crops by submersion (Gourou, 1936). In 24 hours, the river can rise from 1 to 4 m. The force of its spate makes it impossible to build a barrage to divert the river's waters at the Delta's apex. Hà Nội is protected by seven dykes, totalling 150 km (VTGEO &UMR Regard, 2002).

In addition, by dint of the rising level of the *river bed* through aggradation the river and its various branches flow well above the level of the plain, on a natural levee formed by an embankment of alluvium (see Diagram). At its highest level, the Red River in flood, held back by a compacted dyke 14 m high, rises eight metres above Hà Nội City, located just below the river. In 1971, during the biggest flood ever recorded in its history, the water level in the Red River reached 14.6 m, while the altitude of the city below varies between 5 and 8 m. Thus, in periods of high water, the river crosses the Delta more as a stranger than as a benefactor, since its rich alluvium is lost to agriculture.

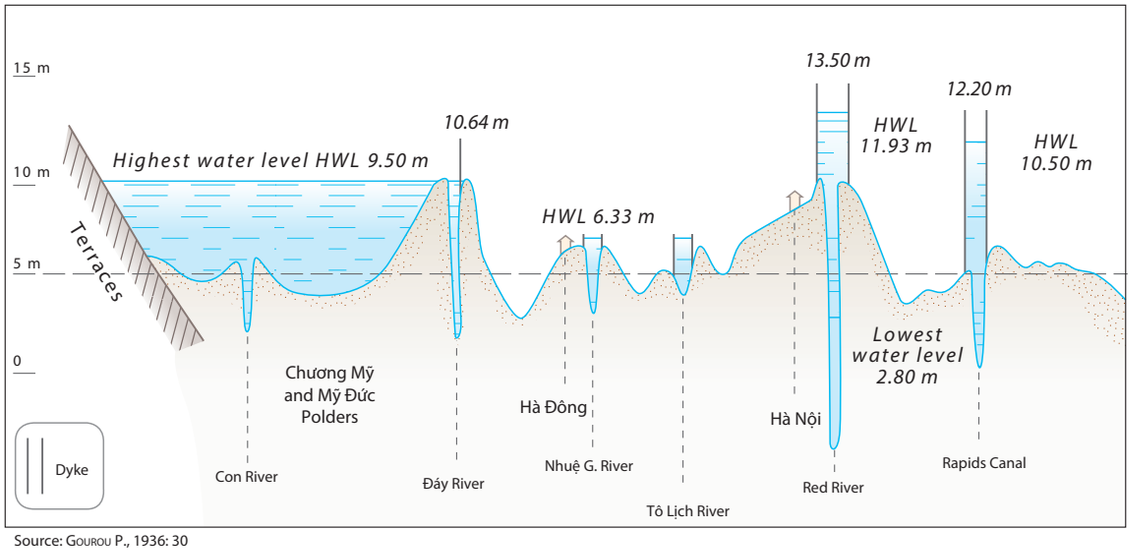
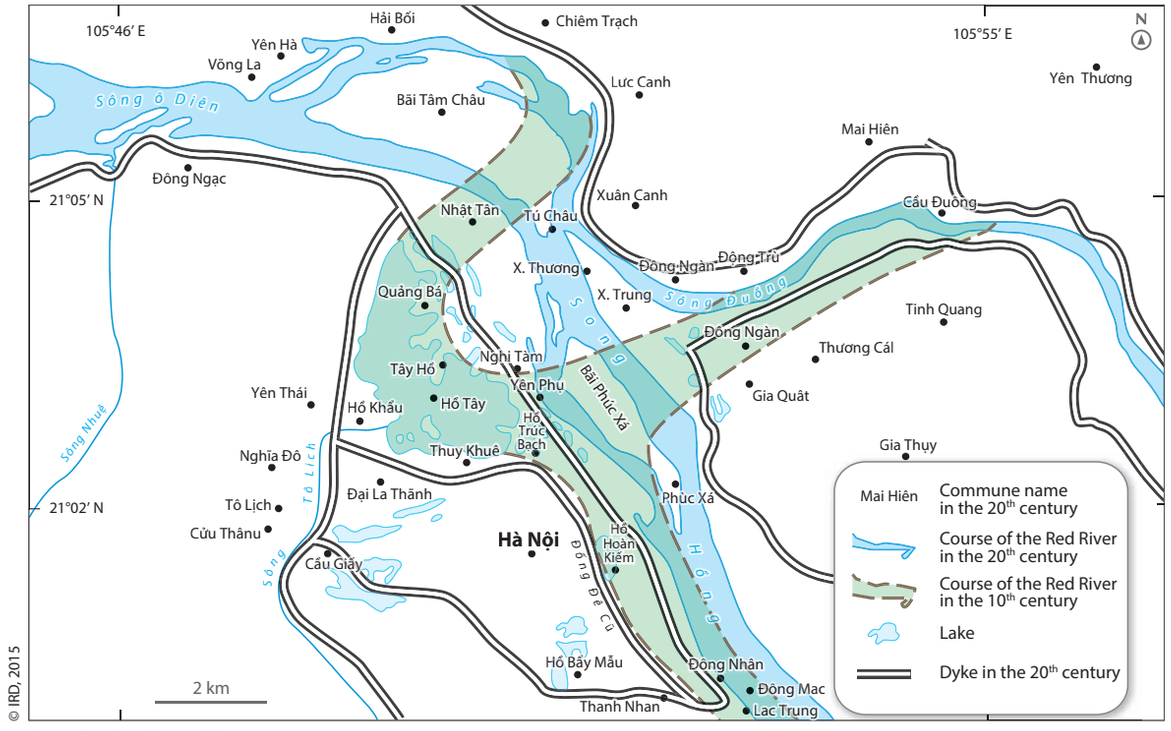


Diagram – CROSS-SECTION OF THE RED RIVER DELTA AS IT PASSES HÀ NỘI IN 1934

Source: Gourou P., 1936: 30

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Figure 2 – DEVIATIONS OF THE RED RIVER BETWEEN THE 10th AND THE 20th CENTURY



Source: Trần Quốc Vượng, 1960

This position of alluvial land below the level of the river's flood plain can also be observed, less obviously, along the Đáy River, to the west of the town centre. Until the 1930s, in periods of high water, it was difficult to evacuate rain and irrigation water in the polder of Hà Đông, which prevented planting in the 5th month. Closing off the Đáy River from the Red River with a sluice lowered the level of its waters and turned it into a drainage basin for the adjacent polder, as well as stopping the swamping of communes poorly protected by the dykes.

The risks of river flooding have however decreased since the construction of the Hoà Bình Damreservoir on the Black River, a tributary of the Red River (with a storage capacity of 6 billion m^3), completed in 1990, as well as efforts made to control floodwaters (possibility of diversion floodwater upstream from the capital into the Đáy River or the Đuống River and the reinforcement of the dyke network). The Hoà Bình Reservoir is designed to reduce the maximum level of floodwaters from 14.6 m to 13 m, while the five diversion zones upstream reduce it from 0.2 to 0.3 m (Silver *et al.*, 2001). Better protected, the city has spread rapidly since 1995 (Quertamp, 2003), particularly in the zone outside of the dyke. However, efforts to contain flooding upstream from the capital have been limited by illegal housing construction and sand extraction in the river's flood plain that hinder runoff of water and make levels of floodwater rise by as much as 0.7 m (Silver *et al.*, 2001).

Although dyking up the river has made it possible to contain the floodwaters, it has however complicated the drainage system. The dykes built on natural levees tend to create isolated hydraulic subdivisions, polders that are difficult to drain during the monsoon. When the Red River and other rivers are flooding, a very efficient drainage system must be installed to evacuate rainwater, given that watercourses flow above the level of the plain. Improvement of the drainage system constitutes one of the most difficult challenges to be met by Hà Nội, particularly given the context of rendering land impermeable through construction of raised concrete platforms, road networks and by filling in lakes.

Added to these two factors is the nature of the deltaic soil, formed by non-stabilised Quaternary alluvial earth. The micro-relief linked to the history of aggradation, to breaches in the dykes, to the blindness of certain meanders, constitutes a testimony to the life of the river and its soil. The city is dotted with numerous lakes and pools, of which the biggest is West Lake, or Tây Lake, a closed-off former branch of the Red River, lying to the north of the city (Figure 2). Because

of its alluvial nature, land is extremely prone to subsidence. But this is exacerbated by ever-increasing pumping of groundwater to supply urban consumers. There are several hundred boreholes and a multitude of family wells, around which land subsidence, sometimes of more than 10 mm/year, can be observed (Quertamp, 2003: 232).

• The city outside the dykes

In the 1990s, the expansion of the city took place in the south towards the lacustrine district of Thanh Trì for reasons of accessibility to land. As well as spreading over low-lying land (altitude of 2.5 and 3.5 m) and very vulnerable to rainwater flooding, the city continues to advance onto land beyond the dyke on the flood plain. Higher up than land inside the dyke, by 9 to 11 m, this land called *bay,* replenished with alluvium every year by the flood waters, was intensively cultivated with market garden crops, corn or other plants, such as mulberry bushes for breeding silkworms. In the 1970s, the area in proximity to the Chương Dương Bridge, near the historic city centre, began to be illegally occupied by migrants and poor citizens, attracted by the very low prices of this land prone to flooding.

Table 1 – VULNERABILITY OF DISTRICTS IN THE FORMER PROVINCE OF HÀ NỘI

Arrondt/ Urban district	Area under water (ha)	Arrondt (ha)	Areas of lakes 2005 (ha)	Areas of lakes %	Flooding vulnerability index	Area under water %
Ba Đình	77.19	925	45.8	4.95	0	8.3
Đống Đa	47.14	996	34.5	3.46	0	4.7
Hai Bà Trưng	146.95	1,009	36.8	3.65	0.5	14.6
Hoàn Kiếm	89.57	529	10.7	2.02	0.1	16.9
Cầu Giấy	38.13	1,203	13.2	1.10	1.5	3.2
Long Biên	813.29	5,993	157.2	2.62	7.1	13.6
Hoàng Mai	685.27	3,981	512.4	12.87	4.3	17.2
Tây Hồ	949.75	2,401	546.9	22.78	2.9	39.6
Arr. total	**2,847.29**	**17,037**	**1,357.5**	**8**		**16.7**
Từ Liêm	589.66	7,533	65.8		2.2	7.8
Đông Anh	1,853	18,214			2.4	10.2
Sóc Sơn	1,505	30,651			0.5	4.9
Thanh Trì	543.69	6,294	78.8		12.6	8.6
Gia Lâm	1,225	11,473			17.7	10.7
District total	**5,716.35**	**74,165**				**7.7**
Hà Nội total	**8,563.64**	**91,202**			**3.7**	

From Haidep, 2007

With the construction of the Hoà Bình Dam, the risks of flooding associated with high waters in the Red River have decreased and the area outside the dyke has begun to interest rich city dwellers. In 2000, Chương Dương district recorded one of the highest densities of population in the city centre: 240 per hectare. In 2004, 160,602 inhabitants and 32,012 housing units were listed there. Some squatters extend the built-up area at the expense of the river by erecting buildings next to it. The capacity for running off the floodwaters over the flood plain are thus diminished and thus push up the level of floodwaters. With the same rate of flow, the level of floodwaters has increased by 0.60 m between 1970 and 2000 (Hoàng Vĩnh Hưng *et al.*, 2007). What is more, construction of housing on the banks of dykes weakens them, increasing the risks of breaching. Only these kinds of buildings were demolished in around 1995, the municipal authorities being incapable of reversing the process entirely.

• The former province of Hà Nội in times of flooding

The former province of Hà Nội, limited to the urban districts and to the four districts of Từ Liêm, Gia Lâm, Đông Anh and Sóc Sơn, was the subject of a detailed study, abundantly documented with maps, by Haidep [1] in 2007, a Japanese programme originally designed to produce the city's Master Plan. It tackles, amongst other things, the fresh hydraulic challenges with which the new capital districts are confronted.

Factors of vulnerability to flooding are many:
– the altitude of the alluvial plain, and thus its capacity to be drained during the Red River floods while it flows several metres above it;
– the Red River's proximity to the Đường River and the risks associated with the breaching of dykes;
– the reduction of areas covered with water, particularly pools and ponds that act as reservoirs for rainwater during the monsoon;
– the quality of the drainage system, the location of reservoirs, the maximum rate of flow for drains and the strength of pumps.

The flood vulnerability indicator was calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Flood-prone area in the zone X proportion of land by land use X Flood runoff coefficient}}{\text{Total area of land}}$$

It is noteworthy on the map of the vulnerability of communes (Plate 1) how much this is accentuated depending on the northwest/southeast slope and the



© François Carlet-Soulages / Nội Pictures

Photo 2
West Lake and Trúc Bạch Lake seen from above: the importance of stretches of water in the city

proximity of the Red River and other rivers. Within the context of this study carried out by Haidep, a survey was made in 2005 among inhabitants to evaluate the proportion of these who suffer more than 10 cm of floodwaters in their residence.

It is therefore apparent that the districts having a higher than average vulnerability index (3.7) are localised in the low-lying zones in the south and southeast of Thanh Trì and Hoàng Mai and near the Red River and the Đường River, at Long Biên and Gia Lâm. These last two are the most exposed to risks because they are threatened from both sides by the Red River and the Đường River and are in a low-lying area (about 5 m). Although they are protected by imposing dykes and the risks of breaching are slight, their vulnerability remains high. To the south, the Thanh Trì basin encompasses the Sêt, Lu, Kim Ngưu and Tô Lịch Rivers that make up the entire drainage system of the urban districts. In contrast, the central districts enjoy either zero vulnerability, like Đống Đa and Ba Đình, or a very low level, like Hoàn Kiếm (0.1) and Hai Bà Trưng (0.5), of which the western *phường* (or urban communes) are located along the Red River.

However, the factors for a grid map at the district scale only give average levels of vulnerability. Within district limits, flood risks are variable, as demon-

strated by a grid map at the communal scale. According to the survey carried out among inhabitants by Haidep in 2005, between 15 and 38% of communes suffer from flood levels of more than 10 cm during the monsoon. Poor maintenance of drainage and sewage channels towards the lakes, and the progressive encroachment of these by new constructions, locally increases this vulnerability. During heavy rains, there are more than 20 points particularly affected by flooding in the city centre. A recorded rainfall of 100 mm in two hours leads to flooding in four urban districts.

By superimposing the map of communal vulnerability onto that of the growth in population between 1999 and 2009, it can be observed that all of the communes with a very high level of vulnerability record the highest rates of population growth, namely more than 2.48% yearly. This exposes a growing population to the risks of flooding and, in addition, results in a densification and an extension of housing development, to the detriment of spaces given over to agriculture and water and an increase in wastewater drainage.

• ***An obsolete drainage system inadequate for the expansion of the city***

Hanoi's system of drainage and evacuation of wastewater is obsolete and dates back to the colonial era. It was installed between 1905 and 1945 and only covers 1,000 ha of the city centre (Ba Đình and Hoàn Kiếm districts), the other districts of the capital having only been developed with an open sewage system. Expansion of urbanisation has not been accompanied by an appropriate system of drainage, particularly in the areas where self-building by household dominated residential construction. In addition, at the beginning of the *Đổi mới* years, the state invested little in the development of road and drainage networks when building the housing estates on public land that have replaced social housing, the KTT [2]. It left this responsibility to local authorities and inhabitants (Pandolfi, 2001 and see Chapter 5).

The city's drainage system serves simultaneously for runoff water and for domestic and industrial wastewater together. Only 10% of the latter is treated before being released back into the general system, used downstream for irrigation. The runoff of this untreated water occurs by gravity into lakes, ponds and rivers, and seriously affects their environment.

The Tô Lịch River drains 930 ha to the west and from the city centre, while the Nhuệ River covers 9,400 ha and receives the waters from the Tô Lịch River as well as irrigation and drainage water. But its drainage capacity is insufficient and it would need reservoir lakes to compensate for the insufficient capacity of pumps during the heavy monsoon rains. In the low-lying area to the south of the city, after heavy rains, Thanh Trì District has to drain away its own excess water as well as rainwater coming from Hà Nội, which represents a volume that can rise to three times that of the district itself. Almost all the wastewater of the central urban districts crosses this district. In spite of the increased investment in construction of drainage systems and pumping stations, the risks of flooding have grown. The areas theoretically determined by the development plans for drainage are less than 60% of those that require it in reality. The Yên Sở reservoir, with an area of 172 ha is saturated, the more so since this district-reservoir lost 50 ha between 1987 and 1991 that were filled in to create fresh land for development (VTGEO and UMR Regard, 2002).

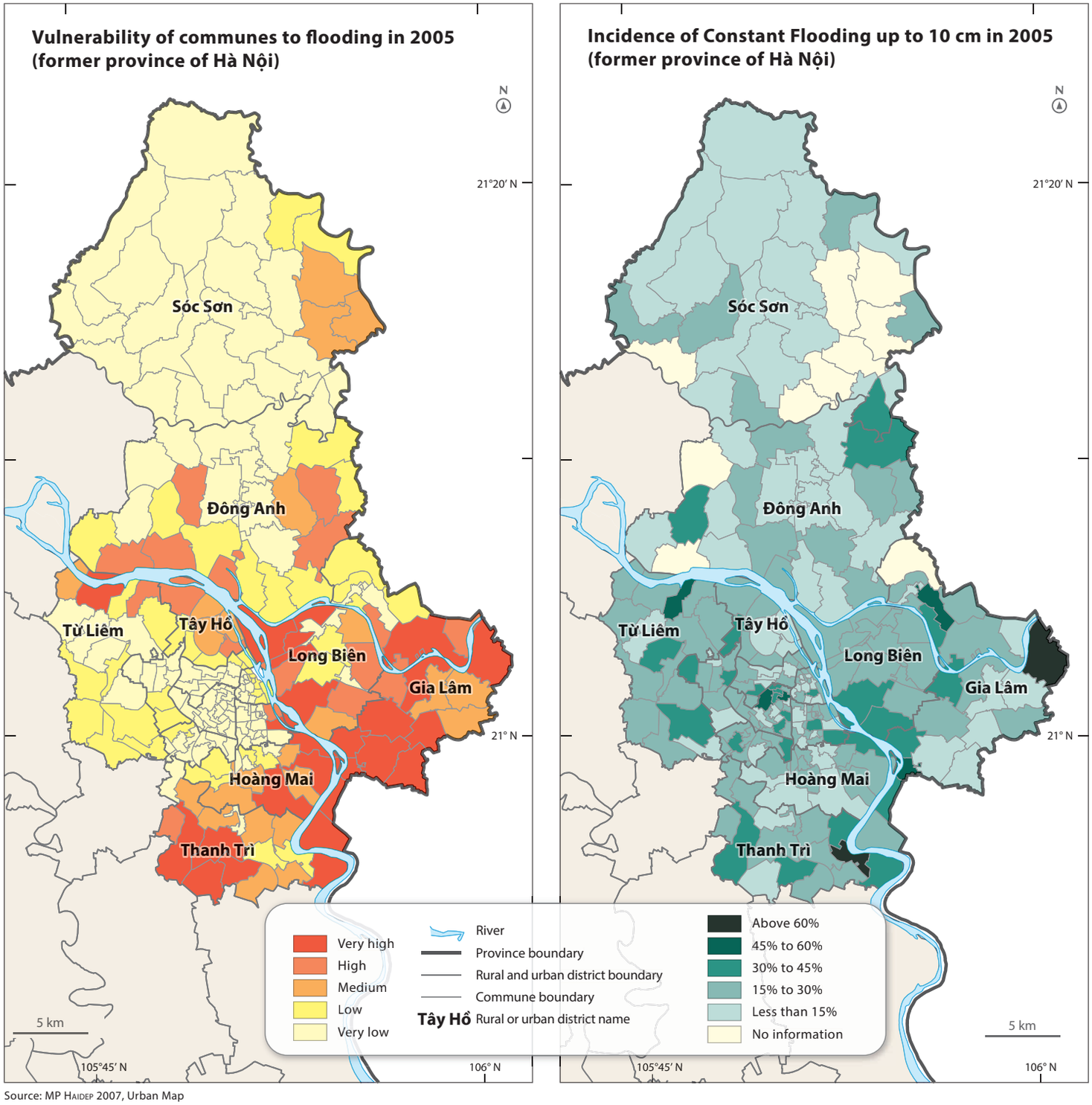
To the southeast, in Gia Lâm and Long Biên, when the water level of the Bắc Hưng Hải River is below 3 m, runoff water flows into it naturally. When the level is higher, only a powerful pumping system could evacuate the excess water into the Đường River and the Red River (Haidep, 2007).

During the heavy monsoon rains, a layer of 50-60 cm of water can stagnate for several days in various places in the city. Plate 1 shows the proportion of households subjected to the risks of flooding of more than 10 cm. More than 30% of households in the districts of Đống Đa, 20% in those of Thanh Trì, Từ Liêm and Cầu Giấy suffer from flooding in times of heavy rain. The communes located along the Red River and the Đường River are the most badly affected. In addition, these floods make the sewers overflow, since the same drainage system is used for wastewater and rainwater. The lakes serve as collectors of wastewater, mostly untreated. One of the most visible factors of increase in vulnerability with regard to flooding is the decrease in lakes and ponds, regulators of rains.

• Competing for space and filling in lakes and ponds

• ***An urban history marked by the progressive filling of lakes***

Located amid various watercourses and on a substratum of villages and lakes, the city of Hà Nội has had to find its space and, from time to time, integrate or not villages and stretches of water. Abundant on this deltaic plain, lakes bear witness to the former meandering of rivers and their distributaries, to the activities of humans who have built dykes and artificial earth platforms to protect themselves from flooding and so have carried out excavations to extract earth, to extreme subsidence of this unstable alluvial ground and to the province's very pronounced northwest/southeast slope.



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Source: MP Haidep 2007, Urban Map

West Lake, Hà Nội's biggest (more than 500 ha) is an oxbow lake formed by the Red River before it was endyked up (see Figure 2). As it has spread over its rural fringes, Hà Nội has absorbed villages and with them the ponds and lakes that are part of their living and productive space. It is the case that in each village a certain number of lakes or ponds belong to the community, located opposite the communal house and the pagoda, and whose functions were as much ritual and geomantic (Chapter 1) as for drainage of runoff water. Village dwellings featured private ponds fulfilling several functions: subsistence for rearing fish on waste material and as a place to pour away familial wastewater from clothes washing, washing-up or showering.

During the feudal era, there were 900 lakes and ponds in what was then Hà Nội: the Quarter of the 36 Streets was dotted with them (Plate 2). The policy of filling in lakes and ponds began during the colonial period for sanitary as much as urban reasons: the authorities wished to make a clean slate of the past and in particular of the semi-rural nature of the colonised capital to build new western-style districts. Only one lake survived in the old centre, Hoàn Kiếm Lake, while a few ponds were developed into parks and anti-flooding reservoirs.

Then, during the collectivist period, collective housing or KTT were built on the fringes of the city over lakes, marshes and unproductive land in rural districts. The urbanisation of highly productive agricultural land was forbidden (Pandolfi, 2001). Kim Liên, one of the biggest residential projects of the period, was built on 40 hectares to the south of the city, on marshland. These new popular urban areas all incorporated ponds within their perimeters, of which the shores have been developed into recreational spaces.

At the end of the 1980s, under the impetus of the *Đổi mới* reforms, the new state housing policy ('the state and the people working together') and the 1991 land law permitting private construction, there was a construction boom and an erosion of public space (see Chapter 5).

As early as 1988-1989, wastelands, country gardens or the capital's lakes were progressively absorbed by individual buildings or by the city authorities reclaiming land. Giáp Bát District, for example (see Chapter 5), to the south of the city, was built on a filled-in pond, following a decision from the city's People's Committee. The village's former territory has been progressively encroached by unauthorised installations, while the banks of the Sét River, left undeveloped, have slowly been occupied. The local authorities were incapable of controlling this feverish construction, particularly in a context where American bombing had greatly affected an already very limited architectural heritage.

In a study carried out using old maps, Shibayama *et al.* (2008) measured the evolution of stretches of water within Hà Nội City from 1885 onwards. In this year, the city measured 1,059.1 ha and boasted 266 lakes with an area of 275.3 ha, or a quarter of its total area. In 1936, at the end of the colonial era, stretches of water were down by a half over this same area and there were only 154 lakes over an area of 121.8 ha. In 2005, the part of the city that was once the ancient and colonial town features only 11 lakes over an area of 62.7 ha, or 22.8% of the total area under water in 1885.

The tolerance of local authorities towards illegal constructions has produced 20% of housing stock in 1984, of which a high proportion was built on reclaimed land. In this manner, over ten years, from 1990 to 2000, the number of lakes in the four urban districts of Hà Nội has shrunk from about forty to about twenty. The total surface area of lakes has decreased from 800 to 600 ha. It is estimated that the biggest lake in Hà Nội, Tây (West) Lake, has lost 40 ha to individual construction initiatives (Pandolfi, 2001).

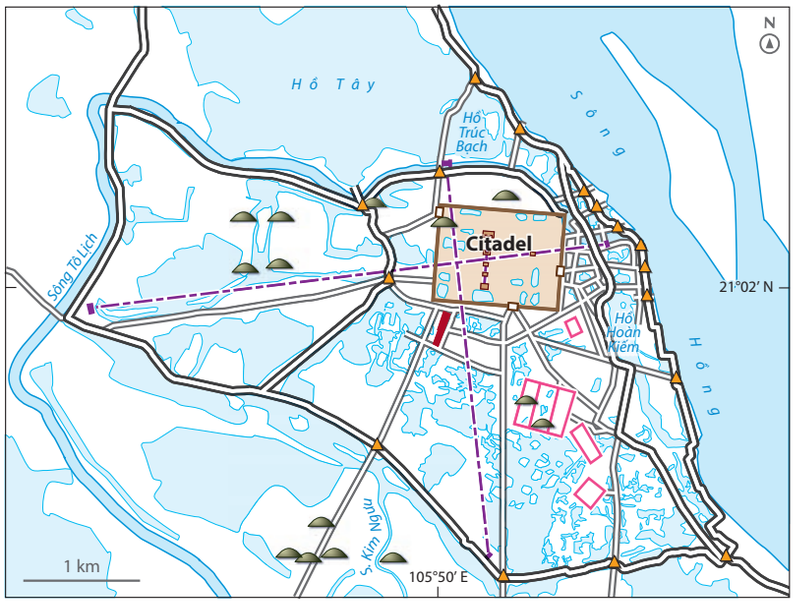
In the central districts of Ba Đình and Đống Đa, where demand for land is very high, between 1994 and 2005, the total area of lakes has gone down respectively from 54.6 ha to 45.8 ha and from 43.4 ha to 34.5 ha (Haidep, 2007 and Figure 3).

- ***Residual lakes scattered very irregularly through the city and with diverse functions***

The former province of Hà Nội before 2008 contained about 200 lakes. Within the context of drawing up the city's Urban Development Programme to 2020, Haidep carried out a survey on 155 lakes, including all the lakes in the urban districts and a high proportion of those located in the rural districts. These 155 lakes cover an area of nearly 2,000 ha and are scattered very unequally throughout urban and rural districts.

Three big lakes of more than 100 ha take up 71% of the total surface area of lakes surveyed by Haidep in 2007 (Table 2). The biggest is West Lake, 512 ha, (Figure 3), Van Tri Lake to the north in Đông Anh District measures 355 ha and Yên Sở Lake, to the south, 172 ha, and acts as a vital drainage reservoir for the city's waters. A certain number of lakes are linked together by a system of canals with the main function of holding part of the surplus rainwater during the monsoon.

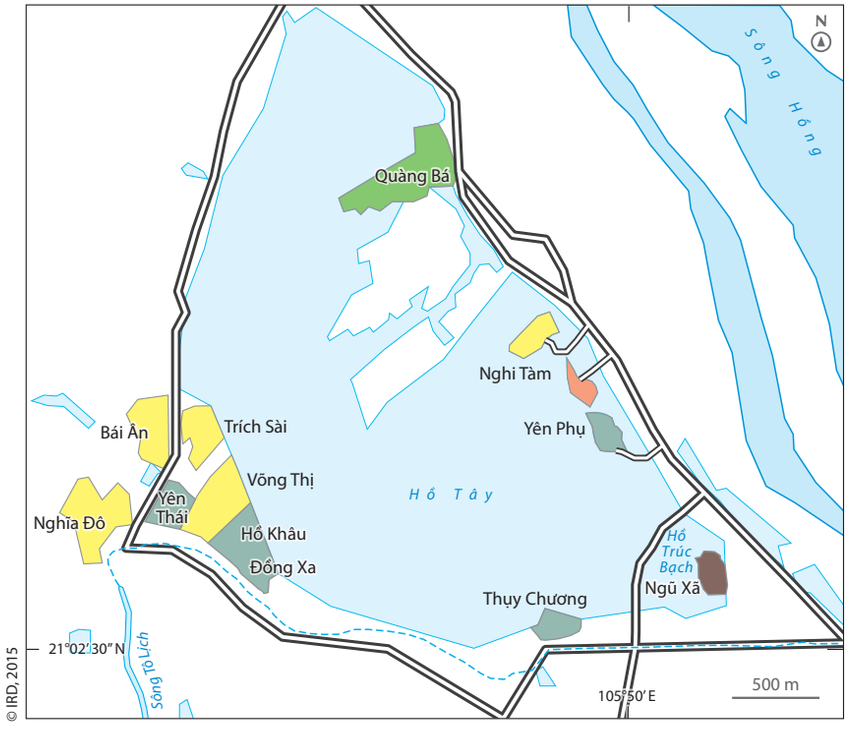
Structure of the business quarter and the Citadel under the Lê Trinh Dynasty (16th-18th century)



- River and canal
- Lake
- Mound
- Dyke and city wall
- Street and road
- Major Citadel building
- Citadel wall and gate
- Protective temple of the city and symbolic axes
- City gate
- Major cultural site
- Power site of Trinh Kings

Source: Orfeuvre R.

Location of craft villages on the shore of West Lake during the colonial era



- River
- Covered river
- Lake
- Road-dyke
- Bái Ân — Village name
- Gardening and silkworm mulberry
- Papermaking
- Silk weaving
- Bronze casting
- Vegetable and fruit production

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Sources: Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, 2002, Hanoi City Map of 1890 (under supervision of M.-V. Leclanger)

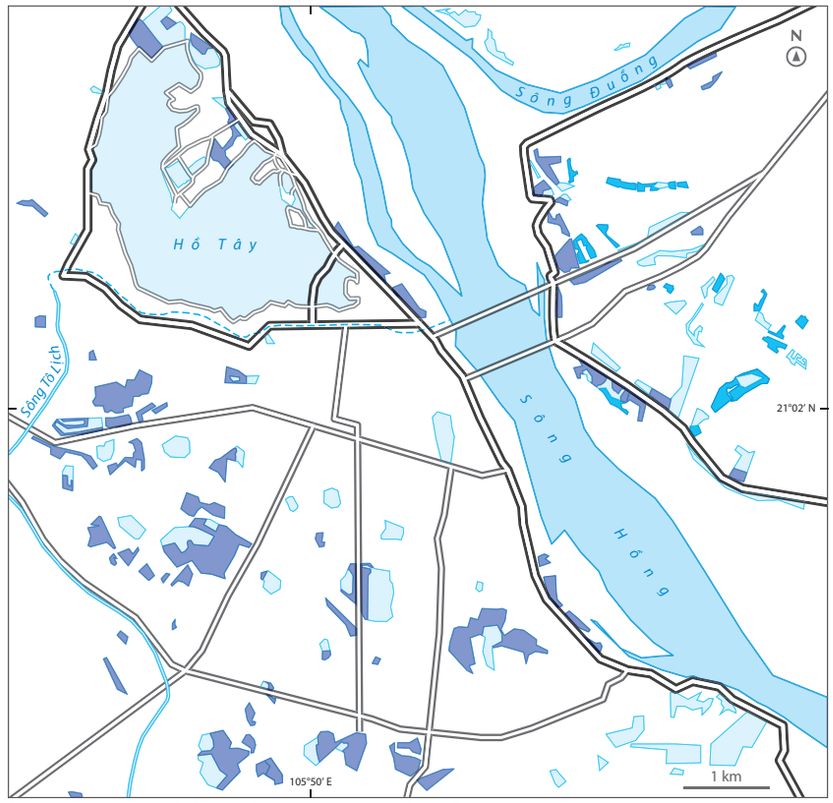
Small lakes of less than 1 ha have nearly all been reclaimed and progressively filled in by city dwellers lacking space for housing. In the four central urban districts, only three lakes remained in 2005.

These lakes fulfil several hydraulic, recreational and economic functions. According to Haidep's survey, 19 serve as reservoirs for rainwater during the monsoon and play a regulatory role when flooding occurs, 32 serve as a place for walks and 80 are used for fishing. The function of lakes regulating rainwater flooding has been greatly reduced as they have been progressively filled in. Their reclamation has been carried out both in the city and in peri-urban villages where demand for land is very high.

The role of water in the initial structure of the city

Owing to its ideal situation at the crossroads of major waterways, the Red River, the Tô Lịch and Kim Ngưu Rivers, Hà Nội was at the centre of regional trade, then of international trade (Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, 2002). Water is present in all the districts of this deltaic city: the Red River, the other rivers, ponds and canals form the city by imposing its limits, the presence of craft production activities that consume a lot of water and a religious heritage closely associated with water cults and situated nearby. But water occupies large spaces that are coveted by individual builders and by developers, at the risk of endangering the fragile hydraulic, economic and religious balance upon which Hà Nội was built.

Figure 3 – PONDS AND LAKES ENCROACHMENT SINCE 1986 IN THE CENTRAL URBAN DISTRICTS



Sources: Tourist map at 1/23,000 Hanoi Carenga publisher, Image Google Earth 2012, map of the city of Hanoi, 1986 Vietnam Mapping Services 1/35,000

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• Water as a limit and as an opening

During the feudal era, water was used to structure the city in several different ways. Firstly as a limit, it marks the maximum expansion (Red River, Tô Lịch River) or woven into the urban fabric (network of little lakes and outlying ponds). But water is also an integral part of the city and plays an important role as an element structuring as much the ancient city (moat, lakes) as the commercial city, given the importance of the central basins in the constitution of the neighbourhood built up with 'compartment' houses.

This complex hydraulic system is found in the densest and the most built-up district of the city. While in the citadel water is found only in ponds, indepen-

Table 2 – DISTRIBUTION OF LAKES SURVEYED BY HAIDEP IN 2007 IN THE FORMER PROVINCE OF HÀ NỘI

Size of lakes	Number of lakes	Area (ha)	Area %
0-1 ha	25	15.6	0.8
1-5 ha	76	191.8	9.8
5-10 ha	27	182.6	9.3
10-100	24	452.7	23.1
+ 100 ha	3	1,394.8	71
Total	**155**	**1,960.4**	**100**

dent of each other, here, everything is linked. There are more than ten lakes linked together and connected to Hoàn Kiếm Lake to the south and Trúc Bạch Lake to the north. This network is also connected to the Red River to the north and to the south, *via* Hoàn Kiếm Lake, which is linked to it in two places. Finally, to the north, one of the lakes of this network is linked to the citadel's moat. Moreover, this moat receives water from the Tô Lịch River, which was linked to the Red River *via* West Lake, and took in water from it as well, when levels were high.

Then colonial urbanism itself, with its policy of large-scale reclamation, did not totally drain water from the city's destiny, but made it a single-function element of aesthetic nature: the urban lake. Later, with independence, Vietnamese urban planners, with a different economy of means, reintroduced methods more respectful of sites. They gave back to water its central role in the workings of the city (lake in Reunification Park to the south, West Lake to the north) (Pédelahore, 1983).

In this manner, water – as if by default – structures the areas that it does not occupy. In addition, over time, it has modified the face of the city during the whole history of its establishment: floods, changes in the layout of the hydrographical system, successive land reclamations. It could be said that Hà Nội was built not on land but between waters, up against water, making water its principal element.

Originally located on the Red River's flood plain, before the network of dykes was strengthened, the business quarter of the 36 Streets depended for its development on the evolution of the river's path and on its progressive embankment, in parallel with the citadel. Located between the citadel, West Lake and Hoàn Kiếm Lake, its spatial organisation depended on force lines oriented west/east (doors of the citadel/banks of the Red River) and north/south (alignment of the citadel and successive dykes). This irregular latticework marks out the development of the district and delimits the future city-blocks (it is possible that this network of earth levees and dykes was once the pattern of the paddy fields) (Plate 2). According to Christian Pédelahore (2003), 'these paths, tortuous and irregular, bear no relation to either the structured grid pattern of paddy field subdivisions, or to planned tracks.'

Upon the structure of these roads/dykes is superimposed in counter-relief the structure of the hydrographical system, made up of successive variations in the bed of the Red River, which form a veritable maze of lakes connected to the Red River *via* the Tô Lịch River, canals, sluices that aid the development of trade. Networks of successive dykes (of which the first traces date back to the 1st century BC) are progressively channelled into the Red River and have freed up an ever-bigger space for the business quarter, thus enabling its enlargement.

These roads/dykes make up the framework of the big clusters of urban development. It is along these roads that the first buildings were constructed that spread little by little towards the hearts of the city-blocks (where village elements remained: lakes, temples, village boundaries...). Their densification only took place very slowly, then accelerated with the appearance of the 'Chinese compartment.' During the colonial era, lakes in the heart of these city-block were emptied and filled in to make way for fresh construction (see Plate 7).

On either side of these 'roads/dykes,' the first itinerant traders come to sell their wares and hold occasional markets, then install temporary shops and finally settle by building houses-shopsworkshops. The first markets must have been set up at the intersection between roads/dykes and canals.

• Silk and papermaking activities on the shores of West Lake

North of the business quarter, in the peri-urban area around West Lake, there were several village neighborhoods, or *phường*. Some grew vegetables (Nghi Tàm and Quàng Bá) or fruit, to supply the court with fresh produce; others (Yên Phụ) made paintings or smelted bronze (Ngũ Xã Peninsula, on White Bamboo Lake, Hồ Trúc Bạch). The neighborhoods on the western shore of West Lake were famous for weaving ordinary silk (Bái Ân), black silk (Võng Thi) and brocades (Trích Sài) (Papin, 2001). Nghi Tàm, Nghĩa Đô, Thanh Trì and Thúy Ái south of Hà Nội were known for rearing silkworms.

Other villages lived from the flourishing paper industry, such as Yên Thái, Hồ Khẩu and Nghĩa Đô. They were on the southern shore of the lake and near Paper Bridge (Câu Giấy). The neighborhood of Yên Thái or Bưởi, originally specialised in paper for everyday use, gradually diversified its production (Plate 2).

Towards the end of the 16th century, artisans began to produce very high quality paper that was sold at the imperial court (Papin, 2001). This activity had developed near the lake, as papermaking needed a lot of water and enough space to build ovens. Indeed, artisans soaked *dó* bark (produced from *rhamnoneuron* tree fibres) during one to three days for retting (softening). Then, they again soaked the retted pieces of bark in a bath of lime for 24 hours. After being 'cooked' in earthenware ovens on the banks of the Tô Lịch River or on the shores of ponds,

the pieces of bark were rinsed in clean water. Finally, a second lime bath was necessary before the real stripping down of the matter to prepare the pulp. Other production stages required water: making the pulp with crushed bark, its maceration and finally raising the sheets of paper with a wooden frame fitted with a bamboo trellis in a tank containing a liquid with the paper pulp floating in it. This activity was given up at the beginning of the 1980s, a victim of competition from industrial papermaking (Le Failler, 2009).

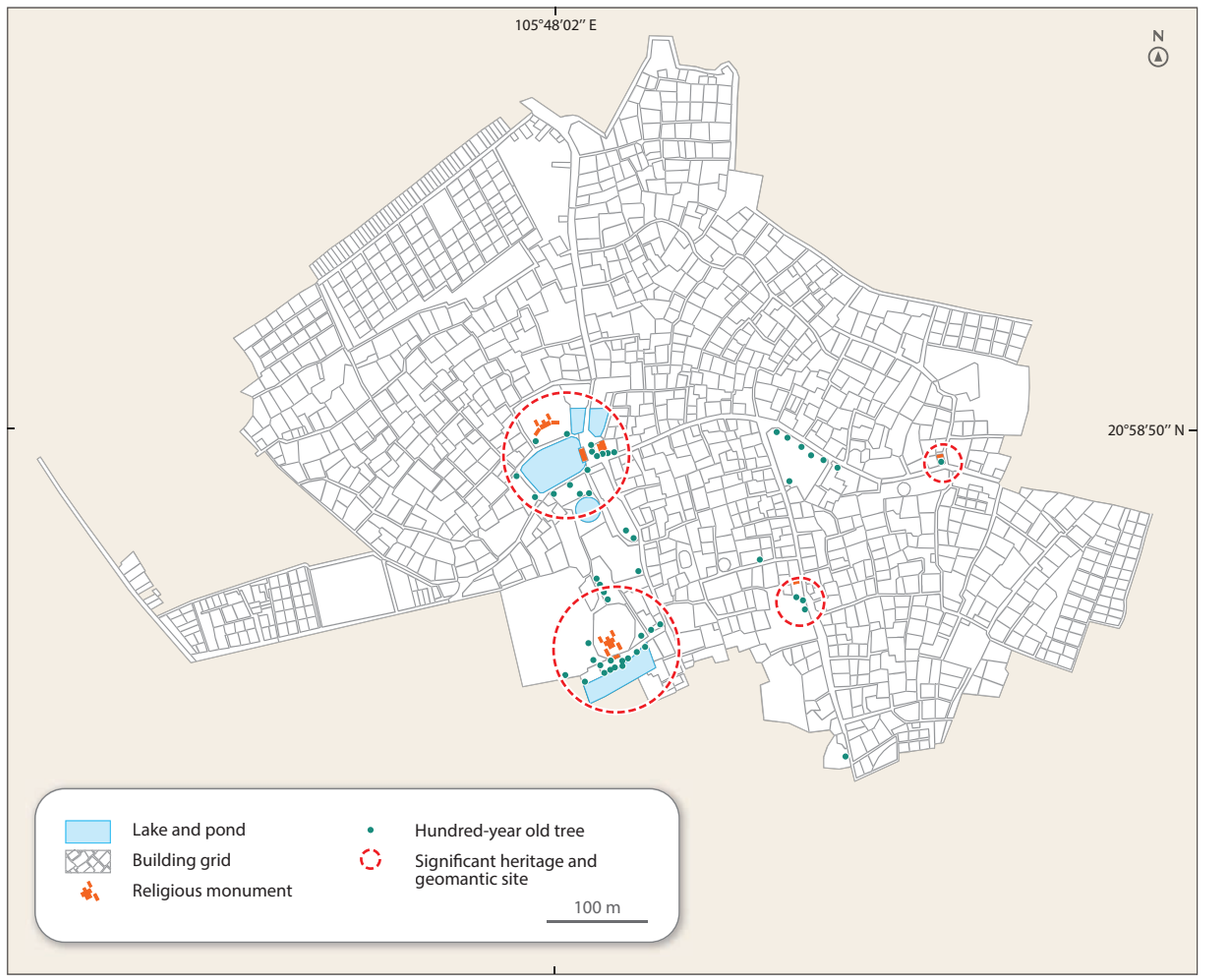
These villages benefit from proximity with the Tô Lịch River, the favoured waterway for trade between the Red River, Hà Nội and Hà Tây Province. There were several markets on the shores of West Lake where products from the surrounding villages were traded, in particular the market at Bưởi, specialised in paper.

• Cults and rituals in the re-appropriation of hydraulic spaces

In the peri-urban regions of Hà Nội, the importance of water's role in village cultural activities is demonstrated through the presence of festivities, practices and customs. The use of hydraulic structures (ponds, lakes and canals) associated with these activities is still current, ensuring the upkeep of the places that are associated with them. Some of them have even been enlarged to cater for an increased interest in cult activities.

The art of water puppets or *rối nước* originated in the Red River Delta, in Nam Định Province, more precisely, and is one of several rituals to summon rains. It was associated with fertility cults, before becoming a village entertainment dur-

Figure 4 – WATER, AN ELEMENT OF RELIGIOUS AND RITUAL HERITAGE IN TRIỀU KHÚC VILLAGE



Source: Trần Nhật Kiên, 2010

ing festivals. Permanent water pavilions, *thủy đình*, were built in several temples or pagodas around Hà Nội. But usually, when on tour, temporary rooms are put up for the puppeteers, made of lightweight materials (bamboo, wood) and easy to carry around to the numerous ponds dotted among the villages. Games practised during spring festivals, very numerous in Red River villages, recall the hydraulic rites. Boat races are a rite linked to the Festival of the Waters common to all rice-planting and fishing peoples in Southeast Asia. Boat races are linked to the cult of the Water Sprite celebrated at the beginning of the wet season or that of floods and the end of floods and evoke the storm with its life-giving rains for the rice (ĐÀO HÙNG, 1991).

The last lakes and ponds protected from urbanisation possess geomantic properties within villages: they are situated opposite the communal house (*đình*) or the pagoda (*chùa*) (Figure 4).

In the peri-urban villages of the first ring of outskirts integrated into the urban districts, like that of Triều Khúc, the banks of the ponds have been paved with concrete to stop them being eaten away by constructions. During the summer of 2006, the shores of the Pagoda Pond (Ao Chùa) were developed and a little bridge was built there and financed by the inhabitants. The wastewater system of those living nearby, which before flowed directly into the pond, is now connected to that of the village sewers. The pond water has been cleaned, to the point where it is now possible to swim there. The pond has regained its customary uses. In the village of Quan Nhân, the Bầu Dục Pond and the Lotus Pond (Ao Sen) have enjoyed similar treatment and their waters are periodically cleaned.

Although ritual hydraulic structures are as a matter of principle preserved, or even improved, it does come about that communal authorities fill in sacred lakes. In these rare cases, they run the risk of criticism and protests from villagers.

For example, in 2007, in Nhân Chính the district authorities had a project to fill in the Pen Brush Pond (Ao Bút [3]). Owing to the geomantic value of the pond – thanks to the Pen Brush Pond, many mandarins and doctors first saw the light of day in their village and it is for this reason that their village bears the name of Quan Nhân (village of mandarins) – the old people of the village protested against this project to the district People's Committee, in vain. At the beginning of 2008, the pond was filled in, and the land taken over by a villager who turned it into a car park. Several months later, the villagers were continuing to protest and demand the restoration of the pond.

Stretches of water destined for cults and rituals are the last to remain in the villages on the outskirts of Hà Nội. They contribute to storing water and to regulating it during heavy rains. In villages where all ponds have been filled in, an increase in flooding during monsoon season has been observed.

Hà Nội since 2008: hydraulic implications of major urban projects

Until the 1990s, the expansion of urban sprawl and that of peri-urban villages took place slowly as small developers, public enterprises and individual households got hold of plots of land for building (legally or illegally). Filling in stretches of water, nibbling away at their edges, and turning paddy fields into land for building on took place on a small scale and concerned relatively limited areas covered with water. Natural drainage during heavy monsoon rains continued to work normally *via* the residual stretches of water and the cultivated land around the urbanised area. The development of a town-planning project devoid of coherence at the level of the two merged provinces and that of individual village projects, which are made possible thanks to the understanding of certain local elected officials, poses the problem of the reorganisation of the hydraulic system of a city rendered more and more vulnerable to flooding.

• The former province of Hà Tây and the risks of flooding

Since its enlargement in 2008, Hà Nội Province is subject to fresh environmental challenges, particularly concerning the control of river and rain flooding. In addition to the problems to which the urban and rural districts of the former province are subjected (overflowing of lakes, difficulties in draining away rainwater during the monsoon, subsidence and above all water pollution) are now added the risks of flooding linked to the integration of the Đáy and Tích River valleys that split the province in two along a north-south axis. A distributary of the Red River contained by high dykes, the Đáy River has on countless occasions flooded the plain below, particularly the basin of Chương Mỹ District (see Diagram). In addition, during the high water season, it was difficult to drain the rainwater from the land in the Hà Đông hydraulic subdivision from the left bank towards this river. Therefore, in 1937, the colonial administration built a sluice at the entrance to the Đáy River to prevent the Red River waters from entering it, a sluice that would only be opened in the event of very high waters, to protect Hà Nội, situated 30 km downstream. Since 1971, this sluice has not been opened, despite very high waters in 1996 and 2003. However, since the Đáy no longer receives water from the

Red River, its banks have silted up, and the river is dying. If the sluice were to be opened, the river would no longer have the capacity to deviate the 5,000 m^3/s necessary to protect Hà Nội. Since the 1970s, many inhabitants of neighbouring communes have settled in the area beyond the dyke, at their own risk.

In this manner, in the 2000s, 675,000 people from the provinces of Hà Tây, Hà Nam and Nam Định were settled in the flood plain of the Đáy River, on 41,235 ha of agricultural land, specifically in the districts of Chương Mỹ and Mỹ Đức (25,000 ha). If the sluice were opened, this land would be completely submerged, to a [surface]/depth of water from 4 to 5 m, which can stagnate from 35 to 45 days (SILVER *et al.*, 2001).

The Tích River valley takes its source in the Ba Vì Mountains to the west of the city and empties into the Đáy River at Phủ Lý in Hà Nam Province, further to the south. In September, when the river is in spate, it can submerge its valley, in the event of water from the Red River being diverted into the Đáy River. Accordingly, when waters are high in the Red River, the vulnerability of these two valleys becomes more acute.

The population that would be affected by such flooding is difficult to estimate with any certainty. A reason for this is that the population count in Vietnam is organised at the communal level, but many communes are located partly within areas protected by the dykes and partly outside them. We have therefore counted for the former province of Hà Tay the population of communes situated in areas prone to flooding by the Đáy and Tích Rivers, those partly within protected areas and partly outside them, and those not affected by flooding from either of these rivers. In general, in the communes with dykes running through them, the population is concentrated in the area inside the dyke and only a minority takes the risk of settling in the river's flood plain.

However, these constructions are low-lying, save for a few exceptions in the very dense and industrious communes (3,000 inhab./km^2) of craft villages, such as Dương Liễu, where there are factories producing foodstuffs and a market.

It is the case that the part corresponding to the former province of Hà Tây, that occupied an area of 2,198 km^2, namely two-thirds of the newly formed province of Hà Nội, is made up of five kinds of commune with variable vulnerability to river flooding:

– 183 communes, namely 57% of the total population, are not affected by flooding associated with overflowing by the Đáy and Tích Rivers, and represented 54% of the province's land;
– 57 communes, namely 15% of the population on 18% of the land, were subjected to risks of flooding from the Đáy River, in the event of deviation of Red River flood waters;
– 26 communes, namely 8% of the population on 10% of the land, were subjected to risks of flooding from the Tích River, in the event of deviation of Red River flood waters;
– 57 communes, namely 19% of the population on 13% of the land, were in part subjected to risks of flooding from the Đáy River, in the event of deviation of Red River flood waters, as they straddle an area both outside and inside the dyke;
– 17 communes, namely 5% of the population on 5% of the land, were in part subjected to risks of flooding from the Tích River, in the event of deviation of Red River flood waters, as they straddle an area both outside and inside the dyke.

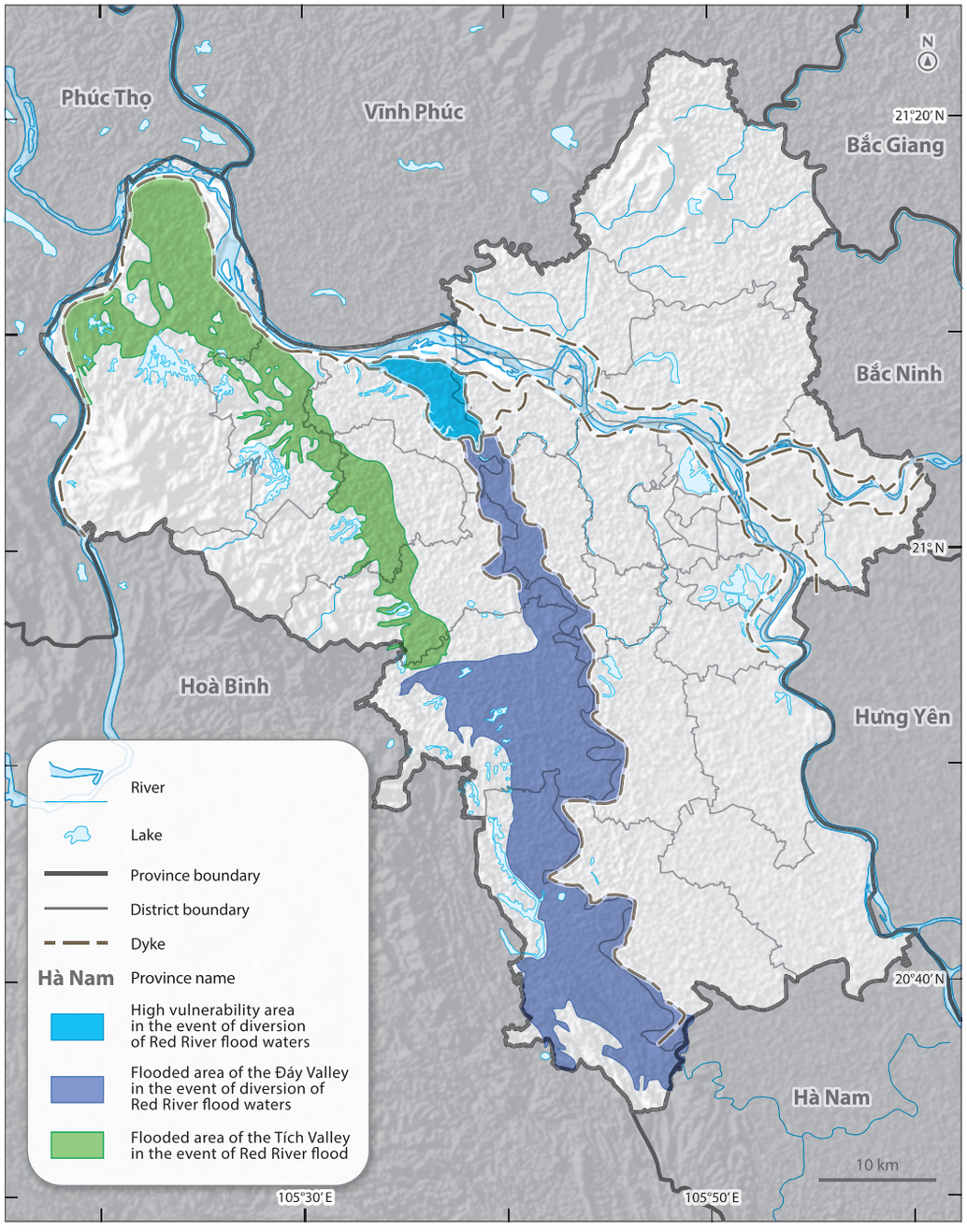
One of the original propositions of the Master Plan for 2030 for Hà Nội Province is the creation of a green belt, located in the flood-prone valleys of the Đáy, the Tích and in the land between the two rivers protected by dykes. In this space, two processes of urbanisation will have to be controlled: urbanisation of villages, their expansion into areas prone to flooding, building upwards and the establishment of urban districts and industrial parks on agricultural land, raised concrete platforms that limit the capacity for natural drainage.

• Filling in and concreting over of the Delta: what are the hydraulic consequences?

• *The major residential, highway and industrial projects*

The major urban projects being undertaken in peri-urban Hà Nội affect the hydraulic system, the drainage and irrigation of residual land and the villages located in the neighbourhood. Urban and industrial constructions hamper drainage and increase the risks of flooding: infiltration is lessened by the increase in impermeable surfaces. In addition, such constructions are often established in the most productive and least low-lying areas, since they are less prone to flooding. Low-lying agricultural land and villages become the only possible outlets and suffer significant damage caused by flooding and water pollution. The wide highways under construction act as dykes or obstacles to the evacuation of rainwater, the more so as they are not accompanied by the installation of culverts/storm drains and a suitable drainage system. These problems affect the daily lives of inhabitants, whose agricultural land and village environs are flooded more easily during the monsoon, thus limiting agricultural yields.

The prone to flooding valleys of the Đáy and Tích Rivers



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Source: Ministry of Construction of Vietnam, Master Plan to 2030

The residential and industrial areas, of many hundreds of hectares, are built on embankments to protect them from flooding. However, these concrete platforms are raised up one metre above villages. When it rains, water drains away with difficulty, particularly because of the dysfunctions of the hydraulic network in areas undergoing urban and highway development; the Delta villages, which therefore stand lower than these big urban platforms, accordingly suffer still further from flooding.

Normally, it is stipulated in the protocols that govern the construction of these gated communities and other industrial projects that the developers are supposed to construct a drainage system around villages to protect them. According to an official from the Agriculture Department of one of the districts most deeply affected by urban development, such installations have not yet been added. The only action taken to limit the damage is temporary pumping using big machines to drain away excess water.

This gives the measure of how much worse the risks have been rendered on this plain already with a high risk of flooding, protected by kilometres of dykes. Some officials from the Agriculture Department of the peri-urban area are conscious of the dysfunctions in the management of agricultural land during the transition period from rural to urban and the defective protection of villages. The whole hydraulic system and above all drainage needs to be overhauled by the services concerned; in the meantime, in the absence of a definitive urban planning programme for peri-urban districts, one might suggest that the participation of private developers is the very least they can do. The privatisation of development will have serious consequences on the maintenance of public services, as developers seek an optimal short-term return on their property investments.

In addition, the dysfunctions in the hydraulic system affect land that is still cultivated. Some irrigation canals are blocked and water no longer reaches fields, while fields cut off amid multiple construction projects no longer have access to irrigation. Farmers are forced to abandon them and do not receive the compensation they deserve (FANCHETTE, 2011).

In the district of Hoài Đức, much sought-after for urban and highway development projects, a petition has been signed by the representatives of the People's Association to complain about this situation. In this district in September 2009, 148 ha of agricultural land were affected by the dysfunctions of the hydraulic system in five communes where development projects are under way. A third of the affected land could not be cultivated, while in the remaining two-thirds, flooding to counter lack of water made it difficult to grow crops (People's Committee of Hoài Đức District, Economic Development Department, 2009).

Finally, a negative effect of urbanisation of the areas closest to the capital means that the employees of hydraulic departments, poorly paid, are less and less committed to the upkeep of irrigation canals, preferring to turn their attention to more lucrative activities.

The relocation of industrial parks and estates into peri-urban areas is accompanied by its own set of environmental problems. Indeed, most of these installations do not have wastewater treatment systems and pour most of it directly into the general hydraulic network partly designed to irrigate the paddy fields.

- ***Villages integrated into the urban sprawl***

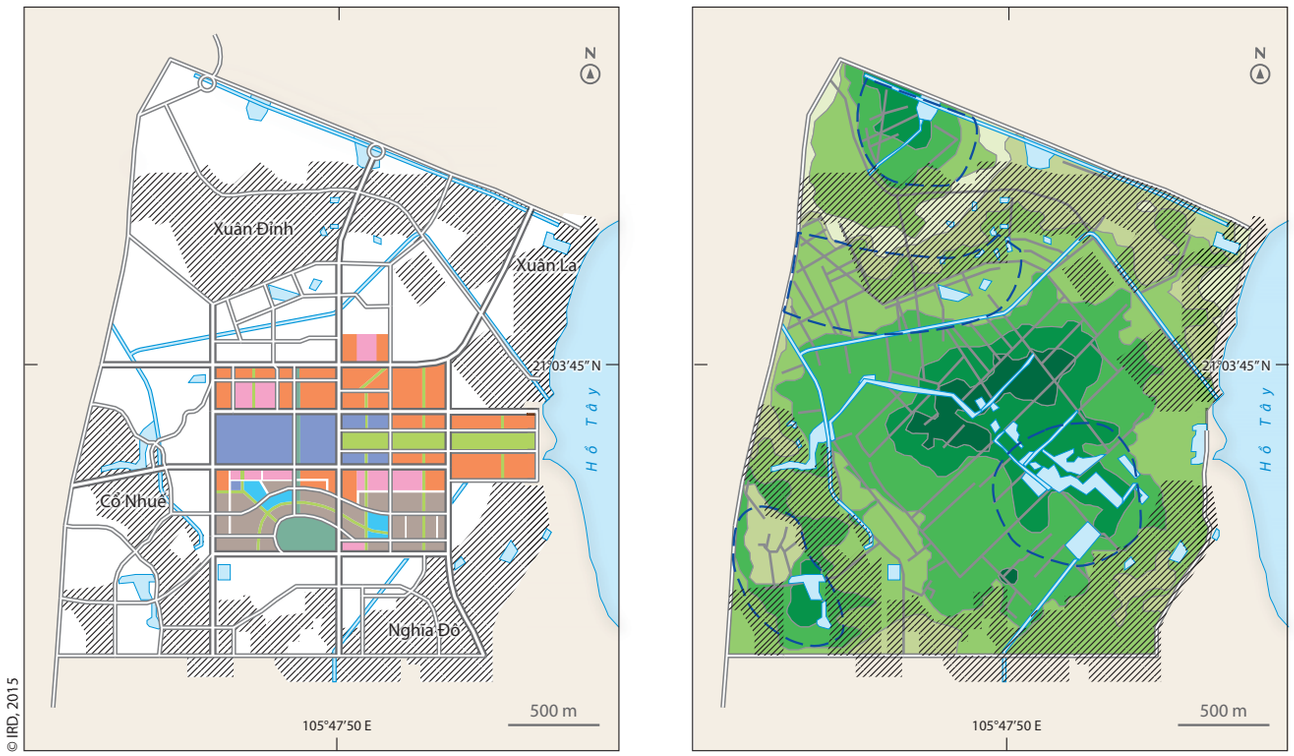
The Tây Hồ Project

On the site set aside for the Tây Hồ Tây Project, a new international service sector centre for Hà Nội (an administrative, political, economic and commercial centre) had been planned in 2004, within the context of the city's Master Plan for 2020. Hà Nội's People's Committee ordered a survey from the IMV (Institut des métiers de la ville, the Institute for Urban Policy, a cooperation between the Île-de-France Region and Hà Nội Province) on the means of integrating existing villages into the new urban fabric and responding to threefold heritage, social and environmental issues. Here we present the part of the environmental diagnosis concerning the prevention of flooding.

This project for a service sector centre of 240 ha will be located to the west of Tây Lake, in a basin occupied by paddy fields, with an average altitude varying between 4 and 6 m, and surrounded by four villages (Cổ Nhuế, Xuân Đỉnh, Xuân La, Nghĩa Đô). These villages are situated at an altitude slightly higher than that of the paddy fields, on top of small natural or artificial promontories in order to limit the risks of flooding. They are protected from overflow from Tây Lake by a road/dyke to the east and flanked by three others that are from one to three metres above the villages. The site is at a lower level and is exposed to risks of flooding, particularly because of the difficulty in evacuating rainwater (Plate 4).

This site is located in the heart of a hydraulic network connected to:
– Tây Lake, to the east
– the Red River, to the north
– and the Nhuệ River, to the west.

The Tây Hồ Tây Project: a site in a basin flanked by several villages



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Source: IMV, 2005

Residence
Shops and offices
Mixed use
Public infrastructure
Education
Park
Landscaped reservation strip
Village residential area

Lake shore
Canal
Lake
Main street
Secondary street
Track

Equidistant contours of one metre
Deeper

Flooded area

There is an inlet of water from the Red River *via* the Nhuệ River and another from Tay Ho Lake. Water then flows more or less freely through the now partially dilapidated network of canals then comes out:
– to the southeast, flowing back into the Nhuệ River
– and to the south towards the lagoon area.

At the time of the survey, this rice-growing area served as an overflow for rainwater and drainage; four points were especially prone to accumulating water:
– to the north and to the south of Xuân Đỉnh
– to the south of Cổ Nhuế
– and behind Nghĩa Đô.

With the establishment of the new centre, this situation is likely to get worse. The projected services centre will be placed in the centre of the basin, raised by one metre to render it safe from flooding.

Not only will the paddy fields no longer play their part as a holding tank for rainwater, but the new elevated district will constitute just one more obstacle to the water drainage, threatening to drown out the villages below. In addition, the volume of runoff water that the villages will receive will increase as a consequence of the waterproof sealing of urbanised plots of land. Finally, the hydraulic territory, which is laid out along a northwest/southeast axis, matches the course of the Red River and therefore dykes and fall lines located on either side of it. On the 1912 historic map, this course can be seen in the paths and plots of agricultural land.

This configuration of the area to be developed was not taken into account by the developers, as the site and its road network are laid out along north-south and east-west axes. This runs the risk of jeopardising a drainage system that until now was integrated into the village fabric and gave the area structure.

Reduction in bodies of water in Triều Khúc and Nhân Chính

Water plays an essential role in the daily life of villagers and for agricultural production, mostly wet rice. Bodies of water in the villages can be divided into three kinds:
– canals
– lakes and ponds used for growing aquatic products
– cultural and religious lakes with a geomantic role.

Since *Đổi Mới*, with the construction of new real estate projects on villages' agricultural land, public bodies of water are shrinking rapidly. In many cases, small ponds have been shared out within the context of the policy of the increase in population, leaving it to young couples to fill them in (Quertamp, 2003).

In the urban villages of Quan Nhân, with the compulsory purchase of agricultural land to build blocks of flats, all the outlying lakes and canals have disappeared. In Triều Khúc, the communal authorities have allowed some inhabitants to fill in the bigger lakes and convert them into areas for further housing that are divided up into lots and sold in priority to villagers, and then to new inhabitants (Plate 5).

In residential areas, private bodies of water are the first to be filled in. In 2007, 100% of private ponds in the villages of Quan Nhân and Triều Khúc had disappeared. As for public lakes, they are filled in to build new public amenities such as parking places, playgrounds, the People's Committee building, etc.

In this manner, with the exception of sacred lakes whose importance is linked to the site's geomancy and to religious monuments, all stretches of water have disappeared very rapidly. In Quan Nhân, in 1972, the surface area of private lakes and ponds totalled 130,937 m^2. In 2007, this figure had fallen to 22,661 m^2, and in 2009, it was only 20,225 m^2. In Triều Khúc in 1998, the total surface area under water was 33,837 m^2; in 2006 this figure had sunk to 3,079 m^2. In eight years, 91% of land covered with water has disappeared in this village (Plate 5). From 2006 onwards, only sacred ponds and lakes remain in both villages studied, because they enjoy a specific status that guarantees their survival.

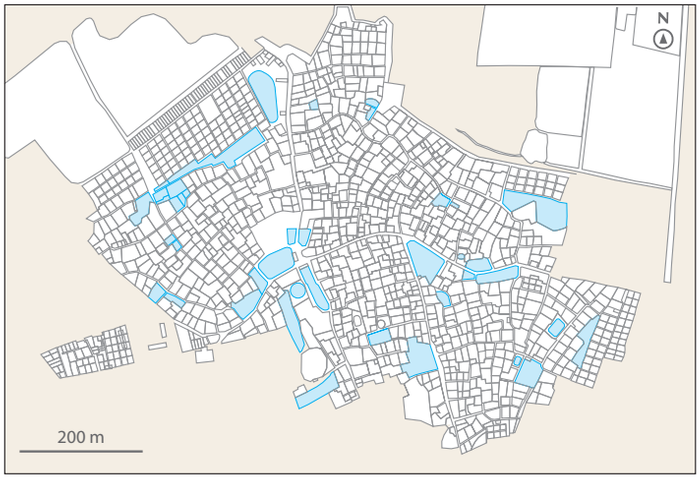
Filling in lakes and ponds in low-lying areas increases the vulnerability of newly-built districts, and during the monsoon season, it becomes difficult to drain rainwater away.

Conclusion

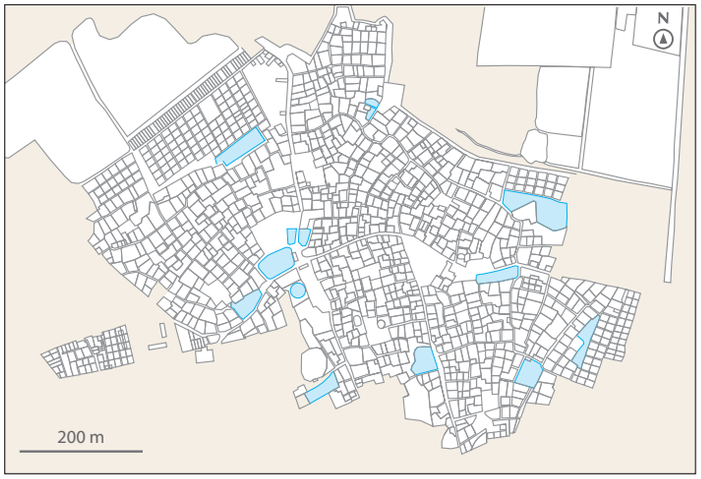
On a physical and technical level, the integration of villages into the urban perimeter is complex and entails very high costs for filling in land to level off paddy fields, on which new districts will be built, situated at lower levels than villages. It is the case that these villages are erected on embankments and levees to provide protection from flooding, and are surrounded by many ponds and lakes. Veritable reservoirs for rainwater during the monsoon season, bodies of water play an indispensable part in drainage of hydraulic subdivisions closed off by the dykes. Reclaiming land by filling them in to build on them aggravates the risks of

Reduction in bodies of water in Triều Khúc Commune (1998 to 2009)

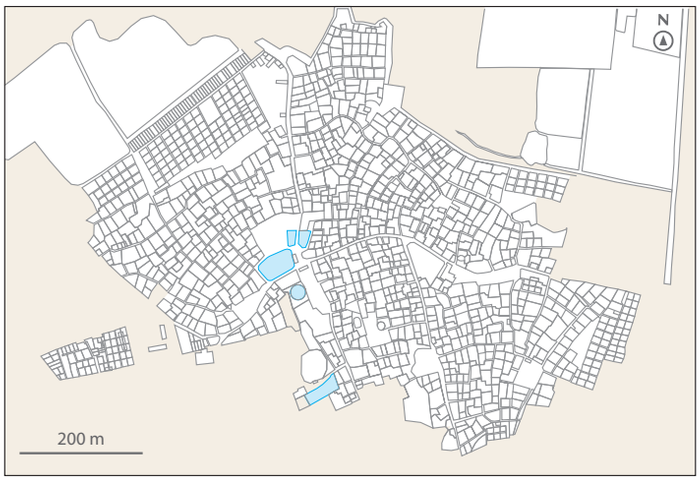
1998



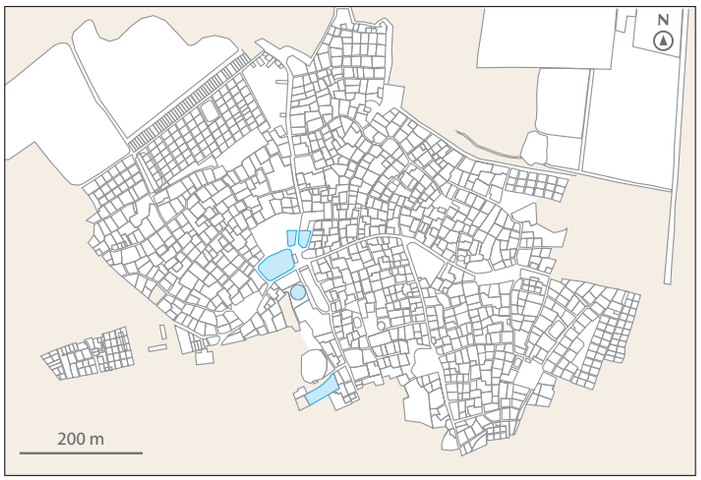
2002



2006



2009



© IRD, 2015

Sources: Trần Nhật Kiên, 2010 adaptated from Cadastre (land register / cadastral plan)

Street grid

Pond

flooding. A hydraulic planning policy for expanding urban development is now indispensable in this Delta at high risk from flooding.

However, this implies heavy investment and means of controlling bodies of water and the expansion of construction, all elements that have been lacking until now in the city of Hà Nội's public policy. Already in the collectivist era, the state and the municipality – the main suppliers of housing – did not have the means to finance such infrastructure. With the liberalisation of the land market and the introduction of the policy dubbed 'the state and the people building together,' the local authorities have been overwhelmed by the advance of urban sprawl.

Moreover, plots of land filled in with earth taken from river beds are unstable and do not always easily support the densification and the verticalisation of cities, as is the case in Bangkok, a metropolis studded with towers several tens of metres high built as blocks of condominiums. This model of city design increases subsidence to a rate estimated to be 10 cm/year in the centre of Bangkok. Very costly hydraulic works calling for geographically prioritised consistency can only be undertaken by the authorities or negotiated with private investors. In addition, all drainage water from the entire delta passes through the Red River and its distributaries, along which major towns have been established, a situation that only exacerbates river flooding.

Finally, by studying the experiences of other deltaic metropolises in the region, such as Jakarta, one may question the ability of the state and Hà Nội's city council to control urban sprawl and construction in the most vulnerable areas of the province, particularly the Đáy and Tích river valleys that will be, according to the Master Plan for 2030, the structural backbone of the green belt to be protected.

In the Indonesian capital, a protection plan for vulnerable areas was drawn up by the Public Works Ministry to monitor and control urban expansion. Five areas were identified, within which it was decided what sort of constructions were suited to the level of vulnerability.

However, as early as the 1980s, the mega-region's urban development, based on the manufacturing industry and the construction of outlying industrial suburbs, financed by foreign investors, did not adhere to this plan. Then with the property bubble in the 1990s, major projects to build satellites towns and fresh urban districts converted outlying suburbs of paddy fields into raised concrete platforms. Financial concerns, cumbersome bureaucratic procedures and the lack of co-ordination between the various administrative services got the better of this environmental protection plan of Jakarta. Half of the building permits granted in that period did not follow the recommendations of the protection plan: rather it was speculative concerns that determined the location of projects (Douglass, 2010).

1) Haidep: Hà Nội Integrated Development and Environment Programme.

2) The *Khu tập thể* (KTT) or collective units are generally four- or five-storey blocks, with flats allocated according to very precise evaluations and ratios. This type of housing was intimately linked to the political system of this era; it was part of the control measures exerted over the population.

3) Ao Bút, Pen Brush Pond runs along the main road. Geomancers consider it as a '筆水-BútThủy,' which brings success in studies.

Hà Nội: the villages, the heart of social and patrimonial life

R. Orfeuvre, Ph. Brouillac, C. Mounier

Unlike large Southeast Asian cities with primary trade and port functions, Hà Nội was founded in the Upper Delta, along the Red River, as the administrative centre of the feudal empire of Vietnam, after more than a thousand years of Chinese colonisation. The city at the head of an agrarian and, to a lesser degree, merchant empire, Vietnam's capital had developed very close ties with its hinterland, particularly through the Quarter of 36 Streets and Corporations. In keeping with the Chinese model, the administration had integrated a hundred or so villages within the city limits, making up a green belt of artisans who supplied the capital: 'the city's existence depended on a close relation with the countryside, whether it was the nearby countryside of peri-urban villages or more distant countryside from whence came the merchants and craftspeople who worked in the centre of Hà Nội' (Papin, 1997).

These very close relations with the surrounding villages derive from the village foundations of the capital. Hà Nội, a thousand-year-old city, grew up from a core of urban villages that formed neighbourhoods in the 17th century and from a substrate of villages that were gradually absorbed into its fabric. As they established themselves in the Quarter of the 36 Streets and Corporations, the artisans and traders from Delta villages brought with them their material and immaterial heritage, made up of temples, communal houses and festivals. To this day, this bears witness to the profoundly village-like nature of the Old Quarter.

The trading system between the imperial capital and the nearby 'suburban' and Delta villages led to the development of a process of countryside urbanisation and an economic boom in Hà Nội. A commercial integration of the countryside and the country thus took place around the activity of the Quarter of the 36 Streets and Corporations and markets situated along the Red River. Thanks to its favoured location at the intersection between waterways, the Red River, the Tô Lịch River and the Kim Ngưu River, this district was at the centre of regional, then international trade (Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, 2002). This integration worked both ways, and it was greatly disrupted during the collectivist era, then resumed with the economic liberalisation of the 1980s.

The Old Merchant Quarter and the craft villages

In 1010, a little less than a century after the end of Chinese domination (939), King Lý Thái Tổ chose the current site of Hà Nội, on the bank of the Red River, to found Thăng Long, 'the city of the rising dragon'. It was his capital and the affirmation of a new dynasty's power. The site offered several advan-

tages: big enough to house a royal city, it sits upon wide alluvial terraces, relatively higher than the average altimetry in the Delta. Located at a fulcrum of contrary forces of rock and water, it conforms to important geomantic principles: to one side Tản Viên Mountain, today known as Ba Vì; to the other, the curve formed by the Red River to the north and east, the Tô Lịch River to the west and the Kim Ngưu River to the south. At the city level, this water/rock pair is repeated with Tô Lịch River and several raised embankments in the city.

Trade between the city and the countryside flourished as early as the 11th century. At the emperor's command, artisans originally from craft villages in the Red River Delta gradually settled in Hà Nội. Private workshops were still scarce as state manufactures monopolised craft production.

This trade developed more steadily from the 14th century onwards for two main reasons (Papin, 2001). Firstly, in 1371, the Emperor Ming forbade Chinese merchants to conduct export trade, which stimulated the local private economy, as the royal manufactures were not capable of responding to demand for manufactured products. In addition, the predominance of collective land in the countryside guaranteed a minimum income to the majority of villagers and something to eat. They had free time, when not required for the harvest, to go and sell their craft work in the city. It was at this period that the name of Kẻ Chợ 'the market' appeared, referring to the merchant quarter that was developing to the east of the citadel. It became the interface between town and country. In the 14th century, it already seemed very animated, in particular in the streets located near the mouth of the Tô Lịch River out into the Red River. International trade passes through the port of Vân Đồn, in Hạ Long Bay. Situated on the trade route linking China to Southeast Asia, it remained very active until the turn of the 15th century.

The merchant quarter and the craft villages experienced their golden age in the 17th and 18th centuries. The traders, who were relegated to the lowliest rank in the Confucian vision of society, gradually began to enjoy an improved status. To respond to demand from the Court, many of them embarked upon private business ventures, including civil servants. At that time, Hà Nội's economic structure featured a strong relation between a network of markets, specialised villages and the ferry across the Red River (Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, 2002):

– the joint development of the capital's merchant quarter and craft villages depended upon a network of village and regional markets of which Hà Nội formed the epicentre. The merchant quarter, to the east, was the biggest of them. Eight big markets were usually held at its gates, while others, smaller and more specialised (rice, fish, silk, etc.) were set up on the banks of the Tô Lịch River or along canals. In this network of urban markets, people bought artisanal produce made in the craft villages or half-finished produce intended for completion and sale at the market;
– at the same time, craft villages developed and organised themselves into clusters (see Chapter 8): each village specialised in one part of the production process. Craft villages developed the capacity to make very sophisticated products and to keep busy a large workforce occupying large spaces in very varied domains (paper, pottery, weaving, etc.). These villages were also Hà Nội's main suppliers of market garden produce;
– the Red River ferry played an important part at a regional level. Located at the junction of trade routes between the mountains and the plain, it was a port of call for long- and medium- haul boats. The Red River gave access to the high plateaux of the Northwest and the Northeast, and beyond into the Chinese province of Yunnan: buffalos, elephants, lumber, metals were traded in the capital for rice, salt or craft produce. A second river route links Hà Nội with the coastal regions of Central Vietnam from when were carried salt, fish sauce or citronella, which were then forwarded to the High Plateaux. Simultaneously, the port of Vân Đồn declined as the river ports of Phố Hiến and Hà Nội flourished. These ports did business directly with Asian, then European merchants.

The Old Quarter and the urban model

In its recent configuration, Hà Nội's merchant quarter resembles one 'Chinatown' among others in Southeast Asia (Goldblum, 1991). Here we will mention the characteristics of its architectural and urban development, and its impact on the production of the contemporary city.

• Birth of an urban model: Kẻ Chợ

With the market activity and the progressive settling of migrant villagers (merchants and artisans), the social life of the quarter gradually became organised into villages of corporations specialised in a craft, until they became 'urban villages.' We can no longer see any trace of the architecture and the divisions of land into plots in the merchant quarter, dating back to around the 13th century, but it is certain that the constructions echoed the characteristics of 'vegetal cities' typical of Southeast Asia: hut-style houses made of wood, bamboo, straw and wattle and daub, modelled on rural houses (Gourou, 1936).



© Aaron Joel Santos / Nội Pictures

Photo 3
Street food stall in the Old Quarter

From the 17th century, the merchant quarter, made up of a conurbation of urban villages, experienced a golden age. These villages united people all from the same rural village, who practised the same craft along the same stretch of road. The limits of urban villages therefore passed behind the plots of land, in the heart of the urban space. Closely juxtaposed, they form a first urban unit, characterised by high demographic densities and a merging of diverse populations. However, these villages retain rural characteristics: the street running through the middle of each urban village was closed at both ends by a postern gate and possess typically rural places of worship (temples, pagodas, and communal houses – the *đình* where is celebrated the founding spirit of the craft or the guardian spirit of the original village) (Plate 6).

Plate 6 makes plain the reproduction of the traditional village structure in the context of the merchant quarter and its evolution. As with rural villages, urban villages (*thon*) were bounded and closed by gates. Each village was home to a corporation. They usually possessed several places of worship with a predominance of

đình related to the craft of each street (50), followed by *đền* (34) and pagodas (10). This profusion of *đình* clearly shows the interest conferred upon the corporation by the quarter's artisans and merchants. The northern part of the quarter (Đồng Xuân canton) and the canton outside the dyke, Phúc Lâm, featured fewer places of worship than the cantons in the southern part (Động Thổ and Xuân Mỹ) which became urbanised much earlier (except the environs of the citadel). At the end of the pre-colonial era, lakes were still very prevalent. Linked between each other and to the Tô Lịch River, they enabled inhabitants to fish, but above all to move commodities around by water and to regulate flooding.

Once Hà Nội was opened up to foreign boats, international trade was organised with the rest of the world (Europe, China, Japan by routes *via* Macao and Batavia) (Dumoutier, 1895). The mass arrival of Chinese traders was probably, in Hà Nội as in many Southeast Asian cities, the origin of the establishment and development of the 'Chinese compartment', called in Vietnam 'tube houses' (see Figure 5). Although the exact nature of the influence is still discussed today, an entirely indigenous model seems unlikely.

'Tube houses' progressively replaced the 'vegetal city' to become the model shaping the urban space of the merchant quarter. This constituted a significant step towards the emergence of the urban landscape. It reshaped how land was divided up in the quarter and developed the architecture (of the houses but also of the places of worship), but without undermining the structure of urban villages, nor completely erasing their rural characteristics.

'Tube houses' are laid out on long, narrow strips of land perpendicular to the street (3 to 4 m wide) and are developed lengthwise between load-bearing walls. Successions of buildings and courtyards provide natural lighting and ventilation. They fulfil not only domestic and commercial functions, but are also places for production and storage. The building that gives onto the main street, completely open to the public thoroughfare thanks to removable wooden panels, is dedicated to trade. On top of this is an attic storey, used for storage. A first courtyard and a second building usually serve as a workshop for craft production. The everyday living spaces (family life, room dedicated to ancestor worship, kitchen, etc.) are located at the far end of the plot of land.

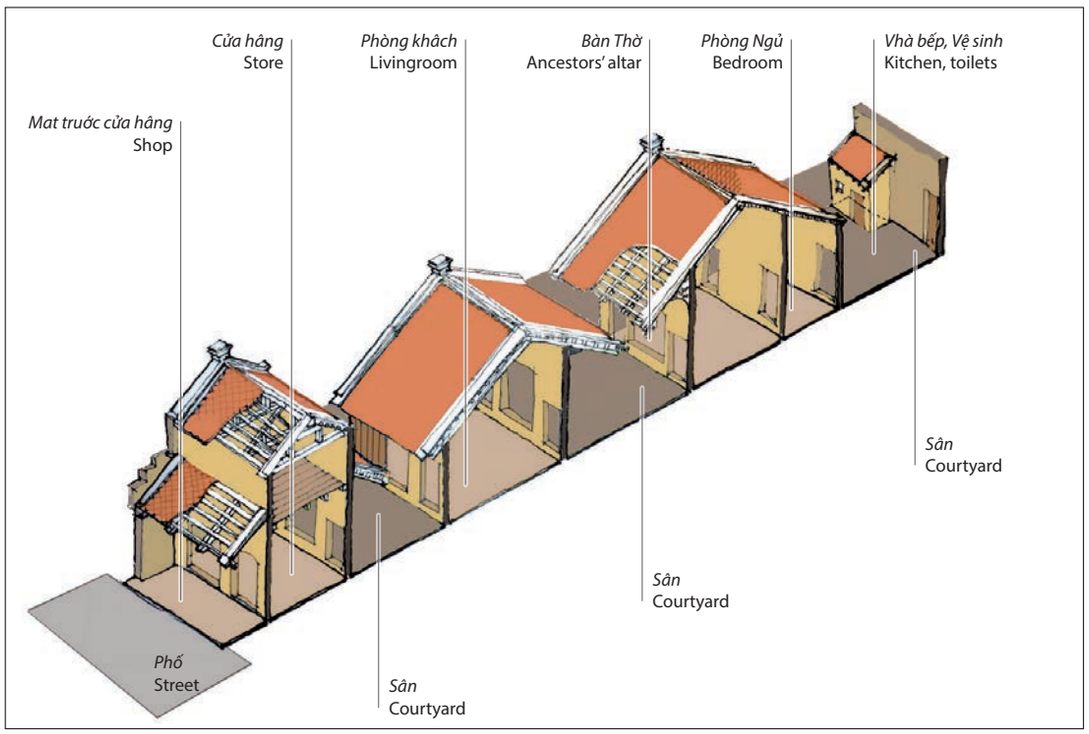


Figure 5 – DIAGRAM OF A 'TUBE HOUSE'

Source: Nguyễn Minh Trang, Old Quarter Management Office, 2005

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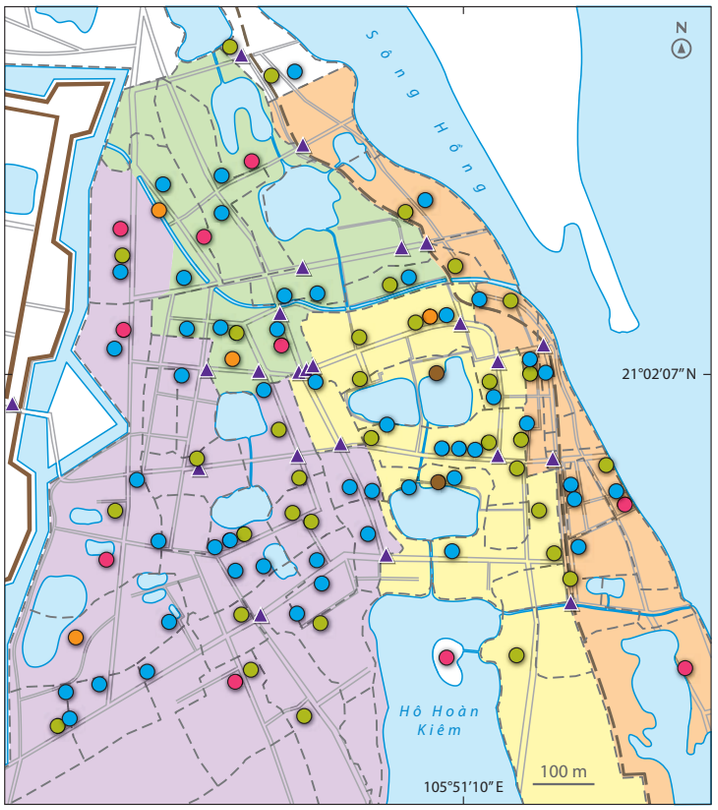
Urban structure of the Quarter of the 36 Streets during the 17-18th centuries



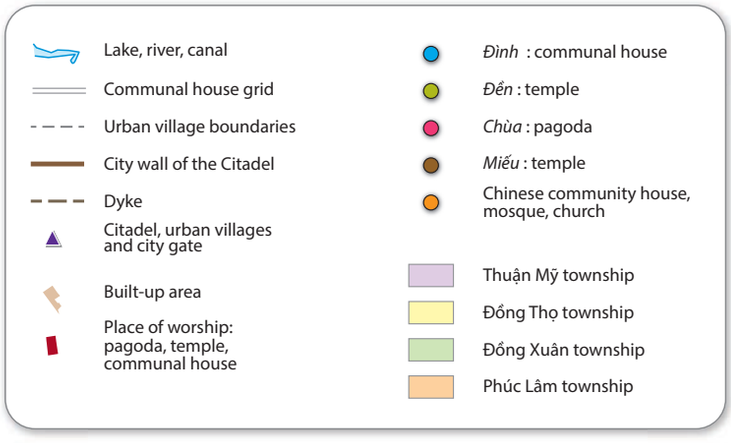
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Source: Orfeuvre R., according to Phạm Đình Bách plan, 1873 rescaled on current plan

Village structure of the Quarter of the 36 Streets and cultural heritage (17-18th centuries)



Source: Orfeuvre R., according to Phạm Đình Bách plan, 1873 rescaled on current plan, Babonneau M.-L. plan 1885, Nguyễn Vinh Phuc & Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ (2006)



• Restructuration during the colonial era: the 'Annamite' Quarter

France, by making Hà Nội the capital of its Indochinese empire at the end of the 19th century, jeopardised its organisation into urban villages. The commercial city was redolent with negative values: overpopulation, insalubrity, proliferation of vegetation; attempts were made to clean it up: the postern gates were destroyed, the streets widened and reshaped with corner houses and hipped gables. Other streets were opened, equipped with pavements, electricity and sewers. In 1889, the French drained and filled in the Tô Lịch River and several lakes to make the district denser. They gathered the markets together into a new solid structure: the Đông Xuân Market. In 1886 laws were decreed to eradicate thatched houses,deemed ugly in some streets. The exclusion zone was gradually extended to encompass the whole city (Papin, 1997). By 1902, thatched huts only represented 16.5% of constructions, compared with 79% in 1890. They had completely disappeared in 1924.

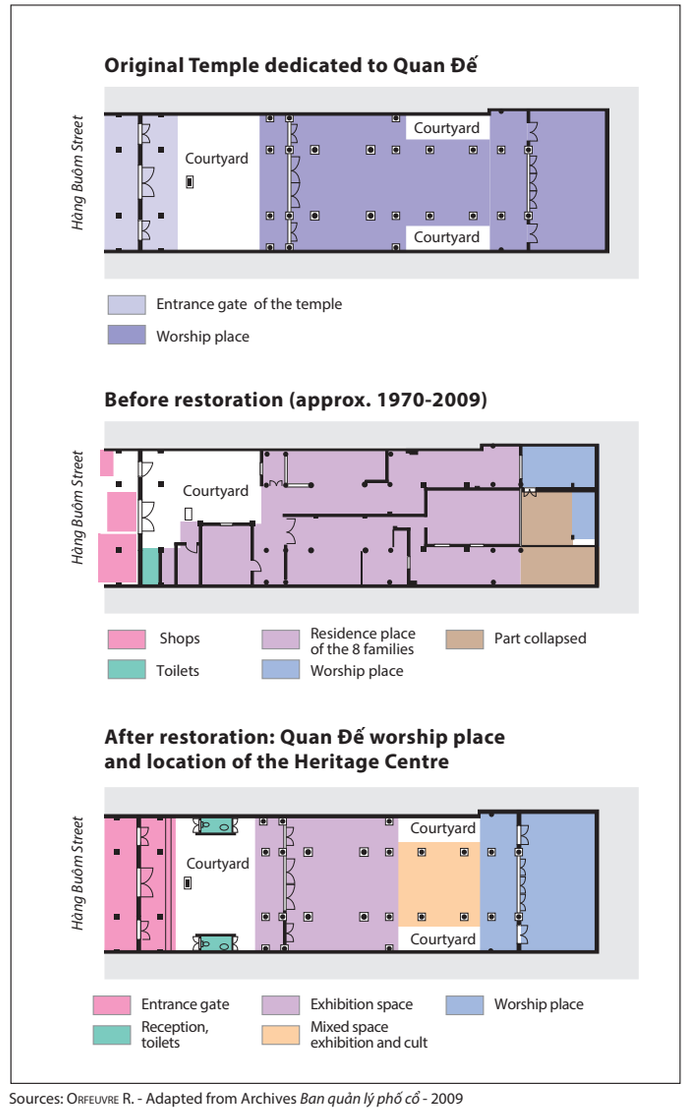
'Tube houses' also underwent significant changes. The awning-shops of traditional Vietnamese houses were destroyed to widen the streets. Buildings became taller while still respecting the compartmental structure. Emphasis was placed on the façade, which took on designs inspired by the colonial buildings in the French Quarter. Traditionally, the frame was the most striking feature of 'tube houses', as much from a decorative point of view as a structural one, richness only being expressed on the interior. With the advent of French building culture, it was now the architect's job to draw the 'tube house' and the mason's to make designs for the façade, showing off the owner's wealth. New materials appeared (cement, reinforced concrete, metal, glass). This architect/mason then architect-engineer/mason duo became ever more established throughout this period, and even up to the present day.

• The collectivist period: frozen architecture and abolition of property

Following the suppression of individual trade in favour of state co-operatives in 1955, in 1960 the state introduced a 'policy for socialist transformation of housing'. A wave of nationalisations affected among others the houses of families considered 'bourgeois' (including most homeowners in the merchant quarter) and places of worship. Former homeowners became occupiers among others of a public possession of which they only retained a small part, being obliged to share the rest with families from the countryside (up to several tens of families for the bigger properties) (see Chapter 4). The state instituted travel permits and residency requirements. Because of the war, only extensions to existing houses were authorised, in bamboo and recycled materials, as the use of cement was forbidden.

Between 1960 and 1974, the urban population of Hà Nội doubled through migrations of rural populations towards the city, a tangible consequence of the taste for revenge of the new communist leaders (originating from the countryside in their overwhelming majority) against the former urban elites. The houses were reorganised, with much unauthorised construction in courtyards. Some monuments such as pagodas or temples were converted into housing or into public

Figure 6 – OCCUPATION PLAN OF QUAN ĐẾ TEMPLE



Sources: Orfeuvre R. - Adapted from Archives *Ban quản lý phố cổ* - 2009

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buildings. The plans in Figure 6 show the evolution of Quan Đế Temple, which housed up to eight families (with one single bathroom) towards the end of the collectivist period. This occupation of places of worship (rented by the state to families not able to find lodgings in times of war) involved a majority of such buildings. Today, they are being gradually recovered by the state, which usually returns them to their original function.

In the 1980s, a black market developed to deal with a chronic shortage in housing. The makeshift measures employed for conversion or for basic maintenance of houses led to a degradation in the quarter's ancient fabric. But this situation also blocks the quarter's development and stultifies its architecture and its urban renewal. As a consequence, in 1981, most houses dated back to before 1954, which explains the richness of architectural heritage in the historic centre just after *Đổi mới* (Pandolfi, 2001).

• Post-*Đổi mới* effervescence and the Old Quarter's loss of identity

Following the economic reforms of *Đổi mới* in 1986, the Quarter enjoyed a revival of its commercial past. Overpopulation (840 inhab./ha) is one of the major causes of poor living conditions of inhabitants. Many of them took advantage of economic liberalisation to convert their living quarters into commercial spaces (residents with a shop or direct access onto the street were best placed). With density increasing and property prices extremely high [1], owners of sections of property, as well as investors from outside the Old Quarter (25% of shop owners in 1999), tried to re-divide plots of land to build mini-hotels there. Buildings became higher and courtyards disappeared, compromising the quality of life specific to traditional houses. However, major land regrouping projects did not come to fruition because of the complexity and fragmentation of plots, as well as extremely high land prices. Owing to overpopulation and the liberalisation of private trade, roadside and pavement businesses reappeared (restaurants, bars, markets, itinerant traders). Simultaneously, thanks to a more permissive policy concerning religious practices, people again began to attend places of worship.

These profound changes moved both the Vietnamese and the international community to act. In 1990, an initial study looked at the question of heritage preservation in the commercial quarter and the living conditions of its inhabitants (Hoàng Hữu Phê & Nishimura Yukio, 1990). Then a Unesco report replaced this heritage within the issues to be addressed in the historical centre (Citadel, Old Quarter and French Quarter). It evoked the risks of instability due to the metropolisation of the city that took shape with the 1992 Hà Nội Master Plan (Unesco, 1994). Several experts and international organisations proposed the establishment of a major plan for protection and the improvement of inhabitants' living conditions. Developed from foreign legal criteria, successive strategic plans turned out to be unsuited to the very complex situation of the Old Quarter and the economic and political context. They could not be implemented by the Vietnamese authorities, who would have been financially responsible for their application (Waibel, 2004). It took some time, until the beginning of the 2010s, for the public authorities to make this question one of their priorities.

Diversity of crafts and links with villages

• Specialised streets during the colonial era

In the 17th century, the business quarter was organised into streets specialised in kinds of articles made in craft villages in the Red River Delta or near the capital, around West Lake. There were about a hundred streets, and not 36, a figure chosen for its auspiciousness. Each street bore the name of the merchandise sold on it: streets named for Sugar, Hemp, Cards, Dyers, Mugs, Cotton, Chickens, Trays, Tin, Drums, Fans, Combs, etc. (Papin, 2001). Merchants were sometimes themselves also artisans (Plate 7).

Each street was inhabited by artisans from one or several villages that practised the same activity: in Hàng Bạc Street, jewellers' street, could be found artisans originally from the village of Định Công (Tranh Tri District, Hà Nội), specialised in silver jewellery, from the village of Trâu Khê (Bình Giang District, Hải Dương) and Đồng Xâm (Thái Bình), specialised in making silverware. Hàng Đồng Street devoted itself to making bronze and copper objects and to selling articles from the villages of Đại Bái and Ngũ Xã. Artisans and merchants made up the backbone of the socio-economic structure of Hà Nội. The former had various statuses: freelance artisans, itinerant artisans come to the city in search of orders, artisans requisitioned to work in the state workshops. From the 17th and 18th centuries onwards, men usually migrated from villages located between 30 and 60 km from the city, then once they were installed, they summoned their families. They created new corporations that specialised in making or selling a product. Each corporation settled in one street, itself managed by one or several villages, depending on where the inhabitants were from. Many villages could line the same road, like the one crossing the quarter from north to south from the present-day Hàng Đào Street, occupied by at least four different villages. With the street as public space, these

communities, which enacted their own laws and regulations, were virtually autonomous.

The transformation of urban villages specialised in craft industry and trade into streets devoted to crafts gradually took place as urban development became denser. The diagrams of Plate 8 portray a hypothetical evolution of the parallel evolution of urban villages into craft streets and of rural craft villages. As we have seen previously, several rural markers were present in the merchant quarter.

However, unlike rural villages that usually looked like islands amid rice paddies, the merchant quarter was above all made up of markets located along main roads, then was organised in the shape of villages along these same streets. With the advent of the 'tube house', the merchant quarter gained its autonomy through the use of a new urban model, a model that, since *Đổi mới*, has progressively colonised rural villages.

On an economic, social and cultural level, the merchant quarter retained a strongly rural character. Most of its inhabitants remained enrolled on the registers of their respective villages. In the countryside, they invested the money they earned in the city: purchase of land or restoration of public buildings often heralded the return of city-dwellers to the countryside upon their retirement. Family and village ties were strengthened by movements of workforce and by the observance of worship offered up to the village's tutelary spirit.

Buoyed by regular income and relative affluence, city-dwellers tended however to enfranchise themselves from their native villages and assume control of their own lives, creating the foundations of a fully urban society (Tạo Trang & Thê Hùng, 1977; Papin, 2001). Communal houses blended gradually into an atomised urban landscape, in stark contrast to the situation of the rural *đình*. They became communal to all the inhabitants of the street, and no longer exclusive to those people originating from a single village.

• The supply chains: Hàng Bạc Street

To understand the cultural heritage of this trading city, one must follow the trail of these urban villages of artisans and merchants linked to their native villages. What remains of this identity today? To determine this, on can examine four of its structural elements: the existence of an activity making or trading craft products; the management of certain questions linked to commerce and to daily life by representatives of the community of inhabitants (a corporation); the occupation to these ends, as well as for worship, of the craft's *đình*; the existence of economic and/or familial links with the native craft village. Hàng Bạc Street, the former urban village of Dung Thọ, is a well-documented case that makes it possible to analyse the current evolution of these parameters.

Like most streets of the Old Quarter, it is still full of business activity. In spite of the very significant development of tourist activities (mini-hotels, travel agencies), two studies made in 2005 and 2011 (Old Quarter Management Bureau) show that the crafts linked to gold/silversmithery and money-changing have progressed over this period, even if they are less visible from the street and give the impression of having regressed.

Although the craft corporations, as formal institutions, naturally disappeared during the communist era, mutual assistance practices have survived. They manifest themselves in a significant concentration of similar activities in the same street. Each trader is free to set his or her prices and to choose his or her products (this was the corporation's role in the pre-colonial era) but finds an economic interest in this situation: supply of raw materials, available workforce, etc.

The shared origins of the inhabitants are also a characteristic trait of the street's gold and silversmiths. Nearly half of the artisans claim a familial link with one of the three original craft villages (Châu Khê, Định Công, Đông Xâm). Visiting the village *đình* during the annual festival perpetuates the link with village roots.

For its part, the urban *đình* contributes to a 'horizontal' integration, at street level. Although the building has been occupied by numerous families since the 1960s, the altar dedicated to worship has continued to be maintained in a space limited to a few square metres. In 2010, its restoration was supported and financed by artisans from the street, underlining their attachment to this symbol of the community's cultural identity. There are plans to organise cultural events there in the future specific to the craft of shaping precious metals.

This apparent resurgence in traditional craft activities in Hàng Bạc Street does not however reflect the situation of other crafts in the quarter, often deprived of this vital link between street and craft village. The profound urban changes experienced by Hà Nội over the last twenty years have contributed to modifying at the regional level the role of the Old Quarter, which was formerly the indispensable outlet for craft produce. Two parameters make it possible to analyse the evolution of crafts within this constantly changing system: firstly, the kind of clientele and

Location of crafts in the Quarter of the 36 Streets during the 17th-18th centuries



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Source: Orfeuvre R., according to Phạm Đình Bách plan 1873 rescaled on current plan, Babonneau M.-L. plan 1885, Nguyễn Vinh Phuc & Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ (2006)

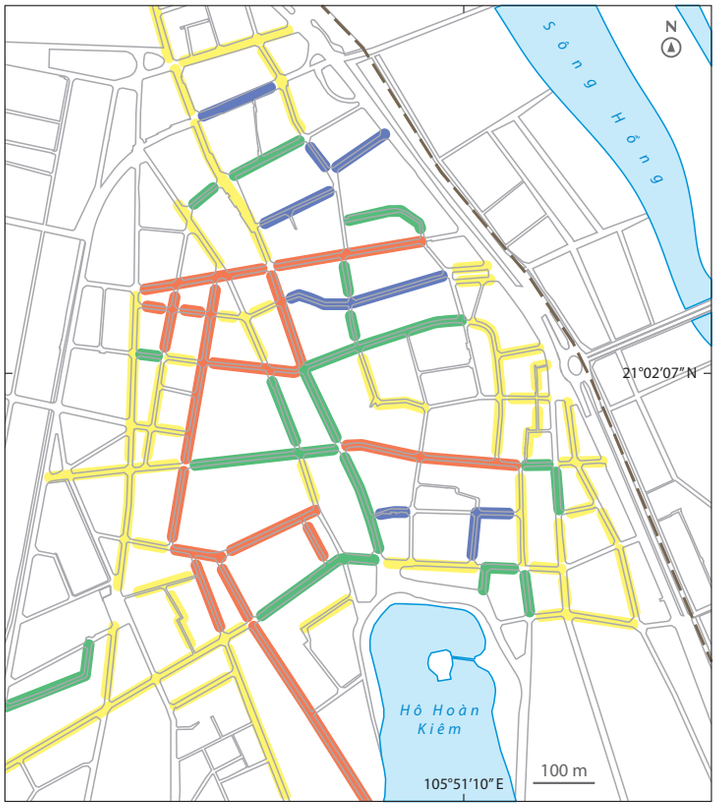
Urban structure before colonial intervention

- Lake, river, canal
- Street
- Urban village boundary
- City wall of the Citadel
- Dyke
- Citadel, urban villages and city gate

Goods and products of the pre-colonial era

- Bamboo, rattan, reed
- Wood
- Pottery, ceramic
- Textile (fabrics, dyes), clothing
- Food processing
- Metal
- Traditional medicine
- Worship artefacts
- Art craft
- Other

Evolution of craft streets of the Quarter of the 36 Streets since the colonial era



Source: Orfeuvre R., according to Phạm Đình Bách plan 1873 rescaled on current plan and inventory of the Old Quarter Management Bureau

Urban structure according to the Cadastre 2005

- Lake, river, canal
- Street
- Dyke

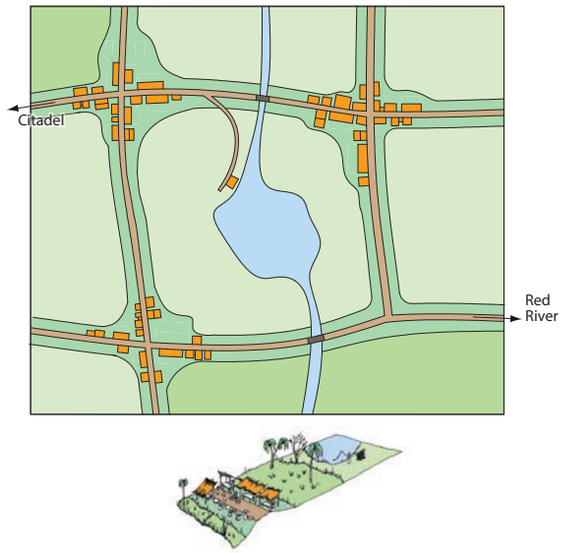
Evolution of craft streets

- Street having partially retained its original artisanal activity
- New specialised street
- Street no longer having the characteristics of a craft street
- Street having lost its original artisanal activity in favour of another

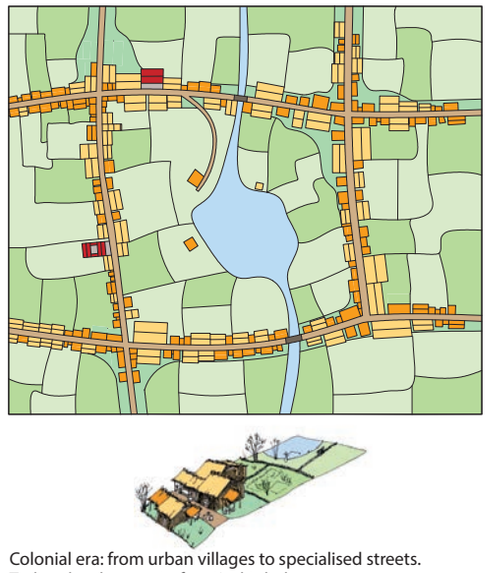
Hypothesis of parallel development of craft villages and craft streets

Hypothesis of development of the Old Quarter of Hà Nội

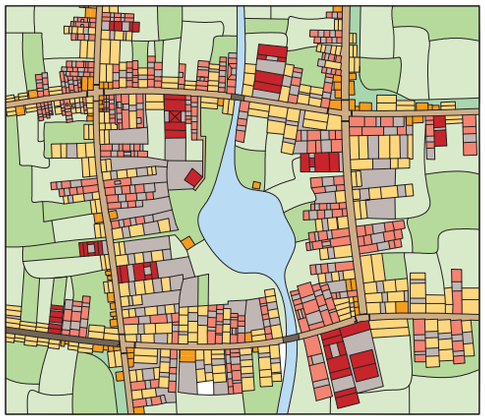
Installation of temporary markets between the Citadel and the Red River



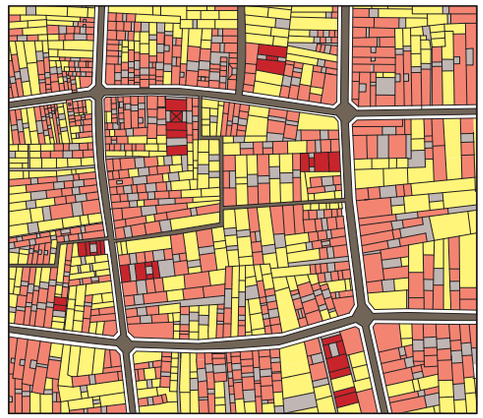
Market development and beginning of craftsmen settlement



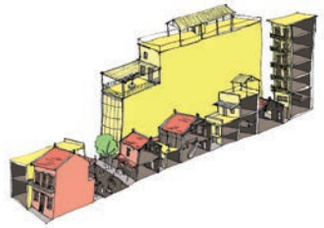
Structuring urban villages (gate) and corporations, development of tubehouse

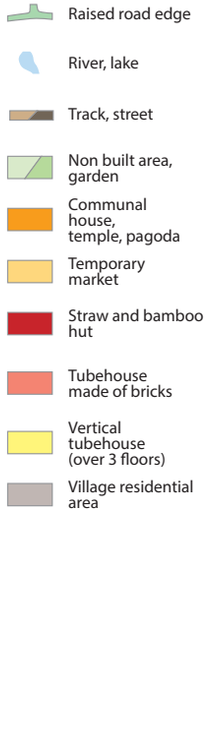


Colonial era: from urban villages to specialised streets. Today, development of vertical tubehouse









Sources: Orfeuvre R., 2010 according to Tibor Alexy & Luong Tu Quyên, 1998

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Hypothesis of parallel development of craft villages and craft streets

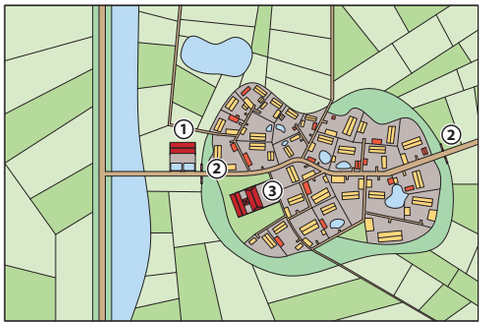
Hypothesis of development of craft villages

Settlement of farm village organised around rice production



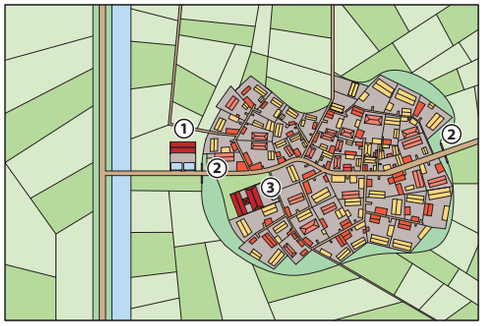


Rise of craft to complement rice production



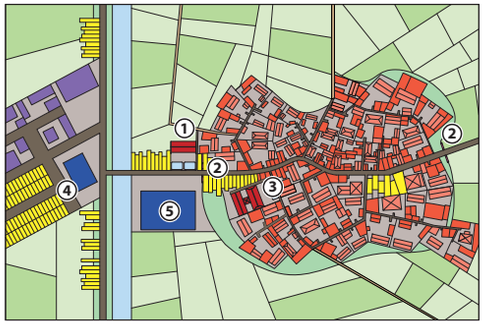


Craft replaces agriculture activities. Technical and marketing networks development





Today, rediscovering and transmission of know-how, adaptation to industrial techniques, new opportunities





- Raised road edge
- River, lake
- Track, street
- Swamp, ricefield
- Communal house, temple, pagoda
- Peasant house (straw, bamboo, earth…)
- Craftman house made in brick or wood
- Craft workshop and storage
- Tubehouse (residence, production, sale)
- State cooperative, public building
- Private workshop
- Village residential area

① Communal house
② Village gate
③ Pagoda chùa
④ Cooperative
⑤ Public building

Source: Orfeuvre R., 2010, according to Nguyen Anh Tu, 'Atelier d'été de Cergy-Pontoise', Hanoi, 1997 and Gourou P., 1936

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its location, secondly, the relative distance separating the street from the village where the merchandise is produced.

After the collectivist era, many under-employed urban artisans who had gone to live in the countryside were able, for the most part, to resettle on Hàng Bạc Street, given the long-established roots of the inhabitants of Châu Khê. At that time, the street played the double role of trading post for the village and production workshop: the idea was to sell the jewellery made in the village and take fresh orders, but also to install workshops for on-the-spot production and repairs on a smaller scale. Maintaining such a system proved to be crucial for this village quite far from the city centre (40 km) and with a predominantly urban clientele.

The second community, the one from Định Công, was less well established in the street. But the geographical situation of this former peri-urban village, which has become a district of Hà Nội, enabled artisans to compensate for this handicap: they had more space, and could therefore add shops onto their workshops. In addition, the centre's proximity offered relatively easy access to their clients. The presence in the city of a member of the village community or of the family made it possible to curry demand.

The third case is that of the village of Đông Xâm. The members of this community arrived later in the street, and are therefore less well entrenched. The village is also more remote from the centre of Hà Nội. This double handicap led to the artisans developing export sales networks, resorting in particular to the Internet. This positioning followed on naturally from the collectivist period, during which the state co-operative made gold and silver jewellery for Soviet bloc countries. Similarly, the village now attempts to diversify its activities by offering cultural activities for tourists, and by turning to bronze work, for which there is greater demand.

These three cases do not constitute a model of change in Old Quarter crafts, but allow us to clarify certain parameters that determine the survival or the disappearance of craft activities. One can observe for example that the presence of activities linked to traditional craftwork in the streets of the Old Quarter is dependent on the existence of family links with the village. In fact, at least half of the inhabitants of Hàng Bạc Street have a family tie with the village. Things changed after the war. Having for the most part found refuge in the countryside, many artisans could no longer resettle on an overpopulated street, save for the richest ones, those from Châu Khê. The others were obliged to continue their activity in the village, or to settle elsewhere (Phúc Tân Street), on the other side of the dyke. The management of re-housing people to thin out the Old Quarter's population [2] and allocations of property rights will therefore in the coming years have a decisive impact on the continued presence of these families of artisans and traders linked to villages, and by the same token on the survival of craft streets.

These changes suggest that the legitimacy and recognition of the Old Quarter as the trading centre of the Hanoian urban area emanate above all for the craft villages to which these streets are affiliated. Limited by its spatial and productive resources, the quarter remains dependent on the vitality of the villages, even if it can stimulate their renaissance or their growth (as was the case with silk in Hàng Gai Street). It is therefore advisable, for each street and village, to identify both their strong and weak points, taking into account their commercial potential, but also considering image, environment, rural and urban development, in order to propose suitable and efficient development strategies.

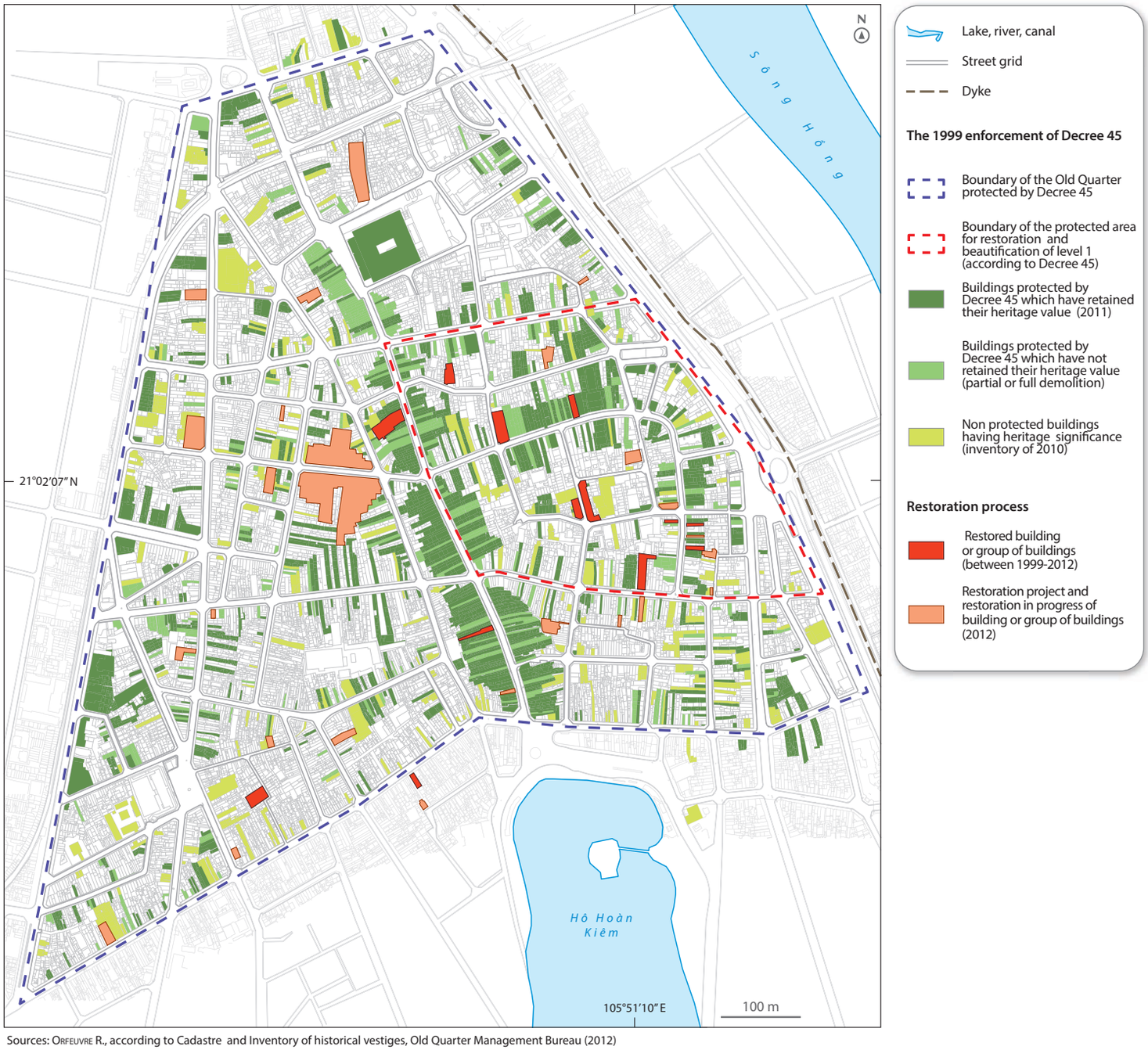
A policy of restoring links between Old Quarter and villages

• Architectural heritage

A policy of decentralised co-operation has been developed between the cities of Toulouse and Hà Nội over the last twenty years or so. It is based on an exchange of experiences and technical and financial support to the local authorities, the Old Quarter Management Bureau, an agency of Hoàn Kiếm Urban District. It aims to protect the heritage, both material and immaterial, that makes up the quarter (architectural, urban, cultural, artisanal, etc.).

A heritage inventory carried out in 1995 by the Head City Architect's Bureau with the collaboration of the *phường* (urban districts) led in 1999 to the establishment of a heritage protection policy. Decree 45 determined henceforth a heritage protection zone where the laws are more strictly applied. In 2010-2011, a second inventory was carried out within the framework of this collaboration and made it possible to assess the qualified impact of heritage protection policies in the Old Quarter. Of the 1,141 old houses listed in 1995, 31.4% have disappeared during the 12 years that Decree 45 has been in force (Plate 9). The complementary inventory carried out in 2010-2011 identified 256 further houses possessing heritage qualities. The protection of the former perimeter by Decree 45 has proved ineffective, as destructions are carried out equally over the whole area.

Protection of architectural urban heritage of the Old Quarter (1995-2012)



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Sources: Orfeuvre R., according to Cadastre and Inventory of historical vestiges, Old Quarter Management Bureau (2012)

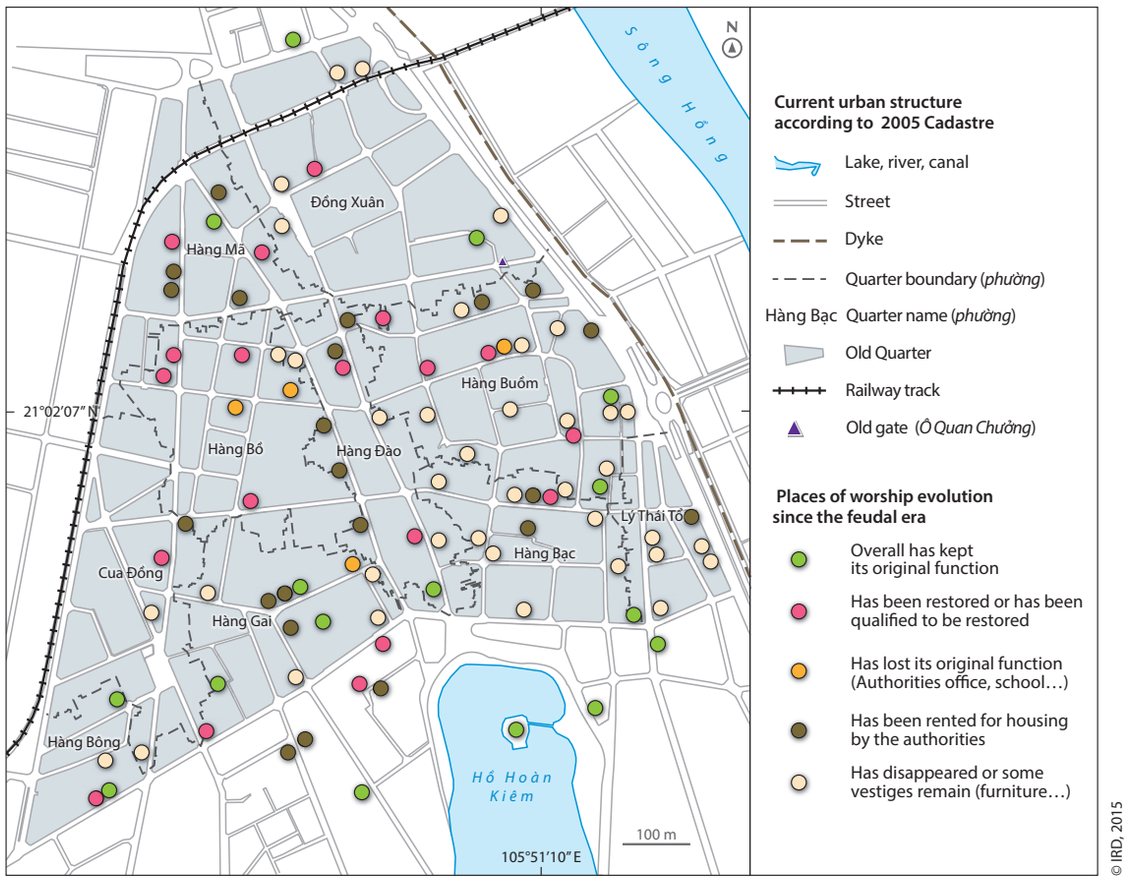
Apparently, the objective sought by the authorities is a reduction in the number of houses to protect in order to limit the financial efforts required. A worrying choice, as the value of urban heritage, already much undermined, depends on its consistency.

This appraisal shows Decree 45 to be now obsolete and to what extent the authorities lack any means of coercion to get laws applied. The objectives of the Hà Nội 2030/2050 Master Plan aim towards a better protection of heritage and a reduction in the commercial role of the quarter. One may however question the capability of the local authorities to apply such a planning policy.

Some of the places of worship have disappeared (according to the Management Bureau, there are 86 places of worship left in the Merchant Quarter, compared with 115 before 1954), between 1954 and *Đổi mới* (Figure 7). The *đình* and the *đền* are the most affected. According to the authorities of the collectivist era, these places represented backward and/or anti-revolutionary ideologies. Indeed, they were very probably the property of, or were maintained by, wealthy families of the quarter who were stigmatised at that time. However, these buildings were not intentionally destroyed by the authorities. They were rather left abandoned or rented to families so that they had somewhere to live. During this period of religious disaffection, families often opted to destroy these buildings, thus gradually gaining space from places of worship. Some of these buildings have now been restored or are in the process of being restored.

The administrative authorities currently have neither the means nor the force to implement a blanket policy as was envisaged at the end of the 1990s. It would appear however that the policy of small steps, initiated in particular within the framework of the Hà Nội –Toulouse co-operation, has led to a better

Figure 7 – STATE OF PLACES OF WORSHIP IN THE OLD QUARTER SINCE THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA



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Sources: Orfeuvre R., according to Babonneau M.-L., 1885. Cadastre and Inventory of historical vestiges, Old Quarter Management Bureau (2006), Phạm Đình Bách plan, 1873 rescaled on current plan

understanding on the part of the authorities, both on the question of objectives and on that of means. Since independence, only major monuments had benefitted from a policy of restoration. After economic liberalisation, minor places of worship were considered as well as, more recently, local or colonial non-monumental urban heritage.

This change in policy is in part the result of micro-interventions carried out by international co-operation on historic buildings, with the aim of carrying out exemplary restorations while encouraging a skills transfer to the authorities. This objective is paying dividends today, since these quality projects have demonstrated the capability of local teams to successfully carry our restoration actions, leading the overseeing authorities to entrust them with fresh, more ambitious projects. At the regulatory level, the work of a local team was due to culminate, for the first time, in 2012, in the drawing up of a heritage conservation plan.

Finally, this policy – very dependent on state involvement – is accompanied by a pedagogical component, with the establishment of an interpretative and educational centre for heritage, aimed as much at inhabitants as at visitors to the Old Quarter.

• The crafts of Hà Nội: a heritage in danger

Since a decade ago, a certain proportion of urban development experts and local authorities have realised that the identity of the Old Quarter also depends upon the question of the craft streets. The artisans have struggled to thrive amid this quarter in upheaval, caught up in intense property speculation that has sidelined them. Simultaneously, this identity has tended to be diverted to mercantile and touristic ends that traders cannot easily ignore, even if this leads to a loss of know-how.

The typology of the craft streets put in place is based upon two different rationales: one, concerning heritage, refers to the names of the streets, to know-how; the other, economic, highlights the significant establishment of similar activities. These characteristics can be superimposed, as is the case in Hàng Bạc Street. The aim is to balance the historic dimension with healthy economic activity: the first has enabled the authorities to grasp the notion of immaterial heritage, while the second is an essential condition for its survival. Between the lines, one can read into these categories the strong and the weak points of each street: visibility, quality, vitality, and so on.

Tasked with economic development, the *phường* are beginning to realise that the craft streets can become a more sustainable development resource than the anarchic multiplication of mini-hotels. The cultural events organised over the last few years in Hàng Mã Street and Lãn Ông Street bear witness to this. In 2009, the traders in the latter street installed display cases down the centre of the street. Texts in Vietnamese and photos told the history of the craft and of the street's inhabitants.

However, these initiatives do little to play up the links existing with the craft villages, which poses the question of the level of know-how implemented, of the quality and of the origin of the products.

In Hàng Mã Street, only one craftsman still makes artisanal masks at the end of a passage, while the street is awash with masks and lanterns *made in China*. The rural village continues to produce this merchandise traditionally but finds its customers by other channels than the Old Quarter. Hàng Gai Street is considered as one of the most developed craft streets, with more than 80% of businesses selling cloth. However, the produce found here is of poor quality, for the most part made with synthetic or mixed silk coming from China; this street sells very little of the silk coming out of the Hà Đông cluster, its original production area. One of the keys to conservation would be to create links between the initiatives to protect traditional know-how in the villages on the one hand, and the actions aimed at regulating the craft trade in the Old Quarter on the other (a labelling system giving information on quality and the origin of products).

Plate 7 shows how much the Old Quarter has lost its artisanal specificity since *Đổi mới*. Only a few streets have retained their original artisanal activity (Hàng Bạc Street specialised in gold and silver jewellery, Hàng Thiếc Street in making things out of tin and aluminium, Hàng Đường Street for confectionary, etc.).

Others have lost their original activity in favour of another, less traditional one, such as Hàng Gai Street, called Silk Street, while it was once called Hemp Street. Still others no longer have the characteristics of a craft street and have specialised in the sale of imported products (clothing made in China or wide varieties of products). This raises two questions: how can the Old Quarter retain its identity as a showcase for local culture and know-how when faced with metropolisation and therefore with pressure on property? To what extent can its economic development benefit the rural areas to which it is historically linked?

Conclusion

Unlike many cities of Southeast Asia and China where old quarters and Chinatowns have seen their marketplaces dwindle, or even completely disappear with globalisation and the change in scale of cities, the Quarter of 36 Streets and Corporations has survived and has survived while changing rapidly with economic liberalisation. As far back as the collectivist era, the revolutionary government had severed the commercial ties between the craft villages and this quarter, ties that are at the root of a very ancient process of urbanisation of the countryside, owing to the prohibition of trade and craftwork by the private sector at that time.

However, with the acceleration of Vietnam's integration into the global market and of rises in the price of land in the city centre with the expansion of the service sector (headquarters of big foreign companies, banks, etc.) and the verticalisation of constructions, we are witnessing strong pressure on the property market in the Old Quarter. This competition for space is the reason for misappropriation during land transactions in this historic quarter, a proportion of whose buildings are protected, given its great heritage importance. Tourism and the resale of products for the most part imported from China now dominate the activity of this district, which counts as one of the most densely populated in the city.

In this context, one may wonder about the future for this historic quarter and ask oneself whether it will not simply follow the direction taken in other countries of the region, integrated much earlier than Vietnam into the market economy. If the new 2030-2050 Master Plan for the capital advocates the showcasing of the exceptional heritage of this quarter, will it be possible to implement this policy?

1) The square metre traded for between 20,000 and 40,000 USD in 2012, depending on which street and the position of a plot of land, giving onto a street or located inside a group of buildings. A plot with street frontage is 11 times more expensive than one within a block, in keeping with inevitable commercial interests.

2) In 2009, the Old Quarter was home to 66,660 inhabitants, giving a very high density of 840 inhab/ha. This can be explained in part by the settlement of many rural people during the collectivist era in buildings and places of worship. The objective of the People's Committee of Hoàn Kiếm Urban District was to lower the population to 40,460 inhabitants to reach a density of 500 inhab./ha. Accordingly, more than 26,000 people had to be moved and re-housed in new districts on the outskirts of the city. During the first quarter of 2012, it was planned to re-house 1,800 households in the new district of Việt Hung (Long Biên Urban District), and 1,020 others during the first quarter of 2013 (*Le Courrier du Vietnam*, 08/07/2011).

Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

E. Cerise, S. Fanchette, D. Labbé, J.-A. Boudreau, Trần Nhật Kiên

The city of Hà Nội, built in 'the bend in the Red River', partly took shape on top of a dense substrate of villages that it has progressively absorbed into its fabric. Starting with the core of urban craft and trading villages reconstituted into the 'Old Quarter of 36 Streets and Corporations' and the Citadel, it has spread over its fringes, integrating very populous and multi-activity villages within its perimeter.

This integration of villages has taken place in various ways throughout history, depending on the prevailing state planning policies, the urban planning model being implemented, the economic activities of the villages and the dynamism of the relevant local authorities. In fact, adopting the Chinese model, which it has inherited from over 1,000 years of colonisation, the imperial administration (1010-1872) integrated within the city limits a hundred or so villages, making up the green belt of craft activity supplying the capital. However, during the colonial era (1873-1945), then the collectivist era (1954-1986), the favoured urban model was a clear separation between what was defined as urban, and as rural, with development plans intended for the city centre.

This process of integration into the city was relatively slow until the 2000s. It did not come about by destruction of the socio-economic or physical structure of villages, but by their assimilation. Having always lived at the interface between the rural and the urban worlds, peri-urban villages managed to adapt easily to urbanisation (Pandolfi, 2001). They succeeded in retaining and maintaining a rich cultural and religious heritage. 80% of the capital's heritage is of village origin. Simultaneously, urban villages adopted a more urban architecture: 'tube houses' or 'Chinese compartments' (see Chapter 2) giving onto the outside world, sign of a more open, urbanised village society.

This integration of villages into the city took place in tandem with a process of *in situ* urbanisation of these villages. According to Papin (1997), 'the transition from 'villages in the city' to 'urban' villages, then the merging of these into a single neighbourhood is not only a matter of urban morphology or history of shaping the city, because it is unimaginable that this enormous transformation should have had no connection with the origins, the exercise and the future of power in the hands of those that wielded it. In the same way that the city was a way of life before assuming a shape, an experience before being a

concept, the change in space was above all a social change... This is why one should not so much seek to determine how the city swallowed its outskirts as the way in which peri-urban societies became urbanised from the inside. The solution to the problem of villages integrating into the city and of their transformation into urban villages will be found in the villages themselves.'

Two characteristics of Hà Nội's contemporary urbanisation result from this original historical process. Firstly, right up until the end of the 1980s, there were villages in the immediate proximity of the capital's centre. The collectivist peri-central residential neighbourhoods, the KTT, were built in the gaps in this village fabric, usually encroaching over filled-in lakes. One therefore moved directly from the typically urban fabric of the city centre into that of the villages. This meant that within the villages themselves, there were reserves of land belonging to the population and likely to be integrated into the system of self-building (Pandolfi, 2001).

However, since the *Đổi mới* reforms, particularly since the integration of Hà Tây into the capital's perimeter and the announcement of an ambitious Master Plan to 2030, or even to 2050, the space to be integrated into the municipality's perimeter has changed in magnitude. It is the case that the villages of the first peri-urban ring that were integrated into the urban districts in the 1990s were not very far apart, with less space to grow rice than the rural districts that surround the current urban districts. In addition, the conditions of access to land, the emergence of new stakeholders with much greater means than the pre-*Đổi mới* small investors, the nature of metropolitan urban projects and the violence of compulsory purchases all call into question the progressive integration of villages into the city.

Villages: part of expansion plans since the colonial era

Throughout its history, Hà Nội's expansion projects have reflected ideas and ideologies concerning the city/villages relationship that is a major issue for the capital's urban development. Graphic representations of projects illustrate the pre-conceived ideas of city planners when it comes to dealing with urban villages: recognition and integration into the projected city, or negation and *tabula rasa*. In the contemporary context of Hà Nội's urban growth, the existing villages within its territory are at times considered as heritage and cultural potential to be cherished, but at others as an obstacle to urban development.

The historical periods of strong urban growth have, just like Hà Nội's contemporary urban history, been confronted with the problem of integrating surrounding villages. Analysis of the current projects in the light of past propositions should allow for a more measured and subtle understanding of the future of villages around Hà Nội.

• Hà Nội and its neighbouring villages: a heritage of the Chinese city

The imperial city that was Hà Nội (then called Thăng Long) was a composite city [1] with a Citadel, built on the Chinese model and housing the political powers, a commercial city and a large territory of paddy fields, villages and decentralised urban installations. This rural territory is clearly visible in the cartographic representations drawn up by the Vietnamese authorities, as for example the map of the 'province of Hà Nội' in the *Geography* ordered by the Emperor Đồng Khánh and drawn up from 1886 to 1888. Similarly, in the 'map of Hà Nội in 1873', drawn up by Phạm Đình Bách [2], the villages appear within the biggest city enclosure, with their houses, bamboo hedges, ponds and fields. In the light of these Vietnamese maps, the first maps drawn up by the French show strong conceptual differences between the mental representation of the city for Western and Far-Eastern geographers (Cerise, 2010). For the former, it is strictly limited to the continuously and densely built-up area, where the urban administrations are located; for the latter, it is a bigger entity, without discontinuity with the surrounding countryside, the city embracing agricultural land and villages, as long as they belong to it administratively.

With French colonisation, Hà Nội became a French city, urbanised firstly by the military, then the municipal services and finally designed by pioneers of urban planning such as Ernest Hébrard or Louis-Georges Pineau. The first colonial urban planning project for the city was to build a grid pattern of streets over an area to the south of the Citadel and of the 'little lake', Hoàn Kiếm, which then became the city centre. Although mostly agricultural, this area to be built over was only partially occupied by villages. Unlike the big city in the South, Saigon, which was urbanised by moving several villages, during a period of much more aggressive conquest, in Hà Nội, the colonial administration decided not to repeat an experience considered too brutal and with too serious consequences for good management of the territory. However, this project carries with it a Western vision distinguishing between the urbanised city, delimited, regular, structured by its road network and its urban installations, and the countryside, outside the project, unshaped and without limits. The villages, which were once an integral part of



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Photo 4
Ponds concreted over in an urban village situated near a new residential zone

the urban system (those that one finds in an Asian city, see the map of Hà Nội by Phạm Đình Bách), are excluded from the colonial urban system.

The question of the status of villages in colonial town planning, avoided during the construction of the squared-off quarter, rapidly came to a head when the city spread out into its outskirts [3]. Accordingly, Ernest Hébrard's 'master plan for Hà Nội,' drawn up in 1924 (Plate 10), shows a certain amount of attention given to surrounding villages considered as existing structures to be taken into account in the project. This map, although it possesses undoubted qualities, remains a formal composition with its limits: on one hand, the villages integrated into the city lose their agricultural component, which throws into question the future of the rural society that lives there, on the other, when he devises 'industrial neighbourhoods,' he advocates 'giving priority to modern needs by reserving plenty of space for future expansions' (HÉBRARD, 1928). In his project, this took the shape of radical elimination of villages and of their agricultural land.

The 1943 Pineau and Cerutti-Maori project [4] revived some of Hébrard's propositions, particularly the composition with the architectural elements of villages integrated into newly urbanised zones. These edifices, often religious, were preserved for their architectural quality. They are therefore drawn surrounded

by vegetation, in urban parks. Deprived of their functional value and spirituality, these buildings no longer belong to a structured whole with its society and environment, but become isolated objects. Without dismissing the genuine interest shown in local architectural and urban forms by figures of French town planning such as Hébrard or Pineau, it nonetheless appears that their outlook as Western architects, educated by the teachings of the Fine Arts School, limits their approach to the urban village to its most remarkable architectural features (temples and communal houses) without making use of its spatial and social structure.

Similarly, town planning during the subsidised economy era from 1954 to 1986 was not kind to existing structures, including villages. According to plans drawn up during this period, the vision for Hà Nội's urban future is carried along by a strong progressive ideology that shapes the city in keeping with clearly stated Soviet references where the past, be it feudal or colonial, has no place (Plate 10 and see Chapter 4).

• The 'Renewal' and the future of urban villages

The policy of 'renewal', *Đổi mới*, marked another upheaval in urban thinking, governance and the administrative management of Hà Nội. The public authorities, although still very much involved, were no longer the only ones to shape the city. Initially, the government invited development aid and international donors, then private investors (local or foreign) to participate in urban renovation. At the beginning of this 'renewal' projects remained on a small scale. Although the villages of the first ring of urbanisation lost their agricultural land, for them the changes were not radical, agriculture already being no longer their main activity. The upheavals in these urban villages arrived with the development of the private economy and the progressive enrichment of a section of the population.

The plans of existing buildings [5] produced at the very beginning of *Đổi mới* took the villages into account. Through these documents, three kinds of villages began to be identified: those already integrated into the urbanised zone, particularly in the first ring, those on the nearby fringes, often on sites of urban projects, and those on the distant fringes, which retained a strong rural character.

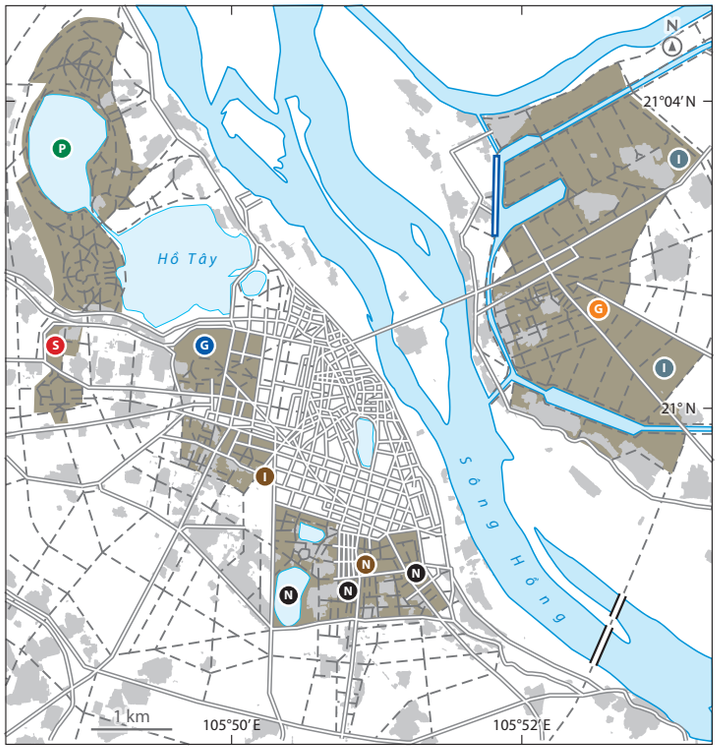
However, the fate of villages was not always clear in the expansion plans of this period. For example, interest for the existing structures in the Master Plan to 1992, drawn up with the help of the IAURIF [6], was explicit and advocated by the authors (Etteinger & Palisse, 1993), but it concentrates mainly on the historic sector of the centre of Hà Nội. For urban development and expansion of the city, the proposition was organised around means of communication. In this zone of urban growth, villages were drawn, but played no part in the project. The same applied in the following master plan, approved in 1998.

This project, called 'plan 108' proposed uniform urban growth around Lake Tây (to the north of the urbanised zone of Hà Nội) so that it should become the centre of the future city. The key to the plan differentiated between 'villages to be retained in the urban development' and 'existing villages', but neither of these two kinds seemed to have an influence on the urban propositions surrounding them and still less on the overall project for Hà Nội. Only when this 'plan 108' was revised, in 2005, by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (Jica) in a programme called Haidep, where the villages were really taken into account. This plan, like the 1992 project, relied upon means of communication to structure urban development. But unlike previous projects, the Haidep plan was the first to look beyond the administrative perimeter of the province of Hà Nội, prepared to consider the geographical site as a whole. Up until then, the administrative perimeter always represented a limit to the project, even though urban development had already crossed this border in several places. The proposition for land use management is based on urban typologies differentiated by their function and the height of buildings.

Accordingly, concerning housing, the key distinguished between low-level housing and zones of medium-rise or high-rise accommodation. According to this logic, villages were integrated into new residential neighbourhoods, surrounded by projected low-level housing. The advantage of using villages as a basis upon which to develop their immediate environment is twofold: their craft and heritage value guarantees their touristic appeal; urban villages are considered as existing residential sectors, serving as a support to housing development. In spite of the many interesting propositions of the Haidep plan, this project has never been implemented. It did however have a certain influence on the following Master Plan, the current 'global development plan for Hà Nội capital to 2030 and vision to 2050'.

Villages near Hà Nội, beyond the second ring road, are currently confronted with the same transformations as those located in the zone already urbanised: they are rapidly losing all agricultural component. The difference in the second zone is the rapidity of the process of urbanisation and the expropriation of land by much larger-scale projects. It took about 50 years for the inner zone to become urban,

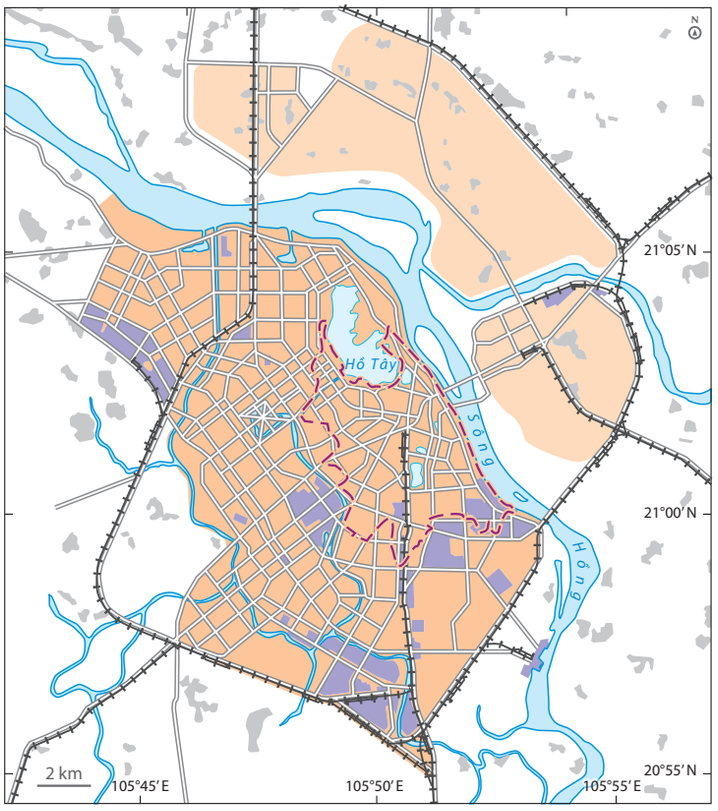
Hébrard map 1925 (colonial era) with mention of villages



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Source: Cerise E., 2010, adaptated from Ernest Hébrard, 'Urbanism in Indochina' *Architecture*, Vol. XLI, No. 2, February 15, 1928: 38, 48

General plan of Hà Nội for 2000 drawn in 1981



Source: Document produced by the Leningrad Institute of Urban Planning in cooperation with the Vietnamese planning services. Reproduction in: 'At lat Hà Nội' board No. 28, published in 1984

- Big park
- Sports centre
- Government neighbourhood
- New neighbourhood
- Original neighbourhood
- Original neighbourhood extension
- Industrial area
- Gia Lâm ward
- Residential and industrial project
- River
- Lake
- Road
- Road scheme
- Projected Railway Line
- Village
- New bridge
- Fluvial harbour
- Existing city in 1981
- Spatial extent of the project in 1981
- Planned extension by 2010
- Existing and projected industrial zones

compared with less than ten years for the outer. This acceleration manifests itself through a certain social violence in the field (see Chapters 7 and 9).

The post-*Đổi mới* master plans, in particular those created within the framework of Japanese partnerships, all seem to redefine the city around a point approximately located in Tây Lake. Accordingly, in the projects, the pattern of a radio-concentric city predominates and seeks to be applied in the larger Hà Nội area to the detriment of geographic realities. The influence of the Japanese partners doubtless plays a part in this, bringing complete confidence in the technical quality of infrastructure necessary to tame this hydraulic territory. Moreover, almost all the elements of infrastructure needed for this kind of development (bridges, motorways, etc.) are financed by Japanese aid. In the field, the Delta's geography is however a key factor that should direct urban development policy (see Chapter 1).

Since economic liberalisation, the city has spread rapidly west of the historic centre, where geographical conditions are the most favourable. The city is hemmed in to the north and the east by the Red River, which remains difficult to cross, while towards the south, land is more low-lying and regularly prone to flooding. This expansion of the city occurs without taking villages in the projects of new urban areas into account. Farmers lose their agricultural land without any real professional retraining being put in place. Officially, farmers are compensated for the loss of their land and are supposed to work in the municipal services of the new urban areas (highways, landscaping, maintenance, etc.). In reality, levels of compensation remain low (especially when compared with market prices) and examples of retraining are negligible (see Chapter 7). New activities are manifold in villages, but are essentially the result of private initiatives, addressing a shortcoming in the planned transition to new urban areas. As the new projects built on their former agricultural land are mostly residential neighbourhoods poorly served with shops and services, the villagers have taken over this market.

Accordingly, the villages of the first ring have become dormitory neighbourhoods for the most disadvantaged social classes. These migrants are not well accepted by villagers, who have nonetheless developed a lucrative trade in sleep, offering substandard or even insalubrious lodgings. With the influx of this new population, the number of inhabitants in some villages has more than doubled, accommodation of migrants having become the main activity of native villagers. Physical transformations have therefore been considerable: an uncontrolled densification is taking place and is modifying the traditional balance of these villages. The impact of the new projects on the villages of the immediate periphery is therefore social and spatial.

The urban projects of the 2000s: change of scale and land expropriation

Until the beginning of the 1990s, Hà Nội remained confined within a limited space. Under the effects of an interventionist state policy, the lack of foreign investment in the country, the low standard of living and moderate demographic growth, the city has been contained within the four central urban districts of Ba Đình, Hoàn Kiếm, Đống Đa and Hai Bà Trưng, totalling an area of about 35 km^2 (Plate 11 and Quertamp, 2010).

From 1995, the municipality started to create new urban districts made up of peri-urban rural communes to provide support for the very rapid urbanisation along roads and through urban sprawl. Up until 2003, 5 urban districts were created (Plate 11) (Tây Hồ (1), Thanh Xuân (2), Cầu Giấy (3), Long Biên (4) and Hoàng Mai (5)), increasing the province of Hà Nội's urban area to 179.45 km^2. The city crossed the Red River and the urban district of Long Biên was created from the rural district of Gia Lâm. In addition, with the integration of the province of Hà Tây, the urban district of Hà Đông (6), which included the capital of the absorbed province, has spread over its rural fringes and is an urban territory of more than 48.34 km^2 that must be added to the 9 urban districts of the capital.

The villages that have become wards, or *phường*, being integrated into the urban districts, rapidly lost their agricultural land and their value has climbed rapidly. 148 villages have become urban in this manner (Plate 11). Most new migrants settled in these new urban districts in the 1990s and added to the densification of urbanised villages.

It should be noted that strings of villages follow the Tô Lịch River, former western limit of the city until *Đổi mới*, and a little further west, the Nhuệ River, which roughly corresponds to the limit of the urban sprawl in 2010. This is explained by the presence of levees, higher than the plain, which offer villagers spurs of land on which to build their homes safe from flooding.

• Wider and more diversified settlement than in the first ring

If one compares the density of settlement of villages which have been integrated into the urban districts since *Đổi mới* and that of those which are going to be urbanised and make up the dense expansion zone out to ring road 4 (Plate 11),



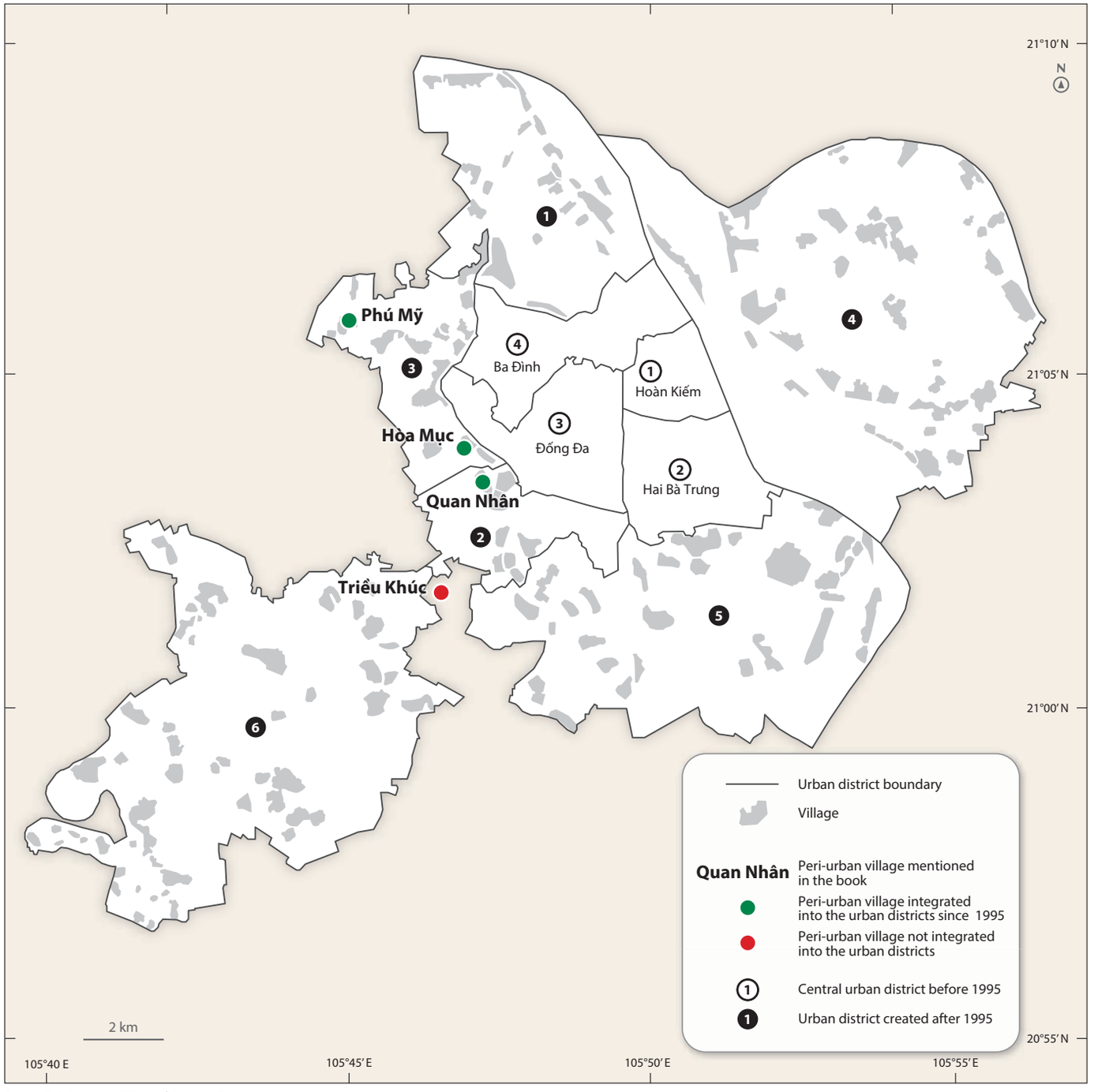
© Philippe Lê / Nội Pictures

Photo 5
A village communal house integrated in the urban fabric: Ngọc Hà

one notices that the latter is more spaced out. Land expropriations for carrying out major urban projects in this zone will be all the bigger for the facts that the paddy fields to be expropriated are vast and that the property developers have the capacity to invest in the development of several hundreds of hectares.

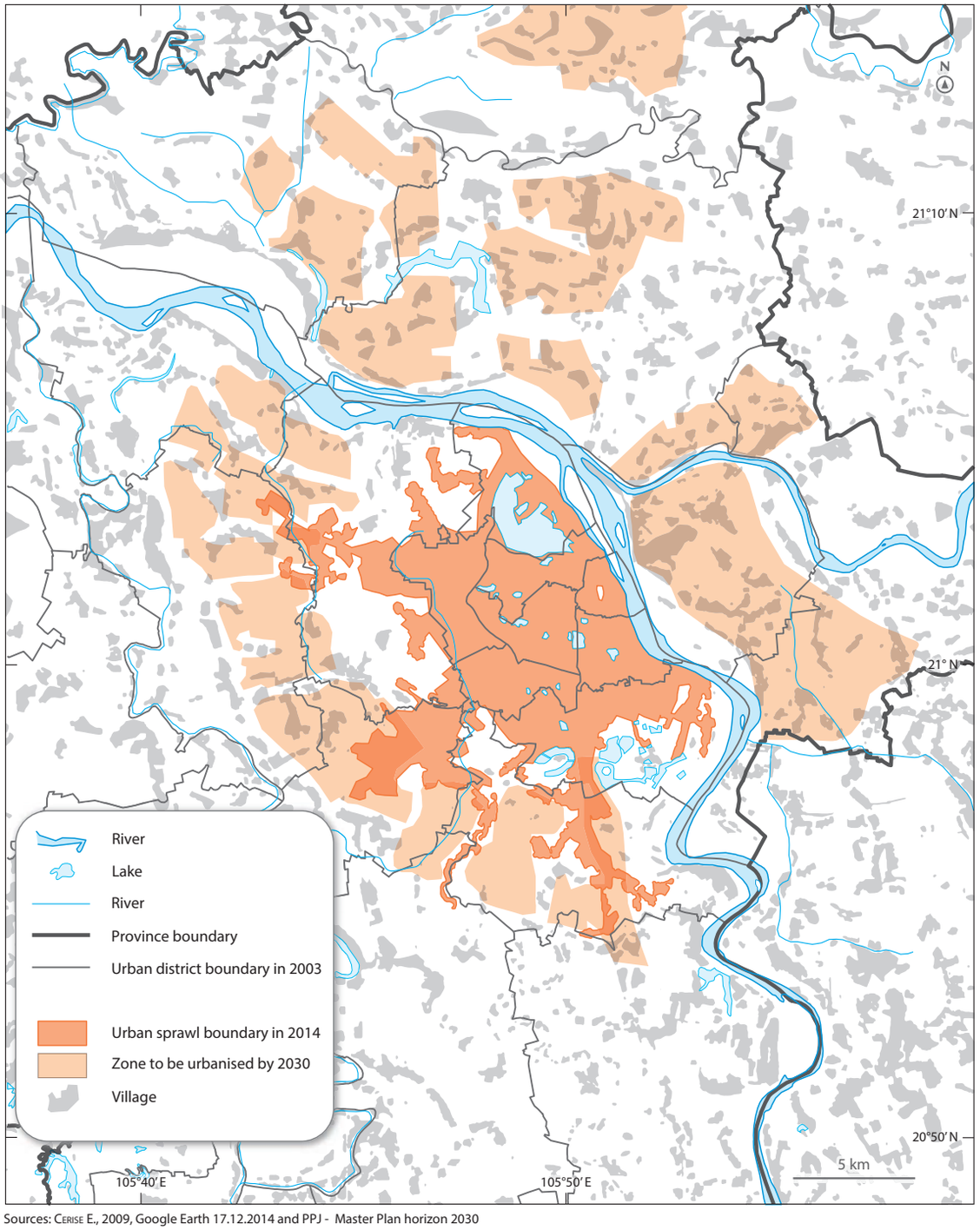
On the other hand, during the 2000s, the area of land to be built on in the first ring of urbanisation (the zone inside the urban districts) was smaller, because the settlement of villages was denser, but also because the developers were not such big players. This density is explained in part by a process of very pronounced *in situ* urbanisation of these villages at the city gates, which have adopted multi-activity ways of life, received migrants very early on who came to work in the city and which extended their space onto the fringes of the city as early as the 1980s. The multitude of semi-urbanised villages that make up the peri-central neighbourhoods of the capital boasted a considerable reserve of easily built-upon

Villages integrated into the urban space since *Đổi mới*



Source: Trần Nhật Kiên, 2010 and Fanchette S.

Density of village settlement in urban districts and in zones to be urbanised by 2030



© IRD, 2015

Sources: Cerise E., 2009, Google Earth 17.12.2014 and PPJ - Master Plan horizon 2030

undeveloped land. Villages were the vital support to individual production at the beginning of the 1990s (Pandolfi, 2001).

• The integration of Hà Tây: vast agricultural spaces to urbanise

The province of Hà Nội's expansion over its western province and a few other communes has allowed it to triple its territory, rising from 900 km² to 3,300 km². This annexed land, most of it rural, is all land reserved for urban projects, apart from the sector prone to flooding located in the green corridor.

According to the Master Plan to 2030 (PPJ, Ministry of Construction & the Hanoi People's Committee, 2011), the municipal authorities anticipated that the urban population would rise from 2.680 million inhabitants in 2009 to 6.6 million in 2030. In 2009, the urban population of the province amounted to about a quarter of the population and was divided among the 9 urban districts (2.217 million) on a territory representing 5% of the provincial total, or 179.45 km². The remaining 463,000 inhabitants live in the administrative centres of districts and small towns. By 2030, the urban population will make up 66% of the total population and will live in a territory representing 32% of the province, or 1,056 km².

According to the Master Plan to 2030, a vast territory of 860 km² will be urbanised. This space will be made up of various kinds of neighbourhoods with differing densities and building heights (see Chapter 6). The dense urban core, made up of current urban districts, and the expansion located between the Nhuệ River and ring road 3 (125.29 km²) is in the process of filling up.

The zone most affected by urbanisation and major projects is the expansion between ring roads 3 and 4, corresponding to the districts of Hoài Đức (see Chapter 7), Đan Phượng and to the urban district of Hà Đông. 182 km² will be urbanised in high-rise to make a second ring of built-up city. 1.4 million inhabitants are expected there by 2030. The entirety of agricultural land will disappear. The districts of Mê Linh, Đông Anh and Gia Lâm, already very urbanised, will become denser and will house new projects, especially industrial zones to take advantage of their location along roads leading to Nội Bài Airport and to the port of Hải Phòng.

Five satellite towns, with an area of 290.85 km², will be built in a radius of 20 km around the city centre and will house 1.7 million people in the medium term. At the edges of the zone prone to flooding, they cannot be built with too dense a level of construction. As for 'ecological' towns situated in the green corridor, they will cover 38 km², alternating low-level neighbourhoods with stretches of water and parks.

The most important feature proposed by this master plan (see Chapter 6) is to retain a green corridor formed by the catchment basins of the Red River's two distributaries, the Đáy and Tích Rivers, to ensure drainage of heavy flooding by the Red River. In urban planning terms, this corridor creates a discontinuity between the historical city (greatly expanded in the project) and several satellite towns. The existing villages located in the green corridor participate with their agricultural land in maintaining this zone open and with little construction on it.

These new urban areas, built on agricultural land, clash architecturally with the villages, as well as causing a breakdown in hydraulic and communication networks.

• A marked contrast between the new projects and the urbanised villages

The Nam Thăng Long-Ciputra neighbourhood, located to the northwest of Tây Lake, in the urban district of Tây Hồ (1) (Plate 11), is one of the first of its kind to be planned by a foreign investor (Indonesian). It was drawn up on a site including agricultural land and a small existing village. This village remained in the project plans, as an enclave in this neighbourhood that is itself closed (this was the first gated community in Hà Nội).

Although the village was not destroyed, it is nonetheless excluded from the overall design. In plan drawings of the project, it appears strictly delimited and surrounded by sectors of villas intended for the city's highest social classes. The reality of it is no less radical: the villas turn their backs to the village; there is absolutely no connection between the two. View of the village from the only vantage point in the new neighbourhood where it is possible to see it has been masked by an insensitive neoclassical colonnade.

The lack of integration is even more spectacular with regard to treatment of the village's cemetery on the project's site. While this cemetery only occupies a small area, the project's developers simply denied its existence in their proposition. After indignation and insistence from the villagers, the cemetery remained, it has even tripled in size since then, and the developers had to revise their project.

Today, the main façades of the southern sector's row of villas give onto a wall six metres high, protecting them from the view over the cemetery. The lack of integration of existing structures caused all negotiations to end in deadlock, and produced aberrations in urban planning (Cerise, 2009).

• The breakdown in hydraulic and communication networks

The major urban projects in construction on the agricultural land of peri-urban villages do not take their spatial or social organisation into account. Relations between craft villages within clusters are intense and founded on the employment of a workforce or subcontracted work, sale of raw materials and finished or semi-finished products, exchanges of know-how, supply of technical, commercial or transport services, and renting of land for construction.

These relations take place within a communications network comprising roads of varying sizes, byroads or dyke-top roads not suitable for motorised transport along which toil vehicles of all sizes. Motorways, residential and industrial zones cut through village farmland, thus isolating communities and severing lines of communication between villages.

In addition, major urban projects affect the hydraulic system, drainage and irrigation of residual land, and increase the risks of flooding. In fact, residential and industrial zones are built on platforms elevated one metre above villages to protect them from risks of flooding. So when it rains, villages below suffer even worse floods.

Normally, it is stipulated in the protocols that regulate construction of new residential zones and industrial zones that the 'developers' are supposed to construct a system of drainage around villages in order to protect them, but very few do so. The only action taken to limit damage is temporary pumping with the help of big machinery.

The acceleration of project urbanisation since the 2000s on bigger and bigger tracts of expropriated land, particularly because several road-building projects are financed by the BOT system (see Chapter 6), changes the relationships between the villages and the new urban areas that are built on their farmland. Until now, the rythm of construction was slow enough and the size of the new urban areas modest enough for integration to take place between them and the villages.

Integration into the city: between myths and realities

Since *Đổi mới*, the city of Hà Nội has spread over its fringes, integrating agricultural and multi-activity villages into its perimeter. The space integrated into the city since that time totals 191.58 km^2 and is made up of 148 villages (Plate 11). This very rapid change begs the question of the adaptation of villages into new economic and demographic contexts, namely reception of migrants, identification and integration of village heritage elements into the new urban context.

Similarly, the transformations in the network of roads and built-up areas, when faced with the construction of new arteries that cross village perimeters and with the influx of migrants that must be lodged, confront the inhabitants with profound changes in their living space.

The integration of village communities into the urban fabric has not always been plain sailing, even if part of the population enjoyed economic benefits thanks to fresh commercial and service activities. The loss of village agricultural land, limited as it was, the difficulties of the expropriated to retrain for new activities, the installation of migrants in villages turned into dormitory neighbourhoods are some of the problems that the first ring of villages had to confront in the aftermath of *Đổi mới*.

Villagers have lost their representatives, the heads of villages, with integration into new urban areas, and no longer have the means to make their voices heard. The city's occupation plans are henceforth imposed in an authoritarian manner. However, the smaller size of the urban projects that have affected the villages of the first ring, in comparison to those being built at the end of the 2000s, suggests the extent of difficulties that the villages of the second ring already have and will have to deal with further.

However, the inhabitants of villages integrated into the urban perimeter have not remained passive in the face of authoritarian change in the use of agricultural land. Some have taken part in the urbanisation of these new urban fringe areas by increasing the density of construction on their residential plots of land, where prices have become prohibitive, in order to resell them to new inhabitants or to rent them out. Others have decided to take part in land transactions to group together plots of land big enough to interest the property developers.

In this way, since the 1990s, the outskirts of Vietnamese towns and cities are the scene of many individual and familial land deals. All levels of society seek to turn a profit from land that can be urbanised: private companies, individuals and institutions of all kinds. Making money from land in cities and urbanised villages has become the business that occupies every member of society (Pédelahore, 2006).

The profile of villages integrated into the city was varied. Craft villages were numerous in what are now urban districts of Hà Nôi, yet few of them succeeded in maintaining their activity, due to lack of production space at prices accessible to artisans and to competition from the modern sector. The list of craft villages absorbed by the city of Hà Nội and whose activity has disappeared is long: the very famous paper-making villages on the shores of West Lake, the makers of votive ingots in the villages of Giáp Tứ and Giáp Nhị in the south of the city (Thanh Trì), the lace-makers from the outskirts of Hà Đông, etc. There are two or three copper smelters left in the very famous village of Ngũ Xã, a neighbourhood currently much sought-after by expatriates on the edge of Trúc Bạch Lake. However, urbanisation is not necessarily a harbinger of death for artisanal activities.

The most famous villages, such as Bát Tràng (pottery) or Vạn Phúc (silk) are situated in the first ring integrated into urban districts. It all depends on the scale of production, mechanisation and the cohesion of commercial networks that underpin these activities. The selective discrimination of urbanisation takes place according to complex political, social and economic criteria that require special study.

We have seen in Chapter 1 that many villages had specialised in making paper and silk near West Lake, thus benefitting from the proximity of a source of water, consumed by these activities in large quantities, and from the market in Hà Nôi. Papermaking activity goes back more than seven centuries and until the 1920s employed more than a hundred families in these urban villages. Some artisans engaged in production of great quality for royal edicts, illuminations and popular images (Le Failler, 2009). Very rapidly, in the 1920s, the process of industrialisation began. Newspaper in particular, the ultimate industrial product, began to flood the market and hastened the decline of local production. In the 1960s and 1970s, in the context of a lack of raw materials, linked to the war and the embargo organised by Western countries, this activity was kept going.

With economic liberalisation, crafts could not survive the economic competition. High quality traditional papers were no longer prized and this artisanal activity, completely manual, was abandoned in the villages on the shores of West Lake at the beginning of the 1980s. Consuming large quantities of both water and firewood, for the ovens, the craft fell victim to competition from industrial paper mills and competition for land in this rapidly urbanising zone.

In this manner, villages to be integrated into the urban fabric have individual profiles that in part determine their capacity to become part of the city. Papin (1997) has shown in his thesis to what extent the social formations of the hundred or so villages that belonged to the feudal city were not of a homogenous nature. 'Each one of them had a specific relationship with Hà Nôi. A village of craftsmen and a village of rice farmers do not behave in the same way. The various social components did not always share the same interests: Hà Nôi was a market of consumers for some, but it was a threat to oligarchic landed power for others. Within one village, it was in the interests of some to look towards the city while others wished to avoid it.'

The following three examples of integration of villages into the city show to what extent some villagers did not accept administrative integration into the city and found this change in conditions a difficult experience: Hòa Mục is now part of the urban district of Thanh Xuân, while Triều Khúc, where artisanal recycling activities have been practised for generations, has maintained its status as a village and has refused to convert to urban status, despite its location in the urbanised zone.

• Hòa Mục: a new residential zone in village territory

The place that the inhabitants of Hà Nội still today call the village (*làng*) of Hòa Mục (Plate 11) is part of a string of rural communities established many centuries ago along the Tô Lịch River, a waterway that was long one of the capital's main communication links. Although located only six kilometres from the historic centre of Hà Nội, this zone was until very recently at the interface between the city centre and its rural outskirts (Papin, 2001).

The integration of the village of Hòa Mục into the socio-economic space of Hà Nội happened progressively during the 20th century. This process was already under way in the 1920s when the inhabitants, taking advantage of fresh urban and international markets opened up by the colonial economy, developed a flourishing artisanal textile industry. When the communist party seized power, in the middle of the century, it did not put an end to economic relations between the village and the city. Rather, villagers active in craftwork formed a pool of select

workforce for the new socialist state factories, and those who had completed studies were integrated into the civil service.

Although transformed during the collectivist era (1954-1986), this link between the rural and urban economies was preserved by the local population through a whole series of informal activities practised by households on their land, including market gardening, raising poultry and pigs, and production of bricks and tiles for residential construction (Labbé, 2011a: Chapters 4-5).

During the *Đổi mới* reforms, these socio-economic links with the city facilitated the transition of households towards a more liberal economy. Although tenuous, the connections made by the households of Hòa Mục during the collectivist era with the city centre served as a foundation for the intense process of *in situ* urbanisation observed in and around the village since the beginning of the 1990s.

This endogenous urbanisation first became apparent through rapid demographic growth. The official data indicate that between 1980 and 1997 the population of the commune (*xã*) of Trung Hòa, to which Hòa Mục belongs, rose from roughly 6,000 to 14,000 inhabitants. In 2008, it reached 30,000 people. Two-thirds of the inhabitants were permanent and seasonal migrants, including families from the city centre come to settle in the village, and students and labourers from Red River Delta provinces come in search of affordable accommodation within reach of the universities and non-qualified jobs available in the capital.

During the 1990s, the local economy diversified considerably, particularly in the secondary and tertiary urban sectors. However, even at the beginning of the 2000s, more than half of households were still engaged in agriculture. Following the decollectivisation of agriculture (1988-1993), the inhabitants continued to farm small paddy fields that were allocated to them by the co-operative. In this very dense commune (5,000 people per square kilometre in 1997), households only had access, on average, to plots of cultivatable land varying from 720 to 1,080 m^2 in size.

These small fields nonetheless ensured households' food security. They provided a foundation upon which villagers diversified their economy. With their self-sufficiency assured, households sent some of their members to try their luck in the city, where new jobs were being created, especially in construction. Others widened and intensified market gardening and husbandry activities that they already practised at home during the collectivist era. Still others opened small businesses or companies run from home, including offering accommodation for students and seasonal migrants in small buildings called *nhà trọ*, built on village residential land.

Another indicator of this *in situ* urbanisation was the local land and property market, which experienced a lightning renaissance from the middle of the 1990s. The villagers then started to subdivide and exchange residential properties among themselves, along with speculators from the city and with migrant households.

In the wake of this, the village's built-up environment underwent some important changes. Gradually, the population, both native and migrant, demolished and rebuilt almost all of the village's urban fabric that today approaches densities of construction comparable with those of back-alley neighbourhoods in central Hà Nội. In the space of a decade or so, the little houses with tiled roofs (*nhà ngói*) surrounded by gardens and enclosed by stone walls, up to that point typically rural, have been replaced by multi-storey urban-style buildings (*nhà xây*) (Plate 12).

The communal authorities took part in the changes outlined above by encouraging farmers to diversify their familial economy, giving approval for informal land transactions, turning a blind eye to the presence in the village of a large unregistered migrant population. Officials from the local people's committee also initiated some changes more directly, particularly by converting part of the agricultural land adjoining the village into residential land to be urbanised, which was shared out among households in the commune (for a more detailed discussion of this, see Labbé 2011a: Chapter 5).

However, this endogenous urban transition was upset at the end of the 1990s when the authorities of the province of Hà Nội approved the construction of a 'new urban area' on the village's land (see Chapter 5). Called Trung Hòa-Nhân Chính, after the two communes that it straddles, this large entity spreads over 33 hectares. The residential function predominates here, but there are also businesses, offices, schools, medical clinics and small public spaces. This KĐTM (*khu đô thị mới*), a new urban area, was moved into, developed and marketed by Vinaconex, which was then a state-owned enterprise under the supervision of the Vietnamese Ministry of Construction, but which has since been converted into a private equity company (*công ty cổ phần tư*) (Plate 12).

The construction of this new urban area required the recovery of land usage rights by the public authorities for all of the agricultural land farmed by the population of Hòa Mục. This process of expropriation was not always smooth.

Conscious of the importance that agriculture still played in their subsistence strategies, local households resisted the expropriation process during several months, refusing to accept the very low rates of compensation offered by the Hà Nội authorities and by the promoter (at that time, about 2.5 €/m^2).

From 1997 to 2003, Vinaconex and the local authorities took various measures to force the villagers to relinquish their land. The district authorities offered higher compensation rates to the first households to give up their certificates of land use rights (called 'red books'). Policemen visited the families of resistant households, threatening to imprison them if they refused the proposed conditions of expropriation. Finally, the last households still hanging onto their land were forcibly dispossessed and, in order to obtain access to their compensation, were obliged to write letters apologising publicly for having opposed the development and modernisation of the country (Labbé, 2011a).

In Hòa Mục, a majority of households finally accepted to give up their land when the developer Vinaconex undertook to employ the expropriated farmers as workforce for their export operations, a promise that, up until now, still has not been kept. The construction of the new area was completed in 2005.

Since then, several households formerly active in agriculture have struggled to adapt to an entirely urban mode of subsistence. The situation is particularly difficult for the group of former farmers who are today between 30 and 50 years old. The generally low level of education of these individuals limits their integration into the region's factories, which usually require a high school diploma. The district authorities have set up technical training schemes (hairdressing, cooking, car mechanics, kindergarten teaching, etc.) with the aim of retraining agricultural workers. Only a small minority of villagers have taken part in these schemes seen as unsuited to their needs and to Hà Nội's employment market. In most cases, unemployed former farm workers have preferred to start small businesses or activities in the informal service sector (motorbike taxis).

A new socio-economic insecurity has also appeared among households who have used up in a few years all of the compensation money received after expropriation. Poorly prepared to manage such large sums of money, some less-educated families favoured 'ostentatious' purchases, choosing to rebuild their houses or buy the latest model of scooter rather than investing in a small business, in learning a trade or in the education of their children. Tô Xuân Phúc & Drummond (2009) report similar situations all around the Red River Delta, where 'several former farmers now have villas several stories high and scooters for each member of their families, but are incapable of meeting their daily needs for food'

This leads to what the authors call a phenomenon of 'self-induced poverty.' Rather than strengthening trade between village and city or creating fresh socio-economic links with the latter, the construction of the Trung Hòa-Nhân Chính new urban area has contributed to marginalising the most vulnerable village households. The new neighbourhood has deprived households of their capacity for food self-sufficiency while at the same time limiting socio-economic relations with adjoining village communities.

The shops and services available in this large complex are aimed at the middle-upper classes that live in the neighbourhood and are beyond the means of villagers. The schools and medical clinics that have been built in the neighbourhood are all managed by private interests. The school and medical fees charged are very high, thus excluding the less affluent populations who live around the neighbourhood. Only households owning land close to the new urban area have been able to benefit from the new affluent clientele living in the neighbourhood, by opening up small cafés and restaurants.

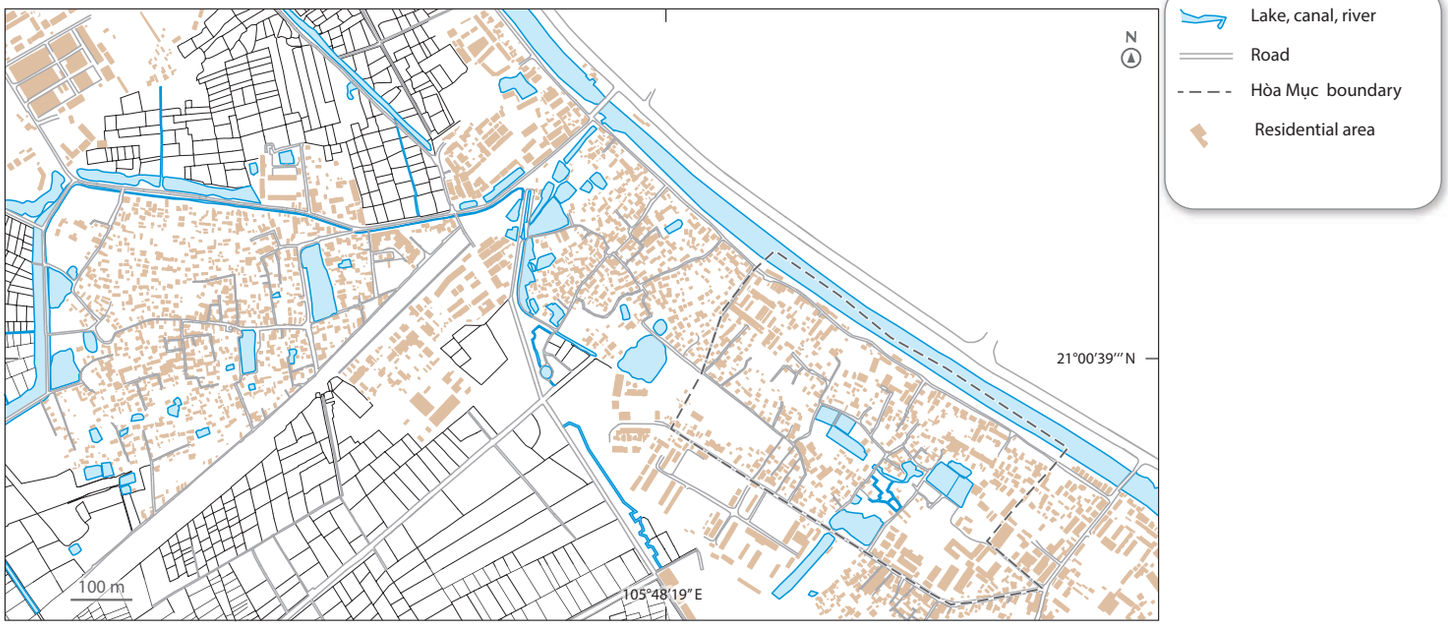
For the great majority of village households, the new urban area provides only wide streets where it is pleasant to stroll in the evening with neighbours, admiring the luxurious residential complexes; these are striking symbols of a model of urban development that deepens socio-spatial fault-lines rather than integrating pre-existing peri-urban populations.

• Triều Khúc: social impacts of integration

Triều Khúc is situated on the southwest outskirts of Hà Nội in the commune of Tân Triều, in the district of Thanh Trì. This craft village continues to practise its artisanal recycling activities in spite of its integration into the urban fabric. The village abuts onto the district of Thanh Xuân, industrialised since the 1960s (tobacco, rubber, soap), housing several administrative institutions (Ministry of the Army, University of Public Security, University of Music and Fine Arts, University of Teacher Training, University of Social Sciences, University of Natural Sciences, University of Architecture, Institute of Transport). In 2009, there remained 40 ha of agricultural land in Triều Khúc that was slated for imminent development. Fifteen thousand people were living in the village in 2009, while there were only six thousand in 1960. There is a strong local religious identity, and proximity with Hà Nội does not incite people to leave the village. Every year, according to the

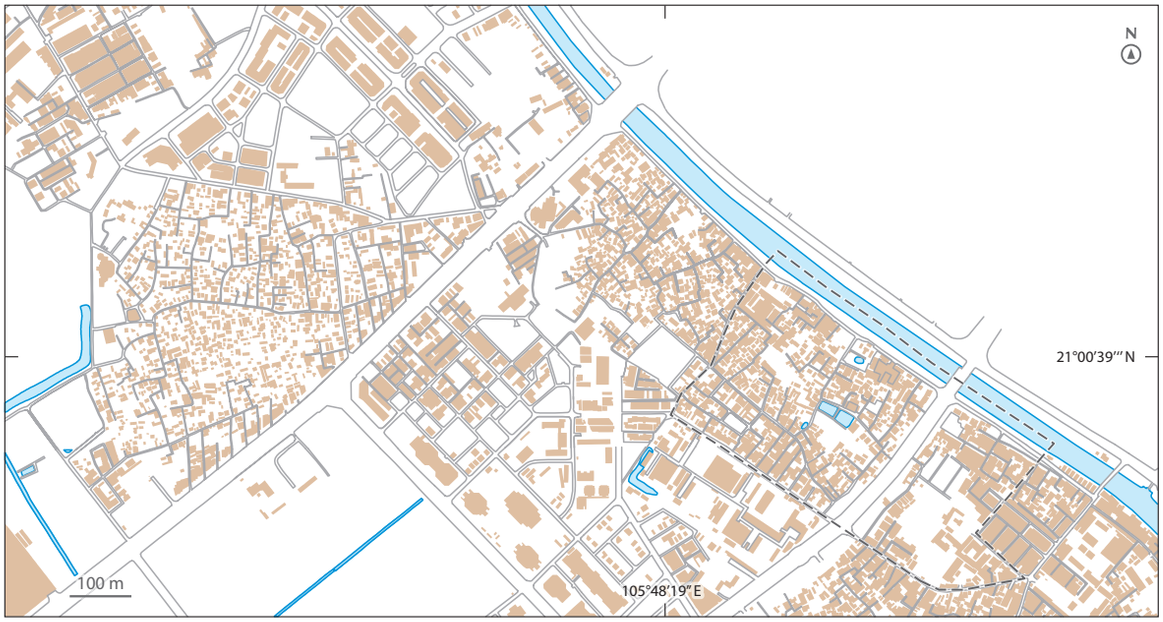
The densification of urban development in the village of Hòa Mục since the 1990s

1992



Sources: Labbé D. Adapted from Cadastral plans of Hoàng Mai and Cầu Giấy districts and Department of Natural Resources and the Environment, Hà Nội Municipality

2003



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local administration, about a hundred village pupils pass university entrance examinations, which is gradually changing the socio-economic structure[7].

Triều Khúc has not suffered from the conversion of land imposed by the state since the 2000s in several peripheral villages near the new urban areas (KĐTM), but the proximity of industries and universities built in the 1960s has had repercussions on the village's property market. Some 3,000 to 5,000 people have bought a house or rented accommodation in Triều Khúc[8]. These new arrivals are managers, skilled workers and labourers who work in Hà Nội, migrant workers and students. This has brought about a significant densification of residential space.

The result of the densification has been to considerably reduce the spaces available for the family and village celebrations for which the village is reputed. The arrival of strangers within the village or even within families has also brought new customs or new ways of life. Firstly, renting rooms and the proliferation of small businesses serving these new populations have increased villagers' incomes. Next, students who commute often to Hà Nội for entertainment bring to the village several new services such as tutoring for pupils of elementary and secondary schools or foreign language classes. Many of these students marry in the village and stay there after their studies, because the saying is: 'the land is good there and the birds have already alighted'.

Nevertheless, it is often remarked upon in Triều Khúc, as indeed Mrs Nguyễn told me, that village and familial relations are not what they used to be. Marriage ceremonies incorporate elements from elsewhere, the new arrivals lock their doors and work elsewhere all day, which alters neighbourhood relationships, young couples go kissing around the lake opposite the temple, which shocks the older villagers. Native villagers and the new arrivals live relatively parallel lives, despite overcrowding and lack of privacy. Conflicts that come up are not settled by traditional methods of reconciliation but rather by recourse to the local authorities or the police. Moreover, the mayor of Hà Nội has awarded the commune of Tân Triều the prize for best local management.

The local authorities are particularly proud of their 'rural security' process, namely the local management of conflicts without recourse to higher authorities in Hà Nội, and of their good fire-fighting skills (fires are frequent in craft villages). However, this has not prevented some inhabitants from worrying about the appearance of 'social evils' (drugs, prostitution, compulsive gambling, theft), but more than 50% of our sample state that security has improved greatly over the last five years[9].

Box 1

Mrs Nguyễn[1] is 41 years old. For five years, she has travelled daily into the centre of Hà Nội to work in a hotel. Her husband, who no longer works as a farmer, stays in the village to build an extension onto their home in order to rent rooms to students. When Mrs Nguyễn was small, people practised crafts or farmed rice. With the construction of the universities and offices around the village, people have changed trades and the recycling micro-factories have proliferated in the village's residential spaces. Migrant workers have flowed into the village to work there. With this urbanisation, the villagers have lost their jobs, she says. This increases the density of residential spaces. At her house, four people lived there before; now, there are ten. Through solidarity, she must receive members of her family. In addition, the construction of rooms for students on their land increases the density still further. Mrs Nguyễn tells me that when she gets home from Hà Nội every evening, she 'changes personality'. She submits to village customs, to which she is very attached. I ask her why she wants to stay in the village. She says that she doesn't have the money to buy a place in Hà Nội and that to sell in the village, she would need the agreement of the grandparents and of all the family, which seems impossible. And, she adds, 'a village woman must avoid conflicts'.

1) Not her real name: this is to protect the identity of the person interviewed on 20th May 2009 in Triều Khúc. This text is taken from about 60 interviews with the inhabitants of the village and the local authorities, as well as a period of two months during which Julie-Anne Boudreau lived in the village. She thanks Bui Viet Cuong, Nguyễn Duc Truyen, Tran Minh, Vu Tuan Huy, Mélanie Robertson and Jean-Pierre Collin for their collaboration on this research, as well as her hosts in Triều Khuc and all the inhabitants who agreed to tell her their story..

Over and above these social changes though, the densification of the village has produced severe environmental damage owing to failures in the evacuation of waste water, to the intensification of road traffic, to the increased demand for drinking water and electricity, and to the intensification of craft enterprise activities. For a long time, the villagers have practised craft activities such as weaving towels, flags and medal ribbons for the state, collecting old ironmongery and poultry feathers that are used to make brooms. Before 1986, 80% of the population officially lived off agriculture in the village, but non-agricultural crafts had long been practised to top up agricultural incomes. Since *Đổi mới*, the economic structure of the village has remained stable, although industrial and craft businesses have been intensified and modernised.

This is particularly visible in the recycling industry, long implanted in Triều Khúc (since the 17th century according to Ngọc, 1993, quoted in DiGregorio, 1997). The recycling industry is subdivided into three categories of activities: those that collect recyclable materials (often an itinerant activity), the intermediaries who buy them, stock them and transport them to the villages specialised in recycling, and the smaller and bigger plants that recycle them. The inhabitants of Triều Khúc are active in these three categories of activities for the recycling of plastic[10]. They control most of the storage places in Hà Nội, along with villagers from Xuân Thủy.

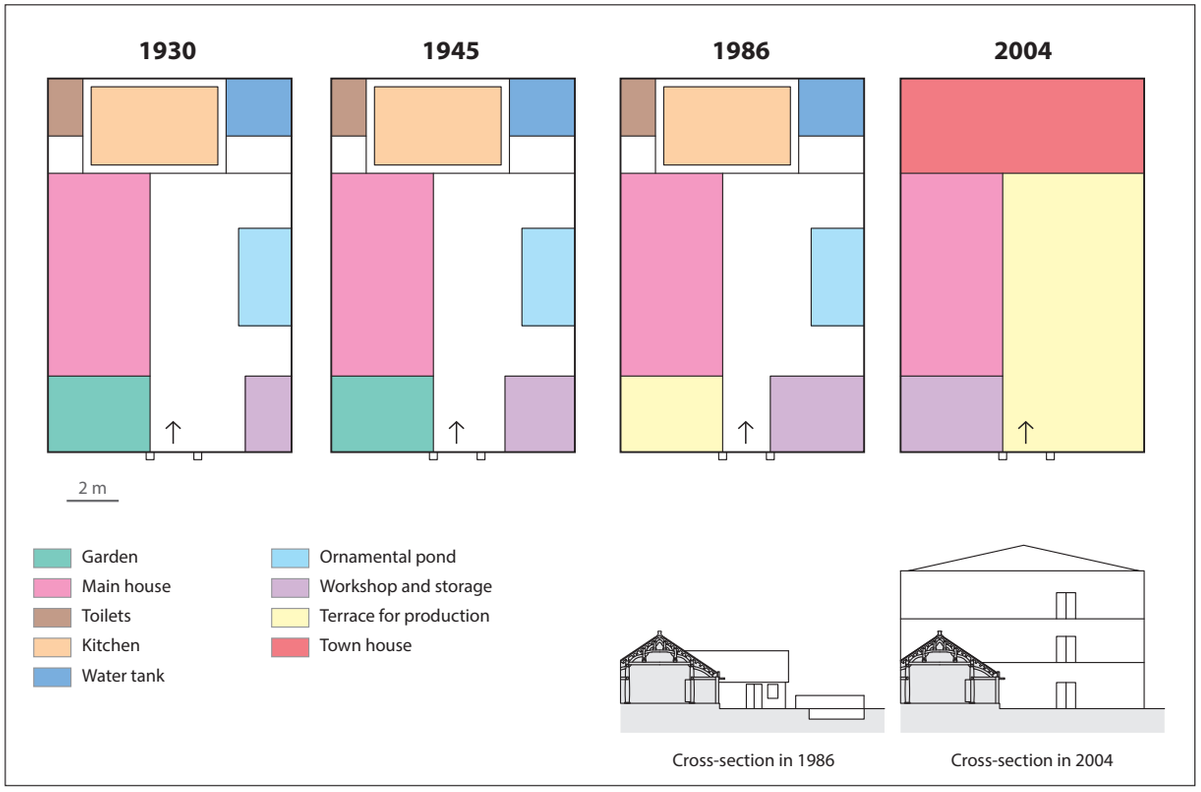
This explains why many piles of plastic can be observed in the village awaiting recycling, along with small processing plants right in residential areas. Figure 8 shows how this activity fits into the village landscape and occupies an ever-greater place in residential space. Since the 1980s, market liberalisation has generated a notable increase in consumption, and thus of waste to be recycled.

In addition, the loss of agricultural land has forced many households to convert their formerly seasonal activity (alternating with agriculture) of recycling into a yearlong activity. The environmental problems emanating from these activities are severe: smells and air quality, cluttering, sanitary difficulties associated with accumulation of dangerous materials (for example, recycling of used syringes). Inhabitants increasingly evoke cancers, but according to Mrs Nguyễn, 'they haven't yet had their awareness sufficiently raised to the dangers'. They manage as best they can to counter this pollution, by for example 'covering our door with a plastic curtain to block out the smoke from the plastic burning in the neighbour's factory'.

In 2000, the local authorities took action by asking Hà Nội for an 10 ha zone located outside the residential area where craft and industrial activities were to be relocated. However, in 2009, this was not yet in operation and was not yet supplied with electricity and water. According to the communal authorities, the district demanded that the plots in this zone should be auctioned off. As the plots in question are very close to Hà Nội, they were an attractive real estate proposition and it was affluent speculators from Hà Nội who made the highest bids rather than small-scale producers from Triều Khúc [11]. In addition, even if these 80 plots had been reserved for village producers, they would only have met one third of demand.

However, these management difficulties do not prevent the inhabitants of Triều Khúc from seeing in a fairly positive light the urbanisation process, of which they are at once agents (through their own densification practices, mobility towards the centre and micro-industrial production) and spectators (subjected to conversions of agricultural land and development policies imposed by Hà Nội).

Figure 8 – RECYCLING MICRO-PLANTS IN THE VILLAGE: EVOLUTION OF A PLOT OF LAND



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Source: Trần Nhật Kiên, 2010

Our little survey of fifty village households shows that for 57% of those who answered, urbanisation is a good thing; 21% have a more qualified opinion, mentioning both the advantages and the drawbacks; and 21% perceive urbanisation as a completely negative process. The biggest positive consequence mentioned is the improvement in living conditions and 'modernity' (17%), while the biggest negative consequence is unquestionably pollution (18%).

Spatial, social, economic and cultural integration into the city is a dynamic process that is still ongoing in Triều Khúc since the 1960s. Over fifty years, therefore, the villagers have lived through great changes, which have speeded up since *Đổi mới*.

Mrs Nguyễn's generation felt the effects of this upheaval keenly and tends to see it in a positive light, despite a marked nostalgia for a village past that it only knew during childhood. This is a generation that steers a successful path between customs and contemporary socio-economic imperatives, that travels more frequently into the centre of Hà Nội (for work, shopping, entertainment) and that worries about environmental problems linked to densification of residential spaces and intensification of trade, traffic and industrial production in the village.

• The urban fabric and transformations of build heritage: the case of Triều Khúc

The *làng*, or village, is a specific term used frequently in studies of Vietnamese civilisation. However, the village as such is not an administrative unit and its limits are not mentioned on maps. Nonetheless, the importance of its very rich tangible as well as its intangible heritage bears witness to the still vibrant role of village spatial organisation in the new urban areas and to their specificity when compared with the new areas. Unlike in China, villages integrated into the city have not been razed, nor has the population been moved away.

Within these outlying areas, the tangible and intangible heritage makes it possible to distinguish the village from the rest of areas of housing. In addition, it is possible to distinguish the villagers from other inhabitants originally from elsewhere, because they have managed to keep up their own cultural and religious practices. They still worship the tutelary spirit. They gather together within organisations such as the village council of elders, the festivals commission, the women's association, the village band, etc. Every year, at the beginning of spring, they organise the village festival and carry out several rites and play traditional games.

The village's second notable element is its spatial structure. It is composed of two types of spaces: the one for residence, and the one for production, usually made up of fields, drying courtyards, workshops, etc. The living area is usually divided into several hamlets, four or five bearing the names of the important monuments or landmarks in the village: Pagoda Hamlet (*Xóm Chùa*), Upstream Hamlet (*Xóm Trên*), Downstream Hamlet (*Xóm Dưới*), Eastern Hamlet (*Xóm Đông*), Western Hamlet (*Xóm Đoài*), etc. Paths or watercourses mark the borders between them.

The hamlet is the village's elemental unit of cultural community. In Triều Khúc for example, each hamlet has a football team, a music group, a council of elders, etc. The hamlet inhabitants build a *quan* for their religious and cultural activities as the equivalent of the village *đình* (communal house).

In the hamlets, the smallest cultural units are actually the alleys, or *ngõ*. The people living in the same alley usually have a strong connection. The alley becomes a communal space where children play together, old people chat, etc.

Sometimes, the inhabitants erect an outdoor ancestors' altar or *cay huong* to worship the alley's earth spirit and put up gates to keep it safe. The village centre plays a very important role in terms of heritage. The religious and administrative monuments and sometimes the market are grouped there. The positioning of monuments is determined by geomancy. These religious monuments, ancient trees, ponds and earthen mounds rising above the flat landscape form a harmonious whole with considerable aesthetic appeal.

Since the 1990s, the residential areas of Hà Nội's peri-urban villages have changed rapidly, with a 'new vocation': providing new housing for migrants and young couples from the village who cannot find a place in the very densely populated village core. Village neighbourhoods, or hamlets, have encroached onto agricultural land and new blocks of buildings have grown up there. The hierarchy of the spatio-cultural structure, which is made up of 3 levels (1: the village, 2: the hamlet, 3: the alley), is evolving with the development of new residential 'neighbourhoods': villages thus become a component of urban areas.

These city fragments are however little considered in current urban development projects, in spite of their village identity strongly characterised by the presence of a religious and cultural heritage, evidence of the former richness of Hà Nội's villages. The structure of the old village core is changing with the subdivision of plots of land sold to migrants or built upon to offer cheap

housing for workers and students. In addition, encroachment over ponds and the elimination of gardens mean that Hà Nôi is losing its garden city quality.

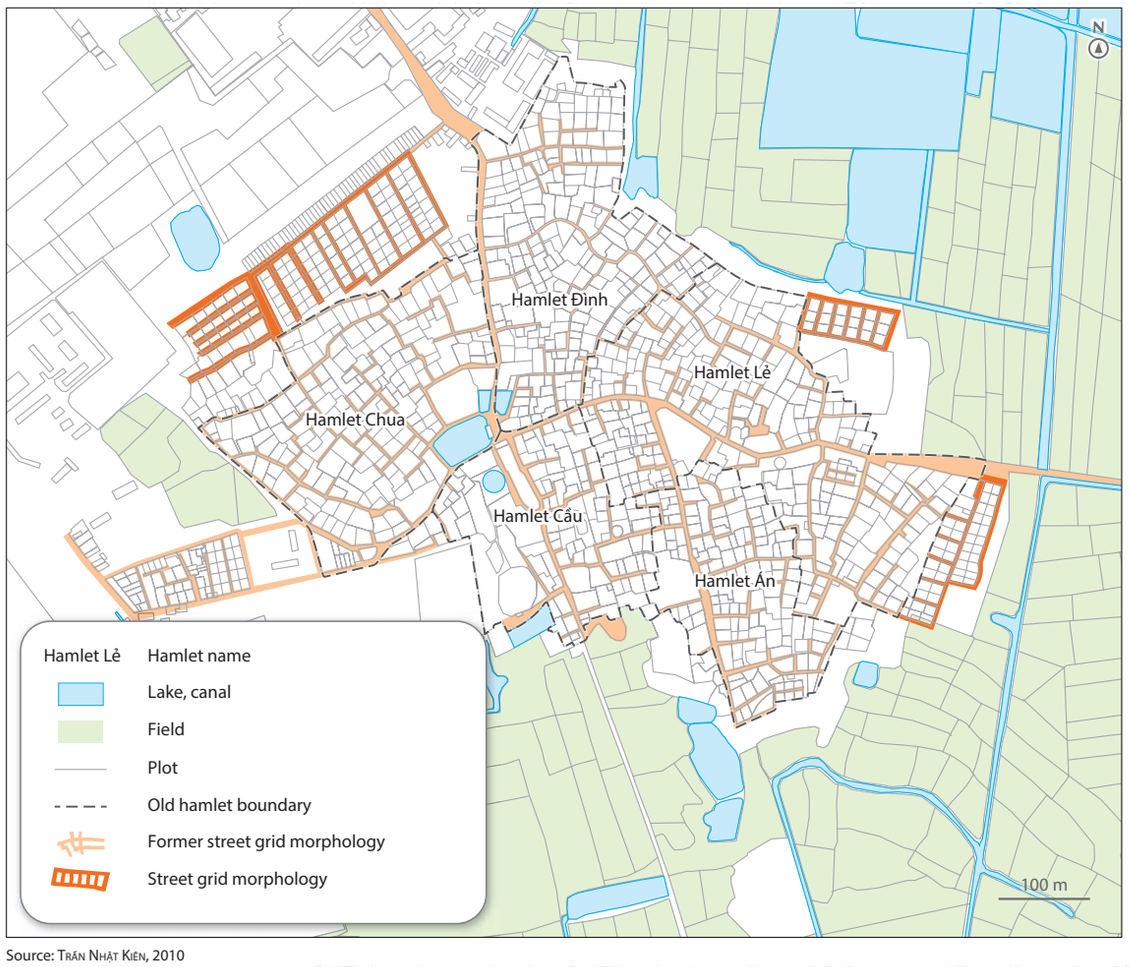
Villages integrated into urban districts undergo a double process of densification. The first is linked to the erection of buildings in the village core, a by-product of the fragmentation of residential plots of land. The second is linked to urban infrastructure built by the *phường* authorities on agricultural land or on land reclaimed by filling in ponds.

By observing a map of the village of Triều Khúc, one can distinguish two very different morphological types: the old urban morphology in the centre and another on the outskirts of villages. In the old hamlets, the thoroughfares are sinuous and describe complex routes: they follow the lie of the land and the manner in which the village space has been fashioned. In contrast, on the outskirts, thoroughfares are laid out in the urban gridiron style, but devoid of footpaths (Figure 9).

In the central hamlets, plots of land are subdivided and new cul-de-sacs are thus created (Plate 13). Originally, a cul-de-sac was an entrance giving access to a family house, and then little by little it became an entrance for several households, because this family has gradually divided into several smaller households. The entrance gate was shared between all the households in the cul-de-sac and each dwelling had its own private entrance.

Both the shared spaces and the privatised ones have changed (Plate 13). Cul-de-sacs are spaces shared by a few families and also serve as intermediary space between the alleyway and families' private space. They are the site of village social relations (familial or neighbourly). With a shared gate for several families, relations

Figure 9 – MORPHOLOGY OF THE NETWORK OF THOROUGHFARES IN THE VILLAGE OF TRIỀU KHÚC



© IRD, 2015

Source: Trần Nhật Kiên, 2010

between the inhabitants of a cul-de-sac are well monitored and households are thus more secure from burglars.

On the outskirts of the village, the new residential blocks built within the framework of policies to increase space for village populations (see Chapter 7) by the communal authorities are divided into several lots which each give onto the street. These lots are distributed in priority to inhabitants of old hamlets with the aim of giving young households a separate space to live in, while some are sold to immigrants to the village.

In fact, with the very rapid demographic growth of the village of Triều Khúc, in 1990, the People's Committee of the commune of Tân Triều allocated to young households living in families with three generations under the same roof, a plot of land near the hamlet of Chùa, to the west of the village (Figure 9). In total, seventy households benefited from this policy. Thirty teachers having accumulated thirty years of service at the village school similarly received plots of land. Each household got a piece of land of 100 m^2.

In another instance, to the northwest of the village, on the outskirts of the hamlet of Chùa, plots were divided up into rectangles of 4 m x12 m with street frontage, an arrangement suited to building 'compartment' houses [12].

Unlike the creation of cul-de-sacs in the old hamlets, new alleyways are built in an open-plan style that facilitates circulation: access is possible for all those that live there, as well as for those that come from outside. As in urban neighbourhoods, houses open out onto the street, and ties between inhabitants of the same alley are less close than in the traditional cul-de-sac.

In spite of all these social, demographic and urban planning transformations, public monuments for villages' cultural and religious use survive owing to their integration into the city. It can be said that 80% of Hà Nội's heritage is of village origin.

These monuments are located according to their status in the political or cultural hierarchy. In the village centre, there is the communal house (or *đình*), the pagoda (*chùa*), and the temple (*đền*).

Sometimes in special villages called scholar villages, for example Quan Nhân or Chương, people build a temple for Confucius (*văn chỉ*) for the worship of the founder of Confucianism, for successful candidates of the quadrennial competitive exams from the mandarin era, and for the activities of village scholars. In the hamlets, there are small monuments such as the little temples (*miếu*) that are built by inhabitants to appease malevolent spirits.

Architectural monuments of this kind, which represent the honour of the village, are much venerated and carefully maintained by the villagers, receiving more attention than others. Their construction is of high quality and the level of sophistication of their decorations bears witness to the affluence of the village.

The house of lineage worship is still of primordial importance, even when villages are integrated into the urban fabric and are home to numerous migrants. The families of most inhabitants have lived in the village for several generations and belong to founding or secondary lineages. Relations between members of the same family are strengthened by ancestor worship and joint family activities. Thanks to these, houses of lineage worship are always carefully maintained and restored.

Conclusion

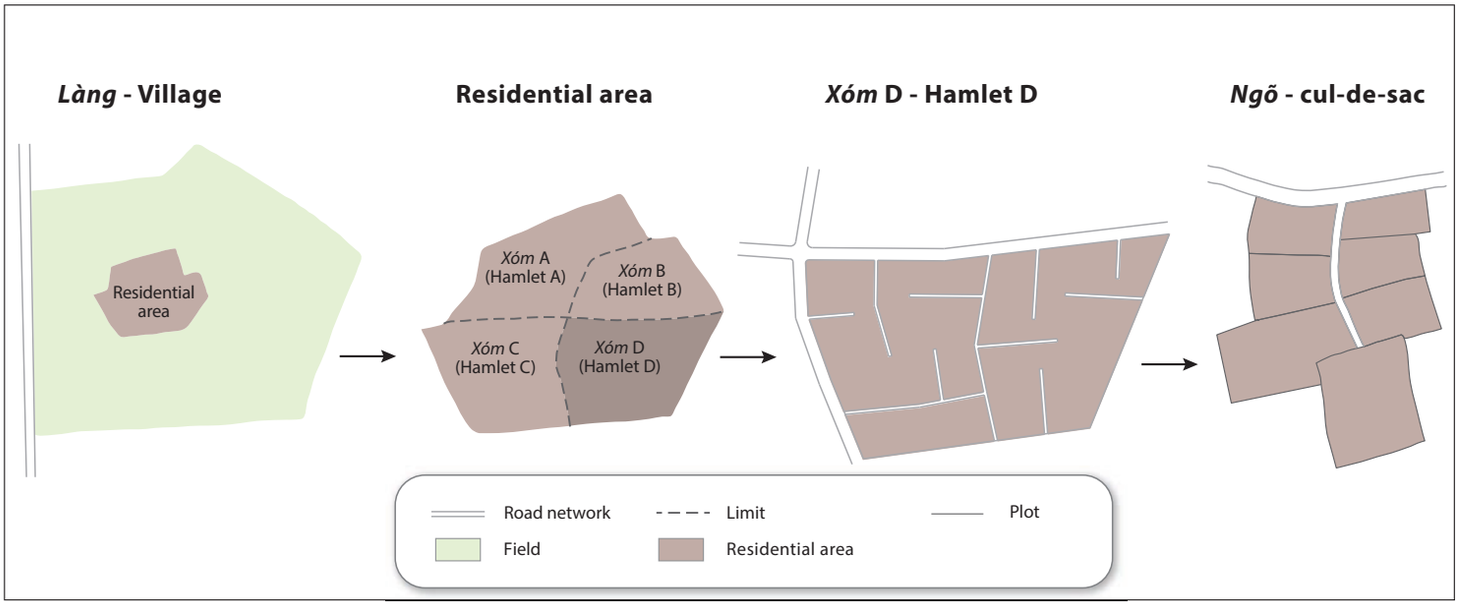
The conditions of village integration into the city of Hà Nội have fluctuated according to periods with different versions depending on spatial, socio-cultural, economic and administrative variables. Cultural heritage of village origin, spread out over various neighbourhoods in the city, is evidence of the rural past of many places integrated into the urban fabric.

However, the loss of agricultural land and the problematic conversion of expropriated farmers, without training, render integration into the city difficult for older people. For younger ones, adaptations take place if opportunities arise and depending on their capacity to get ahead in the city that has absorbed them.

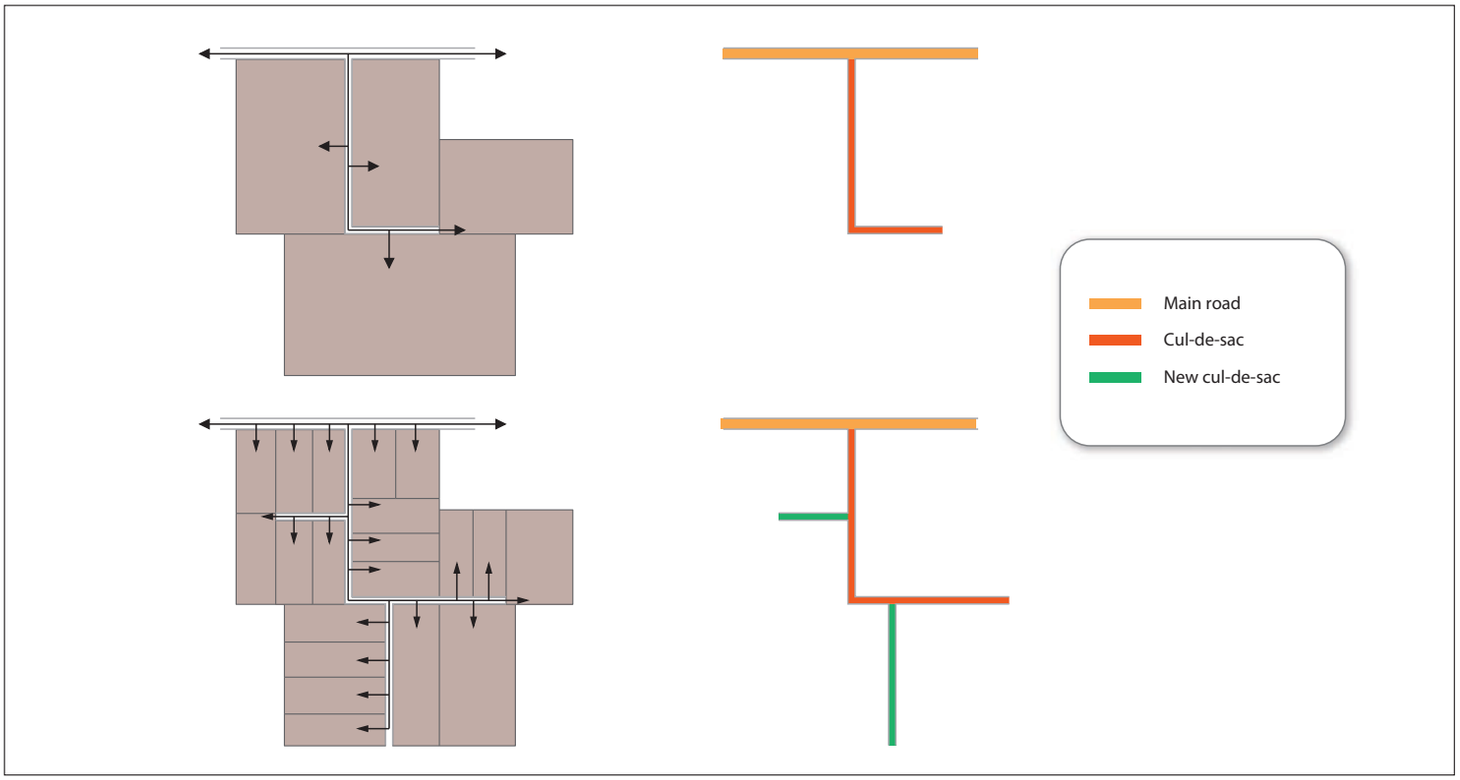
The acceleration of the process of metropolisation, the influx of migrant workers into urban villages, the change in scale of the magnitude of the city, but above all the very high price of land no longer allow economic and social adaptations made up of negotiations with the administrative authorities, village arrangements at the local level and a multi-activity way of life.

The study of changes that occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s in the first peri-urban ring, notably the construction of the first new residential areas, leads

Spatial structure of a village / Division of plots of land and formation of new cul-de-sacs in the former hamlets of Triêu Khúc



Source: Trần Nhật Kiên, 2010



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one to envisage that the second ring, slated for urbanisation by 2030 according to the 2011 master plan over a very wide area, will take place under other conditions.

In addition, the example of policies implemented during the colonial and collectivist eras – that we will examine later – namely policies not taking into account the role of villages in the city, as had done the imperial administration in keeping with the Chinese model, demonstrates how much this dichotomy between the urban and the rural has been anti-economic and has led to demographic disintegration.

1) André Masson notes in 1924: 'Hà Nội is not really a city, but a composite conurbation comprising, juxtaposed in the same enclosure an administrative capital, a commercial city and several villages'. More recently, Christian Pédelahore talked of an 'aggregate city' when he initiated architectural and urban research on Hà Nội in the 1980s.

2) Map of Hà Nội, 1873, drawn up by Pham Dinh Bach, published by the Indochinese geographical service in 1916, original map at 1: 12,500, dimensions 68 x 65 cm.

3) The 'map of the city of Hà Nội' drawn up by Mr Leclanger, head of the municipal highway department in 1890, presents the project of squaring off the colonial quarter. On this document, the 'city limits' are enclosed within those of the 'concession' thus defining between the two a zone of peri-urban villages, housing very few urban installations, but destined to be rapidly urbanised.

4) 'Hà Nội and special delegation, development plan,' 1943, Central Department of Architecture and Town Planning, drawn up by Pineau and Cerutti-Maori, original document at 1: 10,000, Centre des archives de l'IFA, Fonds Louis-Georges Pineau.

5) In 1986, a plan drew up an inventory of Hà Nội's urban situation at the moment of economic liberalisation. Later, in 1992, another plan presented the urban situation before making a master plan of the city. These two documents were produced by the Vietnamese Geographical Department.

6) Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région d'Île-de-France.

7) According to the local authorities, the commune houses about 1,000-1,500 university graduates, of whom a third work in the commune.

8) The local authorities estimate that about 400 people bought a house in the village in 2008 alone, some of them using the names of villagers to ease administrative procedures. In 2009, there were about 2,000 student rooms for rent in the village, divided among about 670 households. There are estimated to be about 5,000 students in the village and 200 migrant workers.

9) Survey carried out in May 2009 among 50 households in the village.

10) The local authorities counted about 100 recycling plants in the village in 2009 as well as roughly 400 storage places for households of collectors or middlemen.

11) The starting price was set at 14,000 VND per square metre, but rose rapidly to several million VND per square metre (interview, 22nd June 2009).

12) Contemporary compartment houses occupy all the space suitable for development on the plot. But this model also has its drawbacks: exchanges with the outside world now only take place in the space located in front of the houses and in the alleyways. Up above, this space becomes narrower with balconies that overhang the street by up to 60 cm. Space here is intensively occupied..

Breaks with the traditional city: the colonial and collectivist eras

E. Cerise, L. Pandolfi

Up until the colonial era, the integration of villages into the city had taken place in keeping with the Chinese model, namely that the administration had integrated within the city limits a hundred or so villages, comprising the craft green belt that supplied the capital. In contrast, during the colonial era (1873-1945), then during the collectivist era (1954-1986), the urban model promoted at that time was a clear separation between what was defined as urban and as rural, with development plans targeting the city centre. During this latter period, rural development was favoured and village populations strictly contained within their rural environment by means of residence permits.

A study based on plans and maps depicting the projects of the colonial then collectivist administrations shows how difficult it was to impose these town planning philosophies imported from France and the Soviet Union onto rural populations. The revenge of rural 'revolutionaries' who occupied the villas of the capital's middle classes when Independence came, in the context of a great housing shortage, bears witness to the contradictions of a system established by a rural administration (it was the villagers who won the wars of independence) pursuing a very urban policy of land use, favouring modernity and high-rise constructions.

An 'authoritarian' urban project: the colonial city ignores villages

The birth of the colonial city is marked by a plan laying out a regular grid pattern of streets to the south of Hoàn Kiếm Lake, the Old Quarter of 36 Streets and the Citadel. This document, drawn up in 1890 by Mr Leclanger, Head of the Hà Nội Highway Department, proposed the following urban organisation: in the centre, a heavily urbanised city, then a peri-urban fringe that is destined to be urbanised and, further out, the countryside and villages often excluded from projects. These entities are not named on the plan, but appear through the limits mentioned: the city inside the 'city limits', the peri-urban fringe between this and the 'limits of the French Concession' and the countryside outside the latter.

In line with this principle, some villages making up the urban structure of pre-colonial Hà Nội, which fulfilled an economic and demographic role within the city, are dissociated with it. Only villages located in the 'peri-urban' zone likely to be rapidly integrated into the city are addressed by urban planning. In this manner, the colonial urban order impugns the spatial organisation of the ancient city; the urban planning rules produced apply to a territory controlled according to new criteria. Territorial

division thus defined made it possible to preserve certain sectors not taken into account in the new urban perimeter. Villages situated near the urban centre illustrated this tendency: located inside city limits before colonisation, they were excluded from it after these were redefined and the city's perimeter reduced by the French administration (Plate 14). They retained a relative autonomy and were, to a certain degree, preserves of traditional local practices and skills.

Between 1890 and 1924, the position and morphology of villages underwent modifications. Accordingly, village settlements established on the site of the colonial project for a grid pattern of streets disappeared (such as for example the villages of Lồng Đô and Phú Lãm), as did those located to the north of the Citadel. Established on the territory of expansion projects of this new colonial quarter, in particular that of the new indigenous neighbourhood, other villages saw their area shrink (such as Liên Đường, Thuyền Quang or Giáo Phường). Conversely, some villages developed considerably, in particular those located beyond the railway line and to the south of the Temple of Literature (such as Linh Quang and Lương Xã, barely in existence in 1890, very developed by 1924). It was migratory phenomena that brought about the growth of these villages close to the city. The colonial government developed Hà Nội's economic sector, but the French administration had no clear policy for the housing of local inhabitants; newcomers, seeking to take advantage of the city's economic dynamism, settled in nearby villages.

The French intervention had a paradoxical effect: it erased the village settlements in the city (according to the colonial sense of the term) in particular, in the project sectors; but at the same time, it contributed to preserving, even developing, village structures located outside its administrative remit, through omission. By doing this, it rejected villages outside the city; this represented a radical mutation in Vietnamese urban space, particularly of the relationship between the rural and the urban. These villages, excluded from urban control, were rapidly to become a focus of opposition to colonial power, and of Vietnamese resistance.

Country dwellers occupy the colonial villas

In 1960, the state implemented the 'policy of socialist transformation of housing.' The aim of the housing reform was to attain a socialist utilisation of the existing housing resources. This consisted of forced sharing of housing by different families. In terms of property law, there were two different forms of house sharing: nationalisation and contracts between private individuals.

Nationalisation concerned housing abandoned by people having fled the country, rented housing (identified as a capitalist activity) and the dwellings of families considered as 'bourgeois' (namely those in business, but also civil servants of the colonial administration, teachers, doctors, etc.). Houses that had been requisitioned by the military or the party during the war – for which, up until that point, the administration had paid a modest rent to the former owners – were also declared state property without any provision for compensation.

The merging of private property into public property took place according to the same principle as that of commerce and industry. Owners became nothing more than simple occupants among others of state property. They only kept an area of their house fixed according to official norms (between 3, 5 and 6 m^2 per inhabitant). In the ideological context of the era, property owners were 'bourgeois', who henceforth had to share the same living conditions as all other workers.

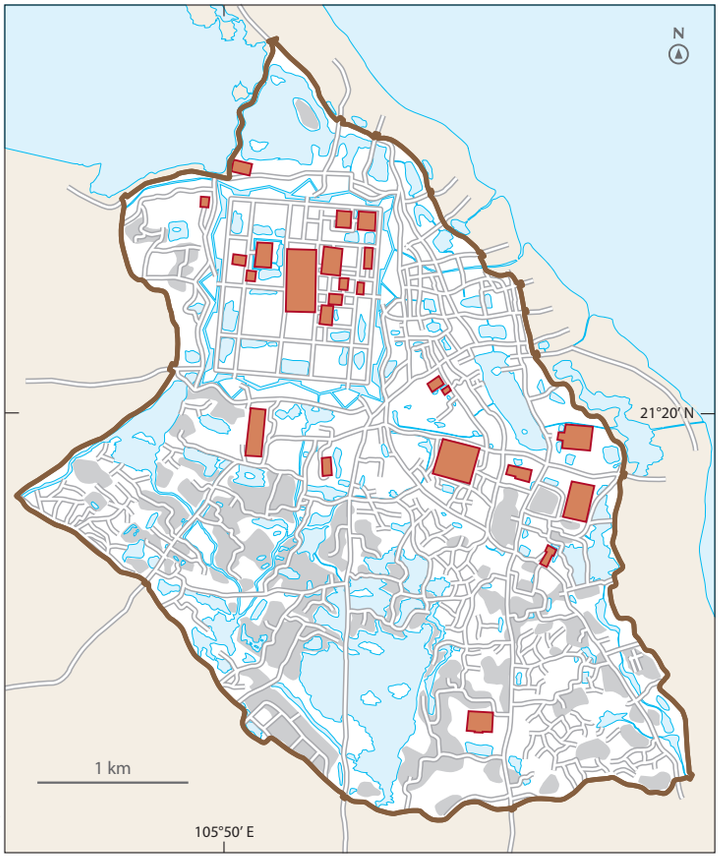
Here is the case of Mr Minh, whose father was a rich Vietnamese businessman. In 1935, he had bought from a Frenchman a European-style house located in a neighbourhood built during the colonial era. He also had a business that was requisitioned by the state when private trade was outlawed.

His property consisted of a main building, a garage for a car and an annex building. In 1961, the ward political officials asked Mr Minh to house the family of Mr Hùng in the annex building. A few years later, he was asked to give up an upstairs room to set up an infant school class. But once he had agreed, he was ordered to take in another family, that of Mrs Hông. A little later, a third family, that of Mr Luân, came to live in the garage. Mr Minh retained only his ground-floor room and a bedroom upstairs. In total, four families, or between 15 and 18 people, share the house (Plate 15).

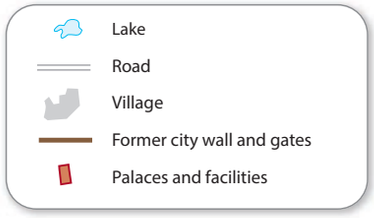
These families were those of young political officials from neighbouring provinces. The provincial origins of new inhabitants must be highlighted. They were at the source of many conflicts existing between the old and the new inhabitants. Without saying so openly, the owners of the house criticise the 'rustic' lifestyle of families from the countryside. Conversely, the 'old families of Hà Nội', those who were immersed in the European culture of the colony, were often very cultivated and had adopted a Western way of life.

The title deeds to the house were left with Mr Minh, although they were now worthless. Henceforth he was only the owner – in the sense of personal

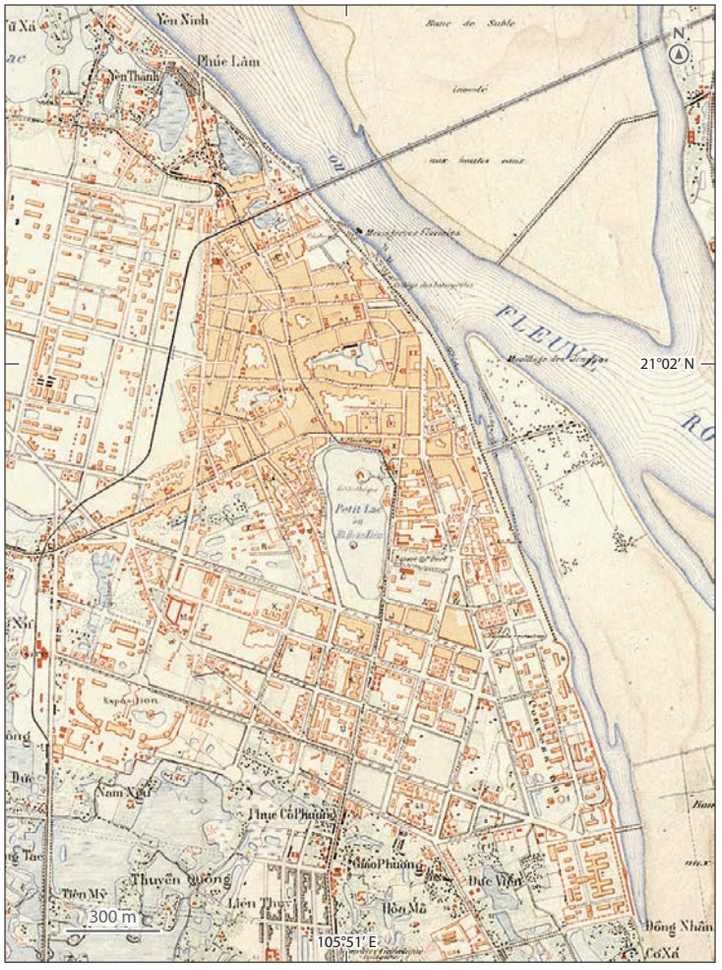
Outline of villages during the pre-colonial era



Source: Cerise E. plan (diagram/drawing), adapted from the Hanoi Plan of 1873, drawn up by Phạm Đình Bách



1911 map of the colonial district



Source: Map of Hanoi City, 1911, drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Aubé, FR CAOM CP 1PL/1718

property – of one room. The rest of the house had become state property. The state rents it out to other families.

Concretely, the housing service issued to families a certificate of 'usage rights to housing' signed by the president of the Hà Nội People's Committee. The certificate stated in a few lines the floor area allocated to each household as well as rights to all communal areas (bathroom, kitchen, etc.) when they shared a house. This certificate was supposed to give rise to payment of rent. Although rents were very low, it appears that most people did not pay any.

Sharing homes, by coercion and by means of nationalisation, mostly involved families said to be 'bourgeois'. Yet other families also had to accept sharing their dwellings, even if this was not imposed through nationalisation. This was the case of families who lived in the Old Quarter and who, although of modest means, owned separate houses. They realised that they could not retain the exclusive use of their houses without appearing to lack solidarity with the shared housing policy.

Very many families were in this situation. Although officially they could retain full property rights over their houses, as they were neither bourgeois nor associated with the former colonial power, some gave shelter to poor families from the countryside in a room of their house. Others preferred to ask kith or kin to come and live with them, rather than having to cohabit with strangers, imposed by the authorities, or imposing themselves. The Vietnamese use the term 'parachutists' to define these opportunist families who occupied empty spaces (gardens, courtyards, etc.) without seeking anyone's opinion on the matter. At the time of the American bombardments (from where the expression probably derived), many came to occupy commercial premises abandoned by state employees on the ground floors of houses. Up to five families sometimes went to live with house-owners in this way, building on their land, in the garden, the courtyard, or adding rooms and makeshift shelters on top of their houses.

The Soviet model: the collectivist city ignores existing structures

An enormous rural exodus, difficult to manage, marked Vietnam's independence in 1954. The first measures adopted, the requisition of villas and their transformation into multi-family accommodation, manifestly did not suffice to meet needs for urban housing. It was in this context that was undertaken a vast construction programme of subsidised accommodation: the 'housing units', called *Khu tập thể* (KTTs) [1].

Soviet and Chinese influence played a role in Hà Nội's planning decisions. The plans drawn up in these circumstances gave special attention to the administrative definition of spaces, evidence of the growing power of bureaucratic and administrative land management. The socialist model of national land management integrated conurbations into very large provinces. The definition of these new administrative boundaries and the communist ideology in which agriculture and the countryside played a driving role in productivist society contributed to renegotiating the relationships between the rural and the urban. The national territory is divided into provinces that are supposed to be self-sufficient for food.

Hà Nội was no longer considered as just a city but was put together with its province of 580 km^2 in 1961, enlarged still further in 1978 to reach 2,131 km^2 (let it be remembered that in 1954, Hà Nội's administrative boundaries contained an area of 152 km^2 with an urban zone of 12 km^2).

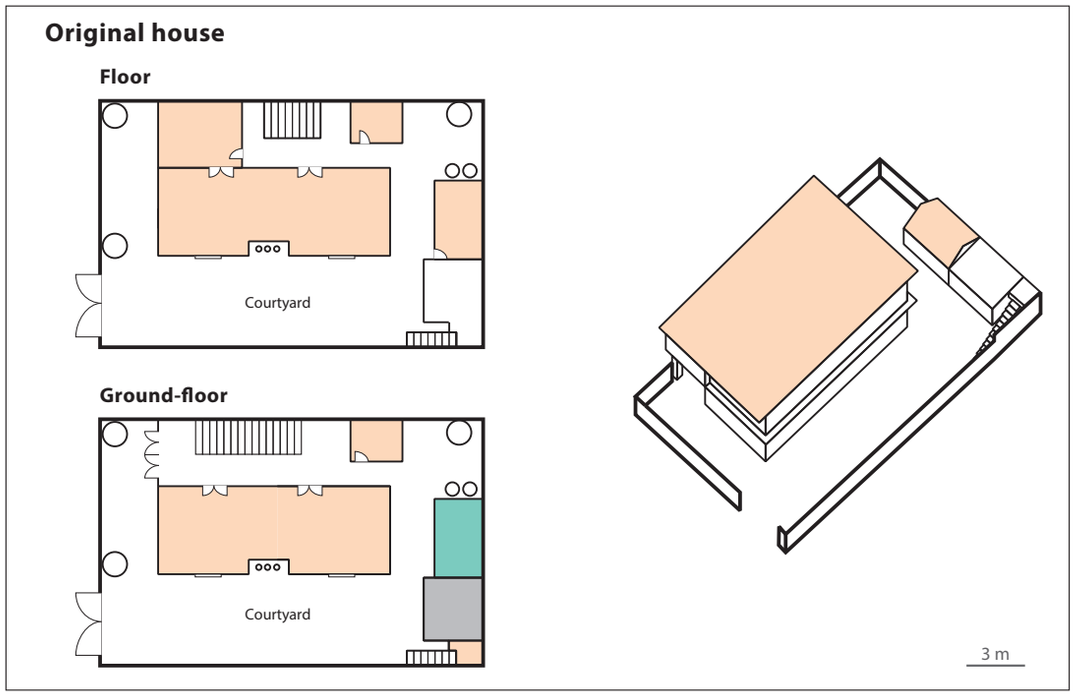
The urban models implemented during this period persisted in ignoring local characteristics, in particular the relation between Vietnamese society and its village organisation. A paradox can be observed here between, on the one hand, the administrative divisions that gave villages a place back within the city limits and, on the other, the methods and models imported from the Soviet Union that tended to ignore them.

The will to build a socialist city and the urgency of reconstruction created favourable conditions for this new housing policy. These residential neighbourhoods were, with the industrialisation programme, the major architectural and urban action of the collectivist period. These KTTs were initially built in the first ring of urbanisation around Hà Nội, on the former agricultural land of villages from which they took their names.

For all of these developments, lakes that were once used by village inhabitants were developed into public spaces located in the centre or on the periphery of the new neighbourhoods. Villages lost their agricultural activities; they were converted into urban neighbourhoods while retaining their internal spatial structure.

Reproductions of the 1960s project are not precise enough to evaluate the place of villages in the development of city expansions. However, building of

Occupation of a villa by rural families during the collectivist era



In this specific case, accommodating new families did not lead to increased construction on the plot of land. The creation of dwellings took place through conversion of the annex building and the garage. Only a space in the corner of the property was used to build a shared annex. Mr Minh's former property was to undergo other modifications after 1986. Plates by Vũ Duc Tùng.

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KTTs, facilities and sectors of industry show that the new structures took shape close to villages, but never in place of them; no village was destroyed.

The countryside and the villages maintained a peculiar and ambiguous relationship with power and the socialist government from the very beginning of pro-independence resistance. The rural population, right from the start, supported resistance fighters in organising revolts and assembling workers, labourers and farmers. But very rapidly, the traditional rural system based on the corrupt power of mandarins was denounced and rejected by the communist revolutionaries, the more so since village dignitaries had often been integrated into the French colonial system [2].

The 'Hà Nội general plan to the year 2000 drawn up in 1981' [3] (see Plate 10) was the first city project where village structures were ignored to such an extent, excluded from the process of Hà Nội's development and expansion, despite this being projected onto a vast area which at that time was still agricultural.

In 1984, in the Hà Nội atlas, the villages were not marked; nothing distinguished them from the existing or projected urban fabric. Beyond the zone of the project, in the rural part of the province of Hà Nội, several villages were still shown. Although they were represented in the areas reserved for urban development after the year 2000, they completely disappeared from the zone of the project.

The 1981 project spread over a wide area. This scale change in urban planning could have given rise to a progressive transition from city to countryside. The city plan, organised into concentric rings, could also have favoured a balance between city and countryside, the outer, less urban rings integrating villages. But, paradoxically, this project drew sharp boundaries between the urban and rural zones; it used this urban fringe for an entirely different purpose, that of industrialisation.

Social housing: an urban front in contrast with traditional dwellings

Inaugurated by experiments at the end of the 1950s, most construction projects dated from the 1970s and received aid from fellow socialist countries; they were built in the first ring of urbanisation around the colonial city. Also used as a propaganda tool, the KTTs were designed in a desire for modernisation of society that sought to look only forward, without heed for the legacy from a past considered anti-revolutionary.

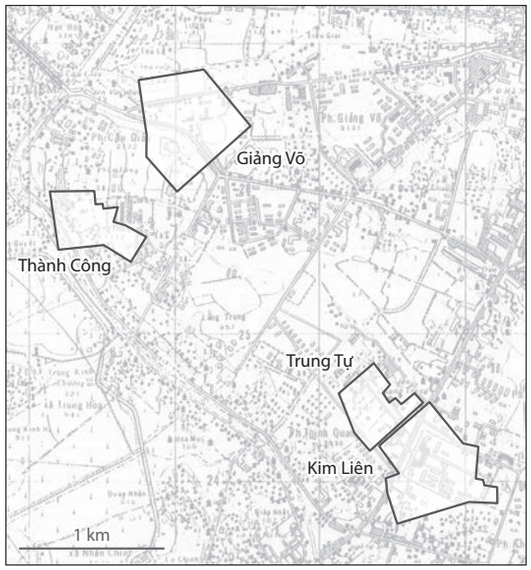
The neighbourhood of Nguyễn Công Trứ (1958) (Plate 16 and Figure 10) was one of the first projects to see the light of day. Built on the former European cemetery, on the edge of the urbanised area at that time, it perfectly expressed an idea of Soviet-style modernity. The favoured type of flats remained similar to military barrack buildings: a single room for the household, bathrooms and kitchens shared between eight flats. There is no balcony; the flats give onto a central corridor that leads to the shared facilities (bathrooms and kitchens). Collective services, such as canteens, crèches, an infant school and a health centre are set up in dedicated buildings or on the ground floors of the blocks of flats. An administrative service manages the neighbourhood; shops and a state store in theory keep households supplied; centralised power and water supplies link the neighbourhood to the city networks and distribute power and water to the inhabitants. This was a radically new type of dwelling, contrasting with rural and traditional houses of the neighbouring villages.

Analysis of projects and construction of KTTs show discrepancies between ideology and reality. The plans of this period, be they of the city or the new neighbourhoods, made no mention of the inherited city; they didn't show historic neighbourhoods which nonetheless have characteristic outlines, nor neighbouring existing structures like the villages.

However, large-scale construction projects for housing, urban facilities, and industry show that new structures took shape without encroaching on villages. The major housing projects, such as the KTTs of Nghĩa Đô, Nghĩa Tân or Thanh Xuân, were programmed relatively far from villages and existing urban structures; they thus avoided the conflicts, effects of competition and inevitable spatial negotiations of the denser fabric of the first ring of urbanisation. At Trung Tự, the KTT was planned on the agricultural land of a village itself destroyed to make way for new blocks of flats. This project, lacking any concession for the village, did not see the light of day in this form; on the contrary, the rational structuration of the KTT neighbourhood was fitted into the organic contours of the untouched village.

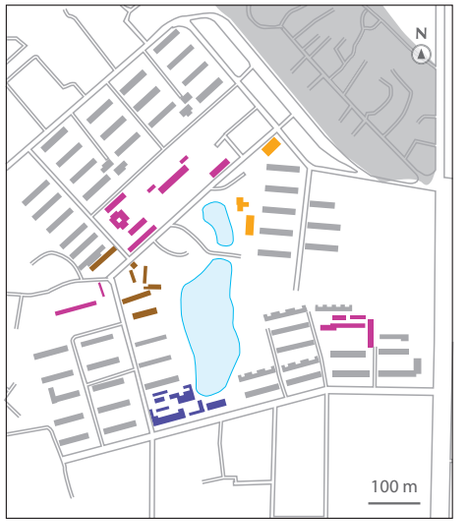
These negotiations with the material space of villages did nothing to alleviate the difficulties of vocational retraining undergone by villagers henceforth deprived of their agricultural land. The formal and spatial contrast between the KTTs and traditional dwellings is all the more stark given that these blocks of flats of several storeys reared up directly out of the villagers' paddy fields.

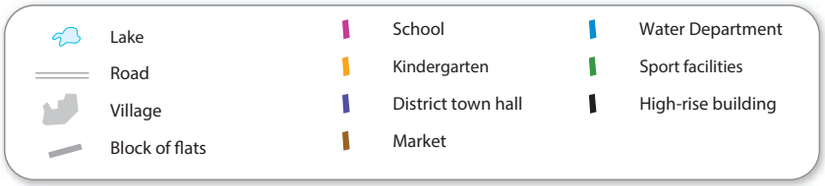
Location of collective neighbourhoods and planning models of four neighbourhoods



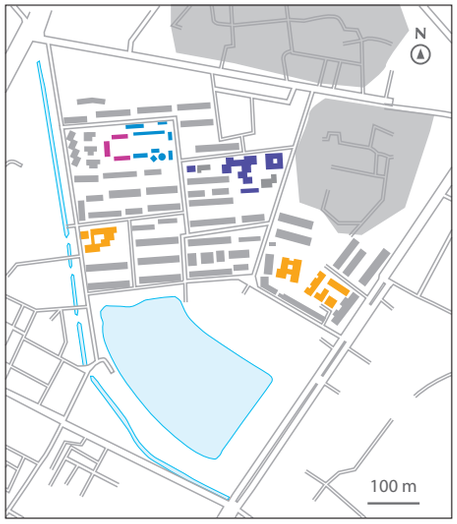
Source: Cerise E., adapted from the Hanoi Plan of 1985, Geographic Department of Vietnam, original document, at 1: 25,000 scale

KTT Kim Liên - 1965

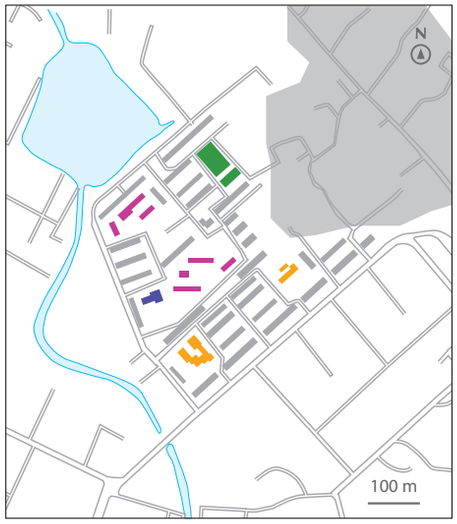




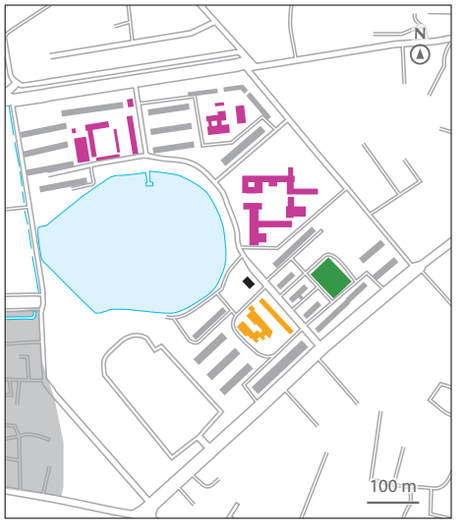
KTT Thành Công - 1972



KTT Trung Tự - 1975



KTT Giảng Võ - 1980



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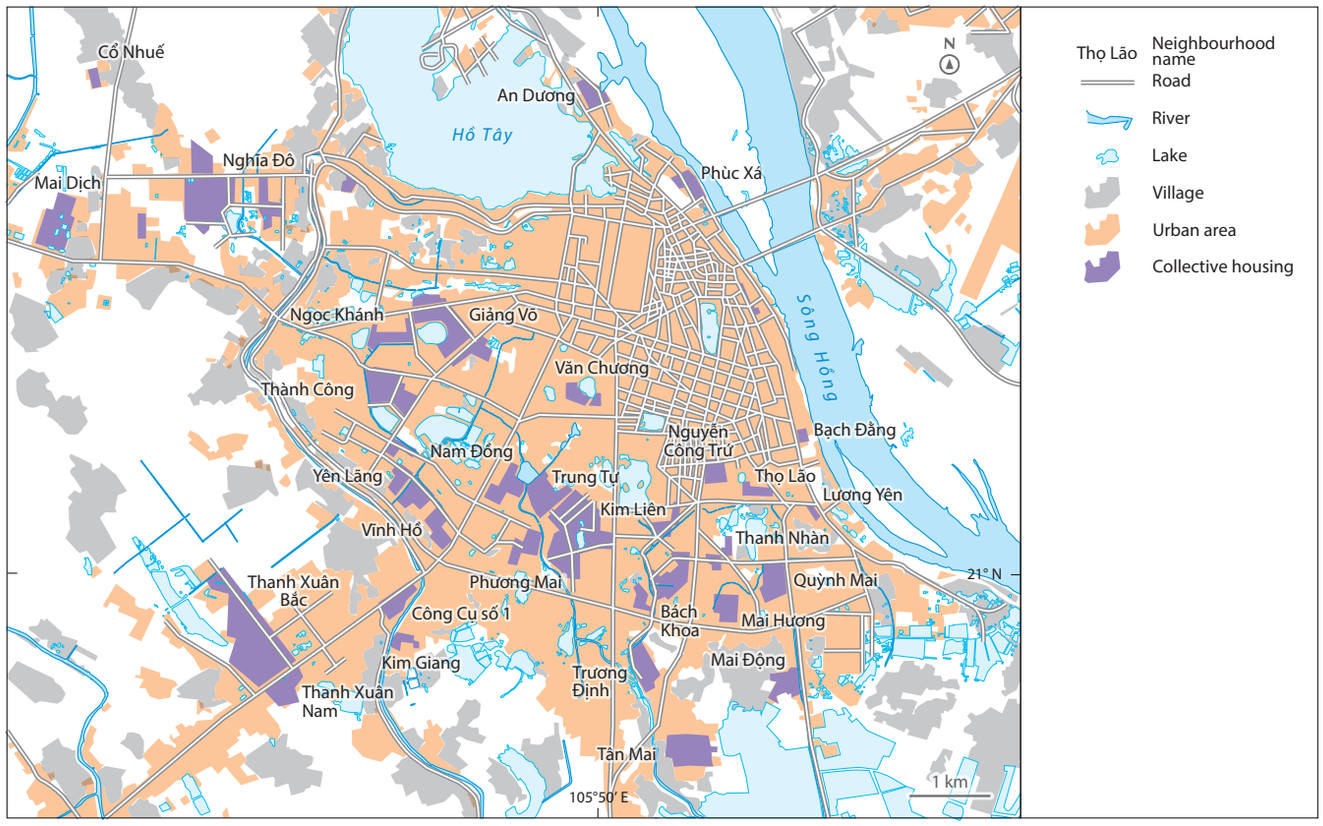
Source: Cerise E., adapted from the Hanoi Plan of 1992,
Geographic Department of Vietnam, original document, at 1:10,000 scale

The densification of collective neighbourhoods and village practices

Appropriations by those living in the shared spaces of KTTs were the result of a desire and a necessity to increase the living space in the blocks, which was insufficient from the start. For a long time, independent Vietnam's economy followed the precepts of a war economy, implicating the population in the effort of reconstruction and in accepting privations and precarious conditions of comfort. However, for want of being able to obtain more spacious housing and as soon as they had been given the possibility and the means, inhabitants sought to enlarge their dwellings. Such transformations became apparent through the densification of flats, blocks of flats and residential neighbourhoods (Plate 17). Transformations undertaken by the inhabitants in the KTT neighbourhoods at the very beginning of economic liberalisation were particularly visible and representative of changes that *Đổi mới* brought to citizens. Every political decision in favour of greater freedom of action for citizens brought about an immediate reaction from the people and in particular inhabitants of blocks of flats.

Modifications of living quarters were sufficiently numerous and significant to provoke an impact on the nearby urban environment. In this manner, the relationship between the buildings and the street, the organisation of buildings between themselves and the neighbourhood's function encountered radical changes in all the KTT sectors. Frequently, the addition of individual and private initiatives also produced a modification of the relationship between the neighbourhood and the city. With the appearance of fresh functions, such as local services, shops, bars and restaurants, these neighbourhoods, formerly strictly residential, became a more attractive prospect and increased, by doing so, urban mobility. Mainly situated in the first ring of the city's urbanisation, the KTTs formed a dormitory belt around the historic centre. The new situation and the functional diversity acquired by this sector made these places resemble the city

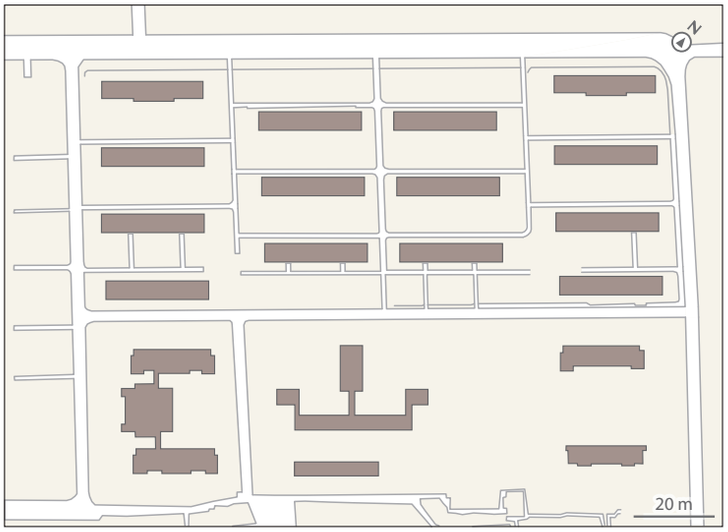
Figure 10 – INSTALLATION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS DEVELOPED WITH BLOCKS OF FLATS IN THE CITY



Source: Cerise E.

Densification of collective housing

Initial situation

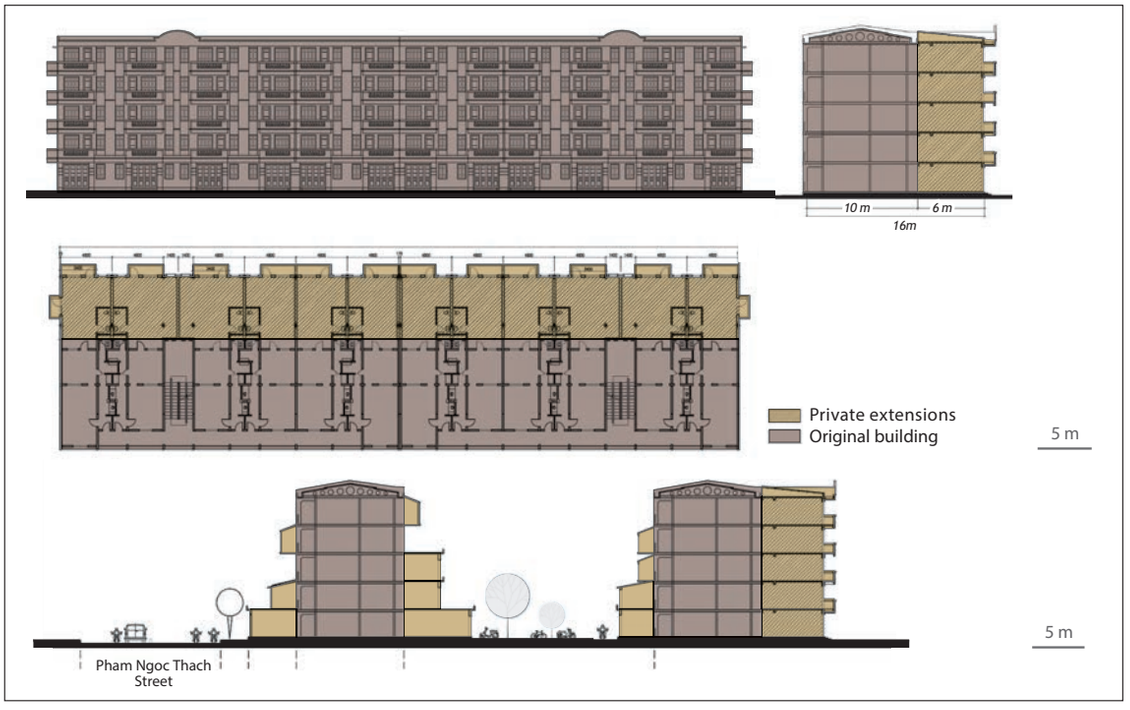


Source: Cerise E., 2001

Private extensions



Source: Cerise E., 2001



© IRD, 2015

Source: Cerise E., 2001

centre more than the outskirts. Actions by those living there thus strengthened the urban nature of the first ring that had until then been very rural. The actions and practices of inhabitants, a driving force with regard to the evolution of KTTs, tended to express and affirm the ambiguity between urban and rural cultures in the city of Hà Nội.

The evolution of the relationship between the buildings and the veget ation expresses remarkably well the societal and spatial transformations in the KTTs. At the time of their construction, the residential neighbourhoods were conceived with a 'green space' of vegetation in a functionalist vision of the whole. Rapidly, the plant life of the KTTs moved from the public to the private domain.

However, just the opposite of the urbanity brought by functional diversity, the development of private vegetation was evidence of an opposite tendency, re-establishing ties with certain rural, spatial and customary practices. Ground-floor flats were the first to be transformed, both inside and out. Very rapidly, they were extended with small private gardens where the tenants cultivated a little fruit and vegetables for their consumption, re-establishing ties in this manner with rural tradition. In the enclosures of rural houses in Red River Delta villages, it is common to have a vegetable garden, in particular for the aromatic herbs indispensable to Vietnamese cooking (Gourou, 1936). This plant growth spread to almost all the flats of the KTTs, the windows and the loggias, covered with aromatic plants and flowers, creating an appearance of walls of plants.

The small gardens were at first without fencing, located indiscriminately on the side of the road or inside the neighbourhood before being closed off with low walls. After 1992 and the possibility for all citizens to make money with private trade, they progressively gave way to shops. Progressively the vegetation of public spaces, conceived as a 'green space', gave way to shops and service activities. Today in the KTTs, the gardens have disappeared, but not private, small-scale cultivation of vegetables, because they can be found in pots on patios and climbing up façades of buildings.

The widespread persistence, even in the 1990s and 2000s, of this practice stemming from rural culture is explained by the village origins of the KTTs' inhabitants. A second explanation comes from considerable difficulties in supply of foodstuffs within a system distributing food coupons organised by a state-subsidised economy, which made attractive the opportunity of cultivating one's own vegetable garden.

Ground-floor extensions to housing consist mainly of setting up businesses between the street and the flat. These extensions began after 1992 and haven't stopped spreading since then. In the original plans for KTTs, ground-floor flats were strictly identical to those upstairs that also had a loggia or a passageway. Building on an extraneous ground-floor room transforms the relationship between the building and the street, offering an enlarged and direct opening. Created for commercial activity, these extensions are regularly refurbished to meet the running and marketing needs of a business.

The appearance of shops at the foot of buildings and the shape of flats housing businesses created links with the spatial culture of the traditional trading city and its emblematic model that is the Chinese-style shophouse. Although in its original design, the KTT was set up in opposition to the cultural and formal reference of the shophouse, its similarities became progressively more numerous as time passed. The fresh layout of flats combined with shops, with rows of adjoining rooms, strongly recalls the traditional shophouse layout.

The disposition of new businesses, at the foot of the block of flats, reproduces the typical configuration of trading streets in the Old Quarter of 36 Streets. But above all, these flats now blend trade and housing, reproducing the functional diversity characteristic of the traditional shophouse. Finally, some flats, after modifications, offer a variety going from the 'most public', opening out onto the street, to 'most private', at the back, recalling the traditional spatial disposition of compartments in the commercial part of the city.

Buildings making the neighbourhoods with blocks of flats denser were not always private constructions built on individual initiatives. The demand for housing always being very strong, the ground plans were slightly modified by the administration to receive fresh buildings among the original ones.

In the 1980s, the authorities in charge of managing housing stock decided to make denser KTT developments among those that were completed or still in construction. At Trung Tự, in 1980, three new blocks of flats and three plots were built, taking their place inside the initial design dating back to 1970. At Kim Liên, two new buildings, B8b and B8a, were built in the second half of the 1980s, while the rest of the KTTs date back to 1965.

Official densification did not upset the arrangement of KTTs organised into neighbourhood units; the new buildings took shape between these units made up of four or five blocks of flats with public facilities in the centre.



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Photo 6
The new residential zone Splendora Project: an urban dream in a densely populated region

New blocks of flats were built and planned according to the methods used when the first blocks were built. Sometimes, the shape of the building differed and plots appeared in the sectors until then largely composed of blocks of flats. On the other hand, the flats are all of the same kind. The buildings constructed to densify the KTT neighbourhoods were built back at the time when appropriations by inhabitants were spreading rapidly. The planners thus noted the growing need for space among the population and accordingly, they progressively increased the ratios of living space per person, but without questioning the methods of producing housing. In this manner, like their predecessors, these extra buildings were rapidly transformed by their occupants.

The construction of compartments in the KTTs always resulted from a lack of housing and limited space in existing flats. It was also an instance of planned densification, as the compartments respected certain rules shared by the immediate neighbourhood, such as consolidation, alignment and heights of buildings. The grouping of compartments transformed the link created between the new constructions and the original blocks of flats, the link between the blocks and the street and that between the buildings and undeveloped land.

In some cases, such as in Trung Tự, compartments were planned by the public authorities and grouped together in regular strips opposite an existing block of

flats. More often, they were the result of private initiatives that, step by step, constituted an alignment. They also formed the original part of some streets, by creating a line of buildings where before, there were none. Alignments of compartments were established between two blocks of flats, only leaving a little room for the narrow passage leading to entrances, where the original project showed a wide green space.

This was the case, for example, of Sector A in Kim Liên, where the compartments, located between two blocks of flats, are gathered into city blocks of the same length as the blocks of flats. In this case, the new constructions deprived the older ones of their visual link with the street or with the open space between the blocks of flats.

Some KTT projects organised space with uniform alignments of buildings at least one and a half times the height of the buildings apart. These spaces between the blocks of flats are designated by a Sino-Vietnamese term, *lưu không*, taken from musical terminology, meaning a 'silence'. These 'silences' are often planted with trees to prevent blocks from being overlooked by the flats of neighbouring blocks. When the spaces are filled with compartments, they lose their primary function and purpose.

Conclusion

Ignored in development projects for urban zones during the colonial era, then the collectivist period, the village and its practices are resurgent. The fact that villagers moved into the bourgeois villas of the 'French Quarter' led to a very intensive usage of these dwellings, then later to the opening of businesses and stalls, unfamiliar practices in this neighbourhood. In the daily space of inhabitants of KTTs, whether through creation of little 'hanging' gardens or through specific community and social practices in collective spaces, the village is reclaiming its rights.

A 'smoothing' phenomenon between the spatial practices of inhabitants of these new neighbourhoods and those of villagers in surrounding neighbourhoods has occurred to differing degrees, owing to the village origins of KTT inhabitants, but also to the relatively modest scale of these neighbourhoods.

Zones under construction and at the planning stage on the outskirts of the capital are on a much larger scale than those of the first generation. In addition, the social origins of inhabitants of these areas will be very different from their villager neighbours. The lofty standards of many *khu đô thị mới*, or new urban areas, built by investors whose main aim is a short-term return on their capital investment, as well as the ongoing land speculation, greatly compromise access to such areas for less privileged social categories. The socio-spatial fragmentation of these new urban fringes where urban neighbourhoods for privileged social groups will exist alongside urbanised villages where employment will be scarce, runs the risk in the medium term of causing serious socio-economic and neighbourhood cohabitation problems.

1) The *Khu tập thể* or collective units are generally four- or five-storey blocks, with flats allocated according to very precise evaluations and ratios. This type of housing was intimately linked to the political system of this era; it was part of the control measures exerted over the population.

2) It came about that landowners, rich farmers or village dignitaries were sentenced and executed by peoples' tribunals. The aim being on one hand to show the rural proletariat the downfall of these former lords, and on the other, to destabilise the power and influence of dignitaries in Vietnamese villages. 'Les Américains au Vietnam', intentionally anonymous article, *in Les Temps Modernes*, 236, January 1966: 1153-1193.

3) This plan was approved in April 1981; it was the work of a co-operation between the Vietnamese Town Planning Department and the Leningrad Institute for Town Planning (Logan, 2000)..

Part Two

The 2000s: Raising Hà Nội to the rank of metropolis

By the early 1970s, the collectivist system had demonstrated its weaknesses, particularly owing to dwindling agricultural and industrial production, this in the unfavourable international context (the US embargo), limiting importations of consumer goods solely to those from Eastern bloc countries. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the halting of aid from the Soviet Union, Viêt Nam found itself forced to embark upon economic reforms to rekindle growth in production, handing over a portion of the initiative to the private sector and allowing farmers to once again keep what they could grow. By the end of the 1980s, the Vietnamese Communist Party launched a series of socio-economic reforms known as *Đổi mới*. Reintroducing market mechanisms into the domestic economy and relaxing state control over activities of individuals, these reforms transformed nearly all aspects of Vietnamese society, and especially access to housing.

Following the failure of collective housing public policy and non-market management of urban land, fresh territorial, administrative and land reforms were drawn up. The 1993 land law guaranteed the use of land and transactions of its rights, galvanising self-building in towns and villages on the fringes of the city and, by the same token, urban sprawl. In addition, the reforms known as 'the state and the people building together' favour self-building by inhabitants and the creation of housing estates by the public and para-

public sectors. A land market was thus established with public land and illegal transactions of agricultural land. These transactions proliferated because of the housing crisis and the deficient bureaucratic procedures of local authorities that could not, socially speaking, prevent the 'people' from finding somewhere to live (Pandolfi, 2001).

Ten years later, large-scale projects of territorial, land and economic reforms undertaken by the state and the province of Hà Nội aim to give Vietnam a capital equal to its ambitions. On one hand, the city grew bigger in 2008, absorbing its neighbour province to triple in size and double its population, on the other, a master plan was ratified in 2011 for the construction of the capital, to the perspective of 2030, aimed at accelerating the process of metropolisation. Land reform now makes it possible to accelerate the freeing up of agricultural land marked down for the construction of major projects and giving the provinces greater freedom to manage the land market. These provinces adopted development plans of which they negotiated the implementation with private developers, who are seeking a rapid return on their investment. Finally, reforms were undertaken to improve and facilitate foreign investment in Vietnam; foreign direct investment (FDI) is the chief financial motor driving the construction of real estate property.

However, this 'top-down' urbanisation exacerbates socio-spatial inequalities between the service-oriented and globalised city centre and outskirts where the social fragmentation is accelerating: multi-activity villages continue to exist next to residential areas of high and moderate standard where the middle classes born with *Đổi mới* will go to live. In addition, this urbanisation clashes with the economic dynamism and demands of villagers on the urban fringes, who hold no sway over land. The densification of buildings in the most dynamic villages reaches very high levels, without the possibility of gaining access to productive non-agricultural land, and the strategies for expanding the space of village production are limited. Big urban developers are considered to be the only ones capable of building tomorrow's metropolis and self-building is banned henceforth. Then comes the problem of finding new careers for villagers who have lost their agricultural land and the search for supplementary income for multi-activity artisans.

Land reforms and economic liberalisation

L. Pandolfi, D. Labbé, J.-A. Boudreau

During the period of the vast national housing programme implemented by the Ministry of Construction between 1975 and 1985, 80,000 lodgings a year were built in Hà Nội in KTTs (or *Khu tập thể*), collective housing units mostly intended for civil servants. This number then fell to 40,000 in 1986. Although construction of housing in the capital during the 30 years of the collectivist economy was insufficient, this was in large part due to the population doubling in size, but also to widespread structural damage during the American bombardments from 1966 and 1972 (Parenteau, 1997; Pandolfi, 2001).

At the end of the 1980s, in the face of the state's incapacity to guarantee the right to subsidised housing for its civil servants (about 30% of officials and state employees lived in public housing), these citizens started to build in large numbers and without regulation: a black market in land for construction emerged. The rigid framework of non-market management of land use could not cater to rising demand for housing. A mixed formula of housing construction was then promoted by the state: 'the state and the people building together', thus marking the transition from a planned system to a system promoting individual initiative framed by public services.

In this manner, the withdrawal of the state from construction, the accumulation of private household capital during the collectivist era and the guarantee of land usage rights by the 1993 land law resulted in an outright boom in self-building. But 15 years later, the shortage of housing in the capital has still not been eliminated. In addition, according to experts from the Ministry of Construction, these dwellings built by inhabitants do not meet the urban standards of a capital aspiring to international status. This model of urban development is characterised by a failure to generate basic urban services and a low density of buildings, responsible for urban sprawl over agricultural land (Boudreau & Labbé, 2011).

At the beginning of the 2000s, fresh political choices concerning urbanisation 'put the central state back at the heart of housing construction' (Quertamp, 2010). The state studied the establishment of new programmes for building large numbers of dwellings. The central government created 'new urban areas' for housing or *khu đô thị mới* (KĐTM), priority sectors selected for urbanisation on the outskirts of big towns. These areas enjoyed advantages for the acquisition of plots of land and for their development. At the same time, the government established administrative and operational structures to facilitate their development as sites for building and then enable construction. So public companies with managerial autonomy were formed. These are mixed-capital companies, combining public and private interests. They manage their capital in order to make a return on investments in the very short term, along the lines of

a private company, while benefitting from the structures, as well as the logistic and human means, of their supervising institution (Cerise, 2010).

However, these projects differ from their predecessors on crucial points, such as the size of flats (the ones in KĐTMs are three times bigger than those of KTTs), their structure, and conditions of allocation: in KTTs, the flats are rented to civil servants, workers and the armed forces, while the social class with access to KĐTMs is much more affluent, particularly as the flats are for home ownership and are subjected to very high overbidding, owing to all the land speculation taking place. Indeed, demand is so high that their commercialisation is closed even before construction of the blocks begins. Theoretically, the flats are allocated according to a priority list made up of civil servants and city residents. Even if the advertisement made by companies tasked with construction and marketing targets civil servants, the allocation system has not employed the founding ideological and social principles of the KTTs. Although the construction, financing and marketing of dwellings fall under the authority of semi-public circuits with a significant implication of supervisory public institutions, they enter into the circuit of private speculation as soon as they are sold (Cerise, 2010).

In this fashion, the right to accommodation, established as a fundamental right of the socialist state, suffers repercussions from the market economy. This poses the additional problem of financing public infrastructure in a context of returns on private investments, in the absence of the state's capacity to free up enough funds to contribute to this.

The 'state with the people': urban sprawl and self-building (the 1990s)

At the end of the 1980s, the reformers within the Party devised a mixed formula of housing construction. Through the order of December 1985, the government created a new housing policy conceptualised by the formula 'the state and the people working together'. Instead of financing construction of housing for their employees with the state budget, public bodies and companies called for funds from individuals. In the minds of those who formulated this policy, these state companies and organisations had to be the real arbiters of construction.

Until the adoption of reforms, these state companies were the realisation of the political principle of supervision of the population by a multitude of social and political organisations. It was these organisations and state companies that had to finance the development, the state simply making plots of land available at very low prices. The state companies then added development costs onto the price of land and housing sold to individuals. These individuals had no initiative over construction. As employees or members of organisations, they applied for a lot or a dwelling on a plot of land allocated to them by their employer. The partnership was thus reserved for the same categories of the population as allocation of KTTs: party officials, public sector employees, the armed forces and workers. A selection through criteria of merit at work and political or trade union activities completed the favouritism enjoyed by supporters of the regime among the population.

But it was individuals who gained ascendancy over organisations when it came to production. The first explanation for this is that it was they who provided the necessary resources and who chose the kind of building they wanted. No blocks of flats were therefore built. In addition, the partnership policy went against the institutional organisation of housing production. The administrations and companies proved rigid in their manner of operating. A recurring and fundamental trait of Vietnamese reform, it was 'people' who took matters in hand and got organised within each company, each institute or ministry to find land and get housing built. The companies merely redistributed land allocated by the state to their employees. Most did not even fund the development of sites.

In these conditions, it was individuals who took the initiative and became the prime movers in the building of accommodation. It was the reclamation by the people of the partnership that made it a key moment in Vietnamese policy. People realised that they could now build their houses freely, sell them and rent them. Since housing was now considered as a commercial product, the legal corollary of this reform necessarily included the right to rent and buy dwellings and thus the recognition of property rights over land. The 1985 order made provision for individual people to pass on their property rights, but only in cases of divorce, resettlement, accident, etc.

The population interpreted the partnership policy as official recognition of individual production, which until then had been illegal. People stepped in large numbers into the pre-existing breach in the administered land system to acquire all available land. The traditional means of access to land by purchase of unused lots from organisations, or in peri-urban villages, took on a hitherto unknown dimension. As early as 1988-1989, greenfield sites, rural gardens or even lakes of the capital were progressively encroached upon by individual constructions.



© François Carlet-Soulages / Nội Pictures

Photo 7
New residential neighbourhoods amid the paddy fields in the shadow of gravestones

Oppression having disappeared, market mechanisms could 'resurface' and the hitherto hidden value of commercial goods could attain full expression. The emergence of this *de facto* land market was thus in contradiction with the political principle of partnership, for it was never envisaged by the state to put an end to state management of land. It was the sale and purchase of houses that were authorised, not similar transactions involving land.

Although of unequal quality, self-building was salutary in terms of housing conditions: nearly 10 m^2 per inhabitant in 1997 in Hà Nội. On the other hand, this only worsened citywide urban planning problems: system overload, deterioration of the environment, streets choked to a standstill. It is in this context that one must place the wish of public powers to develop new residential and industrial zones in Hà Nội from the beginning of the 1990s.

One of the principles of the state-population partnership is the production of superior quality housing developments. They are supposed to consist of blocks of flats built by public bodies and individual houses built by individuals on land developed by these same organisations. Plans for housing estates are usually drawn

up by the construction department or by the Municipality. They are then given a stamp of approval by the Chief Architect's office or the construction department and finally a building permit is issued.

Individuals then take charge of building their houses and employing bodies must supervise the installation of facilities, as well as the construction of blocks of flats. However, this has never gone according to plan. Individuals refuse to pay sums in advance without having guarantees over the construction of housing and the length of time it would take to build it. There is no demand for this kind of accommodation. Individuals seek to acquire a separate dwelling and not a flat in a shared building. The very poor reputation of blocks built during the previous period goes a long way towards explaining this attitude. Land made available to organisations is therefore not built upon by them in the shape of blocks of flats, but simply divided into lots handed over to employees who then develop and build on them.

• Production of varying quality: the example of Giáp Bát

The neighbourhood of Giáp Bát North was built over a filled-in pond of 2.6 ha south of the capital. Situated in a very low-lying area, a third of it was formerly covered by water. Until it was integrated into the urban district of Bà Trưng in 1981, the village of Giáp Bát was specialised in fish farming (Phạm Thái Sơn, 2010).

The strong presence of water suggests the necessary participation of the state and its services to make land suitable for construction. Eight organisations received land for development in partnership between 1991 and 1995.

The desire to make a maximum number of lots is a characteristic shared by the partnership policy. In the face of pressure from public bodies, the municipality cannot reserve enough space for areas free of buildings or for roads (contracts with the municipality stipulate that 40% of land must be given over to the road network, open spaces and public facilities) (Plate 18), particularly because land is set aside for senior officials of especially powerful bodies within the state apparatus.

The lots are then handed over to employees without any prior development. To begin with, both the employing organisations and the employees thought that this task was the state's responsibility, namely that of the municipal services.

Although they obtain no specific commitment from these services, organisations nonetheless set about dividing up and handing out plots of land. Very often, it is land that appears to be most people's priority. A piece of land must be acquired at all costs; the question of connection to facilities will sort itself out later. In Giáp Bát, it was only once all the employees had physically taken possession of their plots of land that they had basic facilities installed.

Building permits stipulate that sewage and running water systems must be put in place before construction begins. They do not decide the conflict between employees and organisations, since both could finance them. On the other hand, works must be carried out by a specialised company. Employees therefore club together to pay for installation of the water system, but their contributions are not large enough to purchase a system that meets applicable standards.

Therefore, everything depends on the financial power of employing bodies and on negotiations with their employees. Sometimes, it is the workers building the house who do it themselves. Although connecting a house up to the electricity mains is technically quite simple and poses no problem, the construction of sealed or cement roads often remains in suspension. At Giáp Bát, in 1999, namely eight years after building began, roads had still not been built.

Generally speaking, the people refuse to pay for public infrastructure, be it in the form of local taxes or through contributions to works on an ad hoc basis. Inhabitants prefer to use small neighbourhood communities to finance infrastructure. This reflects the preference of Vietnamese people for micro-communities where everyone knows and keeps tabs on everyone else, along with a widespread mistrust among the Vietnamese of public services and the state in general.

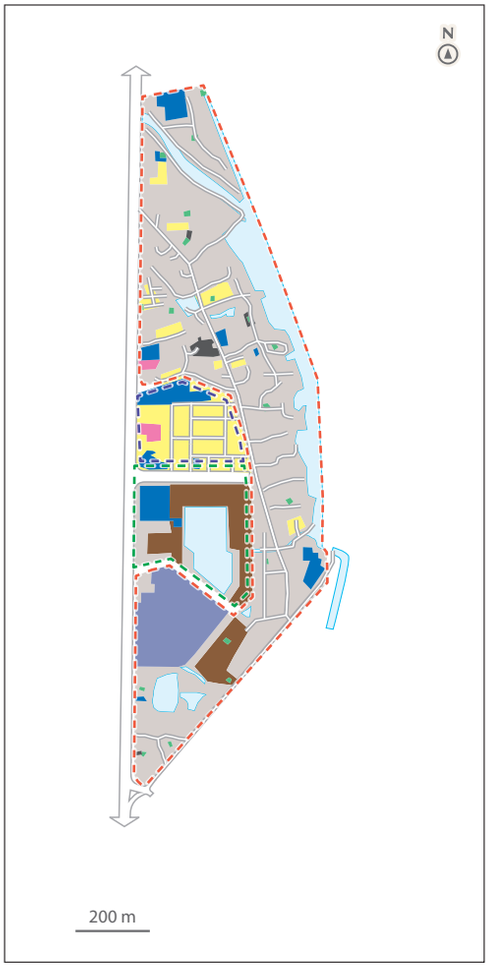
In the first years of the partnership, individuals had their own houses built. To carry this out, they had building permits issued individually but concerning all the lots allocated to one organisation.

Building permits issued in 1992 for the land allocated to the Ministry of Interior restricted the height of all buildings to two storeys (3.3 m per storey). This limit has not been respected and third, sometimes even fourth storeys have been added.

In the years 1994-1995, claiming that structures built under this scheme were of poor quality, as was the infrastructure, the Municipality compelled organisations to have its infrastructure and major structural work brought up to standard by its construction companies.

Giáp Bát, a peri-urban neighbourhood built over a lake and intended for civil servants

Master plan of Giáp Bát Ward in 1997

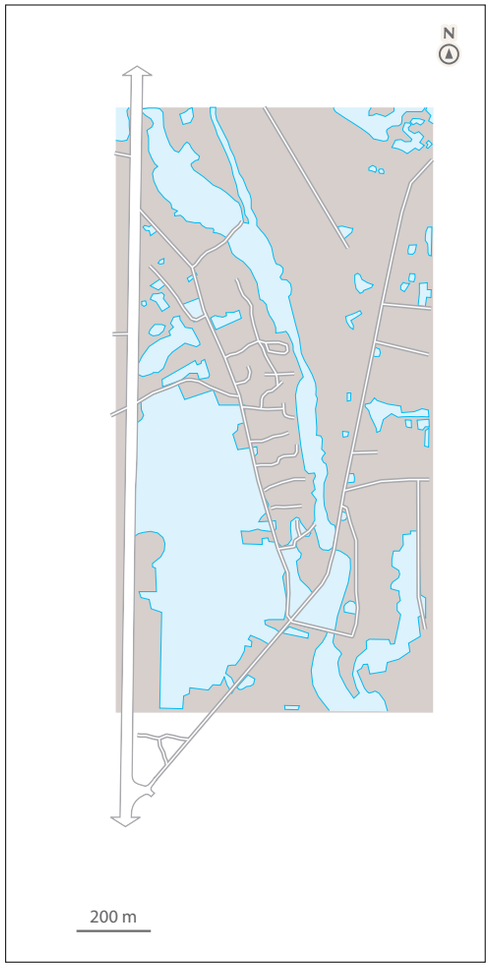


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Source: Hanoi Institute of Planning and Construction

- Lake, pond
- Street
- Giáp Bát village boundary
- Boundary of the area managed by 8 state-owned construction agencies
- Boundary of the area managed by the state-owned construction company HUD
- School
- Administrative office
- Bus station
- Vegetation
- High built-up village density
- Place of worship
- New residential development
- Commercial building

Giáp Bát lakes in 1986



Source: Map with no data source from Phạm Thái Sơn, 2010

- Lake, pond
- Street
- Built-up area

All in all, the partnership did not achieve its objectives in terms of land management (to reduce the density of the capital's centre), nor in terms of social politics (to prevent the commercialisation of land and to house a low-paid workforce), nor even in terms of urban planning (to build well-equipped neighbourhoods).

By 1997, nearly all expanses of water in Giáp Bát North were filled in and turned into built-up areas with a very high population density estimated to be 250 inhabitants per hectare in 2003, according to Jica (the population rose in the period from 1992 to 2006 from 9,367 to 15,369 inhabitants). Inhabitants native to the village only accounted for 25% of the total population of the neighbourhood in 2006. The area is regularly subjected to flooding during the monsoon season, given the lack of adequate drainage infrastructure to evacuate rainwater in this very low-lying area. During the floods of October 2008, 40 sites in the neighbourhood remained under a metre of water for several days (Phạm Thái Sơn, 2010).

The state and the companies regain control (the 2000s)

Without it being possible to put a precise date on it, a change in the shape taken by urban expansion took place around the turn of the 2000s. In 1998-1999 following the Asian financial crisis, the desertion of foreign capital led the state to apply pressure on major national construction companies so that they would implement residential development projects suspended since the middle of the 1990s. The idea was to restart the economy by supporting construction.

While real estate promotional activities by Vietnamese companies were, up until this time, limited to modest housing estate projects and to the construction of blocks of flats to re-house people displaced by infrastructure work, these companies then effected a change in scale by embarking upon the development of residential neighbourhoods of several tens of hectares, including several blocks of flats. The first developments of this kind were Linh Đàm and Định Công, to the south of Hà Nội (Plate 19).

This kind of project associating urban planning and real estate construction requires a significant injection of capital. Mergers take place among the main construction-development companies to make up groups with sufficient means to carry out these operations successfully.

These projects laying out residential neighbourhoods are perceived by the Hà Nội authorities as the solution to several faults of 1990s urbanisation. Associating a high residential density with the creation of large, undeveloped areas, they are supposed to house a great number of people while offering a quality of life symbolised by green spaces and infrastructure – the same features boasted by estates of individual houses. Such projects are also presented as a radical solution to difficulties encountered by the administration in managing individual production (illegal land transactions, building permits not respected, etc.).

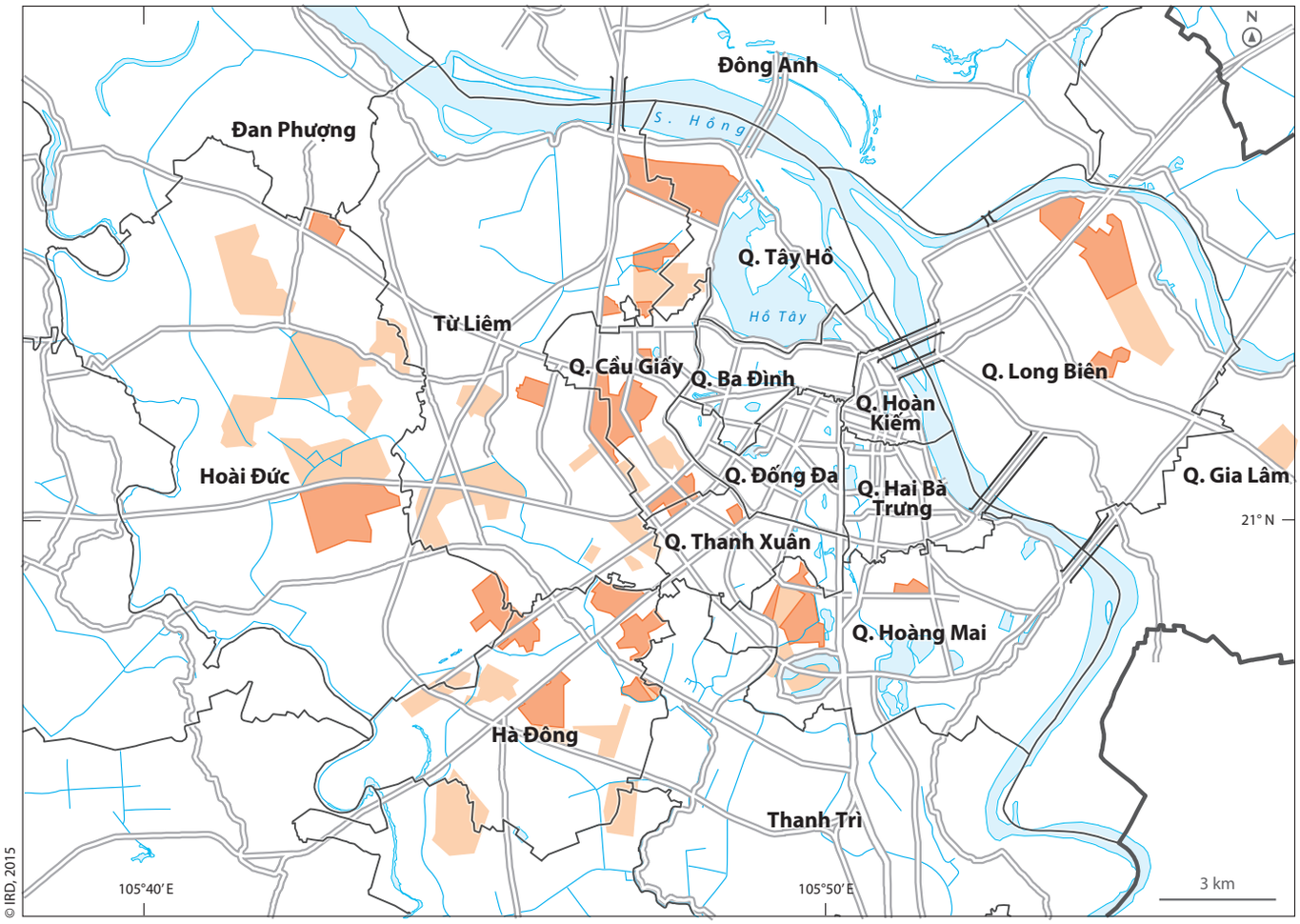
Accordingly, in 2002, more than 25 para-public companies existed in Hà Nội for the development of residential projects. They are all overseen by a public institution, the Ministry of Construction, or a local administration, the People's Committee of Hà Nội, the Construction Department or the Housing Department. In 2003, more than 70 residential areas were planned around the capital, beyond the second ring road bordered by the Tô Lịch River.

Although these projects are conceived, wholly managed and financed by the new para-public companies, direct participation by citizens still persists in the financial arrangements of these developments. In the face of problems mobilising funds and the exodus of foreign capital from the beginning of the 2000s, the state again appealed for funds from citizens and also trimmed its urban planning ambitions. The material expression of this policy was soon apparent: projects were immediately revised. The limits of projects, their size, the overall distribution of land use, the major infrastructure works and total number of inhabitants could not be altered. Revisions therefore had most repercussions on the structure of buildings, replacing blocks of flats with individual houses.

In 2000, development of the Định Công project began. Two months later, work started on 27 hectares of the Trung Yên project. The Yên Hoà project was giving compensation for land in April 2000, while the development projects for Trung Hòa Nhân Chính and Sài Đồng were preparing feasibility studies.

This sudden acceleration of project preparation demonstrates clearly, after the fact, that the obstacle of compensation for farmers is not nearly as insurmountable as certain developers would have others believe to justify their inaction. Putting individual lots on sale is very popular with ordinary people. At the beginning of February 2000, while development of the land had only just begun, 60% of lots had already been sold. At the end of March, the project's

Situation of KĐTMs in the 1990s and new projects



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Sources: Document Labbé D., according to Google Earth maps and survey of the author

Red River
Lake
River
Province boundary
Urban or rural district boundary
Street and road
Bridge
Từ Liêm Urban or rural district name
1990s project of KĐTM
New project of KĐTM

100 lots of villas were sold and only a few of the 900 lots of strip houses were still available.

The fact that no foreign real estate group had agreed to join forces with these projects did not signify that international investors were losing interest in the urban development sector in Hà Nội. Moreover, some groups moved into the market during the 2000s.

The first real estate group to propose a development project in Hà Nội was the Indonesian Ciputra [1], in 1992. It proposed to the Government and the People's Committee of Hà Nội to build a new town of 100,000 inhabitants, on 392 hectares between Tây Lake and the airport road (Plate 19). Between 1992 and 1996, Ciputra drew up its project. Rather than a real town, it in fact resembled a gigantic luxury residential and commercial real estate programme. Production (artisanal or industrial) is completely excluded from it. The few facilities are not public but private and are quite clearly intended for the expatriate community or for affluent Vietnamese (international school and hospital).

The influence of contemporary Asian town planning imported from the United States has given rise to a golf course being laid out among the residential blocks. This is in fact a separate town built within the city, an enclave of self-sufficient prosperity. The project encountered financing problems (due in part to the Asian financial crisis of 1997) and trimmed its ambitions: the planned population was first reduced to 60,000 inhabitants, then to 45,000. In 2012, the project was only half built and mostly inhabited by Asian expatriates and highly paid Vietnamese.

The flow of foreign investment generated a heavy demand for land on behalf of large Asian industrial groups interested in building industrial parks around the capital. Many projects also concerned the development of luxury residential and commercial areas for the expatriate and rich Vietnamese population. If one adds to this the propositions of development of leisure centres and golf courses, a large proportion of the capital's peri-urban land is sought after by the foreign investors.

In the face of this pressure on peri-urban land, the Ministry of Construction and the Municipality set in motion a process to revise the master plan, already renewed several times. In the revised versions, during the 2000s, it was no longer only the development of housing but also its relation to economic activities (industry and services) and the major infrastructure works that were adjudged essential. From this perspective, the new towns became the favoured tool of urban development.

The Bắc Thăng Long project, which had already been at the planning stage for several years, could then be realised. The request by the Japanese group Sumitomo to build an industrial park to the north of the Red River was behind this project. Plots of land located to the north of the river soon attracted the interest of industrialists because they are at the centre of the capital's biggest transport hub, formed by the Red River, the road leading to the airport, the one leading to the port of Hải Phòng, and the railway.

Built to receive foreign companies, this industrial park of 300 hectares must generate a significant need of housing for expatriate management. It was in large part to respond to this demand that a group of American investors proposed to build a vast housing sector of 273 hectares.

The new urban areas: replacing collectivist housing?

The new urban areas (or KĐTMs) are mostly residential complexes combining tower blocks of flats, one-family houses, shopping centres and public facilities, built on the outskirts of cities, mainly on agricultural land. The guiding principles of this new Vietnamese housing policy had been unveiled in the 1992 master plan, but it only really took off at the beginning of the 2000s.

These new urban areas were criticised by foreign researchers but also by the Vietnamese press for their segregationist effects. The modernist architectural style of these areas, the morphological discontinuity with the existing urban fabric and the socio-spatial fragmentation that they represent are all elements that hinder their integration into the city. Nonetheless, the KĐTMs are central to the national strategy for housing to 2020.

While many foreign researchers ascribe these segregationist effects to neo-liberal forces or to a desire for differentiation among the newly affluent classes, it appears to us more appropriate to seek other causes. On one hand, the Vietnamese state encounters difficulties in controlling land speculation, central to enrichment strategies since 1990, and marked by several cases of insider dealing linked to financing mechanisms of new housing (and to the absence of

an operational banking system). On the other hand, there is a disparity in the market value of new dwellings and the compensation given to expropriated households.

Originally, policy for KĐTMs required that 30% to 50% of new dwellings built should be accessible to low-income members of the population [2] (*thu nhập thấp*). The 1992 master plan maintained in this way the socialist objectives of subsidised housing from the collectivist era while proposing a renewed statist vision of urban housing, respectful of new residential aspirations (more spacious accommodation, designed for a single family, private services integrated into the housing, etc.). The new model of KĐTMs therefore differed deliberately from the 'collective areas' model (KTTs) that advocated minimalist dwellings.

From 1954, Vietnamese housing policy launched this huge construction programme of subsidised accommodation in order to meet the housing needs of employees of the new independent socialist state [3]. The KTTs constituted the first large-scale programme of residential estates conducted autonomously by the Vietnamese administration. During this period, the socialist state built self-sufficient areas from scratch, organised into neighbourhood units around collective public facilities (school, park, medical clinic). This form of housing was modelled closely on what was being built during the same period in socialist countries of Eastern Europe and Asia.

The new urban areas of the 2000s do not have this sober and collectivist style, but they were built according to similar principles to those that had governed the policy for KTTs: existing constructions were levelled and building began on agricultural land repossessed by the state, erasing all traces of this agricultural history (hydraulic system, sacred mounds, cemeteries), villages adjacent to these areas were ignored, the zone to be developed is laid out according to the road network crisscrossed by highways.

The KĐTMs were also planned in a 'synchronised' manner, namely the commercial, residential and public buildings had to be built simultaneously in order to produce multifunctional spaces intended to be self-sufficient (and to avoid the North American syndrome of deserted central business districts after office hours).

This noted return into planned and modern production of housing followed a period of intense self-building of housing that had been formally recognised at the end of the 1980s with the official abandon of the policy of KTTs and the adoption of a co-operation protocol between 'the state and the People' that invited the private stakeholders to become the project managers in the production of their own housing of which they could henceforth be the legitimate owners.

In contrast with the model of KTTs, the KĐTMs are in line with the economic liberalisation of the country. This does not concern subsidised housing, but a financing mechanism that encourages land speculation to the disadvantage of the less affluent. The public authorities transfer at low cost the usage rights of the area in question to a developer. In return, this developer must build infrastructure there (aqueducts, sewers, electricity), public facilities and sometimes also a part of the road system. These facilities are then retroceded to municipal companies of urban services.

The construction of housing is financed by the purchasers-investors who pay the rights of usage and ownership of their lodging in a few payments spread out over a short period prior to or during the construction. The municipality theoretically fixes the initial sale price at the time of its approval of the housing project. However, these dwellings are usually resold more than once before completion. Resale prices are regulated solely by market forces. This financial model favours insider dealing and confers market values onto dwellings that are several times greater than the compensation received by neighbouring villagers for the loss of the agricultural land upon which are built these new urban areas.

Conclusion

The first land and administrative reforms to galvanize investment in the construction sector and halt the practice of popular self-building in the 1980s and 1990s have shown the importance of alliances between the public sector, the only entity capable of facilitating access to land, and the private sector (Vietnamese or foreign) providing capital. In the absence of sufficient capital to invest in construction, the public services have used land as a source of income.

After more than a decade of construction by inhabitants and small-developers, within the framework of the policy labelled 'the state and the people building together,' the return to large-scale property operations within

the framework of the new urban state policy marks the aggressive entry of foreign investors and their alliance with formerly public construction companies.

Opening up towards the outside world and the desire to lift Hà Nội into the ranks of great Southeast Asian capitals require more liberal reforms and land for the capital to measure up to the government's ambitions. But will this 'top-down' urbanisation manage to halt the 'bottom-up' kind, and to impose its urban model onto this densely populated plain?

1) Mr Ciputra, at the head of the fifth-largest Indonesian industrial group, was part of a delegation of investors from the archipelago that came to prospect the Vietnamese market during a visit by President Suharto. Mr Ciputra apparently had the idea of creating a new town during the trip from the airport to the city centre, crossing the paddy fields to the west of Tây Lake.

2) The qualifier 'low-income' mainly designates civil service employees (teachers, health workers, office employees), the military and the families known as 'public politicians' (*gia đình thuoc dien chính sach*) of which one of its members played a role in the Colonial and American Wars. Given that their income is low, the state intervenes in their favour *via* its housing policy. This category of households cannot be assimilated into the impoverished population living in the countryside or with illegal migrants who are not targeted by the housing policy.

3) It is calculated however that only 30% of state employees have been able to benefit from subsidised housing. New households that appeared in the city during this period therefore squeezed into dwellings in the central neighbourhoods and into those newly built in the collective areas, a situation illustrated by the record densities of population observed at the end of the war.

Tomorrow's city: territorial reforms and urban projects

S. Fanchette, C. Musil, P. Moustier, Nguyễn Thị Tân Lộc

At the end of the 2000s, the Vietnamese government decided to accelerate Vietnam's process of integration into globalisation and to give it a capital equal to its ambitions. It has enlarged the territory of the province-capital, funded a Master Plan for the construction of Hà Nội to 2030 with projections for 2050 and put a whole series of land and administrative reforms in place to give provinces the means to manage their own planning, 'freeing up' agricultural land to make it suitable for construction. Several financial reforms have aimed to ease foreign investment in this country in transition towards the market economy.

'At the urban level, integration into globalisation manifests itself by a redevelopment of centres (with the advent of high-rise hyper-centres, indicators of urban modernity) and the structuring of the outskirts (new towns, large shopping centres, technological and industrial parks). As a consequence of this, fresh relationships develop between the centre and the periphery, borne by specific methods of urban fabrication associated with internationalisation' (Goldblum & Franck, 2007). To modernise the capital is a matter of abolishing all forms of rural life and informality, part and parcel of this city founded on a substratum of villages. Accordingly, small neighbourhood markets and street hawking are banished from the city centre and the major thoroughfares.

The urban models proposed by investors organise the city around a dense motorway network, favouring private cars, which must travel between the various motorway links, the city centre, new urban areas, industrial parks and satellite towns. The urban outskirts have become the new frontiers between towns and globalisation, because they inherit the activities of which the towns are ridding themselves, but above all, Western countries are outsourcing, and many investors favour these areas. Areas once considered as the agricultural hinterland of large cities have now been transformed into their industrial hinterland as well, and thus of the globalised world (Leaf, 2008).

However, several experts question the validity of master plans for Vietnam in the context of state disengagement, the fragmentation of powers within the province-capital, the surge of property developers in urban planning and the preponderant role of market forces in urban expansion. Although the state's planned economy past remains a vivid memory, in reality, it is a fact that not one Master Plan has been adhered to up until now: the recent economic boom of the last five years and the large investments made in urban development have little to do with decisions drawn up previously. Experts wonder about the reliability of such 'top-down' projects without institutional leverage in the field to get them applied, the local authorities lacking means of coercion, expertise, and finances after many decades of

authoritarian planning (Wilson, 2009). M. Leaf (2008) denounces, with other specialists on urban planning in Southeast Asia (Shatkin in 2008 for the example of Manila) the privatisation of urban and peri-urban planning, a shared characteristic among all the countries in the region, through master plans conducted by private companies that are behind the establishment of urban megaprojects.

By the same token, for M. Leaf (1999), the contradiction in the Vietnamese government's urban planning policy derives from the fact that its administration behaves as if it controls urban development through a whole arsenal of laws and master plans, that it controls the population's behaviour concerning construction and access to land, while funding of planned development is essentially in the hands of foreign megaprojects. Accordingly, state reforms concerning development look to improving the conditions for foreign investment the better to integrate Vietnam into the global economy, while local governance attempts to control the very rapid development of local informal construction.

Territorial enlargement of an international metropolis

• Strengthening the power of the capital on local, national and regional levels

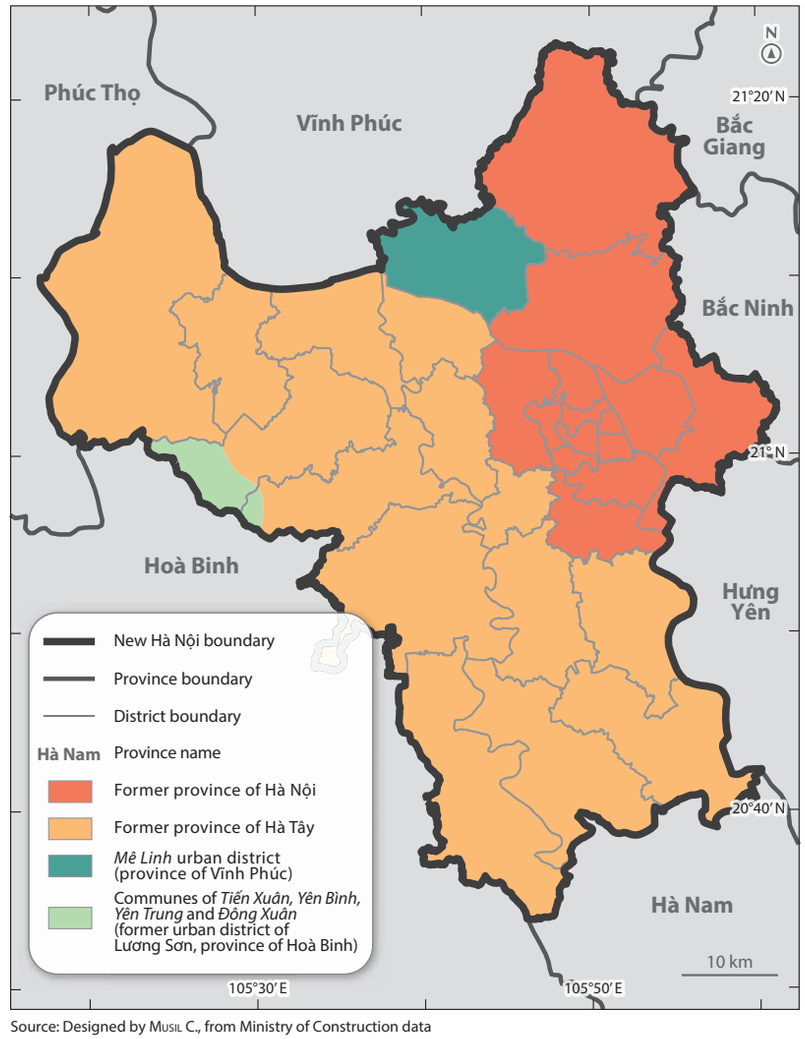
In August 2008, the Vietnamese government decided to extend the administrative limits of the province-capital by annexing the westerly province of Hà Tây, the district of Mê Linh (province of Vĩnh Phúc) and four communes of the province of Hòa Bình. The annexation of these territories tripled the area of Hà Nội (3,300 km^2 compared with 900 km^2) and doubled its population (6.4 million inhabitants compared with 3 millions beforehand), but 60% of it remains rural (Figure 11).

This expansion can be explained by the state's political desire to render Hà Nội a 'globalised' city and to limit the obstacles to the capital's promotion, particularly the control of land. This highly political decision questions the ongoing process of decentralisation, the state seeking to control the development policy of the province of Hà Tây (noted for the erratic management of its land, distributed indiscriminately to several property developers), by integrating it administratively into the capital. Hà Tây was threatening to compete with the province-capital. After several decades of anti-urban policy, the state wishes to express its economic success spatially by increasing Hà Nội's stature and staking its claim in the regional area of Asean countries.

Since the 2000s, many land, budgetary and decentralisation reforms have strengthened the planning and development power of the provinces. Indeed, the reworking of the 2002 law on the state budget (implemented in 2004) has enabled provinces to increase their independent sources of income for the most part through the application of taxes collected, linked to land use and to economic activities of an urban nature.

Then, in 2003, a reworking of the land law devolved to the provinces the right to alter land use and to convert agricultural land into land suitable for

Figure 11 – FORMER AND CURRENT HÀ NỘI CITY LIMITS



Source: Designed by Musil C., from Ministry of Construction data

building (Land Law 2003, article 36). Finally, in 2006, by Decree 108, the Ministry of Planning and Investment transferred to the provinces part of its power to approve local investment projects (less than 75 million USD) (Labbé & Musil, 2011). All these measures benefit the provinces that are experiencing an accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation and encourage others to stimulate use of their land.

From 2005, the former province of Hà Tây benefitted from all these decentralisation measures and simplified administrative procedures, minimising obstacles to local investment. The authorities also eased access to agricultural land located strategically close to Hà Nội in favour of property development actors. They also brought in fresh policies aimed at accelerating the freeing up of land by creating a fund to compensate expropriated farmers. These measures had a significant impact on the growth of investments and use of land within this province.

In 2008, residential development projects approved within Hà Tây outstripped in number, size and capital invested those of the same kind approved within Hà Nội (*Vietnam Economic Times*, April 2008). Undeniably, urban projects within the capital suffer from a lot of red tape combined with a lack of available land suitable for construction and the much higher value of land in Hà Nội than in the surrounding provinces.

In addition, the real estate market is controlled by state or former public companies, enjoying close relations with the authorities managing land to be urbanised. In a context where a major proportion of wealth creation derives from access to land suitable for development, the absorption of Hà Tây has enabled those with good connections to the powers to get rich very quickly. Affixing the label 'Hà Nội' onto great swaths of land to the west of the city has provoked a dizzying rise in their market value (Labbé & Musil, 2011).

• The territorial and urban planning means for a metropolis project

Endowed with an enlarged area, the province-capital seeks through the 2011 Master Plan to provide the broad policy guidelines for the development of this future metropolis that, by 2030, is expected to contain 10 million inhabitants, and to try and give a picture of socio-economic development planned for its territory. The metropolis of 2030 will be made up of two kinds of spaces, with varied demographic densities and functions, in principle tailored to constraints imposed by its location in a deltaic region, extremely prone to risks of flooding (Plate 20):

– The densely populated urban area will house more than seven million inhabitants within 32% of the city's land in 2030, namely 65% of the population. It will be made up of the existing central city and of its various extensions. The peri-urban area situated between ring roads 3 and 4, up to the Đáy River, will become completely developed. The new urban area projects are there to cater to demands: real ones, from the investment economy, ones that it is politic to announce, such as provision of housing. These areas are currently developing between ring roads 3 and 4 and along major arteries such as the town of An Khánh North, renamed Splendora, located along the Làng Hòa Lạc motorway. Five satellite towns will be built in a radius of 20 to 30 km and linked with each other and to the city centre by a large-scale motorway network. In theory, these towns will contain most of the fresh industrial jobs, particularly in the science and technology town of Hòa Lạc that will boast an industrial park of more than 1,500 ha, close to completion.
– A 'green corridor' is planned in the Đáy and Tích river valleys, prone to high risks of flooding, between the compact city and the satellite towns. The green corridor concept can be considered as a 'marketing' element of the province-capital to respond to the prevailing discourse of sustainable development, the green city, balance between density and urban sprawl (density of the urban fabric encroachment of green spaces or their preservation intact to continue farming, craft activities, etc.).

The green corridor, a planning measure disconnected from metropolitan land use dynamics?

The concept of a 'green corridor' constitutes one of the main preconceived planning notions found in the Master Plan to 2030 underlying the state's wish to develop a string of satellite towns within the new municipal territory. Two million rural inhabitants (out of the three living in the province) will live in the agricultural or craft villages of this corridor. In this less densely-populated space,

– 40% of land will be set aside for intensive agriculture, parks and preservation of biodiversity and cultural heritage. Any urban and industrial development will be forbidden there and the plan is to keep 40,000 ha of agricultural land to ensure food self-sufficiency.
– In the remaining 28%, clusters of very developed villages will engage in craft industry and processing agricultural produce.

– Three eco-towns of about 60,000 inhabitants each (Phúc Thọ, Quốc Oai, Chúc Sơn) will be built at the intersections of the parkways, which will cross the province from north to south, with three roads that run east to west. These are the only places where this motorway will be urbanised. These towns will be low-density, developed with several green spaces, particularly along rivers and other watercourses, essential drainage corridors during the monsoons.

The preservation of some rural and green spaces constitutes a major criterion in ensuring the sustainable development of the Vietnamese capital. It takes into account its vulnerability to flooding, but also the need to maintain cultivated land to feed the capital with agricultural produce, along with craft villages and green spaces for socio-economic and environmental reasons. We saw in Chapter 1 to what extent the valleys of the Đáy and Tích Rivers were vulnerable in the event of a diversion of part of the floodwaters of the Red River, particularly because several thousand inhabitants have settled in the areas not protected by the dykes. Protection from river and rain flooding in the enlarged province of Hà Nội thus constitutes one of the major issues for the municipal authorities.

However, the Master Plan to 2030 makes no provision to create 'sanctuaries' from these spaces. On the contrary, the proposal is to leave a certain flexibility in the evolution of these areas while keeping them well away from urban pressure, but also from the encroachment of urbanised villages. Moreover, management of Hà Nội's territory is supposed to be based upon the Capital Law, which was to be published in 2012 (Musil, 2011).

However, a 'green corridor' maintained simply by regulation seems very vulnerable in an area prone to flooding from the Đáy and Tích Rivers, where construction is in principle limited, particularly high-rise development. The preservation policy of this space which is, all things considered, pretty flexible, finds itself weakened by metropolitan land processes, by reversible political choices and by a rapidly expanding urban economy.

• A weak concept with a hazy outline

To begin with, the concept of a corridor is not very clear in its desire to maintain agriculture, particularly in a modernised form, without endangering its development, this in a context of economic development, founded on the investments obtained by capital gains from land.

In addition, delimitation of the green corridor lacks precision: no detailed map, showing communal boundaries, exists to show its limits. Formed of diversified spaces in terms of vulnerability to flooding, it should have construction legislation better suited to the various environments. Indeed, three overall zones can be distinguished. The zone prone to risks from flooding corresponds to that of the submersion of both the Đáy and Tích Valleys if floodwaters from the Red River are diverted (Plate 20), while the land between the rivers and the spaces situated between the satellite towns and the submerged zone are less at risk.

In itself, that constitutes a token of vulnerability concerning the province's planning and development, since the public authorities do not have clear information to negotiate residential and industrial development with potential developers. This grey area is excessively subject to possibilities of unregulated dealings and arrangements.

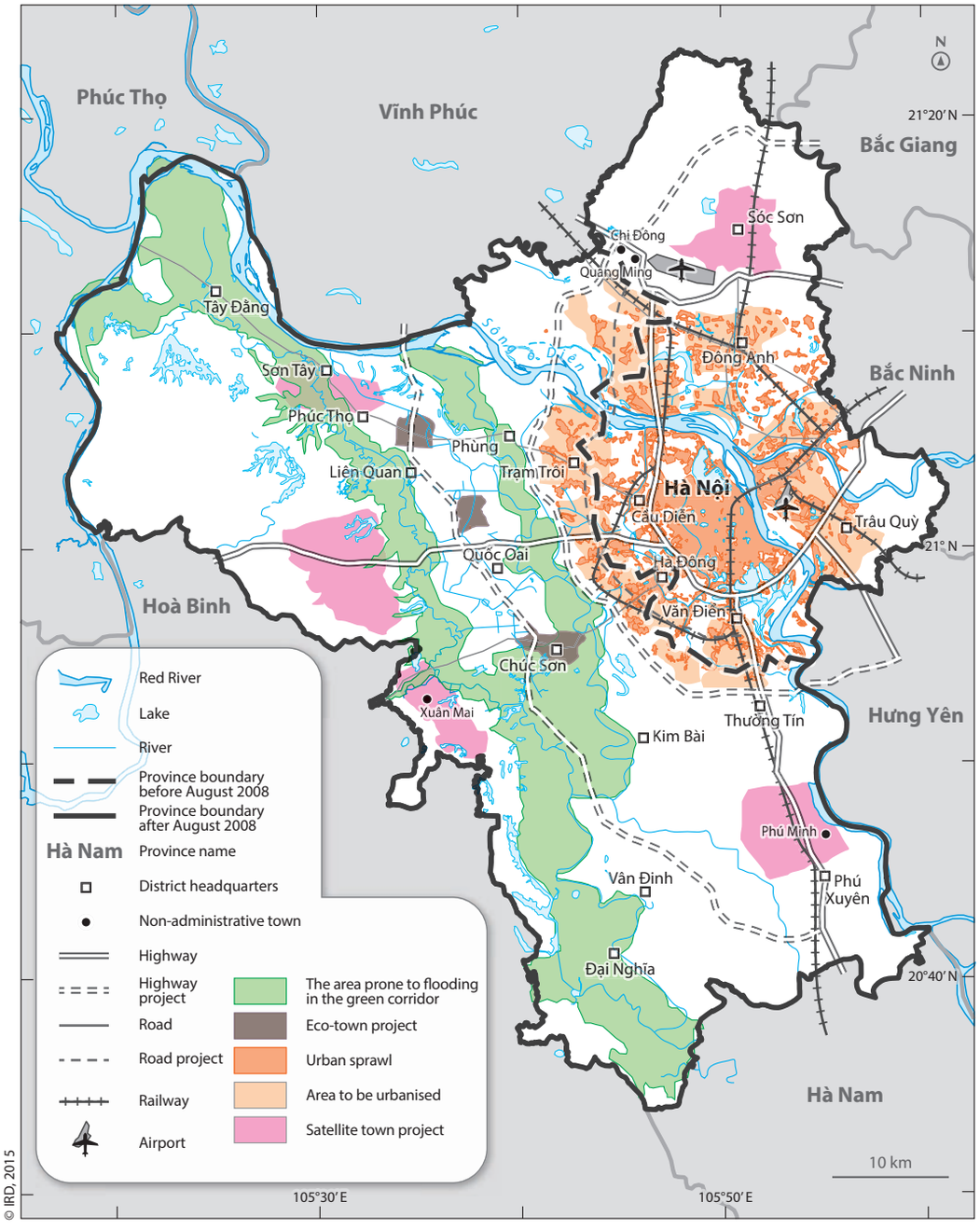
In addition, within this green corridor, many kinds of settlement systems are planned: three eco-towns, clusters of craft villages, villages devoted to intensive agriculture, and the locations of the latter two kinds have not yet been finalised. The incompatibility of their objectives in the field gives food for thought. So this is why questions are being asked about spatial limits, regulation of the height and density of new urban areas, but above all, about oversight and controlling mechanisms to avoid untrammelled urban expansion in this corridor, part of which is prone to flooding.

• The agricultural and environmental vocation of a space in the process of being industrialised

The green corridor is presented on small-scale maps as being mainly for agricultural or environmental use. However, study of the statistics of industry services (Table 3) and our investigations in the field, show that part of the green corridor is already densely inhabited, with industrial platforms, not designed for agriculture.

Several villages occupy the zone between the rivers, some of them craft villages (46 villages with nearly 45,000 people working there in 2003) and seeking space to industrialise and expand their production. For example, the Hữu Bằng wooden furniture cluster contains 15,000 workers and artisans spread over about ten villages. An informal industrial site of more than 10 ha has even been built in 2006 without any authorisation, proof of the need for production space and of the dynamism of self-building that no authority can check. There are also formal

The area prone to flooding in the green corridor and planned use of land in the province of Hà Nội



© IRD, 2015

Source: Master Plan 2010 PPJ

industrial zones there, such as Thạch Thất-Quốc Oai Industrial Park (150 ha), the industrial zones of Phúc Thọ (40 ha), Phùng Xá (84 ha), Đông Phương Yên (60 ha), Quốc Oai (72 ha), Tiến Phương, Ngọc Liệp (36 ha), Yên Sơn (23 ha) or that of Nam Phúc Thọ (100 ha), anticipated in the Master Plan.

This industrialisation process, at once initiated by 'bottom-up' stimulation from craft villages, or 'top-down' in the industrial zones, is very land- and water-hungry, and pollutes the environment. These activities bring with them the development of businesses and services, needing space, and migrants who need to be housed on already limited reserves of land.

The following table was drawn up from the flood risks map of the former province of Hà Tây, data from the 2009 communal population census and data from districts for the size of communes and industrial zone.

In the area vulnerable to flooding, there are already urban projects, such as the industrial zone of Ngọc Hoà in the district of Chương Mỹ, that of Đại Nghĩa (30 ha) in the very vulnerable district of Mỹ Đức or that of Thanh Mỹ-Xuân Sơn being built in the area prone to flooding from the Tích River in the district of Sơn Tây. In the area prone to flooding from the Đáy River, there are 55 craft villages in which more than 33,500 workers were active in 2003, while in the area by the Tích River there are 14 villages employing more than 10,000 workers. 38% of artisans counted in 2003 in the province of Hà Tây live in the area prone to flooding.

Along the Đáy River, several villages developed craft activities during the time when it was still navigable, before 1932, as raw materials from the mountains in the north of the country passed through here and there, were markets where artisans could buy and sell wares.

Consequently, all along the dykes of the Đáy River are villages producing processed foodstuffs, wickerwork, and conical hats. There are 55 craft villages employing more than 63,000 artisans and workers.

Similarly, the fertile alluvial banks in the area outside the dyke were suited to growing mulberry trees to feed silkworms, which explains the vocation for making silk items in the Đáy villages. These villages create strong pressure on this land to expand their craft or industrial production space. The most industrialised craft villages have developed craft sites of about 10 or 20 ha to relocate the most polluting businesses to mechanise the most dynamic ones. There are 25 of them in operation or being built and situated in the green corridor.

According to the Master Plan, 28% of land in the province of Hà Nội, or 41% of the green corridor, will be set aside for clusters of craft villages and for processing of agricultural produce. Although this figure seems high, it does not take into account the reality of current use of the artisanal productive space, which is strongly linked to intensive rice farming (see Chapter 7).

It seems problematic in this context of intense multi-activity and parallel uses of land, a system suited to the vulnerability of the Delta and to the very high demographic pressure (more than 1,000 inhabitants/km^2 in rural areas), to divide the green corridor into one strictly agricultural and 'green' part and another more industrial and artisanal one. Craft activities and agriculture are tightly intertwined spatially and socially.

Table 3 – OCCUPATION OF SPACE AND ACTIVITIES IN THE VARIOUS AREAS VULNERABLE OR NOT TO FLOODING CORRESPONDING TO THE FORMER PROVINCE OF HÀ TÂY

Kind of communes according to vulnerability	Number of communes	Population (2009)	Size of communes	Population (2009) %	Size in province %	Craft villages N°	Artisans N°	Industrial parks N°	Industrial zones N°	Industrial sites N°
Communes not vulnerable	183	1,303,895	109,806	49	48	227	142,664	No data	No data	No data
Communes between rivers	24	214,287	15,742	8	7	46	44,837	3	4	10
Communes in part vulnerable Tích	17	127,153	12,007	5	5	18	12,260	3		4
Communes vulnerable Tích	26	213,496	25,174	8	11	14	10,043		2	1
Communes vulnerable Đáy	57	399,431	41,345	15	18	55	33,648	1	4	3
Communes in part vulnerable Đáy	57	383,800	23,928	15	10	55	63,774	2	7	7
Total	**340**	**2,642,062**	**228,002**	**100**	**100**	**415**	**307,226**			

• The north-south economic backbone in contradiction with the objectives of the Master Plan

Before the enlargement of the province of Hà Nội and the announcement of a Master Plan, in 2007, the Nam Cường group of investors submitted to the authorities of the province of Hà Tâ a project to build a road, a north-south economic backbone, 63.3 km long and 42 m wide. This road, situated between ring road n°4 and the Hồ Chí Minh Trail, is aimed at bypassing Hà Nội's city centre and linking the west of the province of Hà Tây with the province of Vĩnh Phúc to the north and with Highway 1 to the south. The plan was to finance it using the 'land for infrastructure' BOT (Build Operate Transfer) system (see below), the province of Hà Tây granting the investors the advantage of low-cost expropriation and the use of 19,000 ha of land to finance building the road.

This large area was to be developed by several Vietnamese and foreign investors (20 projects for residential, industrial and ecological areas were planned...) that would have bought land usage rights from the Nam Cường group. Most of the communes that would have been affected by these projects (about 120) farm on 60% of their land (Plate 21), which demonstrates the important place that agriculture still occupies in the local economy. Several craft villages would have been embedded into residential projects and lost all of their land.

In March 2008, a few months before the integration of Hà Tây into Hà Nội, few of these projects had been approved by the Hà Tây authorities, even though most were considered as being located in favourable areas for development. The Phú Nghĩa industrial park has been built since then, and is operational. The Nam Cường group was supposed, through Nacimex, one of its subsidiaries, to develop 3,000 hectares in the district of Thạch Thất.

The whole BOT project was greatly scaled down, since in 2010 there were only four residential areas to finance the road, over an area of 3,150 hectares: the Thạch Phúc *khu đô thị mới* of 500 hectares, the Quốc Oai one of 1,100 ha, the Thạch Thất one of more than 900 hectares and finally the Chương Mỹ ecological one of 750 hectares. The profit made from construction of these residential areas was supposed to finance the construction of the road at that time estimated at 7,700 billion VNĐ.

However, to make a return on their investment, the developers build dense neighbourhoods, parts of them high-rise, which is in complete contradiction with the use of the green corridor as promoted in the Master Plan: the flanks of this north-south backbone are only supposed to be built up near the three crossroads with Highway 6 at Chúc Sơn, the Làng Hòa Lạc-Quốc Oai Motorway and Highway 32 at Phúc Thọ, the three ecological towns of the green corridor.

After the Master Plan was signed in July 2011, the validity of the Nam Cường projects was questioned. The Thạch Phúc residential area project, situated to the north of the north-south backbone road, was cancelled in July 2012 as it is situated in the green corridor. However, the construction of the road is ongoing since 7th June 2008, date of the project's launch for the northern part of the road. In December 2011, 7 km of road were already being prepared in the district of Phuc Tho, 16 ha have already been expropriated to build the Thạch Phúc KĐTM and work has begun on building the bridge over the Làng Hòa Lạc road. This work has cost the investors 1,000 billion VNĐ, or 47.6 million USD (*Hà Nội Mới online*, 21-12-2011).

Hydraulically, another problem emerges. The fact is, this parkway linked to the left bank of the Red River by a bridge begins on the right bank, north of the district of Phúc Thọ, and more precisely in the communes of Vân Phúc and Xuân Phú, situated in an area not protected by the dyke, near the sluice that closes off the entrance to the Đáy River from the Red River. This flood retention area is the most vulnerable of the valley if the Red River is diverted.

An urban framework hungry for land resources

The Master Plan to 2030, with perspectives to 2050, hints that the future of planning for Hà Nội will emanate from the development of a polycentric territory organised around five satellite towns and through the promotion of its open spaces. The ambition nurtured by the socialist regime for its capital is combined with a desire to develop a large-scale road transport network. Modernisation of this network is envisaged on one hand to promote the economic development of the metropolitan space, strengthen the capital's accessibility and its regional integration, and on the other to reduce the chronic congestion problems that have plagued the central and peri-central urban districts of Hà Nội for the last twenty years or so.

In the middle of the 1990s, the government initiated a policy of major works that first addressed an improvement of the existing major roads. Since then, thanks to international financial and technical aid, the authorities have intensified their activities, visible through an increase in investments in construction of

installations (bridges, tunnels, motorway bridges, ring roads, intercity highways, flyovers) located all over the metropolitan territory. While production of road infrastructure has taken place at a steady rate since the beginning of the 1990s, the modernisation policy for the transport systems currently appears jeopardised by two major restrictions: the availability of financing and the accessibility of land, a resource getting scarcer and more complex to secure owing in particular to expropriation procedures.

In this contribution, we show that the modernisation of the road network, as it is envisaged in the planning documents, inevitably entails a significant consumption of land resources owing to objectives fixed by city planning schemes, to the scale of projects and means of financing of these installations.

In addition, the procedures for obtaining land and acquisition of plots with a view to construction of these elements of infrastructure take place in a context that is anything but peaceful. Accordingly, land is a major restriction to a point that endangers the modernisation of the road network and any attempt to comply strictly with state planning.

• The road network: current dimensions and expansion

With the redrawn city limits of the capital in 2008, the municipal services tasked with highway maintenance have inherited a vast network to be maintained. On metropolitan territory, the management of the network takes place as follows: the People's Committee services have authority concerning intervention and investment for provincial and local roads, but also for all of the road network that lies within ring road n° 3 (Plate 22); the national highway and motorway network remains under the responsibility of central power. According to a decree published in 1999 concerning the classification of roads, motorways and highways are considered as essential for economic and social development, but equally important for questions of national defence. In this respect, their management remains within the remit of the Ministry of Transport.

As well as a road network now extensive and difficult to manage, the metropolitan authorities also have to deal with a rapid increase in the number of scooters and cars [1]. Consequently, traffic circulation in the most populated central districts of the capital is difficult and increasingly congested. Among the public authorities, there is a widely-held opinion that road congestion is obviously linked to the increase in vehicles in circulation, but also to the dilapidation of the road network, the lack of roads and poor land management. In 2010, the authorities estimated that land allocated to the function of transport, namely roads, was too limited, as only 6 to 7% of the total surface area of urban districts was given over to them.

To justify the catch-up policy undertaken in favour of road production, the public authorities found support from diagnostics produced by foreign experts helping them with urban planning of the capital. A study conducted by Japanese co-operation (HAIDEP, 2007) has thus established a comparison of the occupation ratios of roads to the overall surface area of some Southeast Asian metropolises. This study placed in perspective the ratio of land allocated to roads in Hà Nội compared to other capitals: at the end of the 2000s, the road network occupied 4.2% of the capital's territory compared with 8.5% in Bangkok and 12% in Singapore. Consequently, to eliminate congestion, the production of road infrastructure remains a priority for the authorities. The objectives contained in the last Master Plan are very precise on this subject: the aim is to reach a ratio of 20 to 25% of the surface area of urbanised land given over to the transport function by 2030 (POSCO *et al.*, 2011). In the planning documents, the urbanisation of Hà Nội is in part to be achieved by building new roads and implies the necessity of access to an abundant resource of available land.

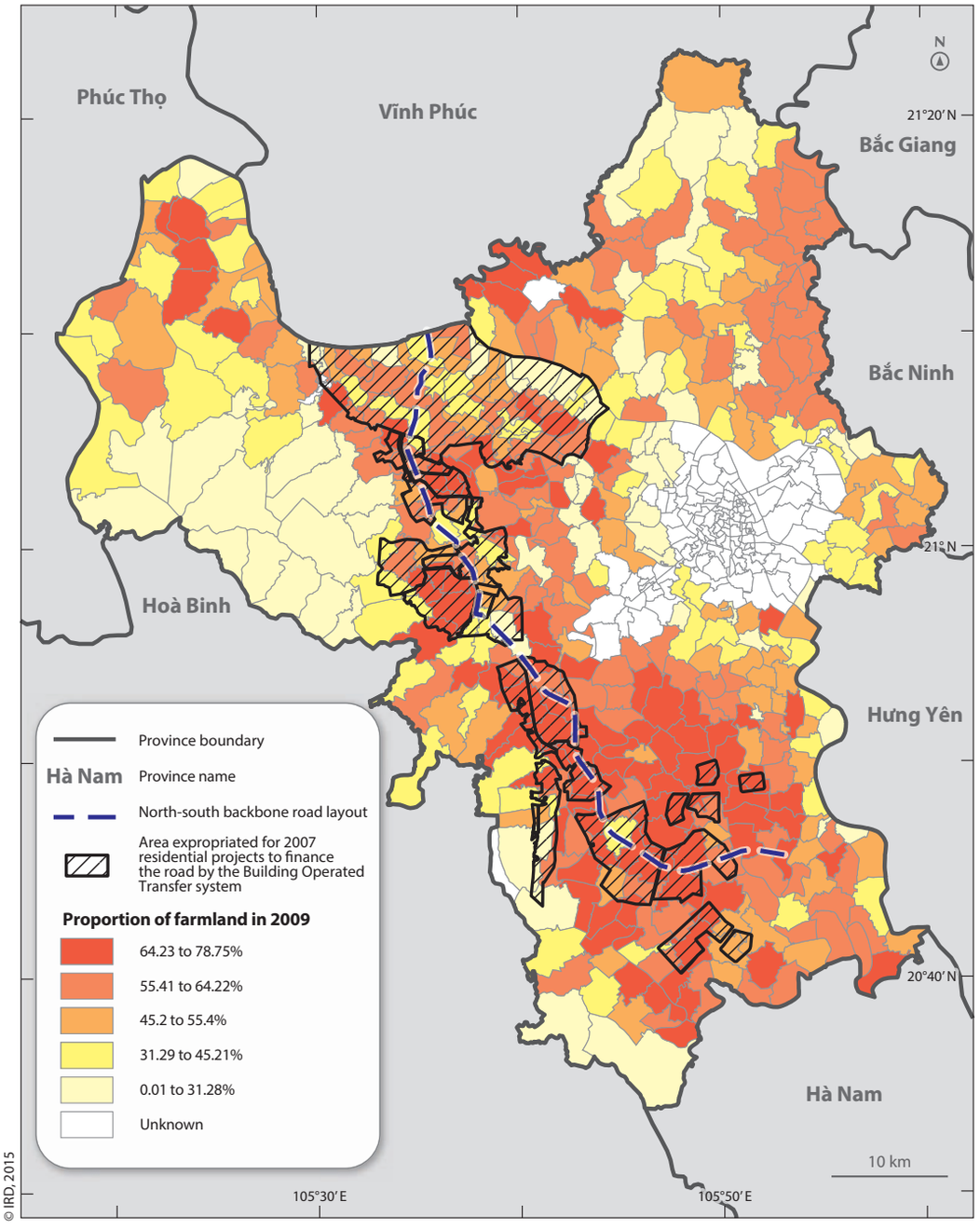
• Trends in the evolution of the road network and land needs

Land needs for development of the road network are considerable. They derive in part from planning dictates, but not only from these. The technical and financial packages used by the authorities to produce the planned infrastructure result in an increased consumption of land.

From now until 2030, the Master Plan makes provision for building (and improving) an overall length of roads of more than 3,500 km (Plate 23). Almost 2,000 km of roads would be necessary to serve the five satellite towns. The government wishes to build and improve nearly 1,500 km of motorways, radial and circular routes. In the final analysis, from now until 2030, for an estimated cost of more than 6.5 billion USD, the modernisation of the road network, as it is presented in the Master Plan, could need the consumption of close to 17,000 ha (POSCO *et al.*, 2011, chapter on technical infrastructure).

The development of this network requires heavy investment, while the state budget is limited. Consequently, the authorities strive to diversify the sources of finance. Until the middle of the 2000s, the government relied mainly on interna-

Proportion of farmland in 2009 and land taken up by the residential project around the north-south backbone road



Sources: Agriculture Department of Rural district of Hà Nội Province in 2009, provided by Lê Văn Hùng from Casrad and Hà Tây Province Cadastre of 2007

tional aid credits; the donors financed more than 50% of road installations in the country between 2000 and 2005 (World Bank, 2006). However, owing to the significant financial needs, the government wishes to have access to complementary budgetary sources. As an alternative, the authorities resort increasingly to public-private partnerships, in the form of Built Transfer (BT) and Build Operate Transfer (BOT).These partnerships have also been used in an unusual manner through an exchange model of 'land for infrastructure'; this arrangement now constitutes a special feature of the means of road production in Hà Nội.

In this system, the delegatees obtain the right to develop and market land concessions in exchange for construction of infrastructure (roads, but also public installations). In general, these related developments materialise as real estate projects. This arrangement enables the province of Hà Nội to support development of its territory while limiting its capital contribution (Labbé & Musil, 2011). In 1998, the government published an amendment to the 1993 land law and introduced the legal basis for this kind of contract.

However, these operations are conducted in opaque conditions and are the result of agreements between the authorities and agents. It is difficult to know if this kind of arrangement is commonplace in Hà Nội, but Plate 23 suggests that the proximity between the development of new urban areas [*khu đô thị mới*] with new roads being built to the west of the capital is not anodyne. In the meantime, despite the uncertainty that surrounds this means of financing and in spite of the dissimulation of kickbacks that are at the heart of negotiations between investors and the authorities, certitudes exist and examples concerning these practices of 'and for infrastructure' are multiplying.

• New urban areas: opening up the Lê Văn Lương highway

One of the best illustrations of this arrangement between real estate development and road infrastructure is that of the construction of the Lê Văn Lương highway, located in the urban district of Hà Đông to the southeast of the historic heart of the capital, which will end up linking ring road n° 3 to ring road n° 4 (Plate 23). Built parallel to Highway n° 6, this radial was financed by private funds coming from the main investors associated with the construction of the new urban areas adjoining the road (Galaxy 2, Usilk City, An Hưng, Dương Nội, Park City).

This example is eloquent because it illustrates the link between the production of road infrastructure and the progressive construction of housing developments in peri-urban areas. Rapidly, between 2004 and 2011, the commune of Văn Khê has undergone major transformations through the building of the road concomitant with the construction of tower blocks and housing developments that embellish these real estate projects. If one combines the building of the road with real estate constructions, the consumption of land resources is considerable; the 8 km of road come with the development of an area of about 300 ha in which several investors have had a hand with separate real estate projects.

In addition to production of road infrastructure that has proved to be particularly land-hungry within the boundaries of Hà Nội (owing to the extent of the network and the scale of the installations), the means of financing, through specific partnerships, accentuates the unrestrained use of land. Moreover, this combination of real estate activity and development of the road network encourages urban sprawl.

Consequently, in this infrastructure production mechanism, land occupies a key place and the restrictions appertaining to its access could seriously disrupt the continued application of governmental policy concerning infrastructure. Land resources appear in this situation to be a key variable factor for development of the metropolitan road network.

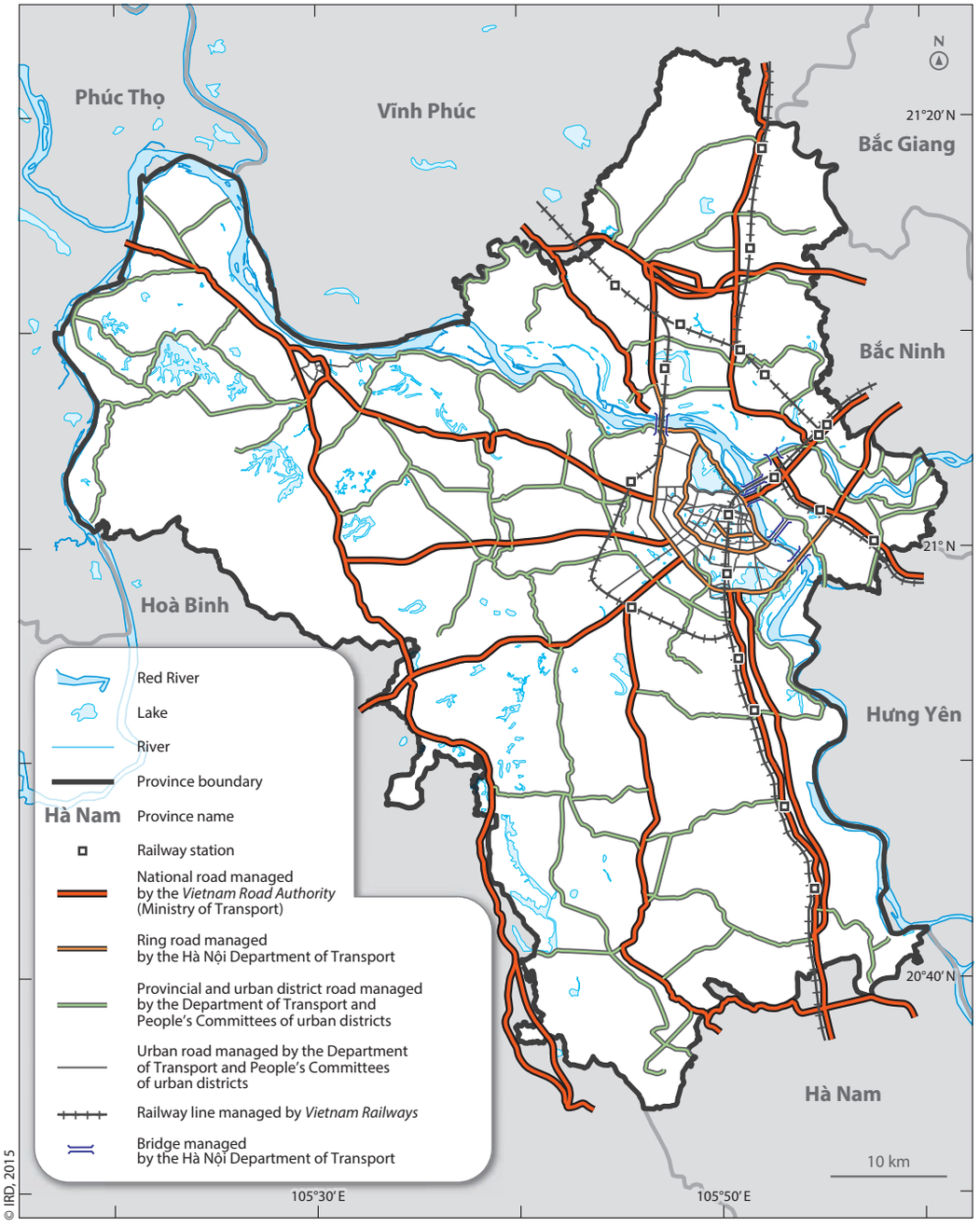
• The network, projects and restrictions on access to plots of land

Despite the ability of authorities to find alternatives for financing roads, access to land remains a restriction. Procedures for recovery of plots of land to build infrastructure in Hà Nội constantly result in brutal opposition with people affected by these operations (Han & Vu, 2008).

Given these difficulties, some installation projects appearing in the Master Plan have raised doubts as to their implementation. Indeed, among the many projects, the plan makes provision for the construction of a major new corridor, the Thăng Long link, connecting West Lake with the Bà Vì Mountains 30 km to the west of the capital (Plate 23). This link will consist of a highway; its scale appears excessive, as some sections will apparently be more than 300 m wide, with a recreational area in place of a central reservation.

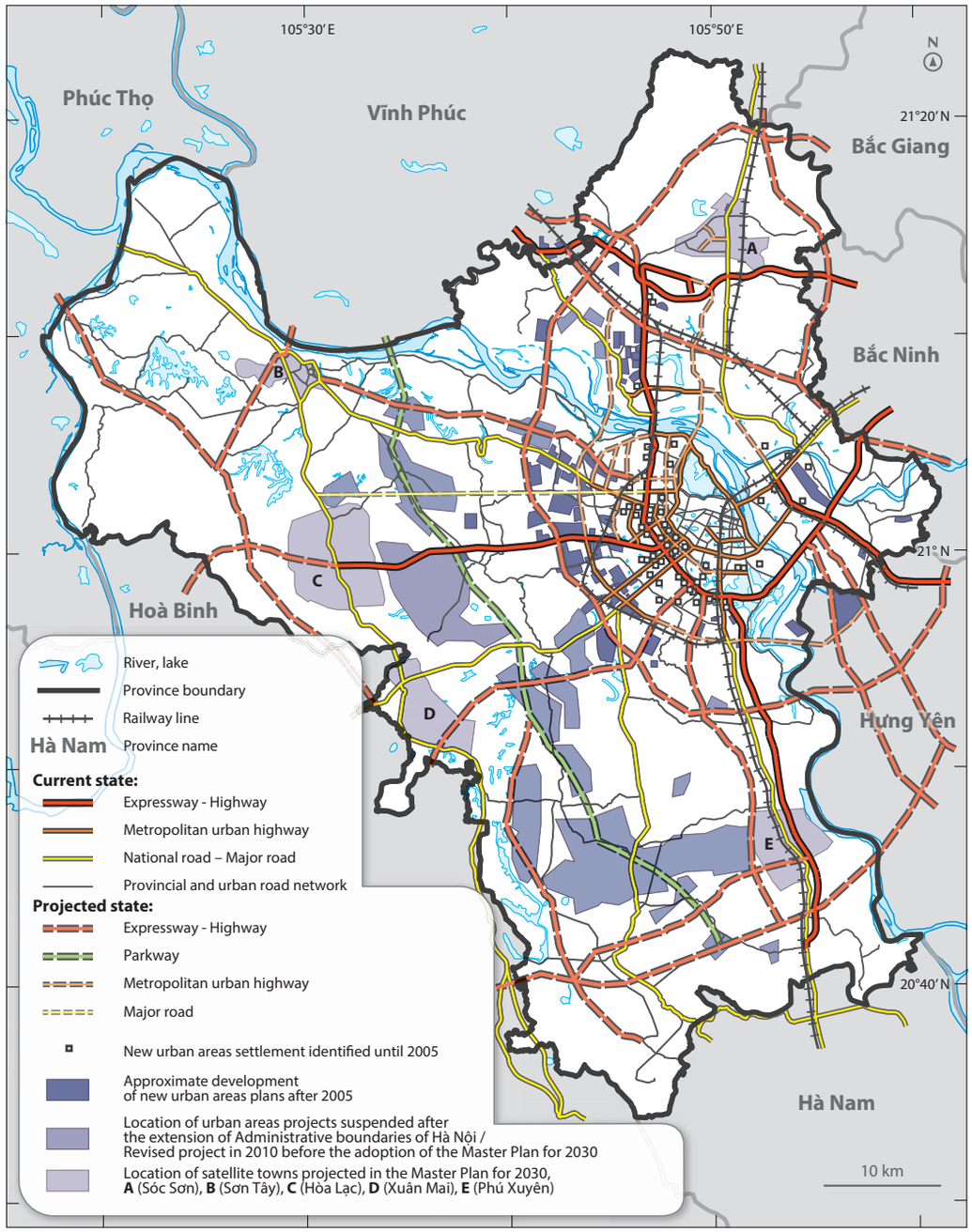
However, in spite of the interventionism practised by the Vietnamese state, this project could be compromised, at least in its current form. Its completion

The road network and its various managers



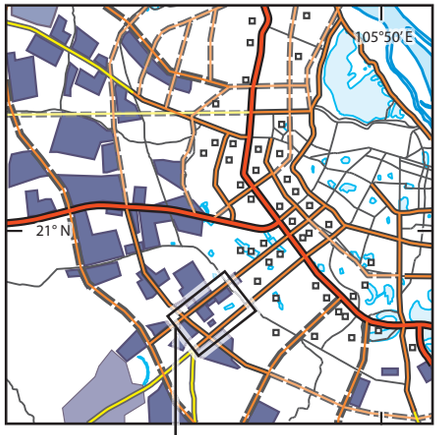
Sources: Map database: Musil C., 2010; data: Decree 167/1999/ND-CP on transport management and classification of the road network; Hanoi Master Plan 2030, vision to 2050, Posco et al. (2010)

Development of the road network and real estate promotion activities in 2011



Sources: Map database and survey, Musil C., (2010);
www.khudothimoi.com, www.dothi.net;
Hanoi Master Plan 2030, vision to 2050, Posco et al. (2010)

Construction of road infrastructure and housing development in the urban area of Hà Đông, Văn Khê commune (2004-2011)



River, lake

Current state :

Expressway - Highway

Metropolitan urban highway

National road – Major road

Provincial and urban road network

Projected state :

Expressway - Highway

Metropolitan urban highway

Major road

New urban areas settlement identified up to 2005

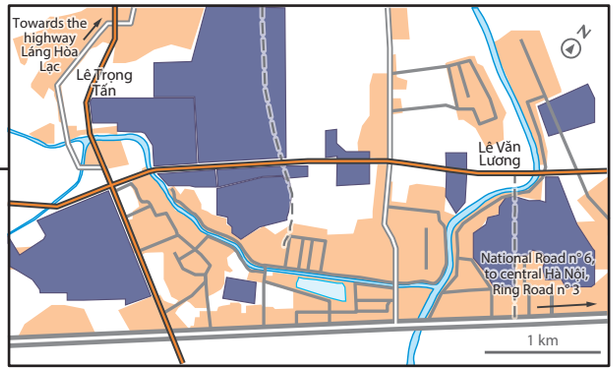
Approximate development of new urban areas plans after 2005

Location of urban areas projects suspended after the extension of Administrative boundaries of Hà Nội / Revised project in 2010 before the adoption of the Master Plan for 2030

2004



2011



Red River, river

Lake

National road

Provincial road

Local road

New street

Metropolitan urban highway

Built-up in 2004

New urban area under construction in 2011

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Sources: Map database and survey, Musil C., 2010; aerial photographs 2004 and 2010 (Google Earth);
www.khudothimoi.com , www.dothi.net;
Hanoi Master Plan 2030, vision to 2050, Posco et al. (2010)

would entail the expropriation of a large number of fields, the destruction of built-up areas (such as some parts of the village of Sơn Đông), but also of new residential areas such as that of Vân Canh.

On top of the financial cost inherent in this scheme, it would also come with a high social cost that would generate violent reactions from inhabitants. Although this project is written into the plan, the authorities will have to manage issues concerning access to land in order to complete it successfully. The content of the project will surely undergo changes owing to the social questions obscured by the land question.

The modernisation of the metropolitan road network constitutes a real economic issue for the development of the Hanoian metropolis. However, given the land needs, the financial cost, but also the social costs inherent in the creation of this network, alternatives are necessary to improve metropolis-wide mobility. These will come about through overhaul of roadways and planned wider thoroughfares and above all with the development of a major network of above-ground public transport.

Throughout the Vietnamese blogosphere, a whole e-debate has started up to comment the annexation of the province of Hà Tây by the capital province, the lack of information trickling down to the inhabitants of the capital and spaces annexed one by one, and the capital development project as proposed by the Master Plan to 2030 (Louvet-Pham, 2012).

Consequently, several articles, particularly some written by former members of the state, have mentioned the government for a lack of transparency, the speed with which the enlargement of Hà Nôi has been effected and the poor level of professionalism of some city agencies.

Questions have been asked concerning the future of agricultural land in the annexed province and that of farmers in the context of a land price bubble.

Criticism has focussed on two projects: the relocation of the National Administration Centre to the district of Bà Vi, in the west of the province, and the opening up of the Thăng Long link. 'Presented with a project whose official vocation is to make the city of Hà Nội more visible and better to live in, but which is considered poorly thought out, 'netizens' express their needs in terms of city planning. The Internet thus functions for the people as a means of voicing grievances' (Louvet-Pham, 2012).

The 'modernisation' of central Hà Nội: an end to traditional distribution *

Situated at the centre of a wide network of river and land connections linking it to the East Sea and to the hinterland, since its origins, Hà Nội or Thăng Long, a political city, has also been a trading city (see Chapter 2). 'Thăng Long was born to serve a royal citadel, but it developed through its markets' (Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, 2002). One of its characteristics is the interdependence between the royalcitadel and the people's market, and between the city and the countryside. Since the 17th century, Thăng Long has moreover been commonly called by its popular name, which appeared during the Trần Dynasty: 'Kẻ Chợ', the market people (Papin, 2001).

This interdependence between the capital and its rural outskirts, the creation of short commercial networks gave the capital this semi-urban and semi-rural character so prevalent in markets and street trading. The many village women who scamper around the Old Quarter of 36 Streets, under the weight of their balance pole baskets laden with fruit and vegetables, bears witness to the permanence of these relations. These informal activities enable a village population to remain in the village while benefitting from the urban consumption market and modest urban populations to shop on the spot at relatively low prices. The extent of local trade contributes to the dynamism of neighbourhood communities.

• Traditional diversity among forms of distribution

Currently, Hà Nội has a very dynamic retail trade that grew at a rate of 25% a year during the period 2006-2010 (Department of trade, 2011). In total, according to the same source, in 2009, Hà Nội contained 183,027 households engaged in commercial activity. The diversity of forms of trade is also characteristic to the city, with a dominance of traditional modes: street vending, neighbourhood markets, planned and unplanned, and the development of modern forms of distribution, shops and supermarkets.

Thus, in 2003, 60% of consumers did their shopping with street vendors (30%) or at small markets (30%) every day or several times a week (Prud Project, 2003). The other means of shopping for supplies are shops and supermarkets, which are attended in a more occasional manner; so only 4% of consumers go to a supermarket at least once a week. Street vending is particularly well patronised by

* P. Moustier and Nguyễn Thị Tân Lộc.

the poorest populations. In a sample of 110 poor households surveyed in 2004, 95% shopped for food at informal markets, and 30% with female street vendors, at least once a week, 60% never went to supermarkets and none of them went to supermarkets once a week.

Purchases at informal selling points represented 82% of spending on food by households. Consumers who do not go to supermarkets mentioned prices, time and distance as their main justifications. The possibility of buying on credit also favours purchases from street vendors. On the other hand, diversity and quality are mentioned as assets for supermarkets (Figuié et Moustier, 2009). Markets represented 58% of quantities of vegetables bought and sold in Hà Nội in 2004, street vending 32%, shops 9% and supermarkets 1% (Moustier *al.*, 2009).

• Street vending: a social role under threat

Female street vendors of fruit and vegetables were estimated at 9,400 in 2006 (3,470 for vegetables, 5,900 for fruit; one half of these are itinerant vendors and the others vendors attached to informal selling points). Despite the restrictions on the activity imposed in 2008 (see below), their number is rising, since it was estimated to be 6,320 in 2009 for vegetable vendors in the urban area of the new province of Hà Nội (Nguyễn Thị Tân Lộc *et al.*, 2009).

Most female street vendors are farmers who come from rural areas on the outskirts of Hà Nội (89% of fruit and vegetable vendors in the 2006 survey); these figures are in accordance with those of a study by Turner & Schoenberger (2012), which looks at female street vendors of all produce. Their small agricultural businesses do not enable their households to survive without complementary income, the more so since agricultural land is encroached upon by urban projects. The other street vendors (11%) are low-income Hà Nội residents, such as retired women.

Harassment by the police, fines and confiscation of their balance bars and baskets are the main difficulties faced by street vendors. In contrast with these street vendors, those who do business in retail markets are from the city, where they have worked previously in industry or trade (Van Wijk *et al.*, 2006).

The Vietnamese government, at the national and provincial levels, displays a wish to promote large-scale retailers, and to eradicate informal trading. These objectives are made plain in the strategy of the Department of Domestic Trade of the Ministry of Trade to 2020. The justification is a desire for 'modernisation' and 'civilisation' of the city (Vietnam Ministry of Trade, 2006). The authorities view street vending as problematic in terms of traffic circulation, sanitary quality, attraction of illegal migrants, and a poor image of the city. The basis for this perception is debatable (Moustier *et al.*, 2007).

The decision to prohibit street vending in 62 streets of Hà Nội (Figure 12) was noted by many observers, particularly journalists (Decision 20/2008/QD-UBND of 16th April 2008, then 46/2009/QD-UBND of 15th January 2009 concerning 63 streets). But Regulation 36CP on traffic in the city, dated February 2003, already forbade street vending.

In fact, the fresh legislation can appear as being more favourable by recognising street vending as legal on some streets. Indeed, the decree of 16th March 2007 recognises those trading in 'independent, permanent and non-registered activities'. In practice, the 2008 decision was accompanied with increased police reprisals, facilitated by the difficulties encountered by female street vendors in forming a professional association (Turner & Schoenberger, 2012; Moustier *et al.*, 2007).

• A forced march towards market planning

In 2004, Hà Nội had 136 retail markets (63 in the urban neighbourhoods, 73 in rural districts), of which nine of more than 400 traders, 20 between 200 and 400 traders and 102 of less than 200 traders. In 2002, retail markets enjoyed few facilities: narrow passages, no parking lots, no water drainage system, poor quality of sewers, no fire safety protection. In 1995, the fire in Đồng Xuân market caused several billion VNĐ's worth of damage (Hoang Bang An *et al.*, 2006).

Prior to 2005, the Hà Nội authorities had launched a vast programme of destruction of non-permanent markets. 188 markets were supposed to disappear between 2002 and 2005. Finally, this did not happen, as recent figures on the number of markets show. In 2010, in the former province of Hà Nội, 163 retail markets were counted, and 410 if one calculates for the whole of the new province. 87 markets are located in former urban neighbourhoods [2], and 101 in new urban areas. 66 are considered as permanent, 213 semi-permanent and 131 temporary.

The Department of Trade's plan from 2010 to 2030 only makes provision for markets of more than 10,000 m^2 (namely, for the urban neighbourhoods, Hôm

and Đồng Xuân), enjoying investment by municipal authorities, with the others to be replaced by supermarkets and shops (Department of Trade, 2011).

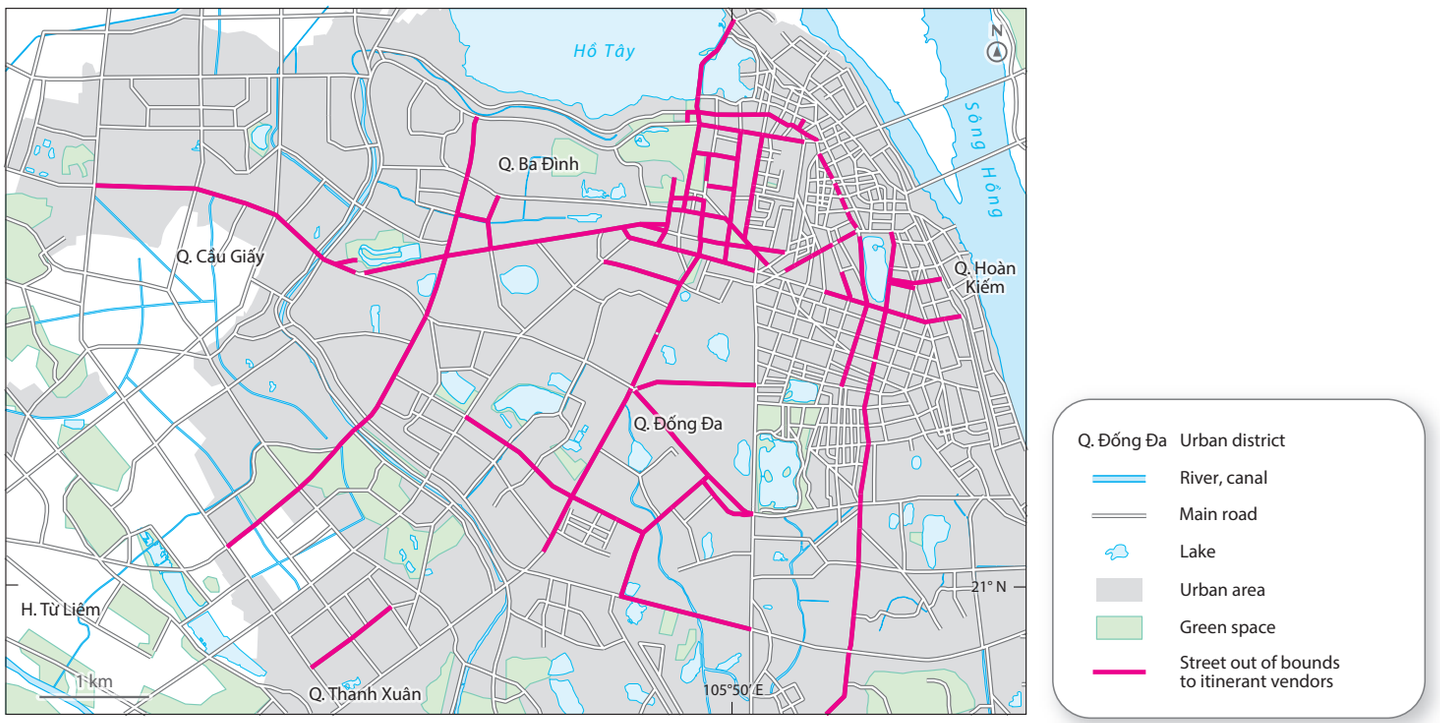
It seems that despite their voluntarism, the authorities have run up against the dynamism of non-planned markets. A few spectacular operations of market redevelopment should however be noted. Accordingly, Hàng Da Market, very well situated to the north of the Old Quarter of 36 Streets, where the square metre has reached prohibitive prices, was destroyed. A shopping centre was built and it was planned that the first storey would be used for the fresh produce market. In the end, the new market was relegated to the basement and the vendors complain of a lack of clients, along with installations poorly suited to their activities and set up without consultation (Geertman, 2011; DiGregorio, 2012).

Both Cửa Nam Market and Mo Market have also been destroyed, traders relocated to places inappropriate for sales, before hypothetically being reinstalled in a new space that will mostly be occupied by vast and costly real estate and commercial complexes. Bưởi Market was destroyed and replaced by a shopping centre, but there remains a space for the open-air market.

In addition, there are five main wholesale markets where retailers come to stock up on fresh foodstuffs at night, between 2 and 6 a.m. (Plate 24): two have not been developed and are destined to disappear in the plans of the Department of Trade. Long Biên-Bắc Qua, which receives produce from north of Hà Nội and from China and constitutes the most varied in terms of goods (fruit and vegetables, root vegetables, fish); Ngã Tư Sở, which receives produce from Hà Tây and Sơn Tây; Cầu Giấy, which mostly deals in vegetables from regions to the northwest of the city; two have been developed since 2004, with a car park, roofing, storage infrastructure: Đền Lừ (also known as Phía Nam), the biggest, located to the southwest of the city, and Dịch Vọng.

Other wholesale markets have been planned and developed by the authorities but are not very active: Hải Bối (which has been turned into a warehouse), Xuân Đỉnh, Gia Thùy (no longer in existence), Phùng Khoang, Xuân Phương and Ngũ Hiệp.

Figure 12 – HÀ NỘI STREETS OUT OF BOUNDS TO ITINERANT VENDORS IN 2010



Sources: Data from Hà Nội Provincial People's Committee, 2010 provided by Nguyễn Thi Tấn Lộc adapted from Bản Đồ Du Lịch Tourist map at 1/23,000, 2007, design Fanchette S.

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Photo 8
A young man smokes next to a sign singing the praises of a future KĐTM

In addition, construction of seven new wholesale markets has been planned from 2010 to 2015, of which two of 100 m² (Long Biên, Hòa Lạc), and one of 50 m² (Me Linh), the others being less than 10 m². A market of 50 m² Phu Xuyên should be set up between 2015 and 2020. Smaller wholesale markets are also in operation: Mơ and Hôm-Đức Viên Markets in the centre of Hà Nội, Hà Đông Market and Đông Anh Market (daytime market).

• Development of supermarkets and shops

In Southeast Asia, development of supermarkets began in the 1980s. This was stimulated by the standard of living, urbanisation, women in work, and countries opening up to foreign investment (Reardon *et al.*, 2003). In Vietnam, investment of foreign capital into the retail trade was long restricted, but has become possible since the country joined the WTO in January 2009.

It has even become strongly encouraged by the government and the municipal authorities at this time, particularly through calls for project bids from foreign investors in all neighbourhoods of the city. The retail foodstuffs trade is growing at the rate of 13% yearly, and modern trade by 20% yearly (USDA, 2008).

The first supermarkets appeared in Hà Nội in 1993. In 2010 there were 110 supermarkets including: one hypermarket (Big C, part of the French group Casino), two cash and carries (Metro, with German capital), one Parkson supermarket (Indonesian capital) and, among supermarkets with only Vietnamese capital, 12 Fivimart supermarkets, eight Hapro, five Intimex, two Unimart. These supermarkets are mostly located in shopping centres, which are places of attraction for city-dwellers, much visited at weekends.

The share of big retailers in food shopping was estimated at 14% in 2008. Development of large retailers is more advanced in Hồ Chí Minh City than in Hà Nội. In both cities, the authorities have a favourable perception of supermarket developments, for a modern image of the city, and concern for a better sanitary quality of foodstuffs.

In addition to supermarkets, shops are also proliferating. Like supermarkets, they promote the quality of foodstuffs they sell (advertising, quality labels). In 2009, 78 shops were counted as selling points of 'organic vegetables' 54 managed by traders, and 24 by producers. In 2008, 54 selling points were counted, more than double the number six years before, of which 38 were managed by producers.

Vietnam is at a turning point concerning the nature of its food retail sector. The current diversity of forms of distribution is remarkably well suited to the disparity of the population's standards and ways of living. However, this balance is threatened by urban planning and the rapid development of supermarkets.

Conclusion

The 'top-down' urban project imposed by the government and the municipality to lift Hà Nội into the ranks of the most dynamic Asian metropolises and to make the capital green (*xanh*), cultural (*văn hiến*), civilised (*văn minh*) and modern (*hiện đại*), takes place on many fronts: the construction of dense new urban areas, the development of transport networks to link central neighbourhoods to satellite towns, and the consolidation of businesses into shopping centres and supermarkets, symbolising the modern consumer era.

Moved by a process of metropolisation, state planning makes provision within the enlarged city limits for the construction of hundreds of kilometres of roads and more than a hundred kilometres of urban railway.

Consequently, mobility practices, accessibility to the city and ways of using networks will be radically changed. The urban structure's switch from monocentrism to polycentrism could reverse the polarity in which the historical heart of Hà Nội remains the main pole of attraction.

The periphery of Hà Nội, a space favourable to the creation of fantastical real estate and industrial projects, could see the dream carried by the plan into reality (MUSIL, 2011).

Moreover, the changes in ways of life, of living, moving around and consumption of part of the affluent Hanoian social class are moving in this direction. However, between the desires of political decision-makers contained in the plans, the current aspirations of urban society and the implementation of master plans, a grey area exists.

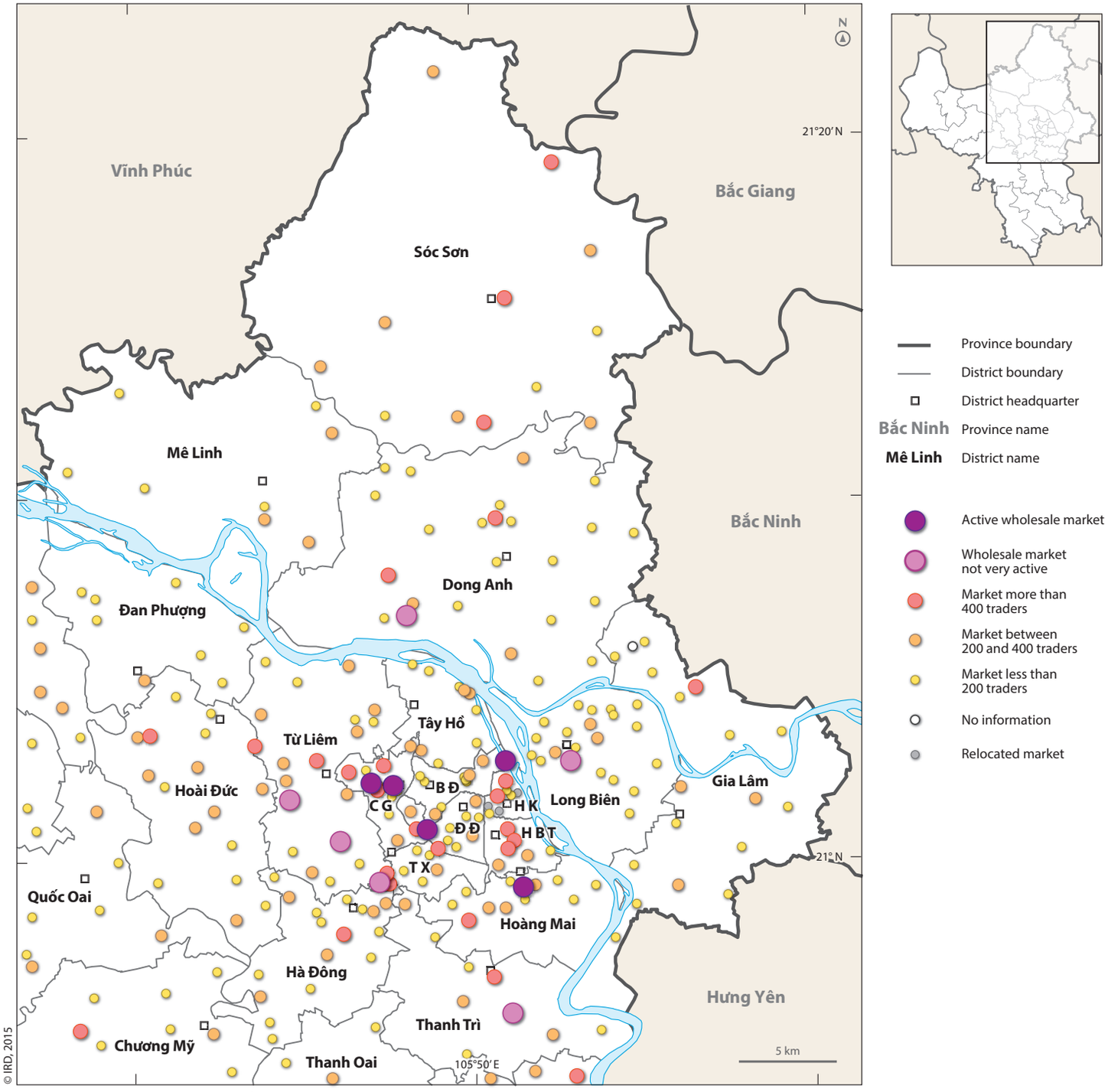
The realisation of projects is not guaranteed, and funds are insufficient. To finance metropolitan transport infrastructure, the government borrows firstly from international donors.

In exchange, these donors tie their loans, orient their funding towards setting up public transport projects and encourage reflection on ways of organising and managing metropolitan travel, ways of living and consuming.

Then private investors, very often former state enterprises that have been partially privatised, but in which the state still occupies a key role, take part in the construction of road infrastructure.

For these actors, it is a case of fulfilling the objectives of the sectoral plan on one hand, but of obtaining land and building permits on the other. Each section of motorway built on this model comes with the construction of a new urban area. So the spread of urbanisation along main roads is well on its way. It is now clear that the reign of the motorcar is coming to a city that is mostly dependent on motorbikes.

Evolution of wholesale and retail markets (2000, 2004, 2010)



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Sources: Survey Nguyễn Thi Tấn Lộc, Favri 2012, design Fanchette S.

In the meantime, building a metropolitan transport network and urban residential areas is endangered by land availability. In a metropolis where land prices come close to those in extensively industrialised countries, land becomes an issue of prime importance that determines urban expansion and its networks (Musil, 2011).

Although the major urban and road projects of investors and the municipality are very land-hungry, and particularly of paddy fields in peri-urban villages, these villages, within the context of *in situ* urbanisation, also need land to increase their residential and non-agricultural productive space.

However, the state and the municipality seek to stamp out self-building by inhabitants and promote more modern-style and high-rise construction programmes, leaving to lower administrative echelons the job of controlling village expansion.

1) Between 2008 and 2009, following the expansion of the boundaries of the capital, the number of scooters rose from 1.6 to 3.7 million; for cars, the number of vehicles registered rose from 185,000 in 2008 to more than 300,000 in 2009. Currently, with a population exceeding 7 million inhabitants, more than 5 million motorcycles and half a million cars are registered in the capital.

2) Of which 23 in the neighbourhoods of Long Biên and Hoàng Mai that were created in 2004 from areas located in urban neighbourhoods and rural districts.

Peri-urban villages: unequal access to land for construction

S. Fanchette, J. Segard, Nguyễn Văn Sửu, Trần Nhật Kiên

In the Red River Delta, a process of very active *in situ* urbanisation is linked to very high densities of population and to the diversification of activities associated with wet rice farming, occupying a large workforce. In the densely populated peri-urban area – more than 2,000 inhabitants per km^2 (see Chapter 8) and multi-activity –, village pressure on land is growing. Owing to urbanised extended families no longer living together and the arrival of migrants, demand for residential land is rising (residential density in the villages of the peri-urban district of Hoài Đức was 166 inhabitants per hectare in 2009, a density of urban levels).

Similarly, artisans and traders, since the integration of the country into the market economy, make increasing demands to the local authorities, who have until now blocked access to land, to obtain land for production. The state, and now the provinces, are the only authorities who can alter the status of agricultural land for industrial or residential use, land that until recently was reserved in priority for agriculture to ensure food self-sufficiency, one of the pillars of Vietnam's land policy.

However, since the 2000s, owing to the failure of the policy known as 'the state and the people building together' (see Chapter 5), the state has eased access to land suitable for construction for large private or para-governmental companies to build up the Hanoian metropolis. The policies of access to non-agricultural land for villagers of the post-*Đổi mới* years are being revised downwards and large swaths of agricultural land expropriated and rendered suitable for building, so long as projects are in conformity with the master plan to 2030.

The favours made to development investors to acquire large areas of several hundreds of hectares well below market price are perceived so much more negatively by villagers given that their numerous requests are not met by the powers that seek to curb low-cost self-building, incompatible with the construction of a metropolis of international standing. The authorities are thus identified, by a large proportion of the population, as responsible for injustices created by some of these projects, given that the state remains the owner of all land (1992 Constitution). A new form of incomprehension between inhabitants and their representatives is appearing, accompanied by a crisis of legitimacy in a regime that continues to represent itself as being socialist and gives itself as objectives the equitable development of the nation and the promotion of the common good.

Occupation strategies for very crowded and sought-after spaces

Until the end of the 1990s, villages could extend their residential space by creating 'population expansion' areas.

This policy was basically intended for young couples lacking personal space in dwellings shared by several generations. Since *Đổi mới,* villages on the outskirts of Hà Nội have undergone strong demographic pressure linked both to new ways of life within families and an influx of migrants.

Firstly, the increase in residence units is linked to young couples no longer cohabiting in the family house. It is usually the case that in village families, several generations of married couples cohabit. This situation deprives these couples of any intimacy or autonomy of action and can create tensions. The bedrooms reserved for couples in the two alcoves or 'arches' located on either side of the central room in a traditional house also serve for storage: the wardrobes containing the clothes for the whole family were traditionally placed in them. This arrangement no longer suits the needs of modern life.

Phan Câm Thượng (2008) has commented with humour: 'Here, there is no place for the love of modern times' [1]. Today, young couples wish to have their own bedroom to safeguard their intimacy and not undergo pressure from other family members.

In addition, these villages play host to migrants from the provinces. Residential space changes rapidly, with a 'new function': supplying new lodgings to permanent migrants and rooms for rent to students and seasonal workers. In the face of this strong demand, the price of land rises rapidly and motivates many villagers, particularly those having lost their agricultural land to urban projects, to sell part of their land, their yard or their garden.

We will present here two kinds of spatial practices to increase residential space in villages and their impact on village morphology in two villages: one from the second urbanised ring, La Phù, and one from the first, Triều Khúc.

• Creation of an informal small craft industry zone in La Phù

La Phù is representative of big and very mechanised villages with large needs in residential and industrial land. Indeed, this very dynamic village-commune records an annual population growth rate that reached 2.12% between 1989 and 1999, then 1.53% between 1999 and 2009, rising from 6,798 inhabitants to 9,764 (Vietnamese General Population Census, 1989, 1999, 2009). It is the commune in the province of Hà Nội with the most artisans and workers: 12,200, according to La Phù People's Committee.

In 1997-1999, a 'population expansion' area of one hectare (plus 0.2 ha for the roadway) was built on 'market garden land' for growing food to the north of the village's residential area. To begin with, the inhabitants of this area labelled it unofficially *Xóm Mới*, or new hamlet, then *Xóm Hưng Long*.

This project concerned 110 households, of which 59 had market garden land in this area (they had to give 50% of their land to the project to obtain the right to change the status of their land); the rest was distributed to other households that needed to cease cohabiting. Each household received 88 m^2 to build a dwelling and had to pay a tax to the district people's committee for the construction of the concrete roadway.

This policy has not been renewed: the district of Hoài Đức has only authorised each commune to build a single zone/area of one hectare. However, in a more or less irregular manner, another residential and small craft industry zone has been built on the '5% land' at the entrance to the village. Those holding the rights of use to this land apparently received the approval of the local authorities in 1990. Locals clubbed together to pay for its development.

There now exist several means of increasing residential space:
– making residential space denser, by building a house with many storeys on the site of an old one, or by building a house in the courtyard for the family's children;
– building illegally on agricultural land;
– living on industrial sites;
– waiting for 'service' land, or 10% land, compensation for land expropriated for the Lê Trọng Tấn project, to be allocated to villagers. However, this land must be provided with services (levelling of land, construction of basic infrastructure, etc.) by companies to make them suitable for construction. The cost of this work is 1.350 million VNĐ/m^2, a sum that few villagers can pay. Accordingly, the whole '10% land' of the Lê Trọng Tấn area is in suspension, while land prices rise and several speculators are interested in buying it. In 2009, there was a market for this land at 7 or 8 million VNĐ/m^2.

In craft villages, the mixed nature of residential spaces (housing + workshops or businesses) can be explained by the lack of building land and its high cost, but also because artisans live with their livelihood. They have to monitor workers, get children and old people to take part in manual activities (basket-weaving, embroidery) or working late at night to meet orders, and prefer to live and work on the spot.

Some continue to live on industrial sites, as they can build large residences there, in spite of increased pollution since the installation of coal kilns and bigger and noisier machines than in the heart of the village.

In La Phù, a craft industry production site was built in about 2006, in a difficult context concerning land. The villagers considered that the market gardening land (or 10% land), plots of limited size (44 m^2/ per adult), shared out equally among families until 1993 so that they could produce something to improve their daily lives during the collectivist era, were almost their property, in the same way as residential land. Even though it is mentioned in the 'red notebook' (lease for agricultural land), the authorities of the former province of Hà Tây, before its integration into Hà Nôi, were less strict about its use. Located on the fringes of residential space, this land has mostly been built up in villages where demographic pressure is high. It is also part of a market for land, with prices that reach dizzying heights (see Chapter 9).

In the 2000s, the artisans of La Phù asked the communal and provincial authorities to change the status of 'market garden land' for growing food at the entrance to the village and to use it for craft industry production. After five years of negotiation, this area, which covers 11 ha, changed status but the province, to convert it into an industrial zone, wanted to impose a minimum size on workshops, building standards, the construction of road infrastructure, etc.

This zone that should have been developed by the authorities was in fact done so by villagers, without any real provision of basic services. The villagers refused to give up their land use rights (LUR) so that the provincial authorities could set up an industrial zone the plots of which would then be resold at prices and sizes too inflated for them. They themselves started building workshops too small to install more than one machine (100 to 200 m^2) and particularly shops and warehouses for wholesale trading in confectionary and biscuits, the zone being easy to access with trucks.

Businessmen therefore had to buy LUR from their neighbours to assemble a large enough area to set up mechanised workshops (500 to 1,000 m^2). Land prices began to rise rapidly (see Chapter 9). Along the side paths, (where the price of land is much lower) workshops are bigger, but there are also many residences of several storeys, Hanoian-style tube houses (Figure 13).

The villagers in the southern area of the village (zones B and C), whose land for growing food has also been programmed to become production land, have not yet received the approval of the provincial authorities. They refused on the pretext that the experience of zone A had not been successful, and that it was not possible to build industrial zones with so small plots of land, without adequate sanitary infrastructure and transport links.

As early as 2006-2007, the villagers began to build workshops there illegally, putting adjoining plots together by buying LUR. Owing to the illegality of constructions in this zone, there are fewer well-appointed residences. The risk of destruction by the district authorities is too great. The slackness of the provincial authorities of the former province of Hà Tây and of some officials has thus enabled the villagers to reshape the residential space of their densely populated village.

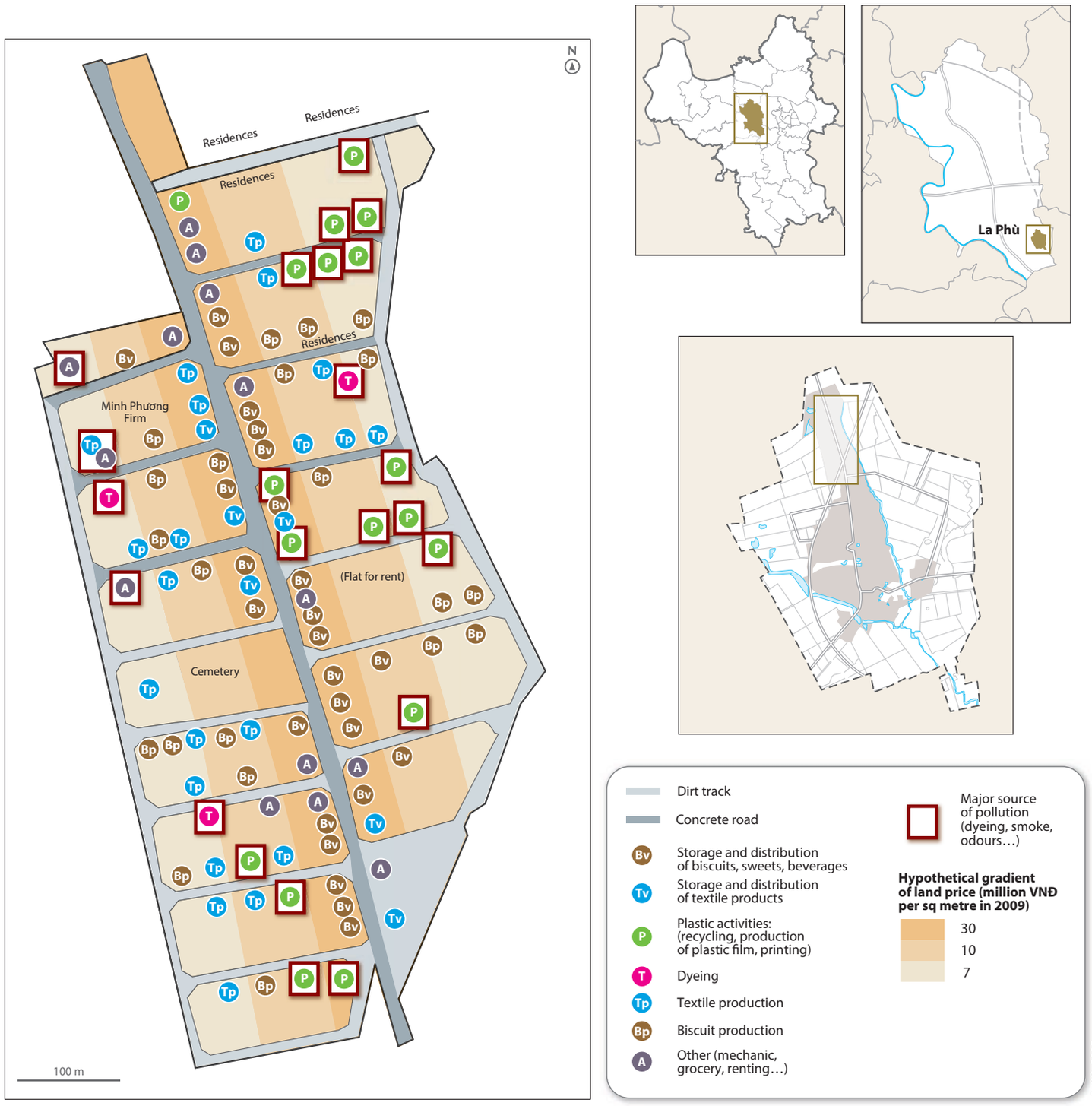
This phenomenon of village self-building, against which the municipality of Hà Nôi is trying to fight in order to create the infrastructure necessary to its urban development, is paradoxically strengthened by the installation of industrial projects for which tendered contracts are awarded to private developers.

In La Phù, a project for an industrial site (*Điểm Công Nghiệp*) of 42.5 ha is being realised: the land is being expropriated. The businessmen and artisans of La Phù are supposed to have priority. Plots of land with basic services should be bigger than 1,000 m^2, the minimum size to build a workshop with enough storage and production according to the hygiene standards fixed by city authorities. The zone will be divided into three parts, each one specialised in one activity: confectionary, textiles, dyeing. Costs of installing infrastructure to pipe in water and to treat liquid waste will be met by tenants. Accordingly, the plots will be leased for a period of 50 years for 3 million VNĐ [2] a square metre, or 3 billion VNĐ per plot, a price that few artisans will be able to pay, particularly in a context of a crisis in exports and a dip in profits.

Therefore, many villagers refuse to allow themselves be expropriated, as they know they will obtain no financial benefit from this land, and this only slows down the project's implementation. They would prefer to build on the land themselves and pay for the taxes to change the land's status and for basic services.

In this context, craft industry production continues to overflow from the village and to mingle with living spaces. Given the lack of expansion projects for craft industry spaces set aside for villagers, self-building continues apace and the 'verticalisation' of buildings appears to be inhabitants' latest strategy to counter the lack of space necessary for households.

Figure 13 – INDUSTRIAL AND RESIDENTIAL USE OF LAND IN THE INFORMAL CRAFT INDUSTRY ZONE IN LA PHÙ



Source : Survey Duchère Y., 2012

• Reshaping public spaces and the road network in Triều Khúc

On the outskirts of villages of the first urbanised ring, numerous changes to the traditional village road system can be observed, particularly blind alleys, and the creation of new blocks of houses. With the subdivision of plots for sale to migrants, many traditional houses have been destroyed to make way for compartment houses and dormitories. There are not many traditional houses that still retain a vegetable garden, a pond and a place for domestic animals.

The new rationale of land division and the formation of new blind alleys are incompatible with those inherited from the past and destroy the harmony of village road network design. Most streets that were paved with bricks are now covered with concrete.

The village of Triều Khúc nonetheless boasts a rich heritage of architecture and landscape, compared to that of other villages that have borne the full brunt of rapid urbanisation.

Village life continues at certain times of day, when one observes a multi-usage of public spaces, cultural activities giving way to economic activities. In particular, from 6h30 to 8h and from 17h to 18h30, the centre becomes an open-air market. All free spaces are systematically occupied and converted by the installation of mobile structures (tents, mobile kiosks, etc.); from 20h to 21h30 it resembles a small park where people practice sports and relaxation activities.

With the resurgence of religious activities, after several decades of its banishment, tangible heritage is regaining importance in village life, even in a context of strong pressure on land. Monuments are once again maintained and some are even enlarged to respond to the dynamism of religious activities. The continuity of village cultural activities is apparent in festivals and customs, which contribute in large part to establishing continuity in the use of the village's public monuments.

Locating on a current map of a village elements of heritage such as the religious monuments, the ancient trees, lakes and ponds, one notices that they are always concentrated around places of religious activity still frequently used by the village population (see Figure 4, Chapter 1). This enables us to arrive at an important conclusion: continued religious observance is the main reason for the conservation of elements of village heritage.

Village heritage sites can be divided into three groups according to their function and their spatial transformation. Some are integrated into modern life, others are partially suited to it, while others have become unsuited.

– Heritage sites suited to a new context – they maintain their original functions while integrating new ones.
  This group is made up of religious monuments and village places of worship (*Đình, Chùa, Đền, Miếu*, and *Nhà Thờ Họ*). This kind of heritage is protected thanks to values involving religion and identity still enduring to this day.
  In these monuments, as well as worship, new activities linked to contemporary life may be observed: cultural activities, electoral campaigns, etc. These kinds of monuments are experiencing a new cultural dynamism and often undergo work to enlarge them.
– Heritage partially suited to the current situation: the traditional house.
  The spatial structure of this kind of house is experiencing changes and only the main door and the body of the building are retained. They represent the family's traditions and identity. On the other hand, the other rooms intended for daily activities are converted to better suit the new way of life.
– Heritage with decreasing practical value and unsuited to the contemporary way of life.
  With the decrease in farming activities, lakes, ponds, canals, public gardens, etc., are requisitioned by the city authorities or by local powers. The phenomenon can also be observed in the private sphere: the sale of private land is a more lucrative activity than farming.

In traditional houses, the densification of built-up space takes place to the detriment of undeveloped space in the following ways:

– gardens disappear rapidly;
– space for courtyards and ornamental ponds is limited;
– secondary buildings, toilets, the kitchen and the water tank are all demolished. Activities associated with the kitchen and toilets have all been transferred to the house, now usually consisting of several storeys.
– The traditional house on one level is conserved, as it houses the altar to the ancestors and elderly family members prefer to live there. Family festivities are also celebrated there.

In urbanised villages, tradition and modernity live side by side despite the extreme densification of construction and the urbanisation of daily behaviour.

On top of this *in situ* pressure linked to densification of the residential space, there is also the competition for land associated with large-scale land expropriations by major urban projects.

Conflicts over land and social problems

Access to land constitutes one of the major problems for investors to implement their residential and industrial projects. A whole series of reforms and decrees have attempted since the 2000s to ease the 'liberalisation' of land so that investors can build the Hanoian metropolis. Several prerogatives have been delegated to the provinces, particularly those concerning expropriations of farm labourers from farmland on which the capital's expansion projects will take place. As farmland belongs to the state, labourers enjoy rights to land use for a period of 20 years. This enables control of land management by the authorities and, above all, access to a price for land well below market value (see Chapter 9) to attract investors. The price of compensation is fixed by the provincial authorities on the basis of four years of crops on the farmland and not as a function of their future use.

In order to make these socially very controversial procedures more efficient, in 2004 were created at provincial level 'organisations of land funds development' that deal directly with private investors. Their task is to simplify the process for them, offering a single agency with which to deal, managing the funds coming from land retrieved by the state and preparing this land before it is handed over to investors (Mellac *et al.*, 2010).

At the district level, particularly in those where urban projects are numerous, as in Hoài Đức (see below), committees for freeing up land take care of expropriating and compensating farm labourers. These negotiations can last for years and push the price of projects up sky-high owing to the inflation created by the lack of land suitable for building. In addition, the implication of members of communal people's committees in these negotiations only exacerbates the social malaise in the villages involved.

Since the 2003 land law, one can distinguish two forms of expropriation, depending on the vocation of projects (Trường Thiên Thư & Ranjith Perera, 2010):

– group 1 concerns projects of public interest (industrial or craft industry zones), schools and all kinds of public services. In this instance, land is compensated for at rates imposed by the provinces and the negotiations take place between the land services and the villagers. The provinces then give the land to the constructors. However, it happens that the claims of villagers are so strong, slowing down the advance of projects, that the land authorities 'accept' higher compensations;
– group 2 land is destined for residential use. The developers have to deal directly with the villagers to be expropriated in order to reach an agreement with them. Sometimes the developers appeal to the communal authorities to convince the expropriated to accept lower prices. However, the latter seek to secure prices close to those of the open market for residential use (up to 2,000 USD/m^2), compared with offered compensation of 31 USD!

In the face of mounting revolt and the dizzying rise in land prices on the open market at the outskirts of Hà Nội, following its enlargement, in October 2009, Decree 69 was enacted by the state to raise compensation rates for paddy fields to five times the former rates and protect the best agricultural land. However, according to Resolution 108 of the province of Hà Nội, there is no longer any question of allocating compensatory plots of land, which used to amount to 10% of expropriated land, as the province of Hà Nội is trying to ban self-building near new residential areas (Fanchette, 2011).

This land, known as 'service land' or '10% land', should enable villagers to build a workshop or a business on it to enable them to convert to non-agricultural activities. This fresh directive worries peri-urban villagers who consider that the

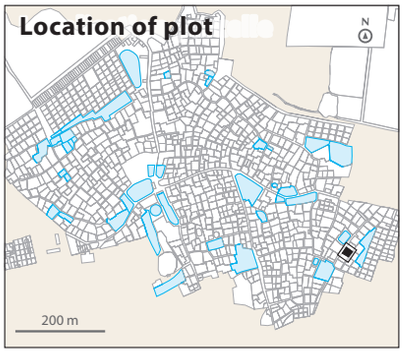
Box 2

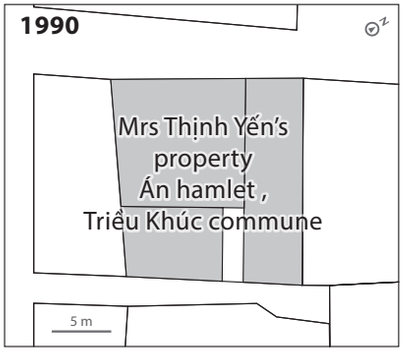
The subdivision of the plot of Mrs Thinh Yên's family was studied in this village.

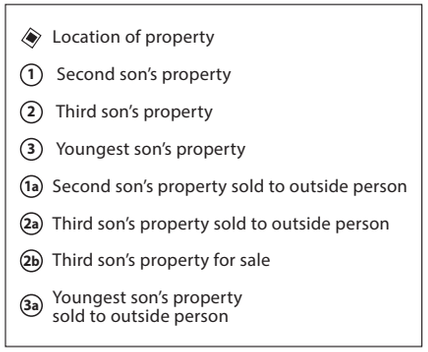
In 1990, within the framework of the policy of 'enlarging the residential area', this family with four sons received a piece of land of 300 m^2 in the housing transfer area on the edge of the hamlet of An. The three youngest sons settled there, while the eldest remained in the old house with his parents. The three sons then divided up their small plots to sell part of them to newcomers to the village: the youngest twice subdivided his plot in 2005 and 2009. In this way, in less than twenty years, the original piece of land received by the sons has been subdivided into seven small plots. These small plots are all built up to three or four storeys, and in this case, only one space free of buildings remains, converted into a blind alley (Plate 25).

In this same village, another example demonstrates the use of open spaces of the traditional farm labourer's house and their occupation. The house of Mr Triêu Quang Đỉnh, in the hamlet of Cầu, has been converted many times (Plate 25). In this family, undeveloped spaces such as the vegetable garden and the courtyard were reduced to make way for the expansion of secondary buildings. The main house is conserved. The kitchen, the shelter for domestic animals, the toilets and the bathroom were destroyed for the construction of a three-storey concrete building. This building gives directly onto the main path with an Internet café that has been set up on the ground floor.

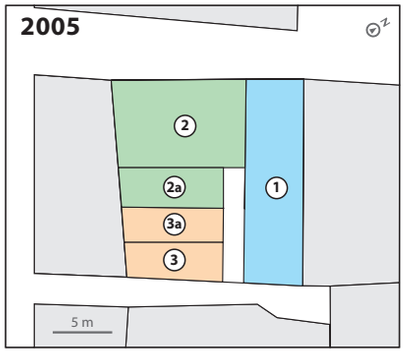
Village plot transformation between 2000 and 2009

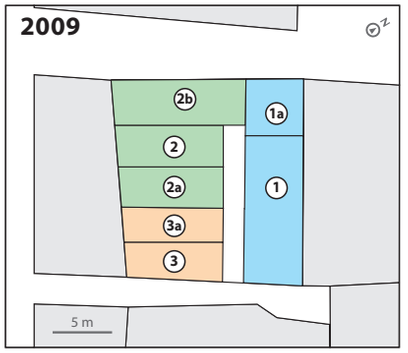




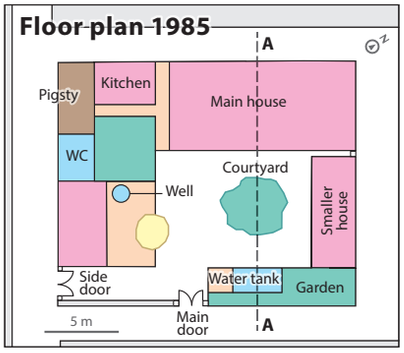


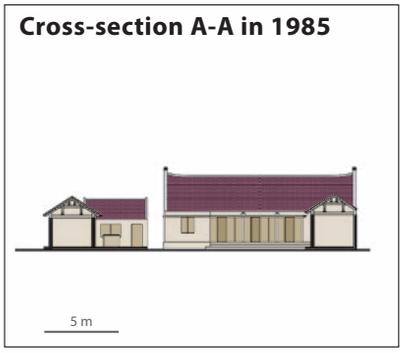


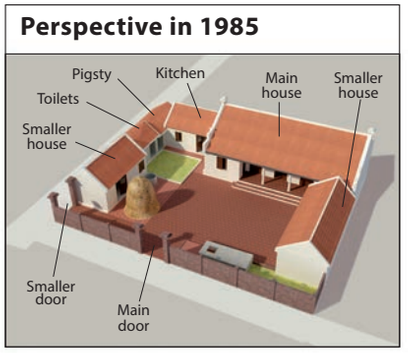


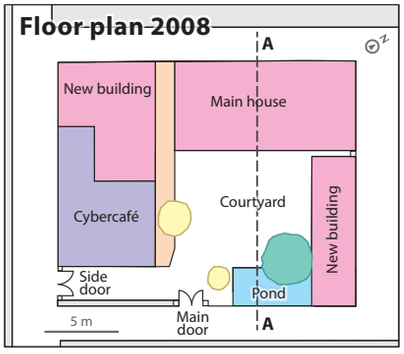


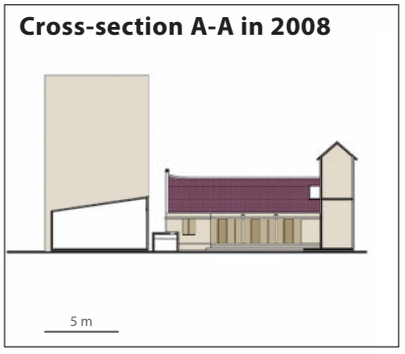
Village plot transformation between 1985 and 2008

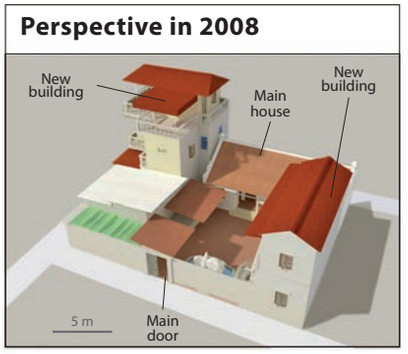












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monetary compensations are derisory, even at the new rate, compared with the price of residential land on the open market and do not enable them to convert to a new activity.

This only poisons relations between villagers, who refuse to let themselves be expropriated cheaply, developers, and the provincial authorities. Several residential projects in the areas near Hà Nội are now on hold as villagers want to be expropriated under the old system and receive compensatory land that they will have the option of selling at a high price.

The district of Hoài Đức, integrated into the province of Hà Nội in 2008, is part of the peri-urban area to be completely urbanised by 2030 according to the Master Plan signed in 2011. Two developments organised around traffic arteries and one linked to the proximity of the city centre to the east are being built. Even before 2008, several projects had been installed owing to the proximity of the capital and especially the construction of the Láng-Hoà Lạc Highway (152 m and 30 km), outcome of the future Hoà Lạc Science and Technology Park.

The new town of An Khánh North known as Splendora, covering an area of 264 ha and located 12 km from the centre of Hà Nội, should become an urban focus for development. A modern town with a skyline bristling with skyscrapers and luxury residences, it will host several service companies, for which there is no longer any room in the city centre, along with high-tech industries. It is at the centre of a motorway and railway network linked to Nội Bài Airport, to the north. An Khánh South houses several residential neighbourhoods, totalling 290 ha.

Ring road 4, situated just within the left bank dyke of the Đáy River, constitutes the other artery that defines this district from north to south (see Plate 26). Several residential projects of a total of several hundred hectares are situated along this artery. They were signed off by the province of Hà Tây and are being considered by the new municipality.

In 2010, in the district of Hoài Đức, over a total area of 8,246 hectares, there were 1,500 hectares being built upon or with projects pending: 989 ha for residential neighbourhoods, 167 ha for industrial projects, 158 hectares expropriated for roads and various projects for services and infrastructure.

Three communes have nearly half of their land urbanised: Vân Canh to the east owing to its position on the border with the former province of Hà Nội was very quickly sought after by investors, An Khánh along the Láng - Hoà Lạc Motorway is being urbanised with two major projects of 630 hectares, and Di Trạch, situated along Highway 32, near the administrative centre of the district, houses the latter's expansion projects.

Consequently, the 4,317 hectares of farmland counted in 2009 are so much spare land for future projects of the capital, except for the area of land unprotected by the Đáy River's dyke, unsuitable for construction, which is the site of intensive organic market gardening. The scale of expected expropriations forebodes social tensions in this district, which has become a huge building site for developers in a context of difficult professional retraining for villagers.

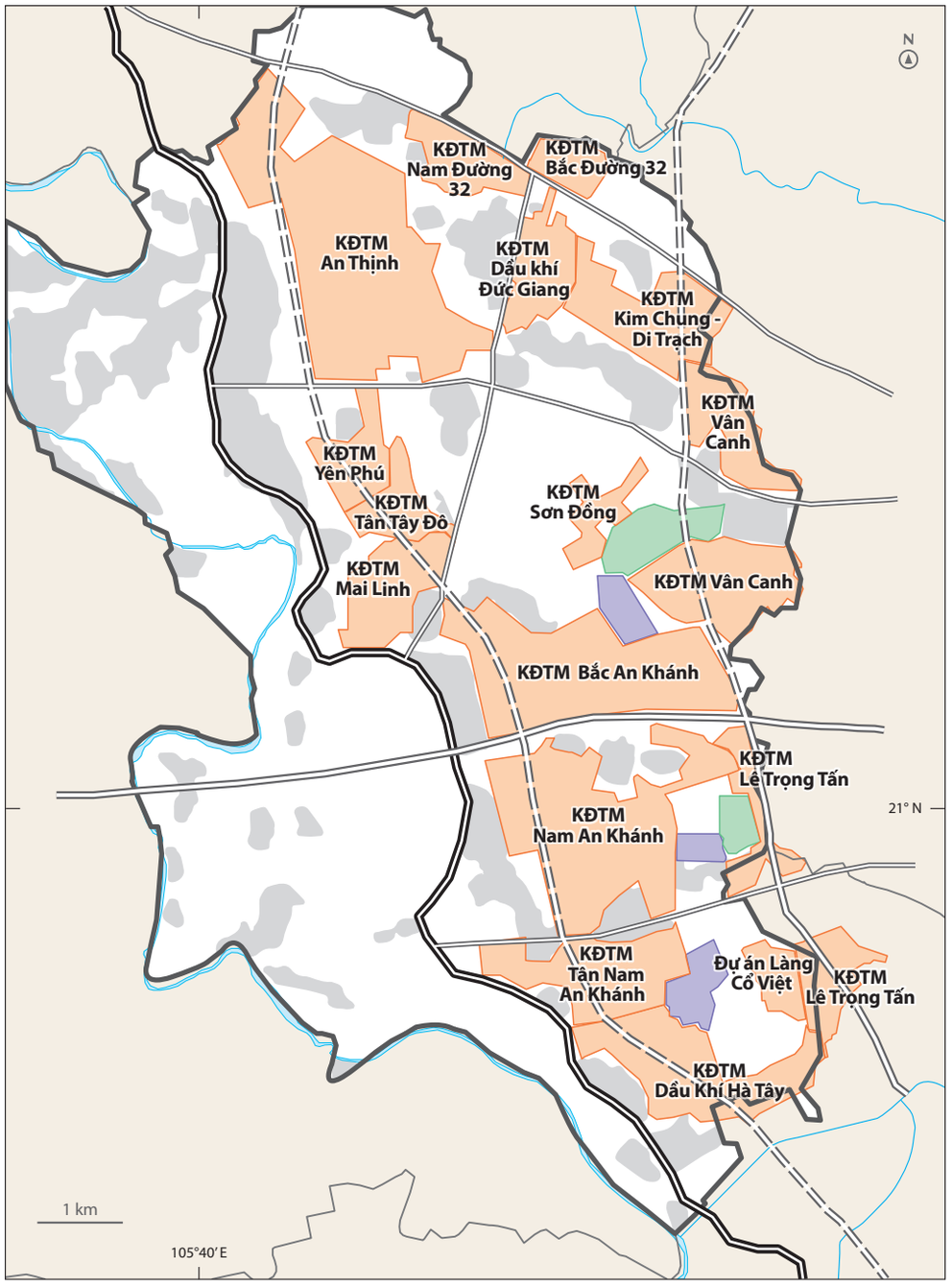
Undeniably, in the face of poorly compensated expropriations, development of projects for private ends and aimed at affluent social groups, along with land speculation that renders peri-urban land inaccessible to the majority, there are murmurings of revolt.

Acts of civil disobedience and conflicts over land (illegal construction on farmland, refusal to be expropriated, multiple petitions, demonstrations in the capital) are increasing, particularly in the light of rising numbers of unfinished projects where developers lack sufficient funds, and phantom and speculative projects that block the land. Unequal access to land provokes a blind rage in villages most affected by urban expansion, particularly among the more active ones that demand access to land for their businesses.

Several conflicts with the authorities stem from the difficulty in identifying those who hold the rights to land use, a key step in establishing compensation, given the numerous illicit transactions that took place in the 1990s. The most determined of these villagers refuse compensation for land that they consider unacceptable, given the open market price paid for land suitable for construction. Police raids, to expel recalcitrant villagers who continue to farm their land or those who refuse to destroy their workshops built illegally on farmland, create a very tense atmosphere in some villages.

An additional problem is that of the innumerable deductions carried out by the administration from the total compensation awarded to farmers. They are doubly swindled, by selling land for the price of farmland that is slated to change status, and not receiving all of the sum paid for their compensation by the companies or individuals who purchase their rights to land use (Mellac *et al.*, 2010).

Current or future urban projects in the district of Hoài Đức in 2011



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Sources: Design and survey Fanchette S. and Nguyễn Ngọc Mai (Casrad) on 2001 topographic map, Hà Đông et Sơn Tây, 1/50,000 sheets, Nhà Xuất bản Tài nguyên Môi trường và Bản đồ Việt Nam

Đáy River
River
Group of villages
Hoài Đức district boundary
District boundary
Highway
Highway project
Province or national road
Đáy River dyke

Residential area project
Recreational area project
Industrial zone project

KĐTM Tân Tây Đô — Project name

The densification of urban villages and the retraining of expropriated villagers turned into landlords

With the metropolisation of Hà Nội and the development of construction and commercial activities, the rural exodus has accelerated in favour of the capital. Although the enlarged province has registered a net inwards migration of 292,426 people (between 2004 and 2009), it is above all the peri-urban areas and centres of industrial workforce that are the most affected (see below, Chapter 8).

This acceleration of migrations is happening in a context of progressive relaxation of population movement control within the country.

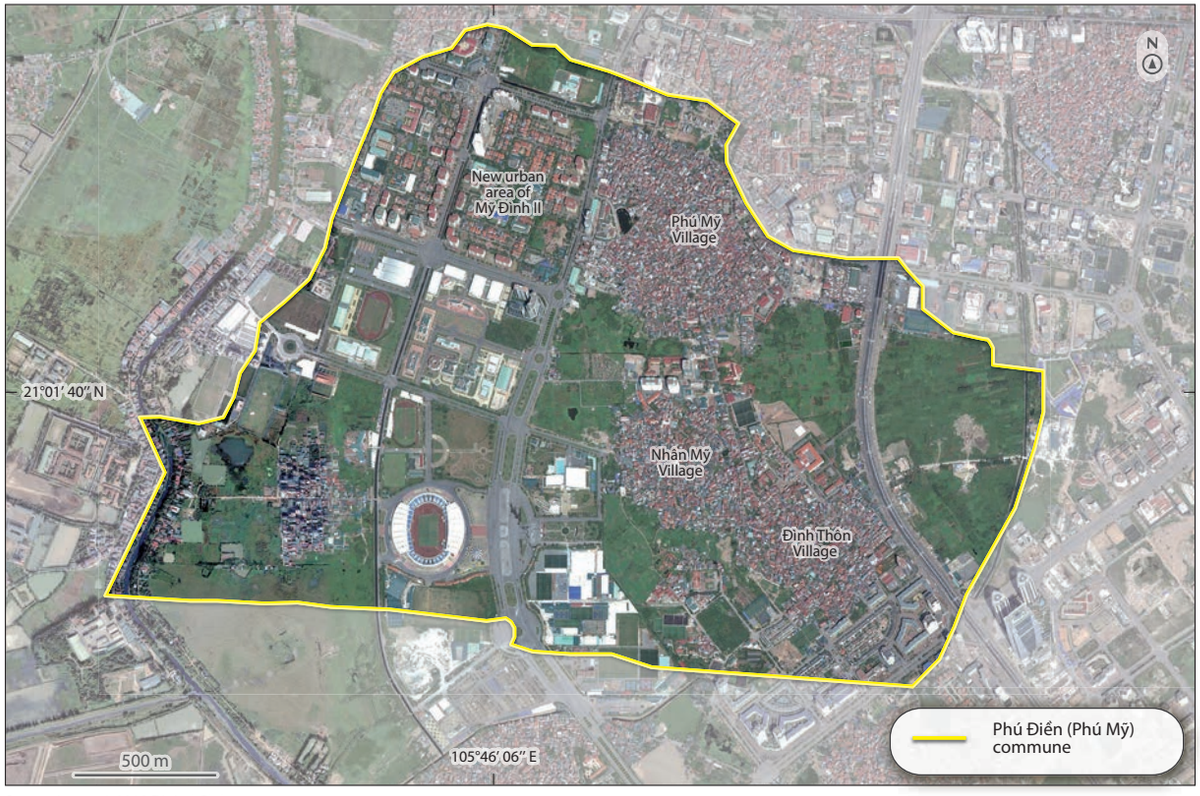
In the zone surrounding the city, there are two main kinds of migrants:

– permanent migrants, those who have acquired housing and aim to live long-term in the vicinity of where they have settled. Some come from the city centre of Hà Nội where prohibitive prices for land have become inaccessible, or the provinces. They have a stable job, have bought a flat, a plot of land on the edge of the village (sold by the commune) or in the village (sold by inhabitants native to the village);
– seasonal migrants: those who rent housing for a relatively short-term period are above all students and workers from the countryside coming for seasonal work. They share the house with the owners or live in bedrooms that they rent, built outside the owners' main house.

These migrants settle in various kinds of places: in the new urban areas built on farmland, on the edge of the village, where plots of land are divided into individual lots by the communal government, or in the old residential area.

The new urban areas and the plots of land divided into lots by the communal government mostly house permanent migrants. Most seasonal workers settle in

Figure14 – CHANGE IN USE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE COMMUNE OF PHÚ ĐIỀN



Source: Image © 2012 Digital Globe

the old residential zone. The increase in demand for temporary housing from seasonal migrants, especially students and workers, encourages house owners to build dwellings of very variable quality in their courtyards, in place of their former traditional house, their garden or their pond, and in some cases to rent out bedrooms in their own houses.

Construction possibilities within the residential space vary from one village to another, and capacities for investment by expropriated villagers depend on the size of land compensation that they have obtained and on demand for rooms and housing for rent.

Phú Điền [3] is one of the villages that have recently been integrated into the urban fabric and has lost nearly all of its agricultural land.

Having been established since at least the 17th century, Phú Điền used to be an agricultural community that, in comparison with other Red River Delta villages, had a large area of agricultural land per farmer. The 1805 village land book shows that Phú Điền had a total of 353 hectares (i.e. 984 *mẫu*, 3 *sào*, 11 *thước* and 4 *tấc*) of agricultural land.

At the time of the 1950s land reform, on average, each farmer had 768 m^2 (4 *sào* and 2 *thước*) of agricultural land. About 30 years later, in the 1988 agricultural land distribution, each farmer in the village received 1,800 m^2 (4 *sào* of allocated agricultural land and 1 *sào* of 5% land) of agricultural land, higher than the average in the 1950s. By 2000, the village had 147.7 hectares of agricultural land, 1,088 agricultural households, each holding 1,350 m^2 on average.

In the context of rapid urbanization in metropolitan Hà Nội since the 1990s, Phú Điền turned out to be located in the middle of one of the city's new urban development areas, which has finally resulted in a process of agricultural land seizure since 2000.

The seizures of agricultural land use rights in Phú Điền have been conducted under the forms of *compulsory* seizure of land for the state and collective purposes and *voluntary* land seizure for economic development and other purposes.

By 2011, over three-quarters of village agricultural land has been expropriated for more than 100 projects to build offices, apartments, villas, schools, roads, trading areas, a bus station and a car park, etc. (Figure 14). The remaining area of agricultural land in the village, which is less than 40 hectares, located in two of its four hamlets, are to be seized. This indicates that all agricultural land in Phú Điền has been converted to non-agricultural use over time.

In return for the loss of agricultural land, Phú Điền farmers have received a large amount of compensation money, the level of which was decided by the state authorities for economic values of agricultural land use rights that were allocated in the 1988 agricultural land redistribution. The level of economic compensation for agricultural land use rights in the village and in Vietnam at large has increased through the years and varies between administrative locations and even specific projects. While in 2000 the average level of compensation for one *sào* of agricultural land was 30 million VNĐ, it had doubled in 2007. By late 2009, the compensation level reached 400 million VNĐ for one *sào* of agricultural land in addition to one plot of *đất dịch vụ* (service land) if the agricultural land seized accounted for more than 30% of the total area of a household's agricultural land [4].

For a number of households, compensation money is even higher, as they cultivated perennial trees prior to the seizure in order to *ăn điền bù* (eat the compensation). This originates from the fact that the state's compensation policy pays differently for the different kinds of trees and plants on the seized land.

Therefore, when the farmers probe the state's plans of land seizure, some start to plant perennial trees like willow and guava trees, etc., which are easy to plant and quick to grow, to enjoy a larger amount of compensation money.

For example, one farmer compares that the compensation for vegetables and other annual crops like rice, *rau muống*, etc., on the land was 12,000 VNĐ per square metre in 2004 (in 2007 compensation for these crops in Phú Điền was 35,000 VNĐ per square metre), while the compensation for annual crops such as willow and guava trees in the same year was 30,000 VNĐ per square metre. All of this shows that over a period of over 10 years, Phú Điền farmers have received a large amount of financial capital for giving up their agricultural land use rights.

However, in Phú Điền, many farmers still thought that such levels of economic compensation were not fair enough, as put together they are lower than the 'real prices' that they expect. The farmers often complain about such levels of compensation, especially when in several projects they witness that their agricultural land, after having been seized and converted into non-agricultural land, having been sold for apartments, houses, villa buildings, etc., commands a price many times higher.

Peri-urban villages: unequal access to land for construction

The rapid process of urbanization, especially agricultural land seizure as such has forced Phú Điền farmers almost to end their traditionally agricultural production. In the 1990s, for most of Phú Điền farmers, agricultural farming and animal husbandry offered them more than half of their annual income. This had often been supplemented by incomes from sideline work such as retailing, construction work and services for the municipality of Hà Nôi or elsewhere.

After various land conversions, most farm labourers in Phú Điền are no longer working the land, as the existing irrigation systems supporting agricultural production have been destroyed by a variety of constructions on the seized land. This makes farming work in the remaining plots impossible. In some plots where water is available, a few farmers cultivate *rau muống*, a type of vegetable that can be easily grown and sold in the local market to earn 30,000 to 40,000 VNĐ a day, just enough for their daily subsistence.

In the second half of 2007, around 40 households in Phú Điền had middle-age female members engaged in this work. In other plots, they grow perennial trees to attain higher compensation when the land is seized. Some plots are simply left idle awaiting seizure.

Box 3

One Phú Điền farmer angrily said:

'The compensation price for agricultural land is not reasonable. The unreasonableness here is that this is a peri-urban area, close to the urban district, but the compensation price for our agricultural land is much lower than that of the neighbouring urban district. In the same project, same area of agricultural land, but the compensation price for us is just half of the amount for compensation money for agricultural land of those households who administratively belong to the urban district. For one *sào*, in 2007, we receive only 62 million VNĐ, while in the neighbouring communes the price varies from 140 to 180 million VNĐ.

More importantly, we are afraid that they are seizing the land to build apartments to sell. While they paid us around 60 million VNĐ for one *sào*, the land area has then been filled to sell with a price of 40-60 million VNĐ per one square metre for house and villa building. The villagers said the state *trấn lột* (confiscates) their property. Actually they [the entrepreneurs who use the appropriated land] are private, not the state; it is not the state doing this. The private sector does it in the name of the state. The compensation for changing jobs is also too low. Currently, one area of 300 square metres of agricultural land can be enough for one labourer to farm *rau muống* to earn two million VNĐ a month.

However, when the state seizes the land, they assist us with only 25,000 VNĐ for one square metre for changing jobs. This means that a total of 300 square metres of agricultural land provides assistance money of only 7.5 million VNĐ. However, with such a small amount of money, how can we farmers change our work and business?'
(*Interviewed: Mr. Q., 60 years old, 11th September 2007*)

The disruption of agricultural production in Phú Điền resulted in a pressing need to find new sources of livelihood. Research data show that while many farmers have not been able to find work in non-agricultural sectors, only a small number of households have successfully arranged some kinds of stable non-agricultural jobs for the family's adult members.

This derives from, on the one hand, villagers' poor social and human capital, which in turn constrains their access to skilled and highly paid work, and on the other, limited suitable work available for them. In such a context, many of them have turned to focus on their residential area as their main source of making a livelihood, because they find opportunities to offer boarding for immigrants.

The conversions of farmland for urban development, especially for building residential areas, roads, stadiums, etc., have shortened the distance between Phú Điền and central urban Hà Nôi. Various new roads have been built and old roads have been upgraded, connecting Phú Điền and the surrounding areas.

This facilitates the flow of people coming to the village to rent accommodation. Taking this opportunity, the villagers started to invest their money into the building of houses, which in the first place often included a good house for their living space and simple houses with as many rooms as possible for leasing.

The construction of new houses and upgrading of old ones in the village have not only physically turned the village into a 'construction site' but also socially changed the village image from an ordinary community into a wealthy one.

The building of new houses in many cases consumed all and even more than the compensation money. Therefore, they sold part of their residential land. While the rapid urbanization took away the farmers' agricultural land, it also greatly increased the value of their residential land use rights.

Before 2000, Phú Điền people enjoyed lots of space. One family usually had a house and garden, with fences and many trees.

However, the village has become crowded as a result of the addition of students and various groups of migrant labourers. Many households' residential land has been divided into two or several pieces to partly sell to different people; many of them come from the outside, including those from the urban area.



© François Carlet-Soulages / Nội Pictures

Photo 9
Expropriated land lying fallow used as pastures in the shadow of large-scale urban projects

Many Phú Điền villagers indicate a rapid increase in residential land prices since the late 1990s.

In the early 1990s, there were few transactions of residential land and the common price of residential land at the time was less than 3 million VNĐ per square metre in the best locations, i.e., near entrance roads and commercial areas.

However, since the late 1990s, the price of residential land has soared. The expensive plots of residential land in the village cost 60 million in 2007 or over 100 million VNĐ in 2011 per square metre. This has made Phú Điền one of the hottest locations of land trading in Vietnam. Results of 2007 fieldwork showed that about 80 percent of Phú Điền villagers had sold part of their residential land to outside people.

It should be noted that building simple houses for lease has appeared since the early 1990s in other communities closer to urban Hà Nôi. Nevertheless, the nearer accommodation is to the urban centre, the more it costs. Therefore, many students and poor migrant labourers choose peri-urban communities like Phú Điền village for temporary residence.

In 2007, most of the houses for rent in Phú Điền are designed as one-story longhouses (*dãy nhà cấp bốn*), with numerous small, simple rooms and modest furniture. Only a small number of households built two-storey houses with many rooms of higher quality for leasing.

The simplicity of accommodation originates from the simple demands of lodgers. It also stems from the fact that Phú Điền villagers at first did not see this as a long-term strategy for livelihoods; therefore many were hesitant to invest more financial and natural assets in this type of business for the long term.

However, a few years later, by 2011, they had made quite a good living with this and then invested more financial capital in building multi-storey buildings for rent as accommodation or even some started to build hotels and office buildings for lease.

Many of the lodgers are students and migrant labourers, who look for cheap accommodation in the village. In general, a group of between two and four persons rent one small room. To rent a room, besides a financial arrangement with the host, lodgers need to register their 'temporary residence'[5] with the village security officials and pay a small fee.

The accommodation rental fee, by the second half of 2007, often ranges from 300,000 to 400,000 VNĐ per small room per month exclusive of water and electricity charges. For a small number of higher-standard rooms, rental fee varies from 500,000 to 600,000 VNĐ per room per month.

Since early 2008, inflation has reached a two-figure rate forcing the accommodation rental fees in the village to increase slightly. In 2011, the rental fee in the village varied from 800,000 to 2,000,000 VNĐ per room per month.

Accommodation rent can be considered a source of income equivalent to former rice farming income, as it is the most essential and 'stable' source of income for many Phú Điền villagers, many of whom no longer have any farming work. In 2011, the communal authorities' statistics showed that Phú Điền had a total of 530 households renting accommodation; 35 households ran guesthouses. The total amount of lodgers in the village at the same time accounted for 11,000 people. The kinds of lodging are very diverse...

Overall, in 2007, many households had more or less five rooms for rent to attain a monthly income of over 1.5 million VNĐ. A few tens of households, who have a large area of residential land, have had between 20 and 50 rooms for rent, therefore these households' incomes from room lease alone adds up to 30 million VNĐ per month.

At the same time, however, it is estimated that around 20 percent of households at that time had no rooms for rent. This shows not only how natural capital in the form of residential land use rights has become an important source of livelihoods but has also significantly contributed to social differentiation in the village.

In addition, many villagers have got involved in informal retailing and selling basic foodstuffs, household goods and other services for those who reside in the community.

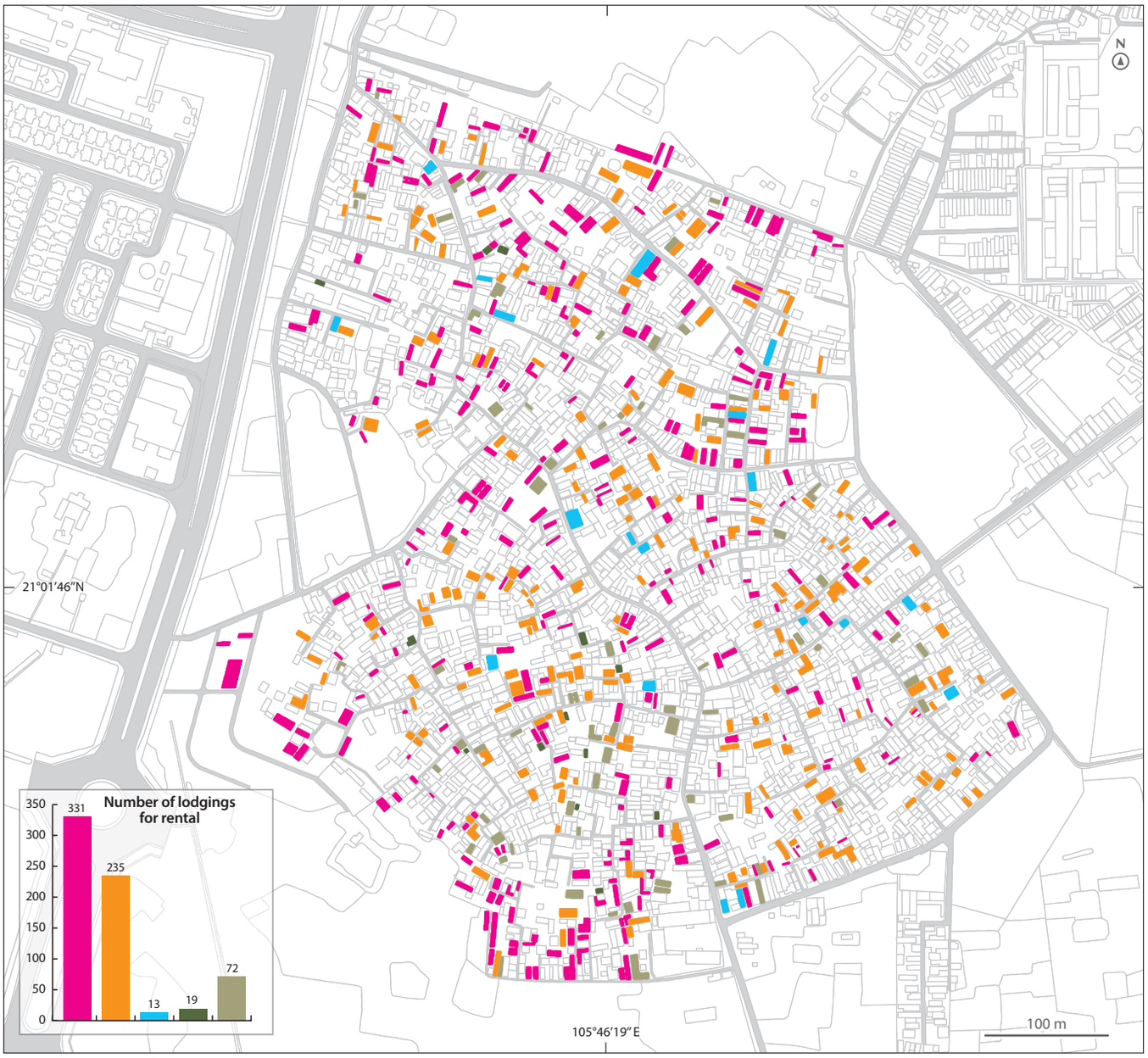
The retailing occurs in two main locations. One is in the village's new market of 500 kiosks that was built in 2003 to create a local trading site for land-lost Phú Điền farmers. The second, which is a more significant location for retailing, is along the village main roads. This kind of retailing and services includes numerous small shops, bars, etc., encroaching onto village public space.

In short, the rapid process of urbanization in Hà Nôi since the 1990s has led to conversions of a large area of agricultural land into land for non-agricultural purposes.

In this context of transition, for many farmers in Phú Điền, the seizures of almost all of their agricultural land use rights for urban development have brought them a large amount of compensation money, in quantities which they might never have dreamed of before, in addition to a rapid increase in the values of residential land in the area, making Phú Điền villagers among those who hold the most important amount of financial and natural assets.

At the same time, the seizure of agricultural land has disrupted their traditional livelihoods, especially agriculture and animal husbandry, while offering them few opportunities to access salaried work in the formal sector.

Figure 15 – THE VARIOUS KINDS OF LODGINGS FOR RENTAL IN PHÚ ĐIỀN IN 2013



Sources: Đỗ Thị Thái Hà and Fanchette S. surveys, Đỗ Thị Thái Hà drawing (June 2013)

In coping with such a situation, many Phú Điền farmers have turned to focus on their residential area as a key location for making alternative livelihoods. They started to build houses for lease to migrants and got involved in retailing and other activities. All of these factors have dramatically changed modes of life for Phú Điền farmers specifically and for the Phú Điên community as a whole, becoming an urban village (*làng đô thị*) in the peri-urban fringes of Hà Nôi.

The two peri-urban villages of Triều Khúc and Nhân Chính have also become dormitory villages. They are also in the first urbanised ring of the city since *Đổi mới*. Situated about 10 kilometres from the city centre, they have become the site of new residential projects on their farmland and migrants have settled in their already overpopulated residential area.

In Nhân Chính, in June 2005, out of 26,146 inhabitants, there were 4,687 who were living there temporarily (holders of residence permits KT3 or KT4) without counting those who were living there without being officially registered [6]. In the village of Triều Khúc, in 2009, there were 472 homeowners and 5,970 tenants. So in this village, on average, each household that leases accommodation has more than 12 bedrooms for rent.

Leasing out houses is becoming a new trade and simultaneously services for immigrants are being developed.

By observing the layout of houses for rent in the village of Triều Khúc (Plate 27), we can see that they are mostly in the small alleys of the hamlets. In the centre or along the main roads, there are few dwellings offering accommodation. These spaces are above all reserved for commercial activities such as hairdressing and beauty salons, Internet cafés, shops, and other local services.

Xóm trọ appeared in about 1995. This is a recent kind of construction made up of a series of bedrooms for rent, separate from the householder's dwelling. This kind of building is put up rapidly with little capital for rental to workers and to provincial students.

Each room is built on one level and is of limited size (about 9 m^2), with roofing made of fibre cement, big enough for a maximum of two people. The huts are built side-by-side in a straight line and usually consist of a group of five or six units. These huts have a single, shared amenities room with: kitchen, toilet and bathroom (Plate 27). The shape of the hut matches the lie of the land and seeks to maximise occupation of space. *Nhà trọ* are rooms for let right in the heart of the landlord's property.

Conclusion

Economic liberalisation, the establishment of the policy known as 'the state and the people building together' and the promotion of private housing have accelerated the process of *in situ* urbanisation in the villages surrounding Hà Nôi.

Widespread construction of housing, sometimes illegally on 5% farmland, the densification of plots within villages with the building of tube houses in replacement for traditional one-storey houses, the construction of accommodation for migrants and students and the development of the private service industry or commercial micro-businesses have completely transformed the village landscape just outside the city gates.

Rates of residential density as high as 150 inhabitants/ha are reaching the same levels as those of the central neighbourhoods of the capital.

The farmland that had for so long been protected for food self-sufficiency through rice cultivation began to be encroached upon by the construction of housing and workshops, a process accompanied by policies for 'residentiel expansion'.

In addition, villages have been redeveloped to give more room to non-agricultural productive activities (mini craft industry zones, etc.). Legal or not, since the 1990s, new constructions and activities are sprouting up everywhere and giving rural, 'invisible' urbanisation an appearance that is multifaceted and difficult to grasp.

This urbanisation bears witness to the strategies of Red River Delta populations to anchor themselves in their villages, which are experiencing profound changes, and not to leave for the city.

However, this multifaceted and anarchic urbanisation, undertaken locally and cheaply by inhabitants, depending on their perception of space, encounters considerable resistance from the state on the outskirts of the capital, for it is land-hungry and contradicts the large-scale urban projects planned by investors who wish to make of Hà Nội a metropolis of international standing.

Location of *xóm trọ* and *nhà trọ* in Triều Khúc

Plot
Street
Room for rental (*xóm trọ*)
Dormitory for rental (*nhà trọ*)
472 Landlords
5,970 Tenants

N

20°58'50" N

105°48'02" E

100 m

Xóm trọ of Mrs Cao Thị Phượng's family, 20 bedrooms for rental

Landlord:
Cao Thị Phượng

Age:
50 years

Address:
hamlet Cầu

Number of rooms for rental:
20 rooms

Number of tenants:
around 40 people

5 m

Sources: Surveys and drawing of Trần Nhật Kiên

Room for rental
Bathroom
Waterpool
Kitchen
Toilets
Storage
Landlord's single storey house
Landlord's new two-storey house
Landlord's former house



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Peri-urban villages: unequal access to land for construction

Maintaining the population within villages integrated into the city cannot be achieved without sharing capital gains from land between villagers and urban developers so that they develop economic activities on the spot. With the liberalisation of land and its spiralling prices, plots suitable for construction have become inaccessible to most villagers, even the most dynamic businessmen.

1) Translated by Trần Nhật Kiên (2010): 484-485.

2) 1 million VNĐ = 40 Euros.

3) The name of the village has been changed.

4) In the context of various tensions and difficulties with regard to the expropriation of agricultural land nationwide, *đất dịch vụ* was seen as an invention by Vinh Phúc Province's People's Committee in 2004 to ease agricultural land appropriation in this province. This was then advocated as a good solution, which has been applied in a number of provinces. In Hà Nội, *đất dịch vụ* was applied in 2008. In accordance with this, each plot of *đất dịch vụ* in Phú Điền is equal to 60 m^2 or 686 million *đồng*. However, by September 2010, Hà Nội authorities rejected *đất dịch vụ* as not being effective or applicable in this province.

5) This is *cư trú tạm thời*, applying for those who do not have *hộ khẩu* in the area of current residence.

6) Source: *Make-up of the population in the neighbourhood of Nhân Chính*, June 2005 – detailed planning project for the neighbourhood of Nhân Chính..

Part Three

Urban fringes: integration in opposition to village dynamics

The province of Hà Nội is made up of several rings with a demographic density that diminishes the further they are from the city. Long inhabited, the Upper Delta, site of the capital, is one of the most densely populated areas in the world, with average densities of 1,400 inhabitants/km^2 in 2009. The map of demographic densities is the end result of a process of many millennia of occupation by populations of a space that is rich hydraulically, but difficult to manage owing to high risks of flooding. This very intensive occupation of deltaic space depends upon multi-activity associated with wet rice farming with transplanting, which uses a very large workforce and can achieve very high yields. In addition, the maintenance of the hydraulic network requires a sizeable workforce, requisitioned by the administration until the 1980s in the form of public *corvées*.

Concentration of population is ubiquitous: its grouping into large villages can be explained by the necessity of the village community to organise the management of water and protect themselves against the incursions of pillagers. This social cohesion for the organisation of hydraulic works has for centuries been one of the factors favouring the maintenance of a dense population in the Delta and the development of very diversified productive capacities (craftwork, trade). Similarly, in this plain much prone to submersion by floodwaters, the inhabitants have long been settled on mounds, levees, hills, or artificial embankments.



© Sébastien Löffler / Nöi Pictures

Photo 10
Expropriation of agricultural land and peri-urban projects

These high demographic densities linked to wet rice farming are found in other regions of monsoon Asia, particularly in certain parts of Java in Indonesia, where non-agricultural activities are numerous in villages (craftwork, trade, services, etc.). T. McGee has developed a model to define these areas that he calls *desakota*. He identifies urban cores situated in the heart of very populated rural spaces where agriculture retains an important place. The originality of these zones derives from the fact that they become industrialised and diversify their ways of occupying and consuming space without triggering a rural exodus or an urban explosion. According to this classification, the metropolitan economic space is made up of five subcategories:

– the major cities of the urban hierarchy, which are often dominated in the Asian context by one or two extremely large cities;
– the peri-urban area, which are those areas surrounding the cities within a daily commuting reach of the city core;

– the area labeled *desakota*, which is a region of intense mixture of agricultural and non-agricultural activities that often stretch along corridors between large city cores. There areas were previously characterized by dense populations engaged in agriculture, generally but not exclusively dominated by wet rice;
– densely populated areas, which set aside for intensive rice farming;
– the sparsely populated frontier areas found in many Asian countries that offer opportunities for land colonization schemes and various forms of agricultural development.

This model can be found in various forms in densely populated rice-growing Asia. The level of development of these *desakota* depends on the diversification of activities, the share of the non-agricultural sector in GDP and the value of investments. The *desakota* of Hà Nội's metropolitan area differs from others in Southeast Asia, which rapidly integrated into the global market and became more industrialised.

The process of metropolisation in the city of Hà Nội has speeded up since the 1990s in a context of urban sprawl catching up, after decades of anti-urban policy. It manifests itself by an acceleration of demographic growth in the first and second peri-urban rings and by maintaining processes of natural growth, thanks to multi-activity associated with intensive rice farming. After several decades of control of migratory movements, the rural exodus is speeding up and heading to the fringes of the capital. However, this flow remains modest when compared with those that have transformed the outskirts of the big cities of the region where investments in industry and construction have been on a huge scale and have attracted several million migrants since the 1970s. Hà Nội remains a capital of very moderate size when compared with Jakarta, Hồ Chí Minh City or Bangkok.

However, an extreme fragmentation of the territory can be observed, created by large-scale urban and highway projects and the emergence of the new focal points that the satellite towns have become, along with big shopping centres or transport hubs. Metropolisation and economies of scale linked to macro-economic processes of agglomeration advocated by the prevailing liberal orthodoxy are threatening the process of *in situ* urbanisation based on the spontaneous development of dense and diverse rural conurbations that dominate in *desakota* areas. Very large-scale land expropriations, the disappearance of rice farming around the city and the soaring price of land push up costs of production for local craft-work and market gardening. The peri-urban area spreads further out, galvanised by investment in highways and the construction of new urban areas and industrial zones completely disconnected from their rural environment. Areas growing rice are relegated into the last peri-urban ring.

One of the challenges of Hà Nội's metropolisation is to retrain villagers expropriated by urban projects and offer them new jobs, particularly in the factories that are set up in industrial parks. Lagging more than ten years behind Southeast Asian capitalist countries, Vietnam has entered the globalised industrial age and has abandoned the state factories of the revolutionary period. Another challenge is to maintain very intensive peri-urban agriculture, which has fed the capital for many centuries, and to protect it from urban expropriation.

Yet how, in a context of very high land prices and of liberalisation of land ownership by the state, is it possible to maintain less profitable activities such as craftwork and growing crops when compared with selling off land? Are the foreign companies in the industrial parks, preoccupied by profitability of invested capital and competition between countries in the sub-region, prepared to adapt to the social and economic contexts (age, gender, qualifications) of the areas of potential employment where they settle?

Multi-activity employment, agricultural decline and urban transition

S. Fanchette, Lê Văn Hùng, P. Moustier, Đào Thế Anh, Nguyễn Xuân Hoản

Since the 1970s, the fringes of large Asian cities have experienced many changes, associated with the process of metropolisation (foreign investment in industry, roads and housing infrastructure) and with movement towards the new places of production, namely the industrial parks. Migratory flows emanating from underprivileged areas head for the outskirts of the city or the surroundings of industrial parks where a low-cost rental market is developing in urbanised villages.

In Vietnam, since the economic liberalisation of the 1980s, rationales of distribution of settlement have changed: restrictions on people's mobility were lifted, engendering a rural exodus, individual initiative has been embraced and enabled the development of a very active informal economy that demands high levels of workforce in peri-urban countryside, particularly in craft villages and those specialised in market gardening.

Thanks to the major hydraulic works of the 1960s-1970s, drainage and flood protection have been improved and rice-farming systems intensified. The multi-activity and multiple uses of land provide rural households with the means to remain in their already very densely populated villages.

In situ demographic growth is added to by migrations originating at once from the countryside and from town centres. In Hà Nội's surroundings, dormitory villages develop rapidly and present expropriated villagers with ways of making money. These villages undergo rapid change and suffer serious social problems caused by the difficulties of housing and integrating migrants, young for the most part, with limited resources.

The large-scale building sites of the capital being developed into a metropolis attract many illegal and temporary rural migrants who, without any official status, do not benefit from social services and constitute a class of 'floating' migrants that is difficult to measure city-wide (Gubry *et al.*, 2011), but that some observers estimate to be 15% of the total population (Papin & Passicousset, 2010).

Unlike Indonesia, where veritable villages of migrants are built near industrial zones, the *squatter-kampong*, which look much like shantytowns, in the Red River Delta, migratory movements are on a more modest scale and lead to dormitory villages, or to temporary building sites where construction workers set up camp while projects are ongoing.

In addition, with the densification of city centres and the verticalisation of buildings associated with the expansion of the service sector in globalised central business districts, land prices have soared and low-income populations are pushed out

to make way for large-scale urban projects. We are witnessing a removal of people from city centres towards the outskirts, particularly towards urbanised villages that also receive rural migrants.

Simultaneously, a movement that cannot yet be quantified in the surroundings of Hà Nội, but that is widespread in the examples of Jakarta, Bangkok or Manila, results in migrations of the middle classes from city centres towards the new urban areas, some of them made up of gated communities.

Towns and cities now represent a driving force in the development of the economy and attract foreign investment and an under-employed rural workforce, while the peri-urban countryside strengthens its relations with the city, forbidden during the collectivist era, while diversifying its activities along with short and temporary movements of population. Industrial parks are built along the main highways, and play their part in industrialising the countryside and transforming a landscape previously distinctive for small-scale industry and craftwork.

Symbol of integration into the global market of a country in economic transition, these industrial parks benefit from land and fiscal policies that are very preferential to foreign investors. Small and medium-sized businesses funded with domestic capital are gathered together in industrial zones of variable sizes, particularly in the peri-urban fringes where the most polluting businesses have been relocated.

This concentration of investment in the metropolis, in the city centre, in urban development corridors and along the main highways, generates complex movement of people, made up of permanent, temporary and alternating migrations, for the most part irregular, as they are not recognised by the state. Industrial work contracts are short-term, limiting the integration of workers into their adoptive regions and it is difficult to measure these migrations locally.

Analysis of demographic dynamics through the results of the 2009 census at communal level shows the polarisation of the capital but does not make it possible to grasp the local demographics of fresh industrial installations in the province. However, the cartography of hubs of industrial workforce, of areas of intensive market gardening and the intensity of inter-village relations suggests that a wide array of economic opportunities relies upon *in situ* urbanisation, while local studies show to what extent strategies are being developed for maximising space, optimising use of prohibitively-priced land and obtaining access, sometimes illegally, to further land to use for production.

Demographic dynamics reinforcing the process of metropolisation

• High densities spilling out of the urban area

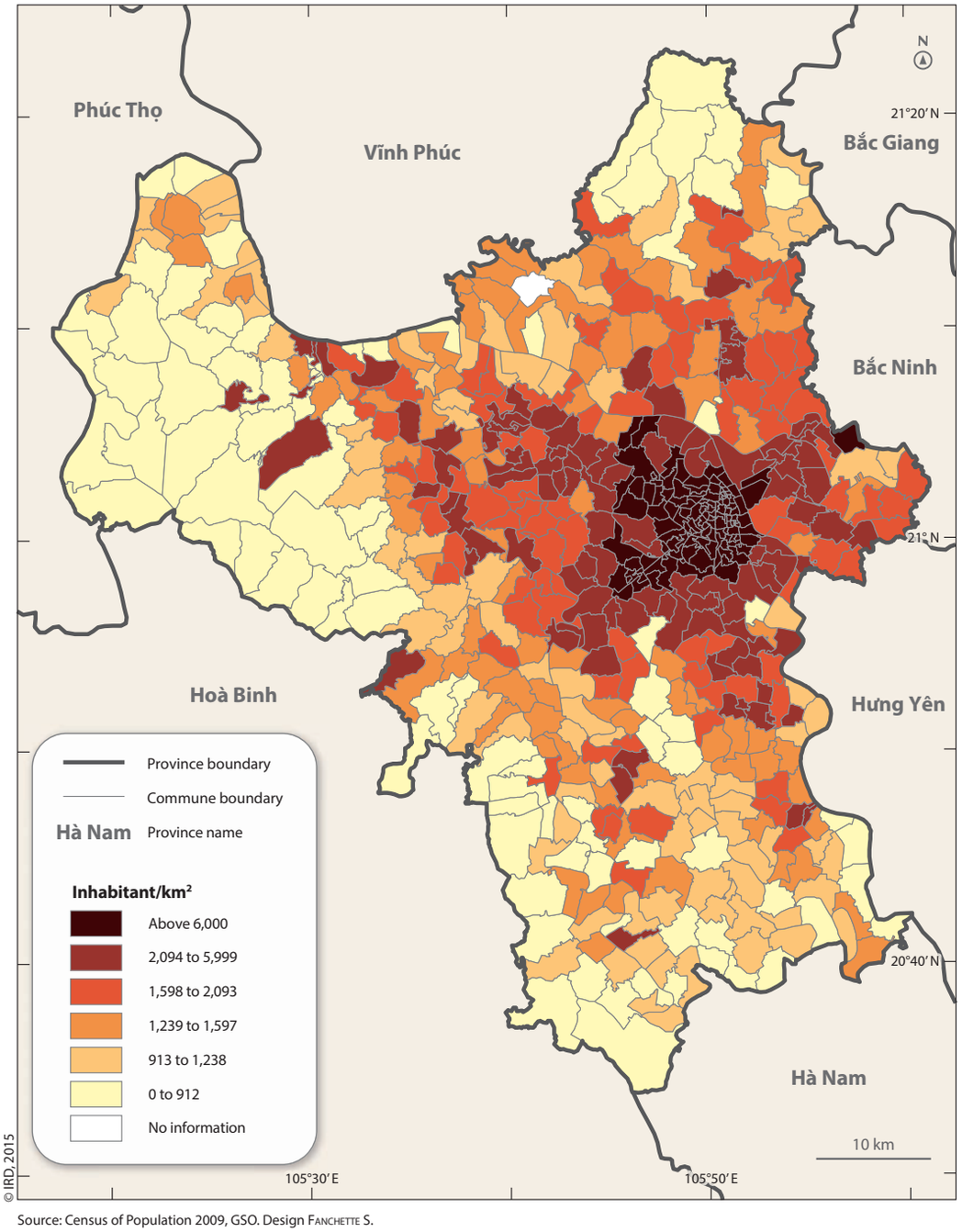
Located at the apex of the Delta, the province of Hà Nội records the highest population densities of the area with an average of 1,926 inhabitants per km^2. The population of the nine urban districts totals 2.217 million inhabitants, or about a quarter of the province's population concentrated into 5% of its territory. The rural population totals 3,819,842 inhabitants and is spread over communes with an average density of 1,267 inhabitants per km^2 (according to RGP Vietnam 2009).

The province is made up of four different areas of density:

– the dense and urbanised heart of the city centre and the peri-centre (densities above 6,000 inhabitants) is mainly located within the bend in the river, on the right bank. It is mostly made up of urban communes or *phường*. The *phường* of the historic centre, Hoàn Kiếm, Đống Đa and Hai Bà Trưng reach extreme densities of close to 35,000 inhabitants/km^2, while the more recent districts of Câu Giấy and Thanh Xuân, places of high inward migration, house more than 15,000 inhabitants per km^2.
The former administrative centre of the province of Hà Tây, the town of Hà Đông, has become an urban district of the province of Hà Nội and has been enlarged with the integration of several surrounding communes, which has now become a *phường*. The historic core of the town reaches densities of the same order as the city centre – 150 to 250 inhabitants per hectare –, while the outlying communes have average densities of 3,000 inhabitants/km^2. Situated along a crucial artery, Highway 6, the town houses large-scale residential and industrial projects;

– the urban spread around the peri-centre (between 2,000 and 6,000 inhabitants) extends outwards in all directions, but only to a limited degree north of the Red River. Urban densities are highest on the right bank, despite heavy industrial developments and attempts by the state to shift the city to the north (around the airport at Nội Bài) and to the east by creating the urban district of Long Biên in 2003, along the key highway leading to the port of Hải Phòng (Plate 28). Some areas, much defined by the presence of water (lakes or the Red River to be crossed), have average densities of 5,000 inhabitants/km^2.
Outside this urban sprawl, strings of densely-populated communes spread out to the west in the districts of Thạch Thất and Phúc Thọ in the direction of the town of Sơn Tây, and to the south of the city along the main highways. They correspond to the most dynamic clusters of craft villages that have managed

Population densities in 2009, commune by commune in Hà Nội province



Source: Census of Population 2009, GSO. Design Fanchette S.

to attract and retain a large working population. In addition, the administrative centres of districts pepper the map with centres of high population density. These communes account for 17.2% of the population within 12% of the territory;

– an area of densities slightly higher than the rural average (1,226 to 2,000 inhabitants/km²) surrounds the urban sprawl and the strings of clusters, and corresponds to the Đáy River Valley, with fertile alluvial land and favourable conditions for development of craft villages (river traffic, land suitable for growing mulberry trees for silkworms, and sugarcane).
In the 1930s, these areas were already reaching unimaginable densities as high as 800 inhabitants/km² and were the site of a flourishing textile industry. These areas are the most active in terms of urbanisation of the countryside. They contain 23% of the total population within a territory corresponding to 28.3% of the province's total. They are partly located in the green corridor that the master plan to 2030 seeks to maintain for reasons of flood risks.

– an area of lower densities than the rural average, corresponding to the mountainous and hilly areas of Ba Vì to the west, Sóc Sơn to the north, the areas of contact with the mountains of Hòa Bình to the southwest and the low-lying ground difficult to drain in the south, where it was impossible in the 1930s to grow rice in the 10th month because of the land being under water (Gourou, 1936).
Here and there, communes of lower density also exist that are mixed into the heart of very populous areas, to the south of the capital, and correspond to localities with limited access, low-lying, where only a few villages were able to settle on levees of the Nhuệ River and which are isolated by an intricate network of canals and rivers that divide up the space. They total a fifth of the province's population within a little over half of its territory (52.6%).

• A double process of *in situ* and exogenous urbanisation

Vietnam has completed its demographic transition begun in the 1990s and its mean annual rate of growth reached 1.2% between 1999 and 2009, a decrease compared to the previous census period (1.7%). The Red River Delta has a low growth rate of 0.9%, when compared with the southeastern region of Vietnam, dominated by the economic capital of Hồ Chí Minh City (3.2%). Although the Delta's migratory situation remains modestly positive (22,402 migrants between 2004 and 2009), differing demographic dynamics can be observed from province to province.

The process of metropolisation is speeding up in favour of the new enlarged province of Hà Nội, which recorded an annual demographic growth of 2.2% between 1999 and 2009, with a migratory surplus of 292,426 people (between 2004 and 2009). This growth mainly affects peri-urban areas and hubs of industrial workforce where demographic densities are highest (Plate 29).

On the other hand, in the south and the extreme west (Ba Vì Mountains), mean annual rates of growth are very low, or even negative. Between the two, in a radius of 20 km from the city centre, in fact in the flood-prone area of the Đáy Valley, growth rates are very slow and lower than the national average. In the north of the province, where Nội Bài Airport is located, only a few communes record high rates, such as those of the industrial zones of Quang Minh, Thăng Long and Sóc Sơn.

To the west, in the vicinity of the Hòa Lạc Science and Technology Park, the communes, in a turmoil of construction and projects, record high rates of growth: the attraction of workers to building sites seems to be the main cause of this, given that the factories of the technology park are not yet fully active.

Several phenomena can thus be observed.

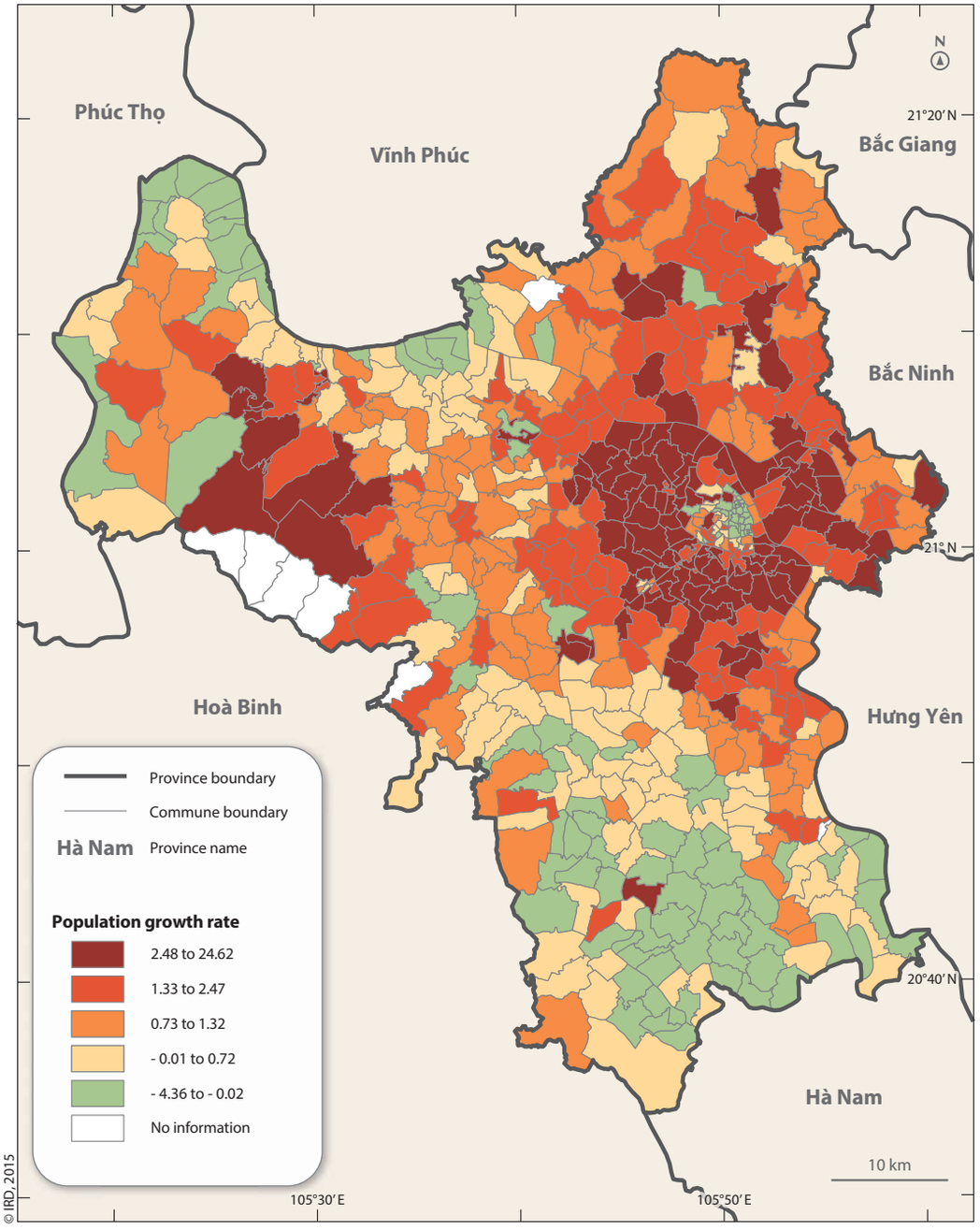
• ***A process of metropolisation and attraction of peri-central areas*** (urban districts and the first ring of rural districts) as shown by the dark brown patches around the city centre with a radius of about 10 km and a lighter one on the outer periphery.

Two processes are at work here:

– the removal of city centre inhabitants to other urban districts and neighbouring rural areas: the urban district of Hoàn Kiêm is losing population in absolute terms (- 1.1%) owing to the forced de-densification of the Old Quarter with its very high density (823 inhabitants per hectare). 6,000 people must leave this neighbourhood by 2020 so that densities reduce to 500 inhabitants per km². The other central urban districts have a rate barely higher than the national average (1.2%). This process can be partly explained by the expansion of the service sector in these neighbourhoods in face of very rapid increases in land prices;

– the rural districts that acquired urban status in 1996 and 2003 are becoming a favoured migration destination. Land prices are lower than in the city centre and plots for construction bigger. Two kinds of housing are on offer there: high-end and medium range KĐTMs (see Chapter 5) and very low-end dwellings and rooms for workers and students (see below). Thus the western outskirts of Hà Nội record the strongest levels of growth, as much in the urban part of Hoàng Mai and Câu Giấy (respectively 7.2% and 6.3%) as in the rural district of

Population growth rates between 1999 and 2009, commune by commune, in Hà Nội province



Source: Census of Population 1999 and 2009. Design Fanchette S.

Từ Liêm: 7.4%. Large-scale residential programmes have been installed in the surrounding communes of urban districts (Mỹ Đình, Cổ Nhuế and Phú Diễn) that record growth rates of over 10% annually.

To a lesser degree, the other communes receive low-income migrants, to whom the villagers expropriated of their land for urban and industrial projects have become landlords. Further to the south, in the urban district of Thanh Trì, the villages have become denser with the arrival of many Hanoians, professionals or workers having purchased houses (see Chapter 3) or students and workers of industrial zones who rent out rooms.

• ***In the rural districts of the peri-urban area, we are witnessing a slowing down in demographic growth that is happening more rapidly than the national average.*** In the communes of the former province of Hà Tây the mean annual rate of growth between 1989 and 1999 was the same as that of Vietnam (1.67/1.7). During the following census period, it slowed down to 0.77 yearly compared with 1.2% at the national level.

If one looks more closely at the figures, one notices that:
– the peri-urban districts where the process of metropolisation is rapid (road-building, residential and industrial projects) record mean annual rates of growth equal to or above the national average, but are way down when compared with the previous period. They correspond to areas of very high densities;
– at the communal level, craft villages with more than 1,000 artisans have, in many instances, recorded a rapid rate of demographic growth during the period 1989-1999 (on average 2.23% yearly), which corresponds to the beginning of *Đổi mới*, a period during which craftwork was galvanised by the liberalisation of markets and the development of individual initiative. These villages have built up small concentrations of workforce, stabilising many migrants and limiting the exodus of villagers. However, since the 2000s, their mean annual rate of growth has been falling rapidly (0.83%), or they have even sometimes actually lost population in absolute terms. This shows the unsustainable nature of craft industry economic dynamics in a context of economic competition with the modern sector, of pressure on land and of the uncertainty of markets.
However, given that the census does not record temporary migrants, it is difficult to comprehend more precisely the attraction of small centres of workforce and industrial zones particularly in times of uncertainty and economic crisis. The young labour force (18-24 years), of rural origin, comes from the provinces of northern Vietnam or from the very populous south of the Delta. Migrants work according to the seasonal nature of craft activities.

Finally, the communes of the outer rim of the city, particularly those south of the districts of Phú Xuyên, Mỹ Đức and Ứng Hòa, continue the gradual decline of their rates of demographic growth already begun between 1989 and 1999. Most of the communes of these districts record negative rates. During the preceding period, some communes had experienced very high demographic growth, owing especially to service activities (tourism around the Perfume Pagoda at Mỹ Đức) or polarisation of large villages or small towns.

Industrial development from the informal to the formal

These changes in distribution of settlement and the agglomeration of population in the first and second peri-urban rings are accompanied by a reduction in absolute terms of the population working mainly in the agricultural sector. Between 2002 and 2008, the Vietnamese agricultural sector recorded the biggest decline in the number of jobs in the Red River Delta, falling from 50.1 to 38.6% of the active population (Nguyễn Hữu Chí, 2012).

Contrarily, jobs in non-agricultural private sector businesses recorded an annual growth of 26.9% during this period. The informal sector is the one generating the most employment. It is closely followed by businesses with foreign capital investment that represented 44% of non-agricultural private sector employment in 2008 (Nguyễn Hữu Chí, 2012). Foreign investors are interested in the Red River Delta owing to low salaries, easier access to land at low prices and the proximity of China, one of Vietnam's favoured economic partners (Ishizuka, 2011, quoted by Nguyễn Hữu Chí, 2012).

Between 1990 and 2006, the contribution of industry to GDP rose from 23 to 42%. Annual growth of employment in industry has reached 7% yearly since the beginning of the 2000s. Since its enlargement, the province of Hà Nội has 28.3% of its Economically Active Population (EAP) (+15 years old) who work in industry (GSO, Labour Survey 2010), a higher figure than the national average (21% according to the VLSS – Vital Living Standard Survey – of 2011). The primary (resource) and tertiary (service) sectors represent respectively 25.8% and 45.9%.

Jobs in industry, totalling 620,672 (*Hanoi Annual Statistical Survey*, 2008) are spread over four sectors of variable dynamism:
– state and public enterprises (92,951 jobs, or 15%), a sector in steep decline in spite of considerable subsidies;



© François Carlet-Soulages / Nội Pictures

Photo 11
Villager on bicycle riding along a motorway

– private national companies (174,023, or 28%);
– family businesses (244,571, or 39.4%), most of which are situated in craft villages and are informal;
– the private sector with foreign capital investment (104,517, 16%) is growing rapidly.

The general population census of 2009 gave the urban/rural detail of jobs linked to craftwork and industry: craft workers, labourers and industry technicians represent 25% of the total (EAP) (agricultural sector included) with a distribution between the urban and rural sectors of 21% and 26% respectively. This shows the very sizeable share of the craft-industrial sector in the rural economy and its relatively small share in towns, more and more oriented towards service industries. Factories are relocated to rural peri-urban areas where there is already a strongly developed craft sector, which assembles 17% of rural jobs. The communes where more than half of the workforce is employed in industry are dispersed in the province, without any particular metropolitan rationale (Plate 30). Employment of workers in craft villages could explain this dispersion.

Within the framework of transition towards a market economy, and of its integration into the World Trade Organization, Vietnam counts on foreign investment to develop its economy and particularly its industry. Although growth in informal employment for industry and construction has been high (44% between

2007 and 2009), (Nguyễn Hữu Chí, 2012), Vietnamese state industrial policies mainly support the foreign investment sector.

Consequently, industrial parks, *Khu Công Nghiệp* (KCN), have developed rapidly. There are 19 of them covering 7,526 hectares, eight of which are operational and the others in the process of being developed. 350 companies have set themselves up for business in these parks. On a macroeconomic level, company performances are very satisfactory for the authorities: they produce 40% of the province's industrial worth and in 2010 they employed an estimated 102,573 workers (Vũ Quốc Bình & Nguyễn Sỹ Hiền, 2012).

However, if one examines the local impact of these industrial parks on issues such as the job market, land use and social change, the success of these performances appears more mixed.

• To begin with, ***about 70% of workers in industrial areas are from other provinces*** (*Le Courrier du Vietnam*, 27/11/2011). Migrant workers apparently represent 80% of the labour force active in Vietnamese industrial parks, while 60% of this population is made up of temporary migrants [1]. Although, according to the texts governing expropriations, local workers are supposed to be favoured by the companies operating in these industrial parks, in reality, they directly employ very few expropriated villagers.

There are several reasons for the failure of these enterprises in industrial areas to employ local labour:

– foreign invested enterprises (FIEs) prefer to employ young people aged from 18 to 25, or up to 30 for some, and mainly women (60%). Expropriated farmers aged over 30 are not easily integrated into these companies. The method of workforce recruitment by brokers targets people from outside the recruitment area, unfamiliar with the sharp practice of these intermediaries. It is very often the case that these brokers force job seekers to pay them very large sums (a third or even half of their salary). Former migrants, they possess a wealth of information on employment opportunities in the industrial parks in the province and look for candidates among the inhabitants of their home villages (Đỗ Quỳnh Chi & Trần Thanh Hà, 2008);
– company bosses prefer to employ young people from elsewhere, reputedly more submissive and with fewer contacts between themselves to avoid development of social movements;
– lastly, some of the villagers from the site refuse to work in foreign factories where salaries are very low (sometimes less than the legal minimum wage), along with very demanding work rates and unpaid overtime. The press reports many cases of companies encountering difficulties in finding workers, and especially in limiting the very rapid turnover of the workforce, as workers seek better work opportunities elsewhere.

However, although enterprises on these KCNs employ few workers locally, they do have a trickledown effect into the service sector (catering, rental of rooms to workers, various other services).

• In addition, ***in an already very densely populated residential space, the arrival of young migrants creates pressure on housing***. Most industrial areas do not provide housing for their workers. Among Hà Nội's eight industrial parks in operation, out of 110,000 workers employed, only 16,300 are housed on site (*Vietnam Investment Review*, 31/10/2011). When building industrial areas, project managers did not factor in the land needed to house their personnel. Few building companies are interested in low-profit constructions of this kind. Expropriated villagers switch to renting accommodation for workers, often very basic, but considered as very expensive for these low-paid workers.

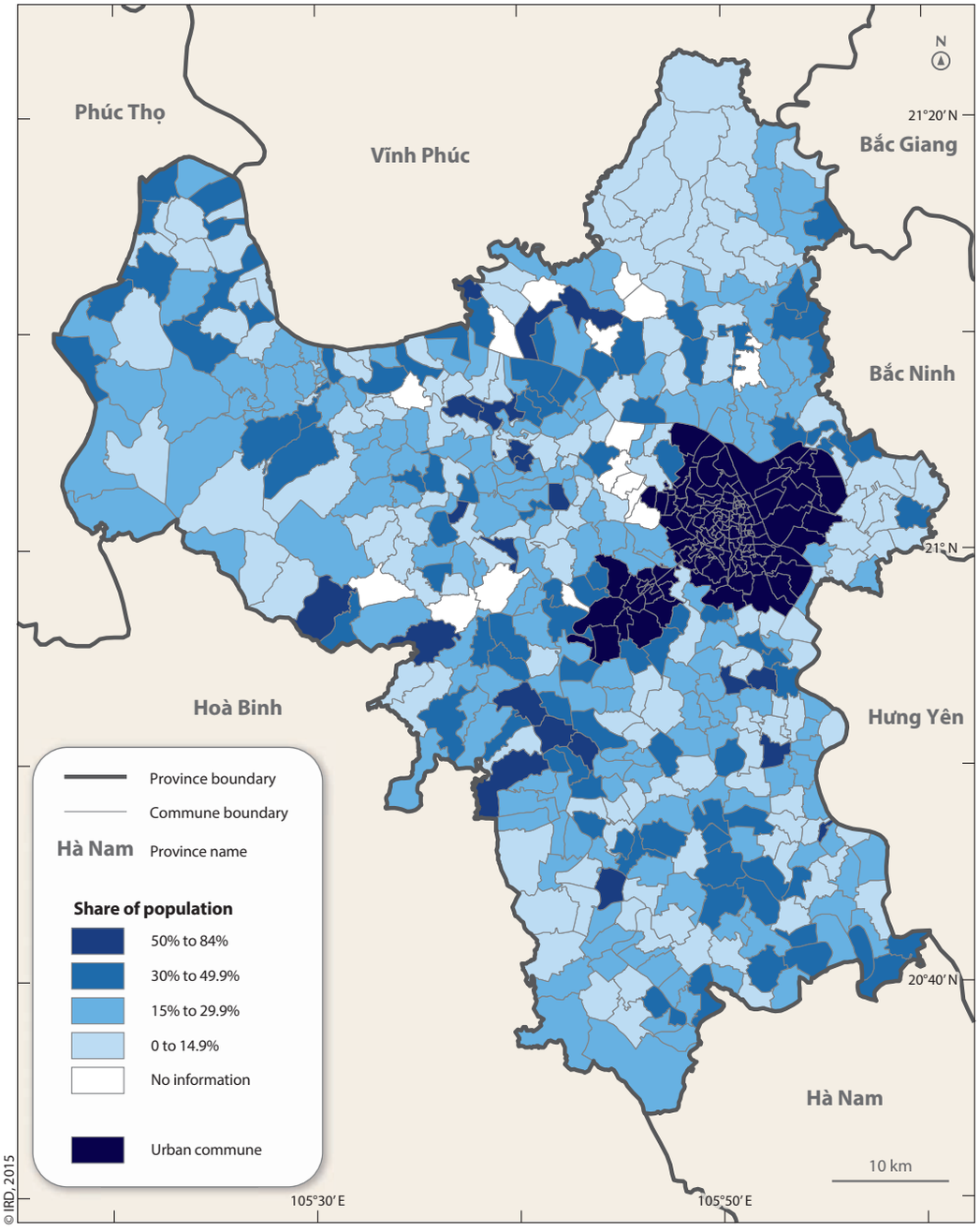
• ***Land expropriations by these KCNs are significant*** (between 200 and 400 hectares) ***in relation to communal land***. With metropolisation and the slow process of freeing up land for developers owing to conflicts, the pressure on land has pushed up prices, making them prohibitive for small companies, particularly given the lack of political support from local authorities. In fact, KCNs have privileged access to industrial land (tax breaks, etc.), in contrast with local enterprises, not judged as consistent with the country's modernisation.

Overall, industrial parks have an occupation rate of 46% (Đặng Hùng Võ, 2012), while some, for lack of investors, have yet to be built. Once land has been expropriated, its use is blocked for years on end, even though there is strong local demand on land for production. Some tracts of land have been illegally replanted by farmers, while others lie fallow for years, owing to the dismantlement of the hydraulic system rendering them unsuitable for agriculture.

The map of the three kinds of industrial areas (Plate 31) shows the various installation rationales of types of company and their distribution in the province.

– In 2010, 44 communes in the province housed KCNs in operation or under construction. They are situated along major roads, ideally motorways and highways giving access to Nội Bài airport or the port at Hải Phòng, without any

Share of economically active population in 2009, commune by commune, in Hà Nội province



Source: data from the Hà Noi District People's Committee, 2009, provided by Lê Văn Hùng from Casrad (Center for Agrarian Systems Research and Development). Design Fanchette S.

other economic strategy (consolidation by kind of activity or compatibility, presence of a source of workforce or know-how...) other than accessibility. They obey the rationale of metropolisation, the role of transportation in urban structuring and top-down initiated planning, without any thought for local economic realities.

– The *Cụm Công Nghiệp* (CCNs) are dispersed among about sixty communes. Their size is theoretically less than 75 hectares and they are usually situated on a single commune. They usually house large companies relocated from the capital (because of pollution), and small and medium-sized enterprises, usually Vietnamese. They are mostly located along major roads. A quarter of these areas are set up in craft villages and house both local enterprises specialised in the village's activity and companies from outside. 26 are currently in operation and 33 are being built or awaiting the arrival of companies. They employ the local population more readily, particularly those among the first wave created by the state [2].

– The *Điểm Công Nghiệp* (DCNs), or craft industry sites, are rarely bigger than 15 hectares and in most cases are set up in the communes of craft villages. Designed to remove the most polluting enterprises from central locations in villages, they are sometimes established away from major transport routes. They enabled mechanised workshops to extend their production space. Although the first generation of DCNs built at the behest of local authorities at the beginning of the 2000s enabled several workshops to develop their operations at affordable prices, since around 2005, land speculation and the refusal by farmers to allow themselves to be expropriated at low prices and without land compensation, have slowed down the process of creating DCNs. In the 176 DCN projects approved by the Ministry of Trade and Industry for the province of Hà Noi over an area of 1,295 hectares, only 49 have been established (470 hectares) of which 37 in craft communes.

A comparison between maps showing the situation of industrial parks (KCNs), industrial areas for small and medium-sized enterprises (CCNs) and craft industry sites (DCNs), along with that showing the population economically active in industry and craft villages, leads us to several conclusions.

– The presence of KCNs does not have a systematic impact on industrial employment in communes where they are established, with workers meant to register in the village (something that many migrant and seasonal workers do not do). This is the case of communes where the industrial areas are established, apart from Quang Minh and Chi Đông in Me Linh, for which we have no information. This confirms that three-quarters of the 120,000 workers employed by companies located in these KCNs mostly originate from elsewhere.

– On the other hand, the CCNs that house small and medium-sized Vietnamese enterprises have an impact on local job creation. In fact, in the district of Chương Mỹ, where many CCNs have been established, the proportion of people working in industry is above average.

– Finally, the map of craft villages is highly consistent with that of the population economically active in industry, particularly the sphere of influence of small sources of workforce made up by the parent villages of clusters. The cases of highest rates of population economically active in industry are in fact very dynamic craft villages.

Multi-activity weakened by metropolisation in craft villages

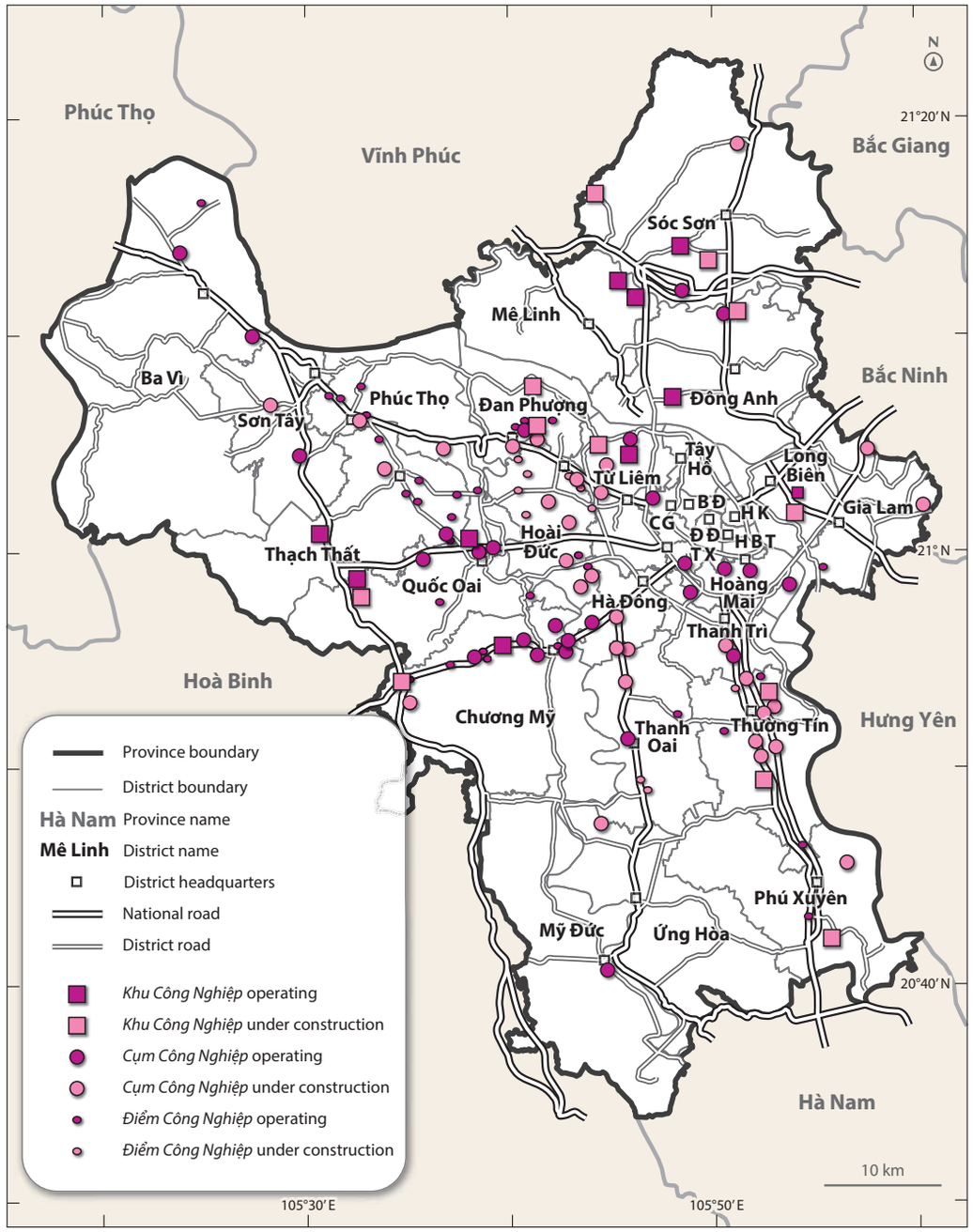
Simultaneously with modern sector industry collected into the industrial parks and zones built recently, thanks to foreign capital, a craft-industrial activity has developed in craft villages. Industrialisation of countryside in the Red River Delta is not new and craft villages have multiplied over several centuries, as wet rice farming, very labour intensive over limited periods of transplanting and harvest, could not feed a very dense and underemployed population during the close season. It is in villages where growing an extra crop of rice was not possible because of bad rainwater drainage that craft activities have developed the most.

• Villages organised in production clusters

In the province of Hà Nội, in 2010, there were 1,270 villages where inhabitants practised some craft activity [3], among which 272 have received the status of craft village and benefit from incentive policies (more than 50% of EAP practise the activity and it supplies 50% of village income) and 244 are considered as having a traditional craft. If one refers to the 2003 MARD/JICA survey that has a less restrictive definition of craft villages, there are about 500 of them. According to the Population census, in 2009, there were 425,106 craft workers in the rural districts of the province of Hà Nội, representing 20% of EAP.

Specialised in the production of goods for daily use (food processing, votive offerings, industrial products and construction materials, commercial services and transport, etc.) and for export (wickerwork, furniture, woollen clothing, *objets d'art*, etc.), these villages are scattered all over the province, mainly in the west in the former province of Hà Tây, which was called the 'province of a thousand crafts.'

Industrial parks, zones and sites in Hà Nội districts in 2008-2009



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Source 1: Report n° 72/BC, Local Industries Department, Ministry of Industry 16/12/2008 on industrial zones
Source 2: Word Bank, 29/10/2010, Industrial wastewater management in river basins Nhue-day and Dongnai project. Inventories of industrial estates
Source 3: Ministry of Construction: Hanoi Master Plan, maps on operating and under construction industrial zones
Source 4: Housing and industrial projects, Hoài Đức district 2008
Source 5: List of projects that have been accepted by the People's Committee under the resolution 9643/UBND-KH&DT of 06/10/2009

In the north near the airport and in the district of Me Linh, craft activities were scarce around 2006. Already during the colonial era, Pierre Gourou could only count about 10 villages mostly specialised in food processing (alcohol).

The situation of villages along navigable waterways enabled the import of raw materials from the highlands and hinterland in the North, such as rattan, bamboo and canna starch for making glass noodles. This is why one finds many villages of basket weavers and producers of foodstuffs along the Đáy River in Hà Tây (Plate 32). The creation and development of craft villages, on a plain criss-crossed with a multitude of waterways, galvanised the growth of village markets and strengthened a culture of trade and networking.

These villages did not develop around a road network, unlike the industrial zones. A very high number of villages have practised crafts for several centuries, and traditionally depended essentially on river routes for trade. They follow local development rationales of labour force polarisation and exchange of know-how and are solidly integrated into a socialised territory. They are organised into clusters, or bunches of about 10 localities on average. The parent villages are usually well situated beside transport routes, while less active villages in the cluster are set back in the countryside.

The map of craft villages by activity shows how they group together by type of activity (Plate 32): about 10 villages on average for activities linking manual work and mechanisation of some stages of production (cabinetmaking, food processing, textiles, etc.), while for wickerwork, the bunches are much bigger and the links between villages seem to be more the result of commercial networks than of a strict division of labour.

Some of these clusters attract a large migrant working population and subcontract to an array of neighbouring satellite villages, occupying up to 10,000 workers, in the example of La Phu (knitting and confectionary). Employers are usually from the village, the workers from outside (the provinces in the south of the Delta or their hilly fringes), while the subcontracted live in the village and within a radius of about 20 km maximum.

A cluster of craft villages is a localised productive system that gathers businesses that are very varied in terms of size, status, means of production, techniques and endogenous development. The geographical concentration of small companies can be linked to the development of trade networks: it promotes economies of scale, a better use of supply networks and the spread of know-how within a strongly village-based society. Accordingly, proximity between businesses within the cluster contributes to establishing rapid connections between a host of households and businesses within a network of skills and practitioners of complementary know-how.

Links between the villages of a cluster vary according to the kind of activity, the nature of the division of labour, the necessary know-how, manual or mechanical techniques, labour force requirements, markets supplying raw materials and commercial outlets.

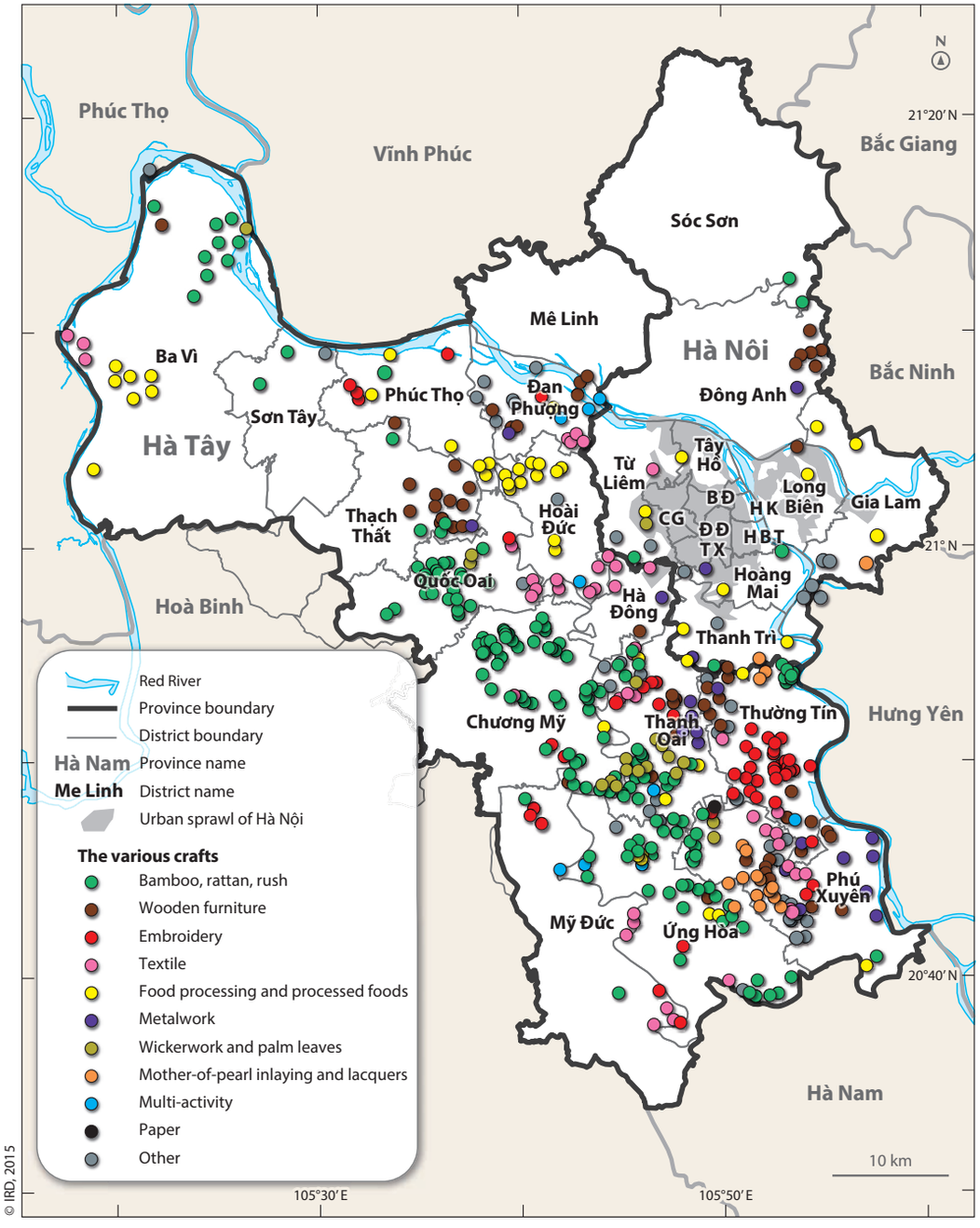
In the case of wickerwork, an overwhelmingly manual activity requiring large numbers of poorly qualified labourers and yielding low income, the division of labour is relatively small. Not many stages of production are required to make a conical hat or *nón*, a basket or a stick of incense. Specialised workshops in some villages prepare the raw material (rough cutting of various kinds of bamboo, shaping, fungicidal treatment, etc.), which they then sell on to artisan producers. Wickerwork is an activity practised in parallel with farming.

• A cluster of wickerwork weavers organised around a market

The weavers of the southern area of the province, specialised in conical hats (Chuông), wicker items (Phú Túc), making baskets, fans, birdcages and sticks of incense are gathered in 50 or so villages and there were more than 26,000 people working in them in 2003 (Mard/Jica) (Plate 33). Trade in the raw materials and sale of the finished products create a link between these thousands of mostly family producers organised into production groups or working individually as subcontractors for small bosses or intermediaries managing orders for export.

Raw materials are purchased in many different ways, but in this area, Chûong market creates a dynamic not found elsewhere. The ease of access to raw materials that the market provides has enabled this not very profitable and mainly female activity to persist. Know-how is passed on between villages by intermarriage, spreading out from the parent village. About 30 villages specialised in making *nón* are organised around this market. It is held not far from the dyke along the Đáy River, once the water highway for the province of Hà Tây. It takes place 18 times a month and supplies the various materials needed for making a conical hat (latan palm leaves, bamboo, plant fibres) from the hilly regions overlooking the Delta. Items such as forms providing the model for hats are produced in the

Craft villages in the provinces of Hà Nội and Hà Tây in 2003



© IRD, 2015

Sources: Jica Mard 2000, Surveys Casrad / IRD 2006. Design Fanchette S./Paschier M.

surrounding villages. *Nón* are also sold at the market, where collectors from the village or intermediaries topping up orders come to seek supplies.

The commune of Quảng Phú Cầu has specialised in cutting up several kinds of bamboo and subcontracts to villages of Phú Túc. It supplies artisans of the area with sticks of variable sizes, particularly those for making sticks of incense. As for the confection of wicker articles, it has developed from the parent village Lưu Thượng, which has spread the craft and attracted collaboration from about ten villages where workshops are subcontracted to the parent village.

With metropolisation and the installation of large-scale urban projects on farmland, craft villages are enduring very strong competition for land. Firstly, the close links between the villages of the cluster are integrated into a landscape organised around wet rice farming made up of paths, canals, and dykes, which has been reshaped for craft production (kilns, drying spaces, artesian wells, workshops, warehouses) and, particularly since the 2000s, for mechanisation of production and its spatial expansion in the *Điểm Công Nghiệp* or craft industry sites.

The large-scale urban projects under construction on the farmland of these villages do not take into account the spatial and social organisation of these villages. The links between craft villages within clusters are intense and occur within a transport network made up of roads of varying sizes, local tracks or dyke-top roads not suitable for vehicles, but along which struggles all kinds of traffic. The highways, residential and industrial zones cut across village farmland, isolating villages, blocking transport routes between villages.

In addition, in craft villages, the production system relies on a delicate alliance between craft industry, small businesses, market gardening, animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture. Small-scale businesses factor in these extra sources of income to pay lower salaries than in the city.

Two kinds of craft villages can be observed:
– villages that live mainly from craft industry. Mechanisation and development of craft production have diverted these villagers from agriculture. But, in order to retain tenancy of their land, they lease it or lend it to farmers from neighbouring villages. In addition, the whole production system relies on a multi-active labour force seasonally subcontracted to work from home that needs to ensure its self-sufficiency in rice. All along the production line – in the initial and the later stages – a host of family households are involved seasonally, according to orders and market fluctuations;
– villages where craft industry constitutes a supplement to agriculture.

Farmland, mainly planted with rice, provides the family with self-sufficiency in grains. Very little rice is traded, as surpluses are rare. It ensures food security in the event of a slump in sales of produce or temporary unemployment of small-scale subcontracted craft workers. Although it only brings in a supplement to village income, farmland contributes, with craft industry, to keeping large populations in their villages and renders it possible to limit their emigration to towns and cities. If agriculture disappears, the income from secondary craft activities, such as wickerwork, embroidery or processing of agricultural produce, will not suffice to meet villagers' needs.

Hà Nội's endangered green belt*

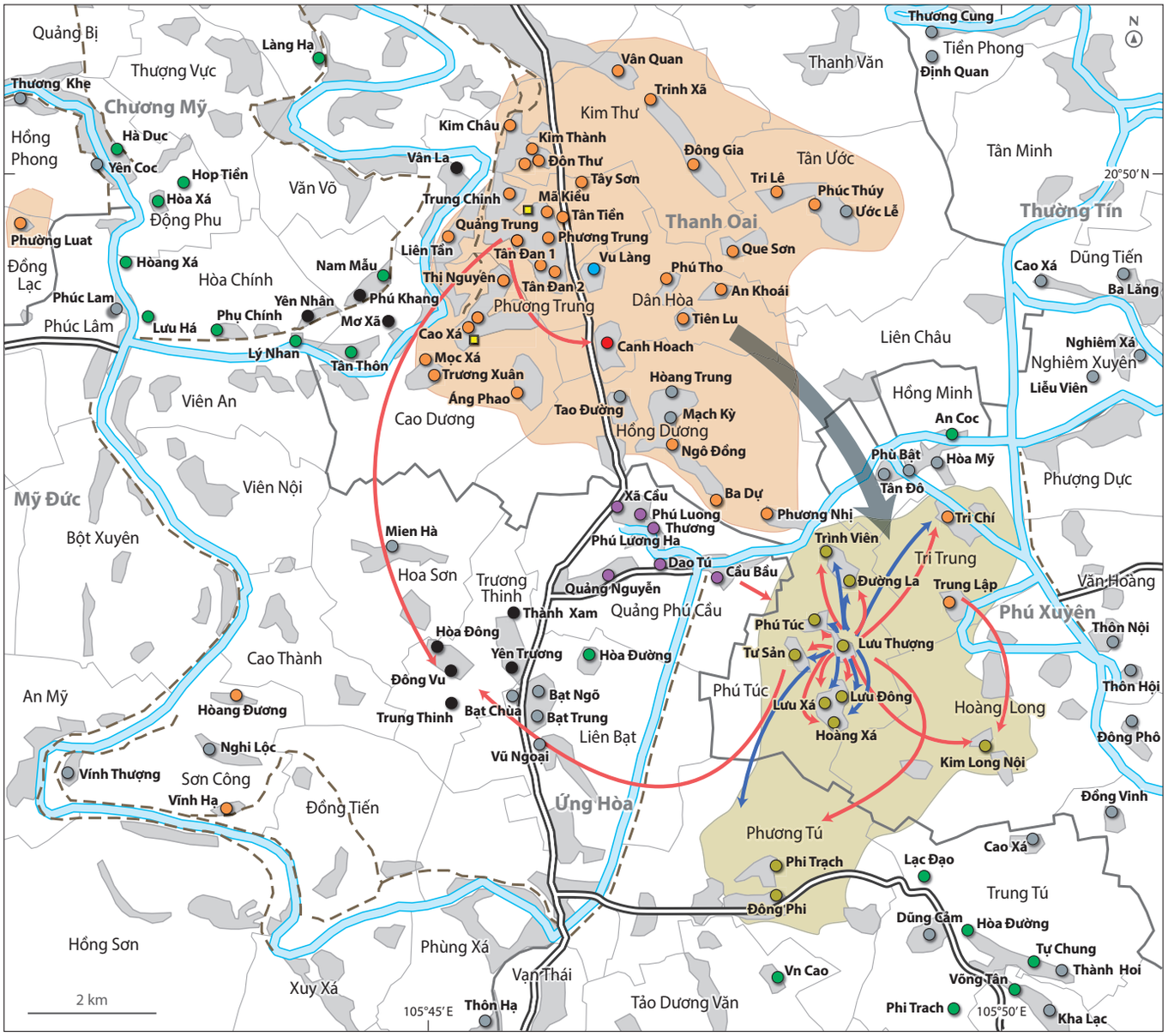
• An ancient role in supplying the city

Very early in Hà Nội's history, craft villages and specialised agricultural villages located on the fringes of the capital, and today integrated into the urban fabric, developed to meet the consumer needs of the city, of the court, and then of colonists (Chabert, 2004). Villages specialised in market gardening were located to the south and the southwest, those growing rice in the west, while others practising silkworm farming were situated near alluvial areas for growing mulberry trees to feed to silkworms (around West Lake and near the Đáy River, in the vicinity of Hà Dông). Villages specialised in production of ornamental plants were bunched to the west of the capital in the district of Từ Liêm. The green belt was strengthened by centralised planning in the 1950s-1980s. Dry farming, and particularly market gardening, was concentrated in the rural districts of Từ Liêm, Thanh Trì, Gia Lâm and Đông Anh that adjoin the urban neighbourhoods of the capital (Plate 34).

Peri-urban agriculture has an important function in feeding the city's population. In 2001, the province of Hà Nội's production covered 44% of the food consumption needs of the capital's inhabitants, 56% of grain, 53% of vegetables, 48% of pork, 45% of poultry (Mai Thị Phương Anh *et al.*, 2004). The majority of vegetables consumed in the city were produced within a radius of 30 km, China meeting the deficit in tomatoes and cabbages during the rainy season. The green belt offers more than 70% of vegetables to urban consumers (for leaf vegetables in all seasons and other vegetables during the main production period, from

* P. Moustier and Đào Thế Anh

Connections between craft villages specialised in wickerwork: the cluster of Chuông, southern Hà Tây



Sources: Jica, Casrad, surveys Fanchette S., 2006

Road, dyke
River
District boundary
Commune boundary
Mỹ Đức District name
Văn Thai Commune name

Xã Cầu Craft village name
Market specialised in craft
Built-up area
Expansion area of conical hat market
Diffusion zone of wickerwork

Craft activities
Bamboo, rattan
Wickerwork
Conical hat
Incense stick
Bird cage, fan
Shade, ancestor altar
Bamboo basket, broomstick
Other craft activities
Historical relationships
Subcontracting relationships
Sale of raw materials

November to March). 95 to 100% of lettuce comes from areas less than 20 km away, while 73 to 100% of water morning glory (*Ipomoea aquatica*) is grown less than 10 km away (Hoang Bang An *et al.*, 2006; Moustier *et al.*, 2004).

The origin of temperate vegetables is more variable according to seasons: while 75% of tomatoes are grown less than 30 km from Hà Nội in winter, 80% of tomatoes sold in the summer months come from China and 15% from Dalat, more than 1,000 km south of Hà Nội, but these percentages vary from year to year: in 2011, China's share in supply had decreased to 30%, while it rose for Dalat (43%) and for the province of Nam Định. Commodity chains are very short. For example, 85% of water morning glory is marketed directly by the producers at wholesale markets to retailers-wholesalers or retailers.

The proximity of urban areas facilitates relations of trust and exchange of information between producers, vendors and consumers, in particular to control the sanitary quality of products. Accordingly, all the supermarkets and vegetable shops in Hà Nội with a quality label guaranteeing them as healthy are supplied by co-operatives located in the province of the same name with which they maintain regular contacts; the producers deliver to supermarkets every morning (Figure16). In addition to this supply, they receive vegetables from collectors and wholesalers in Dalat, Mộc Châu, Hưng Yên, mainly during the off-season for local produce or for specific vegetables from temperate climes.

Peri-urban agriculture is intended for familial self-consumption and sale. It is part of the multi-activity of village families that practise both trade and craft industry. In a commune such as Trưng Trắc, agriculture represents more than half of income (Lecostey & Malvezin, 2001). It was estimated that in 2000, agriculture occupied 30% of the population of the province of Hà Nội and 27% in 2008 [4].

Recent surveys conducted with residents of Hà Nội show that the majority of them have regular contacts with farmers from their families or their neighbourhoods. More than 80% of non-farmers favour maintaining agriculture in the city, mainly for reasons of food supply and employment. But they have doubts about the maintenance of agriculture over the next 10 years, and feel their opinions are ignored in urban planning decisions (Tô Thị Thu Hà *et al.*, 2014).

• Ambiguity of policies: between discourse and reality

If the discourse adhered to by officials from the city of Hà Nội's department of agriculture and rural development is to be believed, it is important to uphold a balance between urbanisation, industrialisation and agriculture. The department's plan seeks to maintain an agriculture deemed ecological (sparing use of chemical products, use of clean water), with high added value, which in 2020 should occupy 40 to 50% of the area of natural ground in the city. Hà Nội's master plan anticipates that this agriculture will be concentrated to the west of the city, next to the Đáy River.

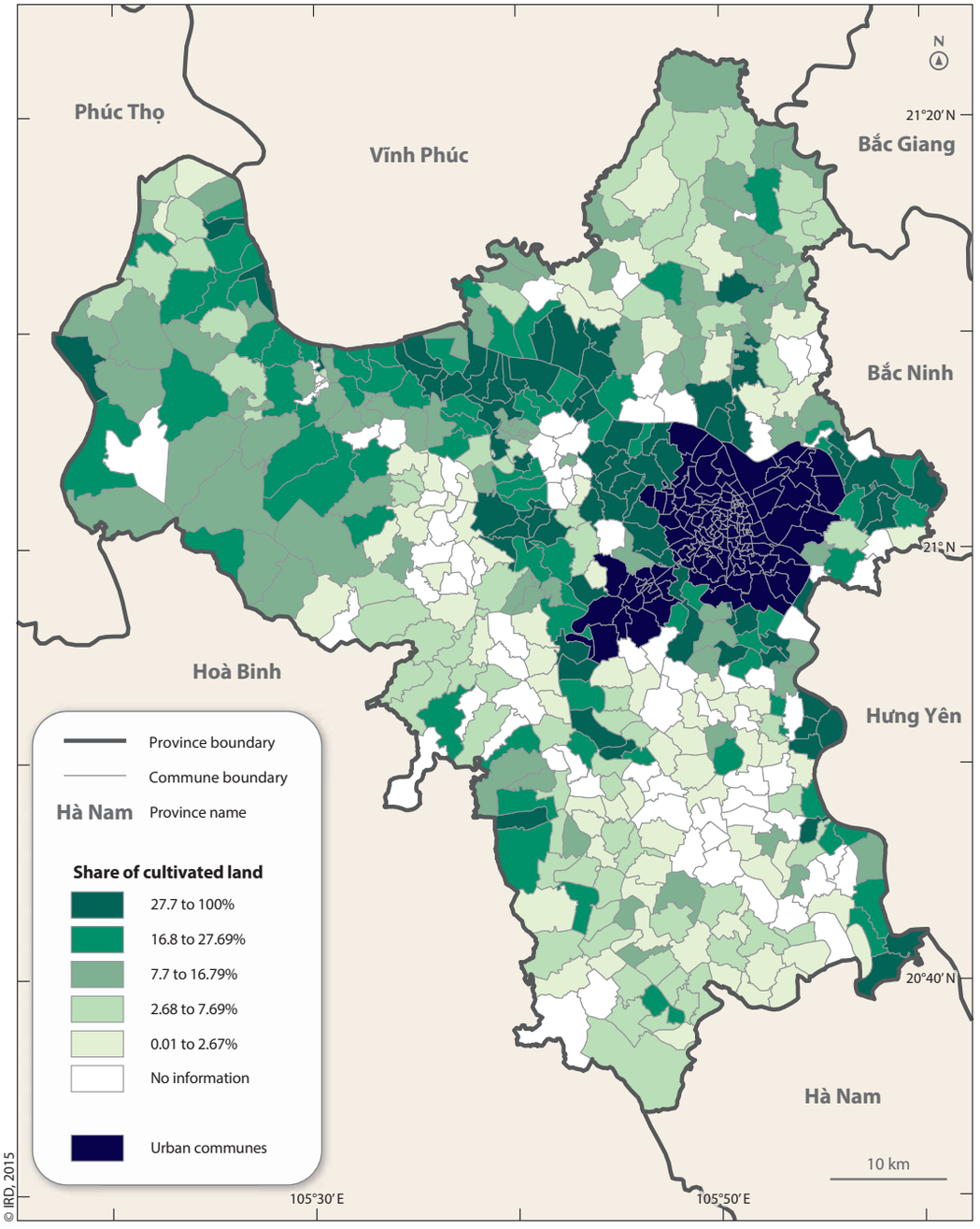
This (re)location poses the problem of skills of the farmers concerned, market gardening currently being little practised in this area (except in Hoài Đức), while the municipality has in the past invested in training and infrastructure in other districts (Đông Anh, Gia Lâm, Thanh Trì, Sóc Sơn). In addition, the protection of agricultural areas is not very credible, given the number of urban projects already installed.

Communal and district authorities (and authorities more generally) seem to have limited leeway opposite the financial power of private operators. However, variations are observed depending on the desire of communes to promote agriculture, which seems quite closely linked to employment opportunities and to expected compensations. Accordingly, in the commune of Hà Đình, urban district of Thanh Xuân, as in the commune of Vân Nội in the district of Đông Anh, there is plainly a desire to sacrifice agriculture upon the altar of urban development, despite its erstwhile importance. This is not the case in the communes of Song Phương and Tiền Yên, in the district of Hoài Đức, where the production of safe vegetables is encouraged.

A comparison of several maps (share of rice in crop systems, share of annual crops, location of craft villages in 2010) makes it possible to highlight several large categories of peri-urban agriculture in Hà Nội (Sautier *et al.*, 2014; Quertamp, 2010):

– former 'green belt' of Hà Nội (Từ Liêm, Gia Lâm, etc.) with strong competition between farmland and land for housing;
– a kind characterised by a strong density of craft villages, which coexist with a 'debased agriculture' and increasingly extensive rice farming in particular in the former province of Hà Tây to the west;
– diversified agricultural villages – new 'green belt' (vegetables, fruit orchards and agro-tourism) – especially in the green corridor between the Đáy and Tích Rivers and close to the Red River in the south (Hoài Đức, Đan Phượng, etc.);
– a group of villages that is developing intensive rice farming, especially in the low-lying zone/area to the south (districts of Thanh Oai, Mỹ Đức, Ứng Hòa, Phú Xuyên);

Share of farmland used to grow dry crops (including market gardening) in 2009



Source: data from the Hà Noi District People's Committee, 2009, provided by Lê Văn Hùng from Casrad (Center for Agrarian Systems Research and Development). Design Fanchette S.

– areas in the process of strong agricultural diversification with high added value (vegetables, flowers) or moving towards non-agricultural jobs (to the northeast: Sóc Sơn, Me Linh and Đông Anh);
– finally, in the mountainous region of Ba Vì to the west, an area geared towards animal husbandry, tourism and cash crops, such as tea.

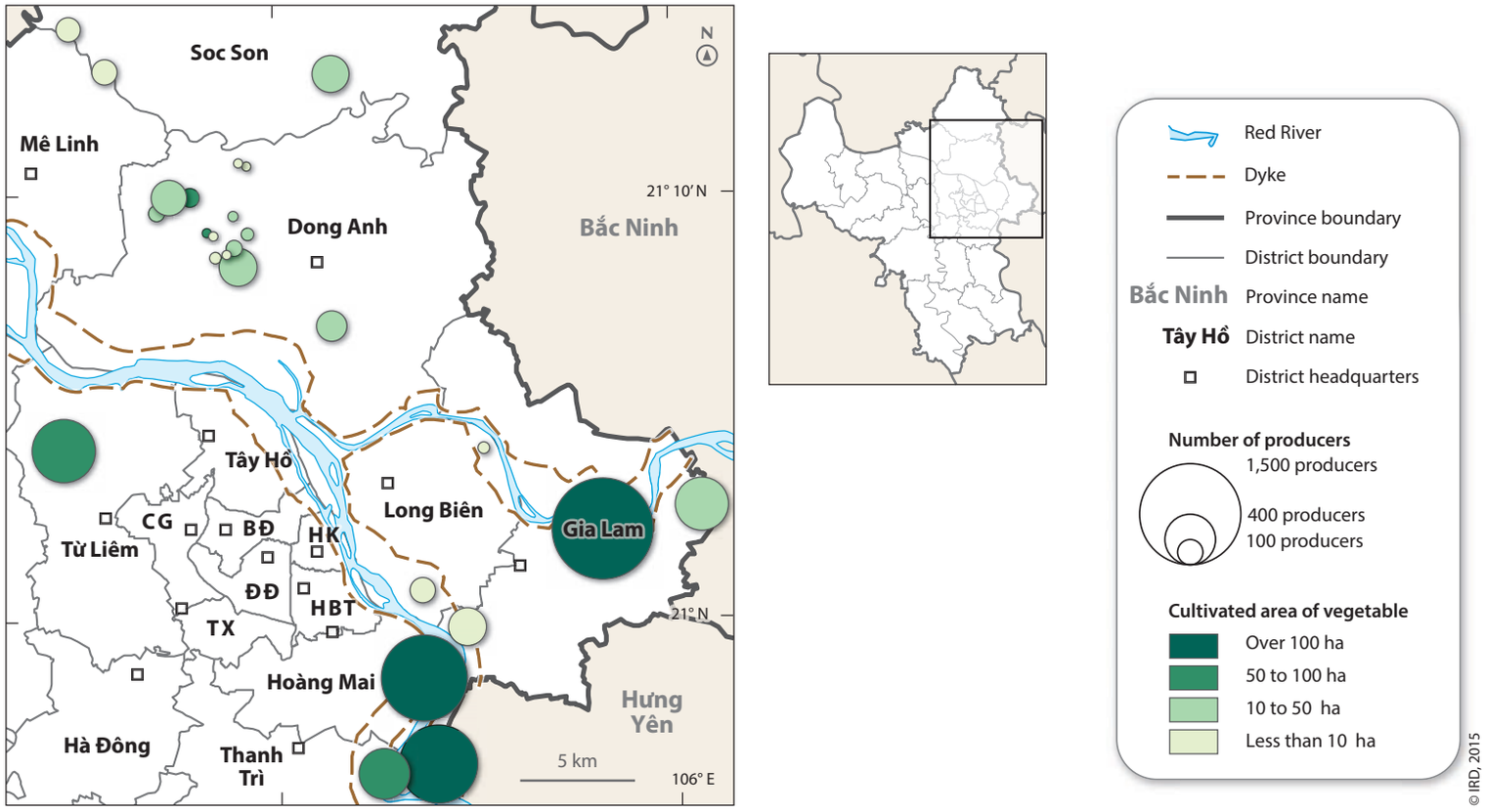
Until the 2000s, farmland had been relatively spared from urbanisation. Accordingly, cultivated land in the province of Hà Nội went from 43,789 hectares in 1990 to 38,200 in 2006. However, this figure has apparently gone down to 34,177 hectares in 2010 (for the districts corresponding to the former province of Hà Nội) [5]. Following the expansion of the capital province over its western neighbour of Hà Tây, in August 2008, its total area has more than tripled and its area of agricultural land has risen from 38,200 to 192,720 hectares, and represents 57% of the total area (Table 4).

Table 4 – AGRICULTURAL TRENDS IN THE REGION OF HÀ NỘI BEFORE AND AFTER THE ENLARGEMENT

	1990	1999	2000	2006	2008	2010
Total area (ha)		91,846	92,098	92,200	334,470	334,470
Agricultural area (ha)	43,789	43,320	44,705	38,200	192,720	188,601
Agricultural area (%)		47.2	48.5	41.4	57.6	56.4

Sources : To *et al.* (2011) for the table; for the data: Rossi & Cu (2002) for 1980 ; General Statistical Yearbook of Vietnam and Hà Nội Statistical Yearbook for 1990-2006 and 2008; Hà Nội Statistical Yearbook, 2008.

Figure16 – LOCATION OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVES FOR SAFE VEGETABLES IN THE URBAN DISTRICTS OF HÀ NỘI



Sources: Data collected by Nguyễn Thi Tấn Lộc, FAVRI, 2008

Table 5 – EVOLUTION OF AREAS CULTIVATED IN THE NEW HÀ NỘI

Area cultivated (ha)	Year 2000	Year 2009	Annual variation (%) 2000-2009
Rice	236,689	206,890	- 1.5
Winter-spring rice	115,648	103,211	- 1.3
Autumn rice	121,221	103,679	- 1.7
Maize	34,927	18,411	- 6.9
Soya	15,148	7,278	- 7.8
Peanuts	7,984	6,947	- 1.5
Cassava/manioc	3,714	2,515	- 4.2
Vegetables	29,333	26,936	- 0.9
Fruit trees	9,139	13,530	+ 4.5
Flowers & ornamental plants	3,552	4,288	+ 4.5

Source: Hà Nội Department of Statistics.

The location of some agricultural areas outside dykes, prone to flooding and thus difficult to build on, protects agriculture to a certain degree from expropriation for urban land. However, farmland can be recovered for uses other than construction. Accordingly, on an agricultural area of 389 hectares in the commune of Vân Nội (district of Đông Anh in the north of the province), 150 hectares should be allotted in the years to come to an eco-tourism project (statement in 2009 by an official from the communal office of agriculture and rural development). We observe the disappearance of production of water morning glory in intra-urban districts; in the peri-urban districts, the regression of rice farming and the maintenance of market gardening, fish farming and production of flowers, with increasing support for 'ecological' production.

In the district of Hoài Đuc, to the west of the city, agricultural areas have decreased by half between 2000 and 2008, from 8,355 hectares to 4,373 hectares, and in 2020 only 735 hectares will be preserved for market gardening, gathered on land located outside the dyke along the Đáy River (Table 5). Farmland protected by the dyke will be entirely expropriated for urban projects in the districts near the city. This process of expropriation has already been taking place in some districts since the 2000s: in that of Thanh Trì, to the south of the city, farmland reduced from 5,190 hectares to 3,548 hectares in 2008, and 2,830 hectares are projected for 2020 [6].

At the beginning of the 2000s these districts supplied respectively 6 to 30% of cabbage depending on the months and 80% of water morning glory for Hà Nội (Moustier *et al.*, 2004). A survey conducted in June 2011 showed the withdrawal of supply areas for water morning glory and cucumbers within the provinces of Hà Nội, similarly within the province of Hưng Yên for the latter crop, namely a retreat of about 30 kilometres (Sautier *et al.*, 2014). It remains to be seen whether or not this extra distance has resulted in higher costs and prices.

Conclusion

Analysis of the latest results of the 2009 population census shows that the process of metropolisation is accelerating in favour of the new enlarged province of Hà Nội, which recorded annual demographic growth of 2.2% between 1999 and 2009, compared with 1.2% for the country as a whole, with an inward migratory surplus of 292,426 people (between 2004 and 2009). This growth mostly affects peri-urban areas where demographic densities are highest (more than 1,500 inhabitants/km^2, sometimes 2,000 inhabitants/km^2), parti cularly those of the first urban ring recently integrated into the city perimeter where several urban villages have become veritable dormitory towns for migrants. Centres of industrial labour force sometimes attract migrants from remote provinces.

In addition, between 2002 and 2008, the Vietnamese agricultural sector recorded the biggest fall in number of jobs in the Red River Delta, in favour of the industrial and service sectors. The informal sector is the one creating the most jobs. It is closely followed by businesses with foreign capital investment. The craft-industrial sector plays a growing role in providing employment in the rural economy. Two kinds of businesses contribute to this: relocated factories in rural peri-urban areas and many clusters of craft villages, established centuries ago and major employers of part-time or full-time labour force. However, these villages have the capacity to offer jobs locally to the rural population of the peri-urban fringe, unlike businesses situated in industrial zones that mainly recruit a labour force with little training from the surrounding provinces, workers who are poorly paid and capable of putting up with the difficult working conditions of globalised industry seeking quick returns on investment. Even if the growth in informal jobs is high in industry and construction, the Vietnamese state's industrial policies mainly support the sector financed by foreign investment and are withdrawing from local industry that had once benefitted from its support.

Intensive and diversified agriculture retains an important place in the authorities' official line, and agriculture known as ecological with a large added value is favoured by incentive policies. However, in reality, large-scale urban

projects and the power of market forces in the attribution of land weaken these activities and demonstrate to what extent the various ministries in charge of the capital's development promote contradictory policies.

The production systems at work in the villages of these densely populated peripheries are based on multiple uses of available space and multi-activity associated with wet rice farming, foundation of the Red River Delta's economy. These very populating production systems, in the sense that they are capable of feeding a large population, are the source of a process of very active *in situ* urbanisation, characterised by a densification and an elevation of housing and a diversification of activities in large rural villages.

However, the Hà Nội master plan to 2030 advocates the separation of urban functions (residential, industrial, commercial and leisure) and resists multiple uses of land. In addition, the government and the municipality of Hà Nội have implemented reforms to liberalise land transactions and accelerate the change in allocation of land so that investors undertake major works to overhaul the new globalised capital. But the liberalisation of land transactions has manifested itself in soaring prices, pressure on land and intensified competition that could jeopardise at once the realisation of large-scale urban projects, but also the *in situ* urbanisation process implemented by villagers.

The process of metropolisation initiated on the Chinese coastline 10 years before it came to Vietnam demonstrates that most rural regions (apart from some in the environs of Canton in the Pearl River Delta) do not profit from the country's lightning economic rise during the 1990s and are neglected in favour of cities that globalisation favours for its liberalisation of the country. These regions see their economic situations deteriorate. Expropriations linked to urban and industrial development in peri-urban areas, unequal access to social services and facilities among city dwellers and rural populations, and cumbersome bureaucratic procedures create a rather serious social unease.

1) Source: VGCL report at the Conference on Directive 22 of the Politburo, *in* Hồ Chí Minh City, June 2008.

2) During the collectivist era, many state industrial enterprises had to employ villagers on site. In the peri-urban atlas of Hà Nội (VTGEO et UMR Regard 2002), the authors maintain that: 'The area of Sài Đồng B enjoyed preferential treatment in the allocation of land. 70% of the 1,000 workers working in the various companies come from Trach Ban.'

3) Hà Nội Department of Trade and Industry, 2010.

4) Data collected by Tô Thị Thu Hà, Favri, from the authorities of Hanoi's Department of Agriculture and Rural Development.

5) See previous footnote.

6) Data collected by Trần Thị Thu Hà from the Office of Agriculture and Rural Development in the districts of Hoài Đức and Thanh Trì.

Acces to land, new actors and peri-urban activities called into question

S. Fanchette, Y. Duchère, J. Segard, Lê Văn Hùng

Over two decades, Vietnamese regional development, and that of urban and peri-urban territories in particular, has experienced a significant diversification of its actors and of its means of governance. Centralised planning, orchestrated by the government and established by state companies, has been gradually replaced by decentralised planning, involving new actors, entirely from the private sector, or semi-private.

Unlike other Southeast Asian metropolises of the capitalist world, which embarked on a process of metropolisation back in the 1970s and have transformed large fringes of farmland into land for construction, Vietnam has only lately created a real land market. Land belongs to the state, the only authority capable of changing its status, and the usufruct of land is allocated to farmers according to fixed-term contracts.

On the other hand, in Thailand and especially in Indonesia, the conversion of land on urban outskirts has been mostly uncontrolled and the subject of land speculation over large areas, to a degree where much land has long been acquired by developers without being used (Firman, 2000). Paddy fields once farmed intensively have been abandoned awaiting buyers; irrigation systems have been left to deteriorate, representing an enormous waste of infrastructure and loss of earnings for farmers. Strong-arm interventions to expropriate them, sometimes with the help of the public authorities, have put large expanses of peri-urban land on the real estate market and contributed to the rapid expansion of big cities such as Jakarta. From 1987 to 1997, half of investments in industry, finance, trade and services have been in the metropolitan region of this capital.

In the environs of Hà Nôi, real estate transactions leading to changes in status of large areas of paddy fields began to increase from the beginning of the 2000s onwards. Between 2000 and 2010, 11,000 hectares of farmland in the province of Hà Nội have apparently been allocated to residential, industrial and highway projects, affecting 150,000 agricultural workers.

Undeniably, since 2003, land reforms have relaxed the terms and conditions of transferring farmland use rights. Previously under the jurisdiction of the state, management of change of land status and expropriations is henceforth delegated to provincial people's committees to promote an improved adaptation to economic liberalisation and a more rapid establishment of projects. These changes have very significant implications on land inasmuch as they determine the price of plots, subsequently deemed suitable for construction.

The announcement of an ambitious master plan for the new enlarged province of Hà Nội has created a bubble in land prices since about 2008. Speculation linked to growing

demand for land intended for large-scale projects affects villagers deeply, since they, too, seek land for their non-agricultural activities or to build housing. But most of them have neither the financial means, nor the political connections to participate in this increasingly lucrative market. Hà Nội is one of the most expensive Asian cities, not far behind Tokyo, owing to the lack of supply and the scale of demand.

Five groups of actors interact over land dynamics:
– villagers who sell their private land or their agricultural land use rights illegally or who receive compensation for their paddy fields;
– individuals from outside villages who can perceive purchasing land as an investment, or who buy to live there. More and more small investors comb greater Hà Nội in search of opportunities to buy and speculate on the city's development, boundary changes in this or that administration or the establishment of a highway project. These people anticipate and speculate on the Hà Nội of tomorrow;
– investors and developers who act according to economic rationales: purchase of land to establish projects or for speculation;
– provinces, to which the state has delegated land management, need land resources to ensure their economic and political success;
– local authorities (people's committees, district of communal land registries), whose position as intermediaries between investors and villagers to be expropriated leads to and creates price bubbles and predictable price appreciation (Grard, 2004).

The surge in land prices and the difficulty villagers have in gaining access to land suitable for construction affect the non-agricultural activities they develop in peri-urban areas. In craft villages, artisans and small businesspeople encounter difficulties in gaining access to plots of land to establish or extend their workshops and are obliged to produce in limited space. Production conditions in an increasingly populous environment become difficult and unbearable at the hygiene and environment level.

Villagers develop many strategies to diversify and mechanise their production and alleviate the lack of space in a context of intensified competition. In the villages of the first peri-urban ring much sought after by migrants, the densification of constructions is happening at the cost of bodies of water, places of worship and other cultural sites, testimony to the aquatic and green character of Hà Nội's environs.

In addition, in the face of large-scale urban projects and expropriations of paddy fields, villagers try to negotiate higher levels of compensation for land than those fixed by the state and sometimes rebel against developers by refusing to give up the land of which they have the usufruct.

Prices for land as indicators of the new urban map

Following the annexation of the province of Hà Tây to the capital, the market for land suitable for construction heated up and the difference between land prices imposed by the state (the compensation paid at the time of expropriations) and the free market is growing all the time. Owing to the difficulty in 'freeing up' land for the market in land suitable for construction, prices rise in the face of growing demand, following the approval of projects by the municipal authorities within the framework of the ratification in 2011 of the master plan to 2030. Prices are climbing dangerously and jeopardise intensive agricultural and craft activities in the villages most sought after by investors. Selling land has become more profitable that 'slaving away' to produce goods for increasingly fluctuating markets, particularly those for export.

In the villages most sought after by development projects, a land market is taking root more or less legally: real estate agencies are proliferating, sometimes installed in lowly tea stalls or street food shacks. Being a real estate broker is an up-and-coming job in these communes: some agents of people's committees practise it during working hours. Five kinds of land are on the market:
– land in the heart of villages coming from the fragmentation of residential plots: courtyards, gardens, ponds or land retrieved when old village houses are pulled down to build high-rise and denser accommodation, the urban compartment houses;
– expansion land of people living on the outskirts of villages;
– market garden land, or 5% land, situated on the edge of villages for which villagers only possess a right of use for 20 years and that are usually unsuitable for construction but are built on and traded illegally;
– 'service' land, or '10% land', land compensation suitable for construction corresponding to 10% of expropriated farmland that those holding it resell, sometimes without title deeds;
– farmland not suitable for construction for which inhabitants buy the land use rights with a view to netting expected compensation or to replace expropriated land.

More professional back-room offices sell plots of land for housing situated in the *khu đô thị mới* (new urban areas) for 1,600 Euros, or even 2,800 Euros per

square metre near main roads. People buy them for resale, as land's added value continues to climb with the encroachment of the city into peri-urban areas.

Land price differences between villages in the district of Hoài Đức under construction (see Chapter 7) depend on the situation of communes in relation to major residential and highway projects, and within communes, depending on the proximity of plots to major roads, on their difficulty of access or their size.

Accordingly, in the five communes studied in the district of Hoài Đức, the prices are as follows in the table 6.

The price of residential land in the centre of villages is relatively low compared with that on the edges of villages, owing to the poor access to plots and their small size (between 60 and 220 m^2).

However, in craft villages where small workshops dominate, prices are relatively high. In Sơn Đồng, inside villages, the price of land is as high as in La Phù thanks to elevated ground suitable for building craft workshops. In addition, the average size of lots is 210 m^2, or enough to build both housing and workshops. Demand from artisans for land along the road is high, owing to superior access for the transport of raw materials and the possibility of benefitting from drying spaces for lacquered statues. On top of this, at the crossroads, shops selling works of art are numerous (Plate 37).

On the other hand, at the edge of the village, the price of land is lower because of the low-lying land, damp and windy, unsuitable for activities such as painting and plating with silver leaf. In addition, these areas are very polluted by these very activities. In La Phù, the price per square metre in the village centre is relatively low. Companies relocate to Craft Zone A where plots are big enough to mechanise their operations and abandon the centre. Only the small workshops of subcontractors remain (Plate 35).

In the commune of An Khánh, located along the Láng-Hòa Lạc Highway, caught up in land conversion (Figure 17), villagers expropriated before 2008 received certificates notifying them that they were going to receive plots of 'service' land or 10% land. This land, requiring provision of mains services by the authorities before construction, was not allocated and its location remained undefined owing to ongoing conflicts. Depending on future location (along the highway or with poor access), these plots will have widely differing values for construction.

Table 6 – PRICES FOR LAND SUITABLE FOR CONSTRUCTION IN MANY COMMUNES OF HOÀI ĐỨC IN 2009

Commune name	Project area (ha)	Situation in the commune	Price of transaction (VNĐ/m^2)	Price of free transfer (VNĐ/m^2)	State price (VNĐ/m^2)
La Phù	107.40	Edge of village	-	3,500,000*	1,000,000
		Old centre	3,050,000	2,611,000	1,000,000
		Along roads and crossroads	6,212,000	6,667,000	1,000,000
Sơn Đồng	239.79	Edge of village	5,500,000	5,433,000	1,000,000
		Old centre	6,550,000	6,835,714	1,000,000
		Along roads and crossroads	6,900,000	7,925,000	1,000,000
An Khánh	641.80	Edge of village	20,000,000		
		Market garden land	17,000,000		
		Along roads and crossroads	40,000,000		
Tiền Yên	127.30	Edge of dyke	2,000,000	2,400,000	1,000,000
		Old centre	1,750,000	2,400,000	1,000,000
		Along road	2,900,000	2,900,000	1,000,000
Đức Giang	181	Beside Road 32	12,500,000	16,000,000	1,000,000
		Near district people's committee	18,000,000	20,000,000	1,000,000
		Along road	13,500,000	11,500,000	1,000,000
		Old centre	7,000,000	7,000,000	1,000,000

* In 2009, 25,000 VNĐ = 1 Euro

Lê Văn Hùng & S. Fanchette

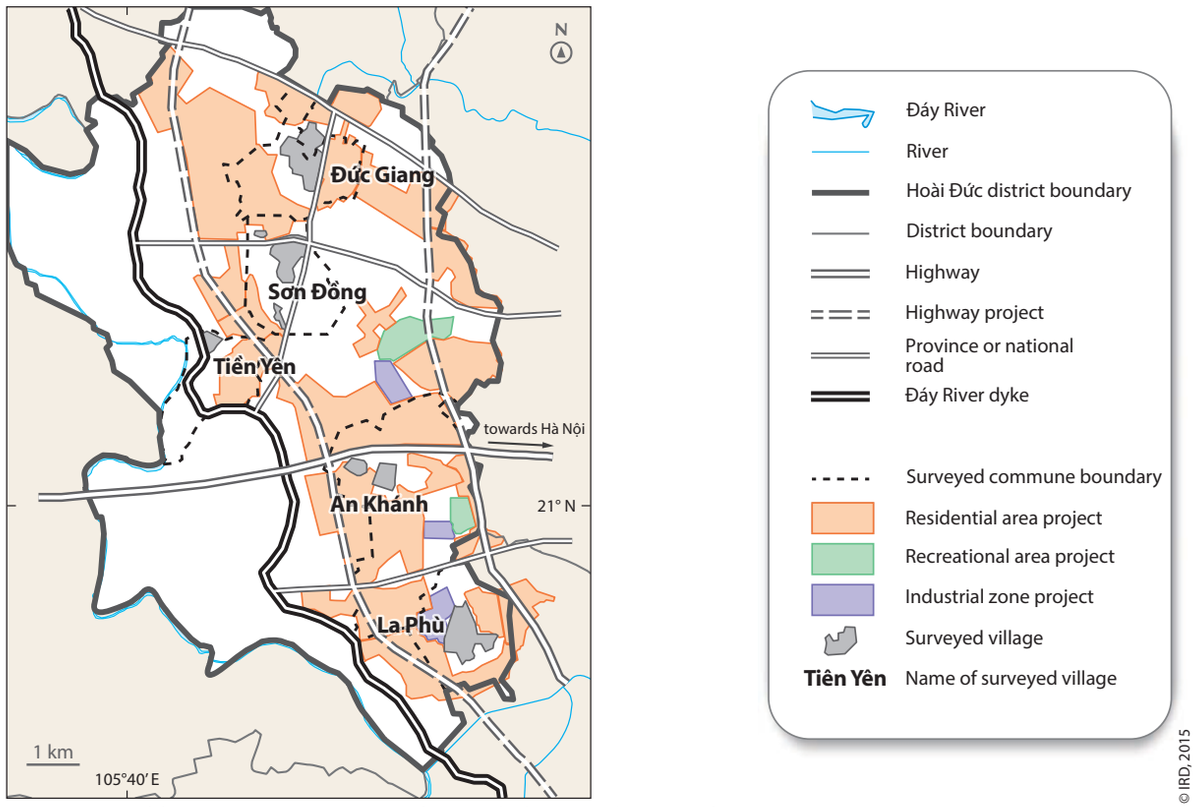
In the context of very active land speculation, these certificates, ordinary pieces of handwritten and stamped paper, are sold as promises of sale to buyers who pay as much as 40 million VNĐ per square metre (in 2010), while waiting to learn where their plot of land will be situated. In Đức Giang, near Highway 32 and the administrative zone of the principal town of the district, the price of land is very high. Widening of the road, development of residential areas (KĐTM) and the rapid urbanisation of the area have generated a speculative spiral of land prices in this commune on the edge of the principal town of Hoài Đức.

On the other hand, Tiên Yên, situated partly in the area outside the Đáy River dyke has little buildable land compared with other communes studied and is poorly serviced by the road network. The price of land is lower here.

The differences between the price of free transfer (sale at public auction by people's committees) and that of real estate agents can be explained by their capacity to enhance the land they offer to buyers by emphasising the geomantic characteristics of the place, its harmony with the particularities of their clients (their year of birth, their sign of the zodiac, etc.), their knowledge of the market and the future of projects (employees of the Land Registry in particular have an overview of the evolution of projects in their commune).

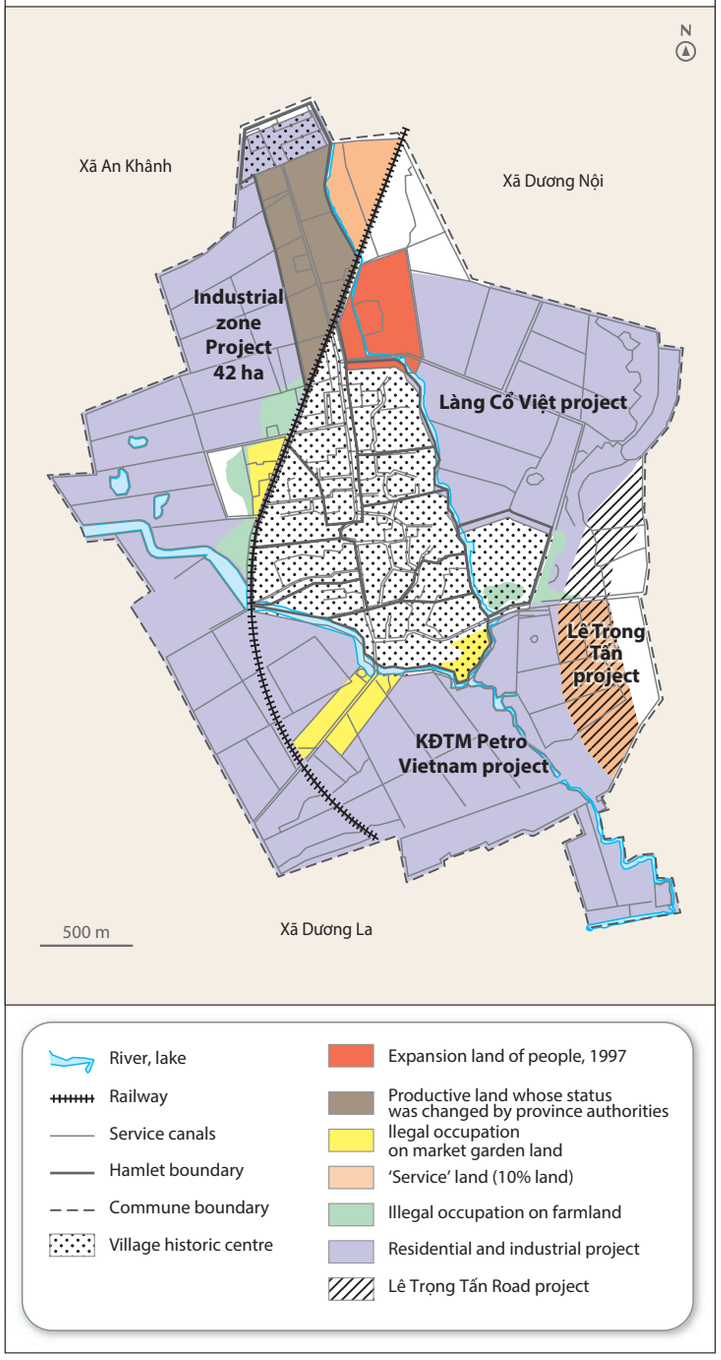
Closer study of land prices in the craft industry production zones of La Phù shows the rapid rise of prices since the 2000s, and the wide variations in these within the various zones of craft production, be they legal (zone A) or illegal (zones B and C). These production zones are former plots of market

Figure 17 – LOCATION OF FIVE COMMUNES SURVEYED CONCERNING THE LARGE-SCALE URBAN PROJECTS IN THE DISTRICT OF HOÀI ĐỨC



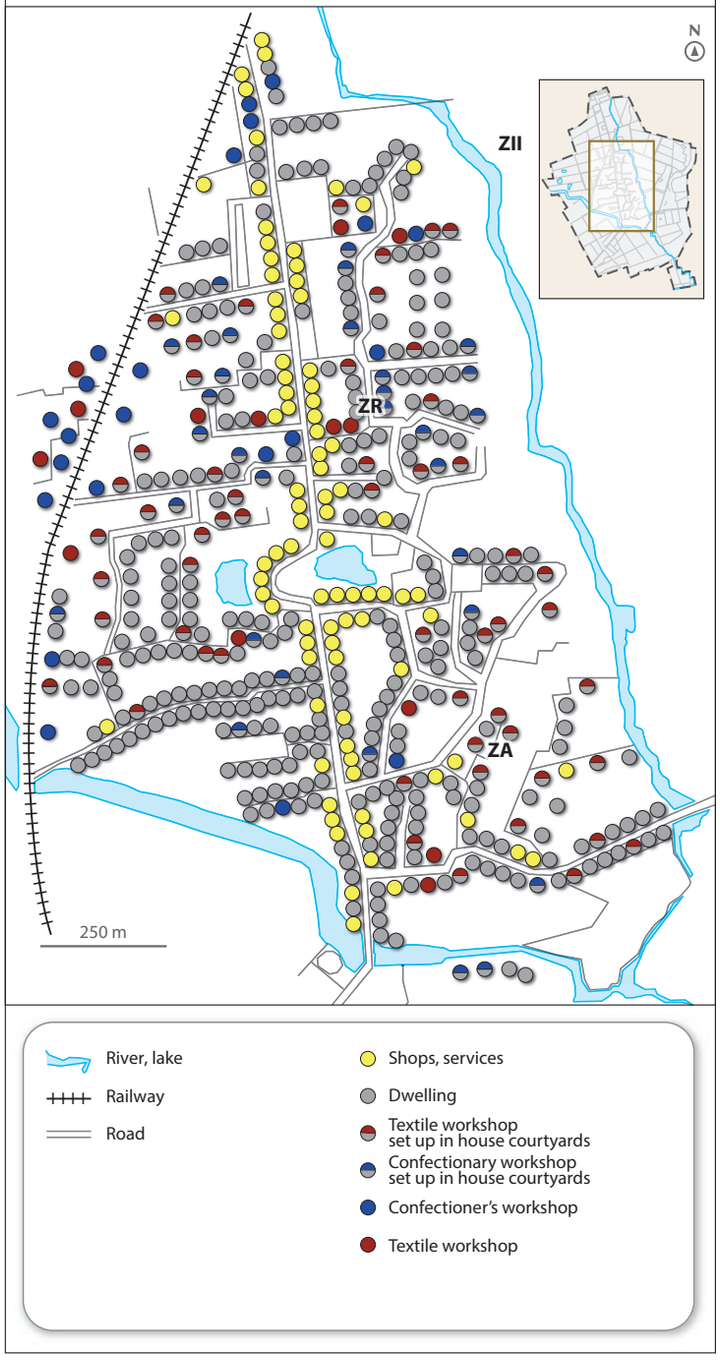
Sources: Survey and design Fanchette S. on 2001 topographic map, Hà Đông et Sơn Tây, 1/50,000 sheets, Nhà Xuất bản Tài nguyên Môi trường và Bản đồ Việt Nam

The commune of La Phù: planned projects, illegal occupations, craft workshops



Source: Surveys 2011-2012, Duchère Y.

The commune of La Phù: craft activities in residential space



Source: Surveys 2011-2012, Duchère Y.

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garden land [1] (see Plate 35), the limited sizes of which compel villagers wishing to enlarge their workshops to buy several plots.

Craft Zone A illustrates the rapid rise in land suitable for construction in a context of high demand for industrial land in this very dynamic craft village, where more and more confectionery traders are settling (see Chapter 7 and Figure 13). Large variations can be seen there, depending on the location of plots of land: along the road (30,000,000 VNĐ/m^2), around the cemetery and in the least accessible alleyways (7 or 9,000,000/m^2). To the north of the area, in the first well-cemented alleyway, the square metre sold for around 17,000,000 VNĐ in 2009. Sites near the road are much sought after in this craft site where many villagers trade in confectionery.

Between 2003 and 2010, the price of land in moderately attractive locations rose from 2,000,000 VNĐ to 7,000,000 VNĐ per square metre in Craft Zone A. However, some artisans had already started to buy land well before the right to build there was granted in 2005, after six years of power struggle with the local authorities. Accordingly, one of our survey participants has managed to put together a large workshop of 300 square metres by buying up land in several stages: in 1999 (300,000 VNĐ/m^2), in 2000 (700,000 VNĐ/m^2) and in 2002 (1,500,000 VNĐ/m^2).

In the southerly craft zone with limited access and not suitable for construction, the square metre sold for 1,000,000 VNĐ in 2009. To get to the north of the village, one passes by either the *đình* market, often congested, or the path that runs along the railway line, but that is in very poor condition. Only delivery tricycles and motorbikes overloaded with boxes can get down it. But so long as the request for a change of land status has not been signed by the district, buildings are illegal and in breach of the law.

Competition for space in productive spaces for craftwork in La Phù

In 2010, the commune of La Phù contained 9,889 inhabitants (district of Hoài Đức, 2010) over an area of 332.9 hectares. To this population figure must be added many migrant workers unregistered by the authorities who apply a significant pressure on residential space (of 12,000 artisans, 7,000 come from elsewhere). Out of 2,267 households in La Phù, 970 practise a craft or industrial activity and 814 a commercial activity (district of Hoài Đức, 2010). Housing and craft production are concentrated over 52.1 hectares of residential land and 63.2 hectares of non-agricultural productive land.

La Phù is specialised in woollen knitting garment and confectionery. Since the end of the 1990s, thanks to mechanisation, diversification of activities and liberalisation of markets, production has increased rapidly. Accordingly, turnover for craft and industrial production has risen from 221 billion VNĐ in 2001, to 402.3 billion VNĐ in 2005 then to 577 billion VNĐ in 2008. The number of official companies able to conduct export trade has also risen rapidly, from 70 in 2009 to 132 in 2011. As for family workshops, there are more than 300 of them.

Several dozen households are specialised in trade, collection of produce for local companies and its transport all over the country. In 2006, each textile business in La Phù employed on average from 200 to 500 workers, each household from 4 to 20 (La Phù People's Committee, 2006).

Demand for craft production space is high. Declared businesses are very mechanised and need an area of at least 500 m^2, or even 1,000 m^2 to conform to environmental standards for production.

Small businesses have had to change production methods very rapidly since the middle of the 2000s in the face of stiff competition from large-scale industry and they have become mechanised (biscuit production lines, sophisticated knitting machines). In the confectionery sector, manual companies have had to declare their activity for reasons of food safety in order to gain the confidence of potential clients. They now carry out the whole production process on large automated lines with cooking belts that require a lot of space, more than 1,000 m^2 (Plate 35).

In the textile industry however, the production process is very fragmented: most knitting is done at home by subcontractors from satellite villages [2] and those placing the orders take care of the finishing stages (assembly, ironing, packaging) in their own workshops. Storage areas are those that take up the most space.

There are a host of small companies that exist in parallel, specialised in one activity (dyeing, knitting sleeve or collar trims), who work separately and sell their services or their items to other companies. They are usually of medium size, and 100 m^2 is enough to house knitting machines. Dyers need at least 350 m^2 for their machines and to store items for dyeing. They can be found both in the village centre and in Craft Zone A.

However, expansion of industrial and craftwork space has not followed growth in production. The land assigned to this sector is limited and change in status of farmland, which comes within the competence of the province, is difficult to obtain.

Within a context of growth in demand for land accompanied by speculation, the price of land continues to rise, becoming inaccessible to small businesses. This state of affairs is provoked by the establishment of numerous residential, industrial and recreational projects on the peri-urban fringes of the capital, where La Phù is located.

Mechanised companies have established themselves in Craft Zone A (11 hectares), and illegally in the extensions to the south of the village (Craft Zones B and C) and on paddy fields to the west of the village (see Chapter 8 and Plate 35). In Zones B and C, the artisans have to lease at sometimes prohibitive rates the market garden land of other villagers in order to put together a large enough area to house machines and workers. They build their workshops on land over which they don't have legal control and which they must return to the holders of the land use rights after a few years. Away from the road, artisans with low incomes have built very small dwellings (sometimes 20 to 30 m^2) where they live and work. A prey to police raids, they live a very vulnerable existence. In spite of attempts to expel those housed illegally, some villagers rebuild their dwellings. Depending on where plots of land are situated, and on plans for their future use, the authorities may or may not choose to ignore their actions. In late 2010, about fifty illegally built dwellings on the site of the future industrial site were destroyed with the help of a police presence.

Owing to lack of space in the commune, about thirty businesses have had to relocate at great expense into the An Khánh industrial zone, very close by, while more recently, others have had to move into the Quốc Oai Industrial Zone about twenty kilometres from the village. Others left several years ago to buy land along Highway 6. Their isolation from knitting or confectionery businesses in La Phù makes them lose advantages associated with the cluster: exchange of labour force and know-how, division of labour, economies of scale.

In the historic centre with narrow, winding alleyways, several types of sparsely mechanised workshops rub shoulders: in the courtyards of family houses, on land reclaimed from ponds, on the site of traditional houses, houses of several storeys are built, making built-up areas denser, worsening traffic congestion (Plate 35). They mostly employ small subcontractors carrying out one or two production stages for businesses operating in Craft Zone A (particularly processing wool, spinning and spooling after dyeing, or ironing and packaging of socks). In small workshops set up in house courtyards in areas no larger than 100 m^2, confectioners produce toasted corn or popcorn with adulterated oil in coal ovens, to the great displeasure of neighbours who complain about the smoke.

The commune of La Phù has 129.6 hectares of farmland considered as a stock of land for urban development of the capital and not for that of the inhabitants of the commune. According to the city's master plan, by 2015 La Phù will no longer have any farmland. Nearly 70 hectares have already been expropriated for three projects including a luxury residential area (Lê Trọng Tấn area, 22.5 hectares), a road (Lê Trọng Tấn Road, 2.5 hectares) and an industrial site of 42.5 hectares. These projects built on the farmland of La Phù are not intended for the inhabitants of this village, even if in theory they have priority access to the industrial site.

The level of financial compensation paid to villagers by the department for freeing up land in the district of Hoài Đức when recovering their land use rights is very low in the case of industrial projects. It is the case that land slated for the construction of this kind of project is public property. Such land must be expropriated by departments managing these transactions and compensated at rates imposed by the province (financial compensation before 2008 amounted to 45.7 million VNĐ/*sao*[3], or about 5 Euros per square metre, plus compensation in land, land suitable for construction equivalent to 10% of expropriated farmland).

These levels have been reassessed since the enactment of Article 108 of Decree 69 in 2009 that stipulates that financial compensation must be multiplied by five, but in exchange farmers will no longer receive 10% land. The province of Hà Nội considers that it doesn't have enough land to share out among the expropriated and wishes to control the use of land. Land intended for the residential project of Lê Trọng Tấn was expropriated before 2009, or under the former system[4].

Financial compensation in this area is well below the free market price for land: namely between 800 and 1,600 Euros per square metre, depending on location. As the process of expropriation of land set aside for the industrial site was blocked, following the refusal of farmers to cease receiving compensation in land as well as in money, the local authorities finally managed to get the company in charge of construction to agree to continue allocating 10% land with a compensation rate of 72 million VNĐ/*sào* for inhabitants whose expropriated land amounts to more than 30%[5] of the household's total land holdings. The commune's other projects,

which had been ratified by the former province of Hà Tây before 2008, are being reassessed, as some of them are in contradiction with Hà Nội's new master plan. Accordingly, the Petrolimex residential area project and the Làng Cổ Việt (village of the Viêts) project have been suspended until further notice.

The struggle to get craft villages to conform to environmental standards

With the densification of dwellings and the construction of workshops and residences, most ponds located within villages have been filled in and play no further part in the catchment of floodwaters during the monsoon. Craft industry in search of new spaces to continue its development encroaches not only within the core of villages, but also on the outskirts, in contact with agricultural space, and by residual canals and ponds in order to throw waste water into them. The ancestral symbiosis between agricultural and craft activities is jeopardised, with the pollution of irrigation water that affects agricultural yields.

The mechanisation of craft activities is carried out with the aid of machines that consume a lot of water, fuel and using steam. Often out of date, since bought second-hand in China or in the south of the country, they cause serious environmental problems, emitting noxious smoke due to combustion of coal or wood, pouring waste water into canals without any prior treatment, and leaving solid waste matter in public areas.

Although mechanisation of production requires considerable technical and financial investment by artisans, it also requires a lot of space, which is increasingly limited in villages where the configuration of buildings is very compact and where farmland is allocated in priority to modern urban and industrial projects.

In the 1990s, in craft villages that had begun to mechanise, the most entrepreneurial artisans created informal craft mini-zones. Then provincial People's Committees built craft zones in the most dynamic communes in order to separate the most polluting activities from residential areas, to give mechanised businesses the means to expand their production, to better provide them with electricity and water, and to improve communications for workshops lodged right in the middle of villages. However, being real black spots for pollution, these zones have no real infrastructure for treating waste water and air, as local authorities are incapable of applying the building standards established for them.

In La Phù, owing to the mechanisation of production techniques for confectionery and textile activities, workshops have had to leave the densely populated village centre (180 inhabitants/hectare), with houses huddled onto an outcrop for protection against floods. Mechanised businesses have been established on the outskirts of the village and mostly to the north, in Craft Zone A. This is not really a craft zone in the sense that the plots are small and most don't have enough room to house more than one machine. Shops, set up in large numbers along the main road, sell confectionery and biscuits wholesale (Plate 35). Residences are mixed in with craft industry and no real infrastructure for treating waste water has been installed. The dyers simply pour their waste water into small pools before letting it flow out into the main hydraulic system.

Figure 13 (Chapter 7) pinpoints the various kinds of workshops established in this zone and particularly the most polluting ones that have recently been set up in the village. In response to the knitting crisis and exports, several companies have converted to making plastic bags to wrap village textile products. Extremely noxious to health and air quality, half of these workshops are situated to the east of Zone A. There are nearly 20 of them. The air there is contaminated by chemicals and emanations of noxious smoke linked to the burning of plastic pellets. Some workers complain of headaches and sore throats but as specialised workers, they receive salaries well above those offered by textile workshops.

Other very polluting workshops, such as those for dyeing woollen thread or metallurgy are spread out over the zone. Some have settled along canals in order to pour waste water directly into them. Machines run on coal and to limit pollution in their neighbourhood, entrepreneurs build chimneys up to eight metres tall. The waste water of the dyeing company located in Craft Zone A pollutes the irrigation canal that surrounds the village. Nothing is done to solve this problem by the communal people's committee. Conflicts emerge between these companies and their neighbours and break down village solidarity, united for production.

In the illegal craft production zones built to the west and south of the village, the environmental situation is even more worrying. Indeed, workshops have been built on plots of land illegally rented to villagers and the land status of entrepreneurs is very fragile. They cannot build workshops in bricks and mortar following the hygiene standards imposed by the local authorities. The hygiene conditions in which workers operate are deplorable. Without access to an electrical system suitable for industry, businesses connect themselves directly onto the national grid.

In the village centre, only the small workshops have survived: workshops of subcontractors in textiles or confectionery (grilled corn and popcorn). A few medium-sized workshops (300 to 400 m^2) have set up for business over filled-in ponds but suffer from overflowing during the monsoon. The noise of spinning and spooling machines or the putrid smoke of corn ovens pollute the atmosphere, but the health risks are lower than in Zone A. Sicknesses linked to industrial activity are mostly respiratory in nature: knitting work gives off noxious dust, dyeing generates smoke and dust. Contamination of well water also affects the health of inhabitants.

In La Phù, in the absence of authorised extension of residential space since 1991, the village has become denser to the detriment of many public and private ponds, situated in the western part of the village centre. On public ponds have been built social infrastructure, such as a school, a cultural centre, and very recently the communal people's committee. It has been possible to fill in private ponds, being part of villagers' residential space, in the same way as gardens, without special authorisation. Either their owners sell them to others for construction, or they put a house for their children or a workshop on it.

There are almost none left in the village. They play an important part in drainage of excess water during the monsoon. During the heavy rains of November 2008, the inhabitants of Xóm Trần Phú, situated in a low-lying area, and those of the environs of Canal T3A, much polluted by spillages of waste water from factories in the An Khánh Industrial Zone, suffered from flooding and polluted waters flowed into their dwellings. A more efficient drainage system is supposed to be installed in the commune, but has yet to appear.

As for the pollution problems of the canal water upstream, in spite of the many complaints to the communal authorities from residents, no solution has been found.

Only the two ponds belonging to the village *đình* (communal house) and to the pagoda could be saved for their geomantic functions and they are watched over by their respective managers. They serve as an area for games and rituals during festivals and village festivals. They drain away polluted water when the sewers overflow and serve as a repository for inhabitants' refuse. In the face of all these environmental and public health problems, the local authorities are confronted with several administrative stalemates in the context of acceleration of metropolisation.

The metropolitan ambitions of the city of Hà Nội entail a better control of areas of industrial production. But the effective implementation of environmental measures agreed on by the higher echelons of power have an economic and social cost that is difficult to bear for artisans and local authorities.

Since 2008, craft villages have been subject to production standards and stricter checks from departments of hygiene and the environment. The workshops of declared businesses are visited by inspectors from these departments who rebuke companies that do not respect hygiene standards. For example, raw materials and finished products must be stored in separate rooms and away from the coal oven, which entails space of at least 1,000 m^2 for producers of biscuits, space that artisans set up in the illegal production zone cannot acquire. Visits end up in increasingly costly fines (Plate 36).

Communal people's committees are poorly equipped with powers to apply the laws. There are very many of these laws: the Ministry of Natural Resources enacts several of them concerned with the industrial environment but they are not very appropriate to rural industrialisation. The services linked to the environment are split between several ministries that do not consult with each other and thus efficiency suffers.

In addition, these laws are little known to the communal services owing to poor communication between administrative levels. The communal powers have no autonomy or independence whatsoever for making decisions: they have no departments specialised in industry, the environment or hygiene.

Craft village municipalities are managed like agricultural municipalities and the administrators are overwhelmed with work. They don't have enough personnel to check on businesses or enough to fine them. A member of a communal people's committee cannot impose a fine of more than 2 million VNĐ, while one in a district can go up to 5 million VNĐ and have a workshop closed down if necessary. Finally, civil servants are close to those they serve, so it is difficult for them to manage conflicts, and some professions are understaffed and paid very little.

An example of an intractable situation: Craft Zone A has no managing committee, it is not a hamlet (*xóm*), so it has no *xóm* leader. Only 50 households live there, too small a number to make it a hamlet: that requires a minimum of 180 households.

This poses the problem of management of an area densely inhabited by companies, businesses and inhabitants. Usually, the functions of a *xóm* leader are to

watch over the inhabitants, prevent them from building illegally, settle disputes (particularly conflicts linked to environmental pollutants) and call on higher authorities, especially the district police, when he doesn't manage to sort out the problems. In the absence of administrative recognition, Craft Zone A comes under the authority of the communal people's committee that, too distant from daily realities, can only apply administrative measures.

Environmental problems have become the reflection of tensions between villagers and the authorities that govern them (commune, district, province) and of the nature of neighbourly relations in a context of pressure on land and competition between businesses.

The power struggle over land between villagers and big developers/local authorities

Added to the boom in land prices is the increasing rarity in available land for expansion of residential construction or for craft activities in the peri-urban villages of Hà Nội.

This lack of space, which at once limits the development of the local economy, installation of infrastructure and the enlargement of productive spaces, is particularly significant in the villages closest to the city centre, where the last remaining farmland receives special attention, as much from the public authorities as from property developers or land speculators, and which have already been very densely built up and 'autonomously' developed.

Land resources have become the big issue in these places, and a significant source of tension between the inhabitants and the public authorities, both local and provincial. The example of the dispute associated with the construction of a 'craft village zone' in Sơn Đồng illustrates these renewed tensions, and bears witness to the evolution, or remoulding, of relations between these two spheres of 'governance' that are the public authorities and the 'civil society' .

This head-on opposition linked to the allocation of about forty hectares of farmland, converted this time into industrial land, took place in the rural commune of Sơn Đồng, located about 20 kilometres west of Hà Nội.

This village-commune belongs to the rural district of Hoài Đức, integrated into the administrative perimeter of the city of Hà Nội in 2008 at the time of the expansion of the boundaries of the capital and the merging of the provinces of Hà Tây and Hà Nội. This commune housed 8,500 inhabitants in 2009, over an area of 2.5 km^2.

Like many villages in the former Hà Tây, Sơn Đồng is a traditional craft village, specialised for over 1,000 years in woodwork, and in particular sculpture and the lacquering of sacred objects (Buddhas, ancestor altars, etc.). This activity occupies more than 2,200 village workers and 1,000 from outside in more than 200 workshops.

Farming remains a vibrant activity here, although it only represents a tiny part of the overall village income. As for the service sector, linked to the marketing of craft products or small urban businesses, it has developed considerably over the last few years, particularly near the main intra-district and intra-provincial highways that cross the sector.

Finally, it should be noted that the projections of the master plan for the city of Hà Nội to 2030, or the various investment licences granted back in the Hà Tây era for residential projects, in particular, herald the total disappearance of the village's farmland in the medium term.

Box 4

This workshop located in Craft Zone A enjoys plenty of space, making it possible to build a workshop big enough to separate the various stages of production, particularly the cooking belt, which is more than 50 metres long, offices and a dormitory for some of the workers.

Mrs Minh's [1] buildings take up a little under 2,000 m^2 but only 1,000 m^2 belong to her. This businesswoman from the old centre of La Phù first settled on her market garden land (700 m^2) in 2005 then enlarged her production space by purchasing a second plot of 300 m^2 in 2009 (Building 2). Buildings 3,4 and 5 were built in 2010 on land that she leases from other villagers for 30,000 VNĐ/m^2.

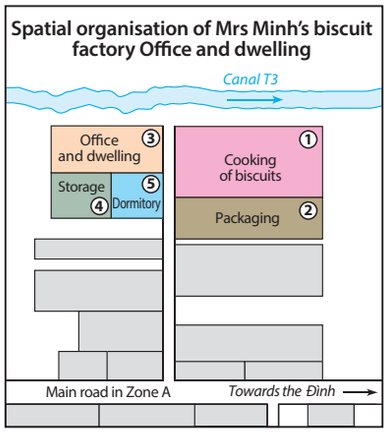
Between February and September, Mrs Minh's biscuit factory produces 1.7 T of biscuits/day and employs more than thirty workers; the rest of the year, production slows down but still continues.

In Building 1, the coal oven is only a few metres from the cooking belt while the flour is stored directly on the ground on a plastic sheet. The specialised workers of this building work without gloves and in sandals and must stoke the oven with coal, knead the dough and monitor the baking.

In Building 2, about twenty girls package the biscuits for 6,000 VNĐ/72 packets. These non-specialised workers are from La Phù and can be minors. Specialised workers who are not from La Phù sleep on site in a dormitory where there are 8 beds.

1) The name has been changed.

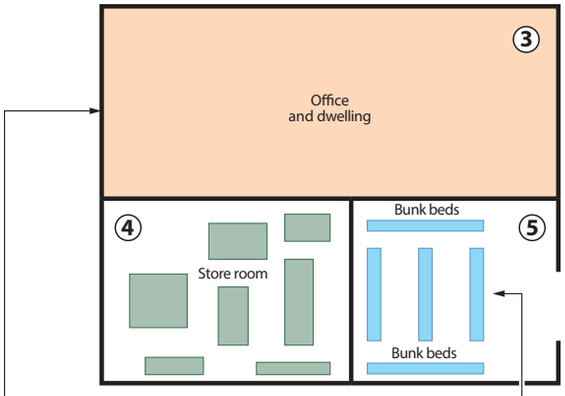
Use of space in a Zone A workshop

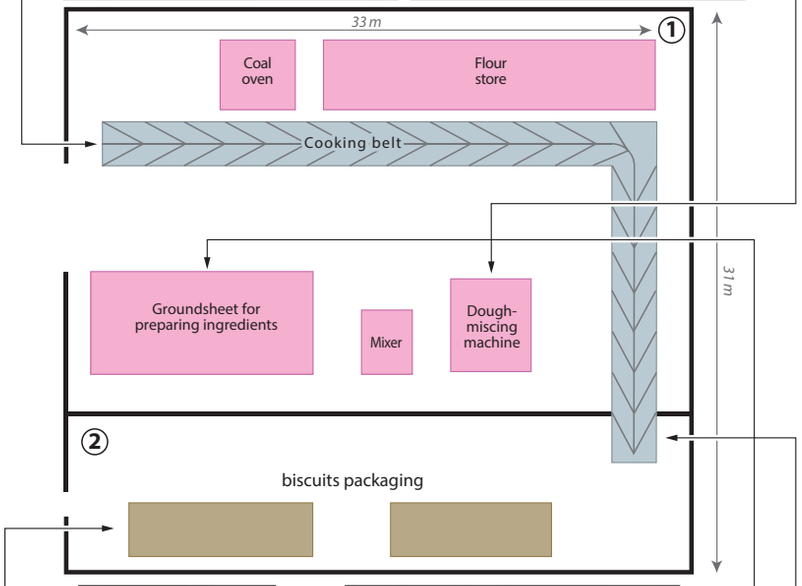






















Source: Surveys 2011-2012, Duchère Y.

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Figure 18 illustrates this potential future configuration of Sơn Đồng: an old village centre hemmed in by new urban areas and large-scale road infrastructure.

Sơn Đồng, in common with other peri-urban communes of Hà Nội, thus experiences an acute lack of space and land for possible extension of its economic activities. Indeed, as Plate 37 shows, every available space is occupied, used, developed, be it legally or illegally: while workshops/shops are set up along the main roads, the village centre becomes very densely built up, every plot of residential land being subdivided either to build a new house, or to convert the courtyard into an open-air workshop, or to develop an 'urban' style small business.

And in spite of this exploitation of all usable space, this diversity of uses and intertwining of various activities, demand for space remains very high.

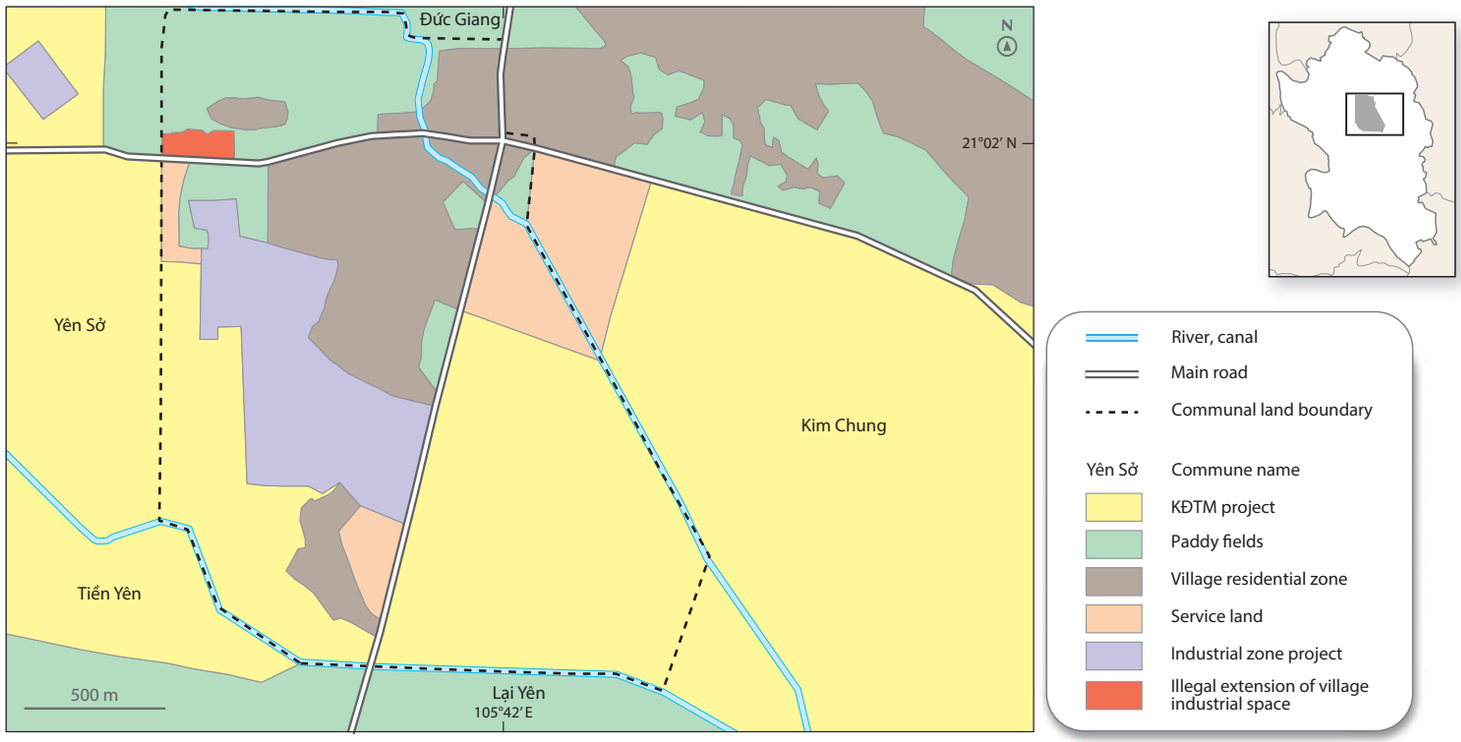
Consequently, in the face of this fresh demand, the communal people's committee decided to launch a tender for a project to build a craft village industrial zone on 40 hectares in 2008, thus answering, according to them, the wishes of inhabitants, and their specific requests, particularly in terms of size (Figure 18).

However, from the start, this new development did not receive support from all inhabitants, even though all agree that the village, and the craft, need more space for production (for storage of raw materials, mechanisation of part of the work, increase in production volumes, and improvement of product quality), and a separation of housing from the production area.

It is not therefore the idea of a craft industrial zone that poses a problem, but rather the terms of construction and taking the decision to build this new zone, exclusively the preserve of the people's committee.

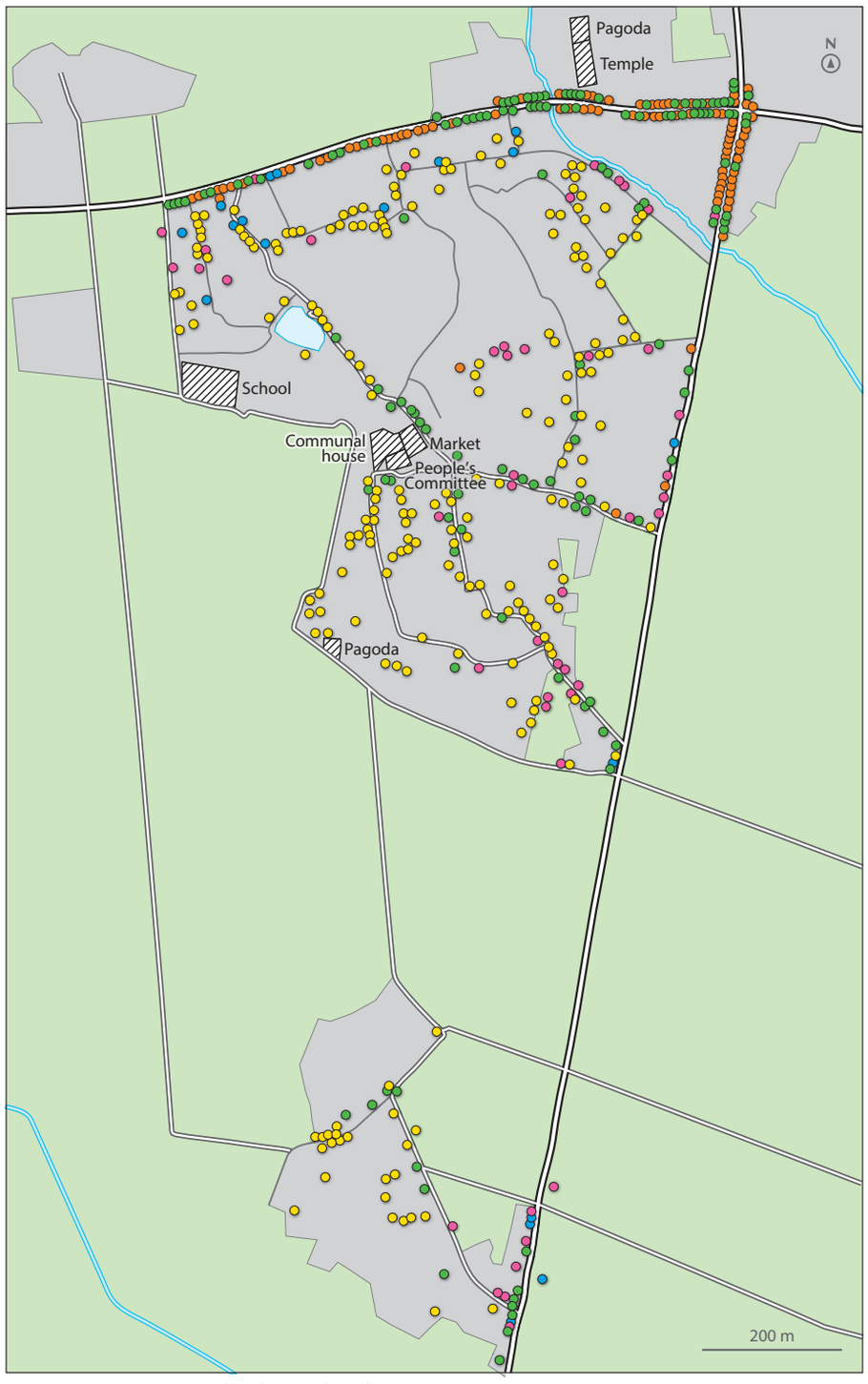
It should be noted that at the time, another smaller project (8 hectares) was in the process of being developed and approved: a village craft, cultural and tourist zone, supported by a young architect and entrepreneur from Hà Nội, without

Figure 18 – RESIDENTIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS IN THE COMMUNE OF SƠN ĐỒNG IN 2009



Sources: Google Earth 2009, Sơn Đồng Communal People's Commitee 2009

Situation of workshops in the village of Sơn Đồng, 2011



River, canal
Lake
District road
Main village road
Secondary village road
Agricultural land
Village

Amenities
Shops, services
Workshop residence
Craft workshop
Residence and craft shop
Craft products shop

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Source: Surveys Fanchette S., 2011 based on Google Earth map

family or friendly links with Sơn Đồng. The inhabitants were also quite hostile to this project, in which they had not been implicated, and which they considered as a monopolisation and a hijacking, both of their reputation and image, but more concretely, of their land.

Several arguments are aired by inhabitants, artisans or representatives of inhabitants at the infra-communal level to justify these oppositions. Firstly, this project is considered as unjust, since it will bring no benefit to the village and its inhabitants. In truth, it is not simply a matter of converting the use of land (from agricultural to industrial), and of leaving those who hold the land use rights to dispose of them freely, and to equip the area with basic infrastructure and build their workshops themselves.

In fact, the contracting authority of this project is neither the people's committee, nor the state, but rather a private investor, who must usually have the 40 hectares in question allocated to him, and be entrusted with the responsibility of compensating the expropriated farmers, of building basic infrastructure for the area (roads, hydraulic and electrical systems), of subdividing the land into plots and of leasing them out.

But the inhabitants oppose this option, since they consider that the prices of plots, after the installation of essential infrastructure, will be too high for them, all the more so, given that their needs in space have considerably increased, and that leasing plots of land of 250 to 1,000 m^2, in these conditions, will be impossible for a large proportion of artisans. As a consequence, some conclude that this area will only benefit the private company that owns the plots of land, and investors or workshops from elsewhere with the necessary capital to rent them.

Some people question the reality of this project, and even consider that it is a false one. Some inhabitants confide their fears that this project might be only a ghost project, and that the land is being hijacked for other uses, particularly speculative ones.

This mistrust of local public authorities, clearly expressed many times, can be in part explained by past misappropriations of funds, but also by the way in which the project was announced. No preliminary meeting was called with the inhabitants or with artisans to discuss the project, its implementation, its financing or its objectives. The inhabitants only got word of it from the village loudspeakers, after acceptance of the application by the commune's people's committee.

Rumours clearly spread rapidly concerning the possible levels of compensation, rumours as much fuelled by the absence of any response from the people's committee (which refused to hold a public information meeting, demanded by the inhabitants) as by the events reported in the newspapers, concerning other, similar projects.

In addition to these rumours and discussions, the opposition of inhabitants began to take tangible form: on several occasions, inhabitants distributed and threw critical handouts and leaflets when the market was being held. This contestation from inhabitants came to a head during an open and physical battle with the local authorities.

It is interesting to note that the argument of the low level of compensation is not the only argument put forward by the inhabitants. The project's objectives, its lack of 'sustainability', the scant benefits for the wellbeing and the future of the village as a whole, are often put forward as reasons for the project's blockade. Several people told us they were ready to accept low levels of compensation if this benefitted the common good, for the construction of a road, for example, but refuse to be expropriated for a project which they see as 'unjust', private and self-seeking.

The future of this zone is currently still unclear, since all projects accepted by the former province of Hà Tây have been suspended following the enlargement of Hà Nội, and the Prime Minister, who has taken over such cases, has been given the task of revising all these authorisations. This project of a craft zone, how these events played out and the absence of transparency on the part of the public authorities have thus been at the source of a certain crisis of confidence between the local public authorities and village inhabitants.

However, it should be noted that only the communal and district authorities have been criticised, and that inhabitants consider that national public policies are good, correspond to their needs and to the current economic issues, and that confidence in higher level public authorities is maintained (some people have even appealed at provincial level, to the Party or to the civil service, in order to resolve local disputes, and believe that they are listened to).

Of course, this point of view only reflects that of some inhabitants and their infra-communal representatives, and it is not shared by the people's committee, who argue that this craft zone project will benefit the village and the



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Photo 12
Market gardening in the bed of the Red River, nearby the city center

development of the trade. This same committee explains moreover that the protestation of inhabitants is due to a lack of understanding, since the inhabitants have not, on first encountering it, grasped the project's objectives.

However, the tensions that have been generated by this project illustrate a phenomenon that appears to be increasingly prevalent in Vietnam currently: that of the questioning of the powers of local public authorities by the inhabitants, going as far as violent confrontations, concerning questions of land, linked to the conversion of farmland to profit private interests. In the face of a situation judged to be intolerable and unjust, both villagers and city-dwellers thus demonstrate a wish to participate and to be included in decision-making concerning choices of development and planning in their village or their neighbourhood. And this wish to have some influence over the evolution of the environment is not only founded on self-interested calculation, on questions of material subsistence, but also on the defence of what seems to them to be their 'rights.'

Finally, the fact that these oppositions can take tangible form, and sometimes reappear in the Vietnamese or international press, poses questions about the more general evolution of relations between inhabitants and the

public authorities, on the softening of control exerted by these public authorities on 'opinion', and on the emergence of fresh arenas for discussion or terms of expression for inhabitants.

Conclusion

Land price inflation has made Hà Nội one of the most expensive towns of Asia, in a context of land liberalisation after thirty years of collectivist and planned management. It makes it increasingly difficult to obtain access to land that can be built upon from villagers that are getting expropriated from their farmland. Unearned income from land has now become more profitable than productive investment in craft industry or speculative agricultural crops like market gardening. Some villagers prefer to resell on the speculative market their last acres of garden land, their ponds, even their residential land at prohibitive prices. Others build workshops illegally on their farmland, but without any land security, they produce in very difficult environmental and social conditions. Craft and commercial production intertwine into the furthest recesses of already over-populated villages, which result in a widespread overload of public spaces and communications.

In the most mechanised craft villages, the application of standards to production conditions is difficult owing to the scant prerogatives of local authorities, little recognised by their citizens, the high costs of production for artisans and entrepreneurs, the absence of genuine social cohesion and associations of artisans and entrepreneurs capable of making their wishes heard, particularly over their access to land.

The integration of craft villages into the city is thrown into question and their future very uncertain. Territorial policies bear witness that encouragement of rural industrialisation is no longer the order of the day, particularly owing to environmental problems that it encounters and its contradiction of urban policy.

The state's wish to spread the capital city and to lead it towards 'modernity', a term with more liberal than social connotations, and to raise it up into the ranks of 'globalised' cities by making its fabric denser finds expression mostly by its refusal to let village and popular self-construction of low-cost residences and workshops on land, the prices of which never ceases to rise. Urban and village encroachment along main roads and on the outskirts of the city, a large consumer of farmland in the 1990s, was done cheaply, without suitable social, urban or road infrastructure, in a context of high risks of flooding confirming the difficulties experienced by the state and the local authorities in maintaining control over regional development.

In addition, there are murmurings of revolt in peri-urban villages in the face of expropriation of large tracts of land set aside for speculative and residential projects and for the most affluent social classes of the capital. But in a difficult social and political context, villagers are failing to organise their scattered claims in order to gain traction to win their cases. They only manage to band together when it comes to defending their cultural heritage, symbol of their village identity, that they seek to maintain come what may. Urban transition is taking place at this moment, but without any accompanying political and social transition.

1) Farmland intended for market gardening (known as '5% land', as it corresponds to 5% of land from co-operatives) that was allotted to villagers in usufruct between 1971 and 1993 to compensate for the low levels of production in agricultural cooperatives. They are usually very small plots of land (on average 100 m² per household), well situated on the edge of residential space and that the villagers have tended to build on illegally, particularly for workshops and businesses (it is farmland not suitable for construction). This land is the subject of many negotiations and, depending on its location, can be sold for sums ten times greater than for paddy fields.

2) The large knitting companies subcontract artisans and workers in villages within a radius of 20 km around La Phù: communes of the district of Hoài Đức (Tân Hòa, Cộng Hòa, Đông La, An Khánh, An Thượng), and communes of the surrounding districts, such as Chương Mỹ, Quốc Oai. When large orders are being processed, some entrepreneurs have to look for workers further afield in other Delta provinces, since those close by are already busy.

3) One *sào* = 360 m².

4) This 10% land will be provided with mains services before being handed over to villagers. They will have to pay a considerable amount to acquire the land use rights.

5) If the area of expropriated land is less than 30% of the total area of land concerned, then the holder of the land use rights only gets financial compensation amounting to 350 million VNĐ/*sào*.

Conclusion

S. Fanchette

After centuries of progressive integration of peri-urban villages into the city, and of close ties between the political and commercial centre and its productive fringes – an original and specific feature of this capital placed in a lakeside environment – the expanded city of Hà Nội is calling into question its urban founding principles. The 'top-down' urban project imposed by the government and the city council to raise Hà Nội to the rank of one of the most dynamic Asian metropolises and make the capital green (*xanh*), cultural (*văn hiến*), civilised (*văn minh*) and modern (*hiện đại*), takes various forms: the construction of dense new urban areas, hundreds of kilometres of new roads linking central wards to satellite towns, and the consolidation of trade into shopping centres and supermarkets, symbolising the new, modern era of a consumer society.

The Master Plan for Hà Nội to 2030 advocates the separation of urban functions (residential, industrial, commercial and leisure), in keeping with the line adopted by modern Western urban planners of the 1950s, a philosophy much challenged since the 1980s. This 'top-down'-imposed urban model within the context of a policy of transition from a communist system to a market economy begs the question of the many issues – economic, demographic, urban, social, and those concerned with land – all raised by the capital's metropolisation project. It brings to mind, to a lesser degree, the attempts by the French colonial government, then those emanating from the communist revolution, to ignore the bedrock of villages as stakeholders in the formation of the city.

This Master Plan aims to make a clean break with what exists already, ignoring the particularities of the villages on the densely-populated fringes of the city that will be overwhelmed by the urban fabric. The new residential areas and satellite towns will be built on paddy fields next to villages without the slightest spatial integration into the landscape: 'It would appear to be easier for those in charge of urban policy to reject the past – and thus destroy it – than to attempt to fit the city of the future into the city of the past. However, ignoring what already exists is to forget that the city is also the product of ordinary individuals, and not only of decision-makers, thinkers and constructors. The man in the street, through his skills, his daily activities and his multiple uses of the city, makes, shapes and creates ways of understanding, feeling, using and living the city. After a fashion, two creative registers more akin to ontology than to social invention go hand in hand here: 'top-down' associated with 'bottom-up' creation of a city would appear to be a constant of the urban condition' (Stébé & Marchal, 2009).

Large-scale residential, industrial, highway and leisure projects set out in the Master Plan to 2030 will be built over paddy fields that have deeds belonging to the state, but that are

Conclusion

used by farmers. 18,200 hectares will be covered by high-rise developments in the second peri-urban ring, as well as large areas slated for the construction of satellite towns, entailing the expropriation of all farmland. The villages concerned mostly engage in multiple activities, and include several craft villages.

The outskirts of Hà Nội being characterised by multi-activity, this new urban model runs contrary to the multi-usage of land and runs the risk of undermining a very workforce-hungry production system that enables a large population to remain in place. Yet this dense industrial and residential village fabric is an asset for the creation of new urban areas, as it already exists. Limited investment, an upgrade in construction standards and means of production could integrate these outskirts into the city by giving them the wherewithal to preserve their activity and retain their population.

Integration into the territory of the province-capital implies a loss of power for communal local authorities. The province takes decisions and imposes on lower administrative echelons an urban model and a method of land use that can be incompatible with their production system and their land needs. Communes do not have an established land use plan and they represent a reserve of land for urban development projects. On top of this, by being integrated into an urban area, a village loses its leader and no longer controls its own territory. Accordingly, liberalisation of land use sounds the death knell for the policy of promotion of rural industrialisation as initiated in craft villages clusters, in spite of its capacity for employment and production. Refusing to recognize the economic dynamic of these villages throws into doubt the future of populations who will lose their farm and craft employment (through lack of productive land and the undermining of multi-activity based on farming) and the means implemented to retrain them.

This 'top-down' urban planning policy encounters a concomitant process of 'bottom-up' urbanisation, echoing a land grab in this densely occupied region where an informal land market has grown up in the absence of the communist state's ability to provide enough housing for the population. This other urbanisation is taking place both in the city and in peri-urban towns and villages where growth in non-agricultural production has provided the means for rural inhabitants to improve their living conditions.

> 'What distinguished the urbanisation process in Vietnam from China in the initial phase of post-socialism has been the growth of 'people-led urbanisation' in the urban areas in Vietnam and 'invisible urbanisation' in the urban margins and the later opening up to globalisation forces' (McGee, 2009).

Consequently, during the 1990s, to stem potential migrations from highly populated rural areas towards the cities caused by the country's economic liberalisation, the government instituted policies to keep the population in place in the larger villages and diversify production, particularly industrial. Popular construction was one of the methods most favoured by households to amass savings in an unsettling financial context where the state did not have the means to invest. Similarly, it demonstrates the vitality of the informal construction sector and the ability of specialised craft villages to respond rapidly to the growing demand for building materials. However, this multifaceted and uncoordinated urbanisation, undertaken locally at low cost by inhabitants according to their own spatial representations, encounters considerable reticence on the part of the state, as it is land-hungry and runs contrary to the large-scale urban projects planned by investors who wish to make Hà Nội a metropolis of international standing. Unplanned, very personalised, this 'ordinary' (Denis, 2007), or 'invisible' (DiGregorio, 2003) urbanisation suffers from many dysfunctions and managerial shortcomings. Environmental problems caused by the concentration of poorly equipped and managed craft and industrial businesses have also been evoked.

This 'modern' future capital wishing to attract foreign investors and meet the demands of the middle classes by providing them with living conditions of an international standard will sit uncomfortably with its rural and densely populated environment.

> 'Thus, new 'global spaces' exist side by side with 'local space' (McGee, 2009)

The city council's authoritarian urban project, imposed and dictated by market forces, begs the question: for whom is this future city intended? On one hand, in the newly created urban areas or *khu đô thị mới*, although originally between one-third and half of their accommodation capacity was supposed to be accessible to low-income populations, in reality, due to complex bureaucratic procedures, speculation and the rise in land prices, such housing is inaccessible to these economic categories. Foreign investors seek a very rapid return on the investment of their capital and favour mid-range and high-end developments. Can projects for residential and industrial areas, in a context of financialisation of economies, come to successful fruition while the price of land continues to rise? Social movements and the resistance of some farmers to submit to expropriation also increase construction costs. The example provided by numerous ghost towns, built in China or other Asian countries, suggests that Vietnam, belatedly integrated into the market economy, could find itself going down this same route.



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Photo 13
Lotus production in Tây Lake next to a former village, now urbanised

On the other hand, the reduction in agricultural land will cause not only employment problems but also drive up the cost of food for villagers. Expropriations of farmland in villages where large-scale development projects will be established run the short-term risk, if people are not successfully retrained and do not profit from at least part of the land revenue, of creating large social and spatial differentiations in this new 'patchwork' split into several starkly contrasted sectors, that the city will become.

In addition, one of the most difficult challenges to meet is that of hydraulics. This deltaic city, built on a plain with a high flood risk – the fast running and capricious Red River flows above the level of the city – cannot underestimate its lakeside characteristics. The difficulty of draining rainwater during the monsoon, given the sealing of polders caused by the embanking of the river, requires a complete reworking of the drainage system for rainwater and wastewater. The transition from a rural hydraulic administration to an urban one, in a country where the fragmentation of administration and various departments does not foster the consultation that hydraulic management demands, will determine the success or otherwise of the capital's development project. The construction of sealed concrete urban platforms and highway networks covering huge tracts of land constrains natural drainage, and the heavy rains of November 2008 were an early warning, which led Hà Nội's local authorities to revise all of the urban projects that the province of Hà Tây had approved before its integration into the capital.

Conclusion

The enlargement of the province to include its western neighbour, very vulnerable owing to the presence of two valleys prone to flooding when the Red River floodwaters are diverted, has led the initiators of the Master Plan to create a green corridor where high-rise construction should be restricted. The fact is however that, along both of these valleys, industrial and residential constructions already exist. In addition, a cross-route motorway project that should have been completely abandoned is already being built. Financing roads with the BOT system casts doubt on the transparency of decisions and limits the power of decision-makers to impose their projects when dealing with investors.

In the final reckoning, are such things as the widespread ascendancy of private developers over state intervention, the sense of economic insecurity violently expressed by villagers over possible repercussions on rural employment, the price to pay for Hà Nội figuring among major global capital cities? Yet these land conflicts and inequality of access to land undermine one of the founding principles of socialist society: the right to land, a right that was at the centre of the communist revolutionary struggle waged against the French colonial power since the 1930s. This was a key factor that rallied the common people to the revolution.

The example of China, which embarked upon its economic liberalisation and its land, administrative and social reforms ten years before Vietnam, suggests that strategies for transitional economic policy are being established, and will continue to be so, in a context of widening social and spatial inequalities. Rural China did not benefit from the country's meteoric economic development during the 1990s and is left behind in favour of the towns and cities that globalisation has placed in the forefront of the country's liberalisation process. The Chinese countryside has seen its economic situation deteriorate. Expropriations linked to urban and industrial development in peri-urban areas, unequal access to social services and facilities between city-dwellers and rural populations, and widespread corruption at all levels of the country's administration have all generated a social malaise that manifests itself through a rural exodus of illegal migrants, revolts among farm labourers, and so on. The administrative submission of the countryside to the cities echoes that being implemented in Vietnam. Farmland constitutes a reserve of land for the expansion of cities and the installation of industrial and urban projects. The balance of power between cities and the countryside remains very much to the disadvantage of the latter.

From 2006 onwards, The Chinese central administration launched the new 'Socialist Countryside' Policy to try and keep farm labourers on the land, the rural exodus and land issues having become more and more problematic, due to expropriations of farmland in peri-urban areas to build urban projects (Colin, 2006). Initial measures attempted to defuse discontent and to protect rural land use rights, flouted in many communes where illegal expropriations have been carried out with very little compensation. Secondly, the government has eased the fiscal burden weighing very heavily on farm labourers, some of whom were being taxed at rates of up to 25% of their net income. Finally, the most striking measures consisted of promoting the urbanisation of small towns and large villages, and in particular favouring their industries (Colin, 2013).

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Illustrations

Plates

Page	*Plate*	
25	1	Vulnerability of communes to flooding in 2005 (former province of Hà Nội)
		Incidence of Constant Flooding up to 10 cm in 2005 (former province of Hà Nội)
27	2	Structure of the business quarter and the Citadel under the Lê Trinh Dynasty (16th-18th century)
		Location of craft villages on the shore of West Lake during the colonial era
33	3	The prone to flooding valleys of the Đáy and Tích Rivers
35	4	The Tây Hồ Tây Project: a site in a basin flanked by several villages
37	5	Reduction in bodies of water in Triều Khúc Commune (1998 to 2009)
43	6	Urban structure of the Quarter of the 36 Streets during the 17-18th centuries
		Village structure of the Quarter of the 36 Streets and cultural heritage (17-18th centuries)
47	7	Location of crafts in the Quarter of the 36 Streets during the 17-18th centuries
		Evolution of craft streets of the Quarter of the 36 Streets since the colonial era
48-49	8	Hypothesis of parallel development of craft villages and craft streets
51	9	Protection of architectural urban heritage of the Old Quarter (1995-2012)
59	10	Hébrard map 1925 (colonial era) with mention of villages
		General plan of Hà Nội for 2000, drawn in 1981
62	11	Villages integrated into the urban space since *Đổi mới*
63		Density of village settlement in urban districts and in zones to be urbanised by 2030
69	12	The densification of urban development in the village of Hòa Mục since the 1990s
75	13	Spatial structure of a village / Division of plots of land and formation of new cul-de-sacs in the former hamlets of Triêu Khúc
79	14	Outline of villages during the pre-colonial era
		1911 map of the colonial district
81	15	Occupation of a villa by rural families during the collectivist era
83	16	Location of collective neighbourhoods and planning models of four neighbourhoods
85	17	Densification of collective housing
95	18	Giáp Bát, a peri-urban neighbourhood built over a lake and intended for civil servants
97	19	Situation of KĐTMs in the 1990s and new projects
105	20	The area prone to flooding in the green corridor and planned use of land in the province of Hà Nội
109	21	Proportion of farmland in 2009 and land taken up by the residential project around the north-south backbone road
111	22	The road network and its various managers
112	23	Development of the road network and real estate promotion activities in 2011
113		Construction of road infrastructure and housing development in the urban area of Hà Đông, Văn Khê commune (2004-2011)
119	24	Evolution of wholesale and retail markets (2000, 2004, 2010)
127	25	Village plot transformation between 2000 and 2009
		Village plot transformation between 1995 and 2008
129	26	Current or future urban projects in the district of Hoài Đức in 2011
137	27	location of *xóm trọ* and *nhà trọ* in Triều Khúc
		Xóm trọ of Mrs Cao Thị Phượng's family, 20 bedrooms for rental
145	28	Population densities in 2009, commune by commune, in Hà Nội province
147	29	Population growth rates between 1999 and 2009, commune by commune, in Hà Nội province
151	30	Share of economically active population in 2009, commune by commune, in Hà Nội province
153	31	Industrial parks, zones and sites in Hà Nội districts in 2008-2009
155	32	Craft villages in the provinces of Hà Nội and Hà Tây in 2003
157	33	Connections between craft villages specialised in wickerwork: the cluster of Chuông, southern Hà Tây
159	34	Share of farmland used to grow dry crops (including market gardening) in 2009
167	35	The commune of La Phù: planned projects, illegal occupations, craft workshops
		The commune of La Phù: craft activities in residential space
173	36	Use of space in a zone A workshop
175	37	Situation of workshops in the village of Sơn Đồng, 2011

Illustrations

Figures

Page	*Number*	
13	1	Hà Nội Province in the Upper Delta of the Red River
20	Diagram	Cross-section of the Red River Delta as it passes Hà Nội in 1934
21	2	Deviations of the Red River between the 10th and the 20th century
28	3	Ponds and lakes encroachment since 1986 in the central urban districts
30	4	Water, an element of religious and ritual heritage in Triều Khúc village
42	5	Diagram of a 'tube house'
44	6	Occupation plan of Quan Đế Temple
52	7	State of places of worship in the Old Quarter since the pre-colonial era
71	8	Recycling micro-plants in the village: evolution of a plot of land
73	9	Morphology of the network of thoroughfares in the village of Triều Khúc
84	10	Installation of neighbourhoods developed with blocks of flats in the city
102	11	Former and current Hà Nội city limits
116	12	Hà Nội streets out of bounds to itinerant vendors in 2010
124	13	Industrial and residential use of land in the informal craft industry zone in La Phù
130	14	Change in use of agricultural land in the commune of Phú Điền
135	15	The various kinds of lodgings for rental in Phú Điền in 2013
160	16	Location of agricultural co-operatives for safe vegetables in the urban districts of Hà Nội
166	17	Location of five communes surveyed concerning the large-scale urban projects in the district of Hoài Đức
174	18	Residential and industrial projects in the commune of Sơn Đồng in 2009

Tables

Page	*Number*	
22	1	Vulnerability of districts in the former province of Hà Nội
28	2	Distribution of lakes surveyed by Haidep in 2007 in the former province of Hà Nội
106	3	Occupation of space and activities in the various areas vulnerable or not to flooding corresponding to the former province of Hà Tây
160	4	Agricultural trends in the region of Hà Nội before and after the enlargement
161	5	Evolution of areas cultivated in the new Hà Nội
165	6	Prices for land suitable for construction in many communes of Hoài Đức in 2009

Photos

Page	*Number*	
15	1	A city spreading out along major roads and absorbing peri-urban gardens
23	2	West Lake and Trúc Bạch Lake seen from above: the importance of stretches of water in the city
41	3	Street food stall in the Old Quarter
57	4	Ponds concreted over in an urban village situated near a new residential zone
61	5	A village communal house integrated in the urban fabric: Ngọc Hà
87	6	The new residential zone Splendora Project: an urban dream in a denselypopulated region
93	7	New residential neighbourhoods amid the paddy fields in the shadow of gravestones
117	8	A young man smokes next to a sign singing the praises of a future KĐTM
133	9	Expropriated land lying fallow used as pastures in the shadow of large-scale urban projects
140	10	Expropriation of agricultural land and peri-urban projects
149	11	Villager on bicycle riding along a motorway
177	12	Market gardening in the bed of the Red River, nearby the city center
181	13	Lotus production in Tây Lake next to a former village, now urbanised

Contents

3 Foreword

5 About the authors

7 **Introduction** *S. Fanchette*

Part One
17 **A city woven from water and villages**

Chapter 1
19 Hà Nội between the 'waters'

20 Vulnerability of a deltaic city *S. Fanchette*
20 *Geographical and hydraulic factors*
22 *The city outside the dykes*
22 *The former province of Hà Nội in times of flooding*
24 • *An obsolete drainage system inadequate for the expansion of the city*
24 *Competing for space and filling in lakes and ponds*
24 • *An urban history marked by the progressive filling of lakes*
26 • *Residual lakes scattered very irregularly through the city and with diverse functions*
28 The role of water in the initial structure of the city
28 *Water as a limit and as an opening* *R. Orfeuvre*
29 *Silk and papermaking activities on the shores of West Lake* *S. Fanchette*
30 *Cults and rituals in the re-appropriation of hydraulic spaces* *Trần Nhật Kiên*
31 Hà Nội since 2008: hydraulic implications of major urban projects
31 *The former province of Hà Tây and the risks of flooding* *S. Fanchette*
32 *Filling in and concreting over of the Delta: what are the hydraulic consequences?* *S. Fanchette*
32 • *The major residential, highway and industrial projects*
34 • *Villages integrated into the urban sprawl*
34 *The Tây Hồ Project* *S. Fanchette*
36 *Reduction in bodies of water in Triều Khúc et Nhân Chính* *Trần Nhật Kiên*
36 Conclusion

Contents

Chapter 2

39 Hà Nội: the villages, the heart of social and patrimonial life — *R. Orfeuvre, Ph. Brouillac, C. Mounier*

39 The Old Merchant Quarter and the craft villages

40 The Old Quarter and the urban model

40 *Birth of an un urban model: Kẻ Chợ*

44 *Restructuration during the colonial era: the 'Annamite' quarter*

44 *The collectivist period: frozen architecture and abolition property*

45 *Post-*Đổi mới *effervescence and the Old Quarter's loss of identity*

45 Diversity of crafts and links with villages

45 *Specialised streets during the colonial era*

46 *The supply chains: Hàng Bạc Street*

50 A politicy of restoring links between Old Quarter and villages

50 *Architectural heritage*

53 *The crafts of Hà Nội: a heritage in danger*

54 Conclusion

Chapter 3

55 Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

56 Villages: part of expansion plans since the colonial era — *E. Cerise*

56 *Hà Nội and its neighbouring villages: a heritage of the Chinese city*

58 *The 'Renewal' and the future of urban villages*

60 The urban projects of the 2000s: change of scale and land expropriation — *S. Fanchette*

60 *Wider and more diversified settlement than in the first ring*

64 *The integration of Hà Tây: vast agricultural spaces to urbanise*

64 *A marked contrast between the new projects and the urbanised villages*

65 *The breakdown in hydraulic and communication networks*

65 Integration into the city: between myths and realities

66 *Hòa Mục: a new residential zone in village territory* — *D. Labbé*

68 *Triều Khúc: social impacts of integration* — *J.-A. Boudreau*

72 *The urban fabric and transformations of build heritage: the case of Triều Khúc* — *Trần Nhật Kiên*

74 Conclusion

Chapter 4

77 Breaks with the traditional city: the colonial and collectivist eras

77 An 'authoritarian' urban project: the colonial city ignores villages — *E. Cerise*

78 Country dwellers occupy the colonial villas — *L. Pandolfi*

80 The Soviet model: the collectivist city ignores existing structures — *E. Cerise*

82 Social housing: an urban front in contrast with traditional dwelling — *E. Cerise*

84 The densification of collective neighbourhoods and village practices — *E. Cerise*

88 Conclusion

Part Two

89 **The 2000s: Raising Hà Nội to the rank of metropolis**

Chapter 5

91 Land reforms and economic liberalisation

92 The 'state with the people': urban sprawl and self-building (the 1990s) *L. Pandolfi*

94 Production of varying quality: the example of Giáp Bát

96 The state and the companies regain control (the 2000s) *L. Pandolfi*

98 The new urban areas: replacing collectivist housing? *D. Labbé, J.-A. Boudreau*

99 Conclusion

Chapter 6

101 Tomorrow's city: territorial reforms and urban projects

102 Territorial enlargement of an international metropolis *S. Fanchette, C. Musil*

102 *Strengthening the power of the capital on local, national and regional levels*

103 *The territorial and urban planning means for a metropolis project*

103 The green corridor, a planning measure disconnected from metropolitan land use dynamics? *S. Fanchette, C. Musil*

104 *A weak concept with a hazy outline*

104 *The agricultural and environmental vocation of a space in the process of being industrialised*

107 *The north-south economic backbone in contradiction with the objectives of the Master Plan*

107 An urban framework hungry for land resources *C. Musil*

108 *The road network: current dimensions and expansion*

108 *Trends in the evolution of the road network and land needs*

110 *New urban areas: opening up the Lê Văn Luong highway*

110 *The network, projects and restictions on access to plots of land*

114 The 'modernisation' of central Hà Nội : an end to traditionnal distribution *P. Moustier, Nguyễn Thi Tấn Lộc*

114 *Traditional diversity among forms of distribution*

115 *Street vending: a social role under threat*

115 *A forced march towards market planning*

117 *Development of supermarkets and shops*

118 Conclusion

Chapter 7

121 Peri-urban villages: unequal access to land for construction

121 Occupation strategies for very crowded and sought-after spaces *S. Fanchette, Trần Nhật Kiên*

122 *Creation of an informal small craft industry zone in La Phù*

125 *Reshaping public spaces an road network in Triều Khúc*

126 Conflicts over land and social problems *S. Fanchette, J. Segard*

130 The densification of urban villages and the retraining of expropriated villagers turned into landlords: *Nguyễn Văn Sửu, Trần Nhật Kiên*

136 Conclusion

Contents

Part Three

139 **Urban fringes: integration in opposition to village dynamics**

Chapter 8

143 Multi-activity employment, agricultural decline and urban transition

144 Demographic dynamics reinforing the process of metropolisation — *S. Fanchette*
144 *High densities spilling out of the urban area*
146 *A double process of* in situ *and exogenous urbanisation*
148 Industrial development from the informal to the formal — *S. Fanchette, Lê Văn Hưng*
152 Multi-activity weakened by metropolisation in craft villages — *S. Fanchette, Nguyễn Xuân Hoàn*
152 *Villages organised in production clusters*
154 *A cluster of wickerwork weavers organised around a market*
156 Hà Nội's endangered green belt — *P. Moustier, Đao Thê Anh*
156 *An ancient role in supplying the city*
158 *Ambiguity of politicies: between discourse and reality*
161 Conclusion

Chapter 9

163 Access to land, new actors and peri-urban activities called into question

164 Prices for land as indicators of the new urban map — *Lê Văn Hưng, S. Fanchette*
168 Competition for space in productive spaces for craftwork in La Phù — *Y. Duchère, S. Fanchette*
170 The struggle to get craft villages to conform to environmental standarts — *Y. Duchère, S. Fanchette*
172 The power struggle over land between villagers and big developers/local authorities — *J. Segard*
178 Conclusion

179 Conclusion — *S. Fanchette*

183 Bibliography

189 Illustrations

191 Contents

Built on 'the bend in the Red River', Hà Nội is among Southeast Asia's most ancient capitals. Over the centuries, it took shape in part from a dense substratum of villages. With the economic liberalisation of the 1980s, it encountered several obstacles to its expansion: absence of a real land market, high population densities, the government's food self-sufficiency policy that limits expropriations of land and the water management constraints of this very vulnerable delta.

Since the beginning of the new millennium, the change in speed brought about by the state and by property developers in the construction and urban planning of the province-capital poses the problem of integration of *in situ* urbanised villages, the importance of preserving a green belt around Hà Nội and the necessity of protection from flooding. The harmonious fusion of city and countryside, which has always constituted the Red River Delta's defining feature, appears to be in jeopardy.

Working from a rich body of maps and field studies, this collective work reveals how this grass-roots urbanisation encounters 'top-down' urbanisation, or metropolisation. By combining a variety of disciplinary approaches on several different scales, through a study of spatial issues and social dynamics, this atlas not only enables the reader to gauge the impact of major projects on the lives of villages integrated into the city's fabric but also to re-establish the peri-urban village stratum as a fully-fledged actor in the diversity of this emerging metropolis.

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