



TRENDS OF URBANIZATION AND SUBURBANIZATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA



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SUBURBANIZATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

Cooperation Centre for Urban Development, Hanoi (Institut des Métiers de la Ville (IMV)) was created in 2001 by the People's Committee of Hanoi and the Ile-de-France Region (France) within their general cooperation agreement. It has for first vocation to improve the competences of the municipal staff in the field of urban planning and management of urban services. The concerned technical departments are the department of urban planning and architecture, the department of transport and civil engineering, the authority for public transports planning, the construction department... IMV organizes seminars to support decision-makers and technicians, finances studies, implements consultancies, contributes to knowledge dissemination by the translation of scientific and technical books, and maintain a library on urban planning.

Ho Chi Minh City Urban Development Management Support Centre (Centre de Prospective et d'Etudes Urbaines (PADDI)) was created in 2004 in cooperation between the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City and the Rhône-Alpes Region (France). Its office is located inside the Ho Chi Minh City Town Planning Institute. Competences of PADDI are training, consultancies and research. The PADDI organizes regularly training workshops to complete the training of civil servants of the city by making them aware about concepts, techniques and new methods in urban management. The answers to the urban planning problems given in France are compared with the situation in Vietnam to inspire new practices and new policies. The publication of the results of these workshops enables to associate a widened public.

AFD stands for Agence Française de Développement. AFD is a public development finance institution that has worked to fight poverty and support economic growth in developing countries and the French Overseas Communities for almost 70 years. AFD executes the French government's development aid policies. In 2010, AFD committed more than € 6,8 billion to financing aid activities in developing and emerging countries and the French Overseas Communities. The funds will help improve drinking water supply systems for 33 million people, get 13.4 million children into primary school, upgrade or build transport hubs that will be used by 85.8 million passengers a year, support energy efficiency by saving 5 million tons of CO₂ a year, provide access to electrification for 3 million people, allocate microfinance loans that will benefit just over 700,000 people, support agricultural or irrigation projects that will benefit 1.4 million people. AFD's assistance to Vietnam is part of the partnership agreement between France and Vietnamese Government, in coordination with all actors of cooperation. Vietnam is among the first recipients of funding for AFD, with about € 1.1 billion awarded since 1994. Over the past seven years (2004 - 2010), the actions of AFD in Vietnam have benefited to 11.2 million people.

Edited by

Tôn Nữ Quỳnh Trân, Fanny Quertamp, Claude de Miras,
Nguyễn Quang Vinh, Lê Văn Năm, Trương Hoàng Trương

TRENDS OF URBANIZATION AND SUBURBANIZATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Cover photos:

Photo 1 (above): Trương Hoàng Trương, industrial area, Vinh Loc A, Binh Chanh district, Ho Chi Minh city, May 2006.

Photo 2 (below): Patrick Gubry, new urban area, district 2, Ho Chi Minh city, November 2008.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Prof. Đào Thế Tuấn

This book is the result of different papers presented at the regional conference, co-organized by CEFURDS (Center for Urban and Development Studies) Ho Chi Minh City and by the UMR 151 IRD-University of Provence, “TRENDS OF URBANIZATION AND SUBURBANIZATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA” in Ho Chi Minh City, on December 9th-11th 2008.

This conference took place in regards to the following research project:

***URBANIZATION AND CHANGES OF OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
IN FAST URBANIZED SOUTHERN AREAS***

Cases of Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho

Background: Vietnam’s economic transition is coupled with an urban transition with contradictory socio-economic impacts. The country’s largest southern cities, namely Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho record a double process of urbanization and industrialization, as seen by profound dimensional and socio-occupational changes in periurban areas. Changes in land use and occupations structure have compelled people to economically and socially adapt themselves and government bodies to reconsider their policies, especially regarding job generation, a key challenge for sustainable development.

Objective: This project seeks to analyse socio-occupational retraining strategies for farmers (people living in periurban areas) amid an urban sprawl process in Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho. Studies are conducted on urban development as a result of migration and changes in land use and economic structure, which shows an increasing importance of off-farm economy. They are aimed at defining a pattern of change in the area, using a comparative approach for the two cities. Research into occupational structure changes, with a focus on occupation types (farmers, craftspeople, services suppliers, and small traders) as well as that into institutional and social resources to support vocational rehabilitation will help define development capacity and strategies of individuals and social groups in a new system. This project’s objectives are not only to provide an insight into socio-occupational changes in fast urbanizing areas of the two largest Southern cities but also to offer a number of recommendations for sustainable development of Vietnam’s Southern cities.

What makes our research into occupations structures different is the approach. In fact, urbanization and urban sprawl processes are often approached with a merely urban point of view. Meanwhile, our contribution – with a periurban approach – seeks to revisit this urban transition vision. To conduct our research, we have chosen to focus on areas of accelerating urbanization pace.

Changes in the socio-occupational structure due to accelerating urbanization lead to a certain number of considerations and issues:

- How will those socio-occupational groups adapt themselves to the new changes?
- How do government bodies work to support people to adopt a new career path? Have local people managed to seize opportunities brought by these institutions? Does a global policy that coordinates actions by relevant government bodies, industrial parks and training establishments, etc. help address the issues of vocational retraining?
- Regarding the new socio-occupational structure, do the concerned people manage to capitalize on their competence or do they face an increasing insecurity.
- In this process, do urban culture values replace rural cultural values? How do Vietnamese traditional values then evolve?

Within this framework, our approach integrates several analysis levels: To conduct a “survey of accelerated urbanization areas”, we work at city level (districts). This first global level will help define the overall issue of urbanization in Ho Chi Minh City/Can Tho and determine a pattern and characteristics of key urban “landscapes” as a result of fast economic, social, architectural and cultural developments. In so doing, we will attempt to define the patterns of first changing areas, according to their urbanization level, in a matrix based on observations made on site. At intermediate/local level, we will select a number of urban (core and periurban) and rural areas, that are highly active in vocational retraining (the peripheral districts of Binh Chanh and Thu Duc in Ho Chi Minh City: and the urban district of Ninh Kieu, and residential quarters of An Binh, An Thoi and An Hoa in Can Tho). At household level, by a household sociological survey, we intend to define a socio-occupational pattern taking into consideration the developments of local residents’ living conditions and occupations. These surveys are aimed at identifying stakeholders and their strategies to cope with a fast urbanization in terms of by scope of activity living standards, gender, age and education levels.

The analysis of the public sector’s support and available resources (compensation funds, vocational training and the new Land Law) is intended for recommendations on public policies.

This programme is part of the *Projet sur Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire (FSP) (Project on Funds for Prioritized Support) “Support to Research on Economic and Social Transition Challenges in Vietnam”*, a partnership between the French Embassy in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Social Sciences Academy. The project is funded by the French Foreign Office.

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Foreword

With the spiralling growth of its urban population (30 percent of the population in 2009 compared to 20 percent in 1995) and a pronounced bipolar concentration in the Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City metropolitan areas - Vietnam is challenged by a major trend in Southeast Asia, that of rural exodus and metropolization, leading to sharp development disparities between cities and rural communities and between regions. The emphasis put on analysis of the city sprawl phenomenon during these days of debate made it possible to highlight that the governance issues confronting Vietnam's big cities now reach considerably beyond their historical limits, spilling over to extended metropolitan areas the contours and economic and spatial dynamics of which are still poorly understood.

Because of our expertise and our common interest on urbanization and periurbanization issues, AFD, IMV and PADDI have joined their resources to support the organization of this international conference with the participation of top-ranking urbanization specialists in Southeast Asia together, including Vietnamese experts and researchers. This book offers valuable information, analysis and operational runways for public policies. It is our hope that it will enable further research on this pivotal theme for the development of the country.

The Groupe Agence Française de Développement (AFD) is a bi-lateral development finance institution established in 1941 that works on behalf of the French government. With its representations network abroad, AFD can provide its expertise and know - how to local actors and grant a closer support to the projects it finances.

Since its establishment in 2002, **the Institut des Métiers de la Ville** (Cooperation Centre for Urban Development), linking the Île-de-France region and the Hanoi People's Committee, has been backing research work on Hanoi in particular and on the Vietnamese city in general.

Created in 2004, **PADDI (HCMC Urban Development Management Support Centre)** is a decentralized cooperation project between the Rhône-Alpes region and the province of Ho Chi Minh City. By organizing workshops based on Vietnamese study cases and technical assistance; PADDI supports city managers in building up their own reflective thinking methodology and in searching for solutions.

CEFURDS (Centre for Urban and Development Studies), created in 2000, is a scientific organization comprising a number of researchers of multidisciplinary and applied sciences. The research and service activities of the Centre are practical in nature, and aim to bring the advances and benefits of developments in human and social sciences into daily life, urban building and development, in a sustainable process. The activities of CEFURDS focus on urban and sustainable development issues. Cities are studied from the human and social scientific viewpoint, with the strategy of taking both the contemporary and traditional background of people as the central point for development.

Acknowledgements

This work forms part of the extension phase of programme “Support to research on challenges to Vietnam’s social and economic transition”. As part of it, the initiative of a regional workshop has been conducted to analyze “Urbanization and periurbanization trends in Southeast Asia”.

This scientific event has been co-organized by the CEFURDS (Centre for Urban and Development Studies, Ho Chi Minh City) and the LPED (Population Environment and Development Laboratory, UMR 151 IRD-University of Provence, Marseille). It took place in Ho Chi Minh City on December 9, 10 and 11, 2008.

The scientific board consists of:

- Claude de Miras, economist, Research Manager, IRD,
- Terry Mc Gee, Professor, British Columbia University, Canada, (expertise : Urbanization and development in Southeast Asia),
- Trinh Van Thao, Professor of contemporary history at University of Provence.

Workshops reports have been compiled by:

- Marc Bonneville (IUL, Lyon),
- Lisa Drummond (York University, Canada),
- Phạm Văn Cự (Hanoi University of Natural Sciences),
- Christian Taillard (CNRS),
- Mike Douglass (Globalization Research Centre, Hawaii),
- Nguyễn Đăng Sơn (Urban research Institute, Ho Chi Minh City).

This France-Vietnam joint initiative would not have been possible without the people to whom we would like to thank. They have indeed, supported us right at the beginning to help materialize this initiative and event.

- Alain Henry, (AFD’s director for Vietnam) jointly with Sophie Salomon (AFD) has immediately made himself available for the initiative. They had valuable suggestions to ensure that a research programme was conducted and disseminated,
- David Margonstern, co-director of the Urban Development Management Support Centre (PADDI) Ho Chi Minh City and Rhône-Alpes Region,
- Laurent Pandolfi, co-director of l’Institut des Métiers de la Ville (IMV) – Cooperation Centre for Urban Development, Ile-de-France Region.

Tran Tho Binh and his translators team have provided translation of works (or discussions) with remarkable competence which needs to be mentioned.

PADDI team who helped editing the work and in particular Muireann Legoux has revised all the translations. A special thank you goes to Mr. Patrick Gubry for his most valuable help in regards to this publication.

Introduction

Since 1986, in the context of national endeavours for socio-economic renovation, with a special emphasis on industrialization and modernization by such means as focusing on spearhead industries and establishing economic zones to serve as engines for growth, Vietnam in general has been witnessing considerable economic and social growth and its cities in particular have been experiencing dramatic changes.

These changes can most evidently be felt in physical as well as social infrastructures, and, inevitably, in human and humanistic aspects, all geared towards an increasingly more civilized and modern urban landscape and higher living standards. The transformations can be said to be very fundamental, or, more precisely, to be underlying the ongoing process of urbanization.

Urbanization is a complicated process of socio-economic transformation with inherent controversies. Due to its huge and irreversible impacts, it necessitates preemptive and proactive approaches. The process has turned agriculture-based rural areas with a significantly weak urban component into rapidly urbanized ones. Strong and rapid development has led to the emergence of new industrial estates, upgraded infrastructures, shifts in rural land use to non-agricultural purposes, more employment created giving rise to city-bound flows of migration, and urban lifestyles and culture encroaching on their rural counterparts. Are these consequences aspects of periurbanization?

Urbanization as a global trend affects overall demographic and economic patterns, while periurbanization is more localized and tangible, simultaneously decimating rural structures and creating and reinforcing urban structures. Periurbanization is highly diversified and varies from one location to another. Individual periurbanization models assume idiosyncratic parameters determined by, e.g., the affected area's location, the distance to the city core, the timing, its economic growth rate, its potential expansion.

Periurbanization is a phenomenon that can lend itself to rich interpretations to get a good grasp of challenges facing cities in the future, providing hands-on information for the formulation of future urban management, as the per urban being urbanized today will definitely turn itself into the urban in some time to come. To put it bluntly, fringe communities endowed with poor infrastructures and urban services will become an obstacle to future sustainable urban development or a burden for local budgets.

Although periurbanization is often perceived as a city's physical expansion in various forms and at different rates under particular geo-topographical conditions, what most characterizes an instance of periurbanization is the economic growth rate and population. Periurbanization thus not only *mirrors a locality's development* but can also be seen as the driving force for national growth and the development of relationship between a country and the global economy.

To gain deeper insights into the phenomenon, it is time we opened the “black box” of recorded first-hand data. It is worth noting that not all cases of periurbanization even with similar objectives and at comparable rates will necessarily result in similar patterns or growth outcomes. On the other hand, instances of periurbanization at different rates may turn out to share identical patterns.

The study of periurbanization calls for broad-based professional participation, where urban planners, experts, public delegates, sponsors and researchers themselves can contribute their best to the understanding of the concept.

With that in mind, the Ho Chi Minh City-based Centre for Urban and Development Studies (CEFURDS) and the French Joint Research Unit 151 IRD-Université de Provence “Laboratoire Population Environnement Développement”-IRD decided to co-organize the regional conference “Trends of Urbanization and Suburbanization in Southeast Asia” where it was hoped scientists, managers, decision-makers, and civil organizations could meet and discuss different conceptual aspects to see how much they fit the reality and then make recommendations for implementation in the Vietnamese context. The initiative was welcomed by the people concerned from France, the United States, Canada, Australia, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Indonesia, as well as by Vietnamese urban researchers and managers from different provinces and cities, who all together convened in Ho Chi Minh City for three days, December 9-11, 2008.

The Conference was granted valuable financial supports from the Agence Française de Développement (**AFD**), the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (**IRD**), the Projet sur Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire (**FSP**), the French Rhone-Alpes – based **PADDI** (for urban forecasting and studies), the Hanoi-based Project for Urban Training (**IMV**), and the University of Hong Bang (HCMC).

This publication, *Trends of Urbanization and Suburbanization in Southeast Asia*, a collection of contributions made by the conference’s attendants, who are devoted scientists and urban managers, may, hopefully, provide readers with some insight into the issue of periurbanization.

Ho Chi Minh City - Marseille, September 2010
Tôn Nữ Quỳnh Trân (CEFURDS) and Claude de Miras (IRD)

Part I

DIFFERENT CONCEPTS ON URBANIZATION AND SUBURBANIZATION

**REVISITING THE URBAN FRINGE: REASSESSING
THE CHALLENGES OF THE MEGA-URBANIZATION PROCESS
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA¹**

T.G. Mc Gee*
October 2008

Abstract

This presentation explores the major policy challenges posed by the growth of urbanization in Southeast Asia.

The paper focuses on the emergence of mega-urban regions in Southeast Asia (MURs) which while they contain only an estimated 12 per cent of the region's population make a major contribution to the national economy of which they are part. In addition their roles as gateways and linkage points in an increasingly integrated Southeast Asian regional economy and global economy is crucial to national economic performance. Therefore the development of effective systems of urban governance, management and planning to ensure sustainable urban regions, ongoing economic performance, social welfare and livability are becoming central policy issues. In order to establish the importance of the facts listed above the paper is organized into six parts.

Part One outlines the main features of the driving forces of the urbanization process paying particular attention to the role played by international forces (foreign investment) regional forces and local forces.

Part Two describes how Southeast Asian urbanization patterns fit into the global context of urbanization.

Part Three discusses the historical emergence of diverse patterns of Southeast Asian urbanization focusing on the period post 1945 and the most recent period of rapid mega-urbanization.

Part Four focuses on the major features of the spatial structure of four of Southeast Asia's largest mega-urban regions. Bangkok, Manila, Jakarta and Ho Chi Minh City paying particular attention to the spatial expansion of these MURs and the delineation of fringe areas.

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¹The Southeast Asian region is made-up of the following countries: Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, Philippines and Timor Leste.

Part Five argues that the “fringe areas” of mega-urban regions are becoming increasingly important both in terms their proportion of the population of the mega-urban region because of the increased importance of residential, commercial and industrial functions in the MURs.

However, they are just as important for the fact that form part of the ecological system of the urban region that is experiencing major environmental and resource depletion.

Finally the paper discusses the major policy issues that arise from the growth of mega-urbanization and makes suggestions for policy priorities.

The paper will be presented at a Regional Conference on Urbanization in Southeast Asia to be held in Ho Chi Minh City December 7 - 9, 2008.

“The very notion of urban ecology has become multi-scalar, extending from individual urban systems to systems of cities and towns, and from ecosystems within urban settlements to urban settlements as ecosystems, to the way in which cities and towns shape ecosystems beyond as well as within urban boundaries” Houghton and Mc Granahan (2006).

“In eco-localism “place matters”. Here “place refers to specific, unique locations within eco-systems, communities and resources...” Curtis (2004): 85.

Introduction

This presentation explores the major challenges posed by the growth of urbanization in Southeast Asia. In particular attention is focused on the emergence of mega-urban regions (henceforth labeled MURs) which while they only contained only an estimated 16 per cent of the region’s population today make a major economic contribution to the national economy of which they are part. In addition their roles as gateways and linking points in an increasingly integrated global economy is absolutely crucial to national economic performance. Therefore the development of effective systems of urban governance, management and planning for both sustainability and economic performances and livability of these mega-urban regions is becoming a central policy issue. This presentation attempts to answer six main questions.

1. What are the main driving forces of urbanization in Southeast Asia in particular in the MUR’s?
2. How does the pattern of Southeast Asian urbanization fit into the overall global trends in urbanization?
3. What are the main features of the emergence of MURs in Southeast Asia?
4. What are the major spatial features of MURs in Southeast Asia?
5. What are the major policy challenges of urban fringes of MURS and why are these developments important for developing sustainable urban policies?

6. What are the major policy responses to these challenges?

In the paper that follows the answers to these questions are explored through several dimensions. First, by an analysis of the global and local forces creating these Southeast Asian mega-urban regions. Secondly, with a section outlining the demographic components of this urbanization pattern. The next section explores the main economic, social and environmental consequences of these patterns of urbanization particularly with respect to the effect of these developments on the urban fringes of these MURs. This is followed by a summary of the major policy responses that are needed to manage the urban challenges.

Finally let me emphasize that this investigation of urbanization in Southeast Asia must be set within the context of three major facts about contemporary urbanization at a global level.

1. For the first time in human history the twenty-first century will have more than 50 per cent of the global population living in urban places.
2. This shift from rural to urban will also involve a change in the distribution of urban population between urban places of different size with an increasing proportion of the population resident in large urban regions often exceeding 20 million populations.
3. The increasing dominance of urban centres as the locales of a significant world's population poses major challenges of governance, environmental sustainability and economic and social development particularly in developing countries.

While the urbanization process in Southeast Asia shares in these global trends it is still at the early stages of a major growth of urban areas that will occur over the next twenty years. Thus Southeast Asian governments have the opportunity to develop urban policies that can manage this urban revolution.

1. The driving forces of urbanization

I would like to begin by engaging some theoretical issues that underlie policy discussions of contemporary urbanization patterns both at the global level that have equal relevance to Southeast Asia. Most important in my view is the current obsession of researchers with globalization forces as the major causes of urbanization in the region. Contemporary policy positions on urbanization in Southeast Asian countries are largely being driven by assumptions that increased integration into the global economy is required necessity for development. Therefore it is necessary to encourage the growth of urban centres that facilitate these processes thus creating urban trajectories that have wider challenges for the environment, energy demand, food security, regional inequality and present other social and economic problems.

Over the last thirty years, as a consequence of these beliefs, researchers and policy makers in many developing countries have favored development strategies that have placed increased emphasis on structural shifts in their national economies to industrial and service sector activities and increased integration into the global economy. This has occurred despite an ongoing commitment of many governments to rural development, food security and concerns with persistent rural poverty. The reasons for this focus are numerous but among them the conventional economic wisdom that investment in industry and services creates higher returns than agriculture is a powerful mantra. There is also a strong belief that urbanization is an inevitable part of the process of creating a modern state; indeed the economies of scale, the creation of mass markets and the higher productivity that occur in urban areas make cities, it is argued, absolutely crucial to the process of development (Lampard 1955, Scott J 1998 Scott 2001). The consequences of this approach are only too obvious in the developed East Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan that have been characterized by rapid urbanization, increased industrial production and the increasing importance of the urban-based service sector. This is also true of some Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and emerging NIC's such as Vietnam. However Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar have barely embarked upon this trajectory and Singapore and Brunei as "city states" have followed an even faster trajectory. Of course these developments have been heightened by the growing integration of Southeast Asia into the global economy in which city-states such as Hong Kong and Singapore continue to play an important role. The restructuring of the economies of the developed world that is part of this much debated process of globalization is also an important part of the process and a new international division of global production systems has emerged (Olds et al 1999. Mc Gee and Watters 1997).

Another result of these urban-orientated development strategies in the more developed economies of Asia has been the decline in the proportion of the employed population in agriculture; the depopulation of rural areas, a sharp reduction in the number of family farms and a restructuring of agriculture with growing emphasis on capital intensity, off-farm employment, the employment of migrant farm labour and food imports and increased agricultural productivity. This has often involved an increase in rural-urban income disparities that accentuates out-migration from the rural areas that takes various forms such as international migration, rural to urban migration and circulatory migration (Rigg 2001, Hugo 2006).

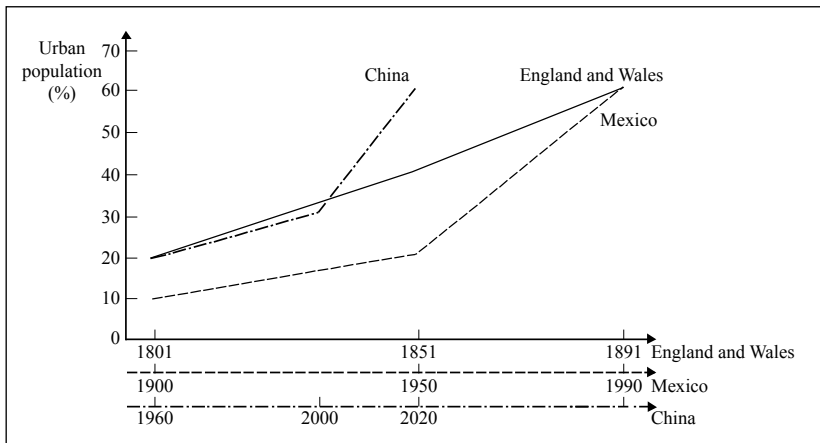
The policies that have driven these trends are based upon development theories that assume developing societies are passing through some kind of transition from underdevelopment to development. The pace and change of this process may vary greatly between countries and global sub-regions but it is a global trend. This idea is encapsulated with the idea of transition from tradition to modernity; the demographic transition that argues societies pass through stages of low population growth, high population growth into a phase of slow population growth; the environmental transition that suggests that as societies become more developed they become more sensitive to issues of sustainability in a situations where environmental problems abound. Finally,

there is the urbanization transition that predicts an inevitable shift from low levels of urbanization to high levels of urbanization as countries become more developed.

These theories of transition are based on three assumptions. First, the assumption that these transitions, while they may vary between countries, are inevitable; countries must go through these transitions to become developed. Secondly that they are linear and go through a series of stages which although they may vary in their length between countries are necessary prerequisites for development. Thirdly, that the rural and urban transition are separate. Basic to this conception is the idea of division between rural and urban that is reflected in the spatial and administrative structures of societies. Thus the transition theory assumes a spatial reordering of countries as an important part of the process of development.

It is central to the argument of this paper that transition theory is flawed as a model to investigate urbanization. This is because, following Marcotullio and Lee, I would argue that the conditions of the transition are very different. First, because the pace of the transition that is occurring at a very much faster rate than that of early transitions. Marcotullio and Lee have argued with respect to the environmental transition that the “...unique feature of the present era is the compression of the time frame in which the transitions are occurring” (Marcotullio and Lee 2003:331). This is well illustrated in Figure 1 that shows the changes in level of urbanization between England and Wales, Mexico and China. As is clear from the figure China will take only half the time to reach levels of urbanization that took one hundred years for the other two and of course the number of people involved in this shift to higher urban levels will be much larger. Marcotullio and Lee further argue that transitions are now overlapping “in a telescoping of the transition process in a much shorter time-frame than earlier” (Ibid.331).

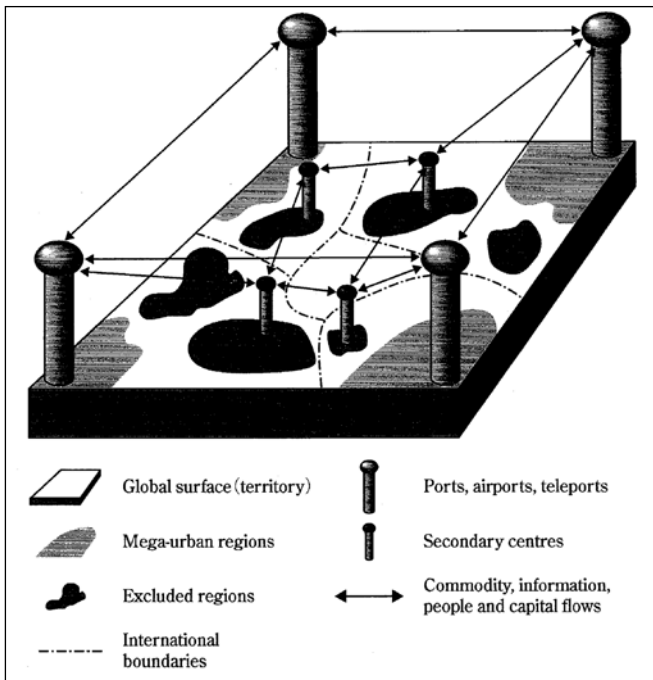
Figure 1: Telescoping transition. Increase in urbanization levels: England and Wales, Mexico and China



Fundamental to the idea of telescoping transitions is the fact that they are being driven by accelerated transactional flows of people, commodities, capital and information between, and within, countries. The international components of this transactional revolution are generally referred to as part of a new era of globalization in which foreign investment encouraged by national states is an important component. The different character of the transactional revolution places much more emphasis on the flows of people, commodities, information and capital within national space economies... (See Figure 2).

Thus development is seen as occurring in a dynamic sense as a process of transformation of national economic space in which interaction and linkage is a more accurate reflection of reality than the idea that rural and urban areas are undergoing somehow spatially separated transitions. In contemporary Asia a network of linkages that provides a dynamic spatial frame of flows of people, commodities, information and capital fundamentally drives the rural-urban transformation.

Figure 2: Globalization transactional space



This involves the recognition these “transcending networks” are restructuring urban space in a way that emphasizes the emergence of intense transaction networks particularly focused on mega-urban regions. This is leading to very rapid economic growth rates focused on these mega-urban regions but at the same time is creating many environmental and social problems and increasing disparities at the level of individual nations. In a number of publications Douglass has emphasized that how the involvement of MURs to various circuits of capital (local, national and international) have had a powerful influence on the morphology of MURs. He relates these developments to the four key phases modes of a capital formulation in the region. They are (1) a long period of commodity trade (primarily focused on agriculture and resource extraction) which characterized the colonial period, (2) a phase of industrial production (import substitution, export production 1970s and 1980s), (3) a phase in which franchising and global retailing dominate the flows of capital as the MURs are increase their roles as consumption centres and finally (4) a phase of expansion of global financial capital from the mid 1990s that was channeled primarily into mega –projects and land development (Jones and Douglass 2007). These periods relate closely to the discussion of the historical processes of Southeast Asian urbanization in section 3 and capital fundamentally drives the rural-urban transformation.

One of the possible results of this “globalization perspective” is that the mega-urban region is represented less as an organic social entity embedded in its regional hinterland and more as a node in the matrix of global flows of commodities, capital and information. Another view of the urbanization process particularly as it plays out at the level of the mega-urban region, suggest that urbanization is a complex process occurring at many scales including at the spatial level at national, regional and local levels, in the social and economic and political perspectives. This argument is captured neatly by Forbes who argues that these macro-representations of globalization “... subsume the internal dynamics of urban development, the subtleties of local politics, the resilience of urban patterns of life, the tensions embedded in fractured social structures, the multiple strands of modernity and resistance to the imposition to change” (Forbes, 1997: 462). This is supported by the research by Leaf (1994, 1996) and Kusno (2000) that has argued that the growth of so-called “global spaces” such as the suburban developments in the fringe of Jabotabek and the creation of commercial business districts within the inner core represent the modernity and development upon which the legitimacy of the Soeharto New Order rested. So that “globalizm” is embraced at the national level but acted on at the local level. In this way the urbanization process is made up the interaction between national scale, provincial scale, the urban scale and at the individual scale of individuals and households of which they are part (Kelly, 1997, 1998, 2000). It is therefore important to stress that the urbanization process as it works its way out in the mega-urban region is a complex array of social, economic and political processes that drive the urbanization process. Rather than simply reflecting the imprint of global capital what we see are processes of both “articulation” with global flows in certain urban spaces (and social groups) and “disarticulation” in others. Thus “global spaces” exist side by side with “local spaces”. As the mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia have grown, urban space has been reconfigured into articulated networks of interaction

between middle and upper class dwellers while excluding “much of the intervening or peripheral spaces from accessing networks, because the networks pass through the spaces without allowing local access”(Graham 1997:112). This is not to ignore the fact that at the level of everyday practice most notably at in the consumption practice there is a form of urban hybridity emerging. For example researchers have written about the manner in which shopping malls become spaces in which city populations of various socio-economic background use the mall space in different ways. In the remainder of the paper we shall attempt to show how this multi-scalar approach creates greater understanding of contemporary urbanization in Southeast Asia.

2. Southeast asian urbanization in a global context¹

Long term United Nation’s projections estimate that the world’s population will grow from 6.06 billion in 2000 to 8.27 billion by 2030. The single aspect of these predictions that attracts the most attention is that most of this increase will occur in urban areas that will grow from 2.86 billion to 4.98 billion. Of equal importance is the fact that more than 90 per cent of all urban increase will occur in less-developed countries.

From the point of view of a conference that is focused on urbanization trends in Southeast Asia it is important to recognize that a major part of this urban increase will occur in Asia. Thus between 2000 and 2030 58 per cent (1.3 billion) of all global urban population increase will occur in this region most of it occurring in the population giants of China, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Bangladesh. Southeast Asia will account for only 16 per cent of the Asian urban increase of which almost half will occur in its largest country, Indonesia. Therefore it is important to take into account the overall influence of Indonesia when discussing urbanization trends in the region.

The Southeast Asian region has long been recognized as a diverse region of many cultures, political systems and different levels of economic development. Thus the countries of Southeast Asia are on diverse urbanization trajectories that will be analysed in the next section.

There are ongoing debates as to how this urban increase will be distributed between urban places of different sizes. United Nations statistics show that in less-developed countries the proportion of urban residents in urban settlements of below 500,000 will decline slightly from 51.2 per cent in 2000 to 49.0 per cent by 2015. At the same time the percentage of population resident in urban settlements of above 5 million will grow from 14.5 to 16.8 per cent. The estimates for Southeast Asia suggest that the proportion living in settlements of below 500,000 will remain unchanged at 64 per cent while the urban population living in centres of more than 5 million will increase from 16 to 20 per cent. This persistence of smaller urban places in the urban systems leads

¹This data is drawn from United Nations (2002) (2005) and UNFPA (2007).

to perceptions that too much policy attention is being paid to mega-urban regions at the expense of secondary urban places and the advocacy of policies designed at big city decentralization. But the closer analysis of the realities of the mega-urban region discussed in the next section suggests the population living in them is substantially under-estimated in UN estimates and this suggests that the policy challenges they pose are still important importance. In other research reports I have published a detailed analysis of this reasons for this analysis suggesting that the term extended metropolitan region might more accurately encompass the dimensions of the mega-urban region.

Therefore in order to discuss the challenges of mega-urban regions it is necessary to define the major features of mega-urban regions.

The simplest definition is to define the formation of mega-urban regions in a much broader fashion. Thus their definition means an increasing proportion of a country's GDP and urban population are concentrated are concentrated in these areas. The only statistical database that enables the temporal measurement of these large urban regions is the UN Population Division's bi-yearly publication that provides data on urban areas of more than one million in size. But this database is not adequate for measuring MURS because it relies upon administrative definitions that are often limited to individual cities it does not always include all cities that are part of a network of integrated cities in MURs in its estimates (See Montgomery 2004 and Champion and Hugo 2004).

A more satisfactory definition is based upon the measurement of functional integration in MURS as measured by transport flows, economic linkages (industry, service and agriculture) labour markets and population movements that make-up the "transactional space" of the MUR. Because MURS usually have the most well developed "transactional space" within nations and the main concentrations of human, social and economic capital as well as a developed infrastructure they offer an environment that is attractive to both domestic and foreign capital and in-migration.

A major feature of MURs is the ongoing spread of urbanization from the urban nodes of the MURs that is the result of the improvement in transportation systems and economic growth. For most of the countries (with the exception of Japan) transportation systems in urban areas were dominated by automobile systems but now some of the more developed countries such as Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore have adopted the Tokyo model of subway systems linked to buses in the outer areas. This urban spread is also associated with a dispersion of industry into the urban margins and a restructuring of the urban cores to service functions. Residential decentralization is also important as the urban cores are restructured from industry to service functions displacing inner city populations. This has created major urban corridors such as those between Tokyo and Osaka, Seoul and Pusan and Taipei and Kaoshuing which are now being duplicated in the Southeast Asia with the formation of the Jakarta-Bandung corridor in the island of Java, and developments on a smaller scale along the arterial routes from city cores to airports, industrial estates, ports and new residential areas in the MURs of Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Manila and Ho Chi Minh and Hanoi cities. If Southeast Asia were to

follow this pattern of corridor development that has characterized the East Asian NICs it would not be unlikely that urban development corridors might emerge between the Hanoi-Hai Phong and Ho Chi Minh MURs with a newly emerging Danang MUR as the central point. A potential urban corridor could also emerge between Bangkok MUR and Singapore passing through the Kuala Lumpur MUR.

At a global level there are also processes facilitating the emergence of mega-urban regions which forces them to become increasingly competitive so as to attract more investment and establish their branding image globally. While industrial investment has dominated much of this process of global integration as the global service economy becomes more integrated there is a need to attract part of these national and global transactions through the development of financial services, tourism and conferences. While this competition for “transactional capital” was initially led by individual cities it is increasingly being realized that it is necessary to develop marketing campaigns that reflect the opportunities of the wider region.

Because of these processes MURs are becoming the “engines” of economic development of their countries often contributing above 50 per cent of the national GDP. In part, because of their very success, MURs present policy challenges that are focused on three main areas.

- 1. Developing effective governance and management systems for mega-urban regions*
- 2. Making mega-urban regions sustainable in the face of environmental deterioration and global economic competition*
- 3. Making MURs livable in terms of employment, services infrastructure and social policy*
- 4. Making MURs more socially inclusive so that the poor and disadvantaged have access to employment and services such as health and education.*

3. The emergence of murs in southeast asia¹

In this section I want to focus the analysis on the growth of selected extended metropolitan regions in Southeast Asia. But first it is necessary to give an overall view of the urbanization process in the region. Historically it is important to stress that Southeast Asia has a rich urban tradition (Askew and Logan 1994). In the pre-western contact period there were extensive trading and cultural interaction with other parts of the world particularly China and India. Two main types of cities emerged; trading cities such as Malaka and Palembang based upon the rich inter-regional trade that had been built-up by indigenous empires and trade with China and India. The second type of city was the sacred city established as “a supreme symbol of the State

¹This section is based on Mc Gee 1967, 1997 and 2002.

within the unifying cosmology that links together heaven and earth". The most notable example was the Khmer city of Angkor Thom built during the twelfth century. It was, however, the Western powers who established the basic urban network of the Southeast Asia. Initially between 1500-1800, they were generally content to establish ports such as Malaka, Batavia and Manila that could serve as naval bases and entrepôts for their trading activities. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards the industrial revolution in Europe resulting in the need for markets and raw materials led to the control of land being as important as the control of the sea and the creation of a network of settlements as they expanded the territory of their colonies. Generally it is true to say that the dominant form of urban place that emerged were the large multi-functional port-towns such as Singapore, Batavia, Manila, Rangoon, Saigon-Cho Lon which came to assume a large proportion of the functions of the urban hierarchy. Bangkok assumed some of the same functions despite avoiding becoming a colony of the Western powers. A second rank of settlement quite diverse in character ranging from "royal cities" to mining, administrative and small service centres emerged to facilitate the networks of colonial control and exploitation. Thus the colonial period after 1800 saw an emerging pattern of mega-urbanization.

Most of the largest cities possessed a large proportion of their colonies' population and were many times bigger than the next largest settlement. By the early 1840's Rangoon was three times as large as Mandalay and in Indo-China Saigon-Cho Lon was very much larger than Hanoi. The characteristic urban hierarchy of this colonial period just before 1940 was dominated by the large primate cities often more than a million in size dominated by trade and combining administrative and defense functions. There was little industry other than some processing of raw materials and the majority of the population was engaged in tertiary activities in which immigrant communities such as the Chinese and Indians played an important role.

In the post-war period after 1945 the urbanization patterns began to change radically with the growth of nationalism and the creation of independent states (Table 2). This period was characterized by the grafting on of national administrative functions to most of the mega-urban cities. So the political icons of the new states, parliament buildings, statues of nationalist political leaders were added to the urban landscape of these primate cities. The only exception was Hanoi in Vietnam. By 1960 only two countries (Singapore and Brunei) had reached levels of urbanization similar to that of developed countries and both were could be labeled city-states. Only Malays had experienced rapid urbanization increasing from 24 to 30 per cent. During this decade the levels of urbanization in the rest of Southeast Asia remained low as the rural populations continued to increase at a faster rate. The economic structures of the cities changed little and the growing influx of rural migrants placed pressures on the existing infrastructure of housing, roads water and power, many of the migrants moved in to squatter settlements on the fringes or empty spaces of the inner cities and crowded inner tenements. At the same time new housing for the emerging national elites was being built in suburban estates such as Kenny Hill in Kuala Lumpur and Makati City in the Philippines.

This pattern began to change radically in the period between 1960 and 1990. First as can be seen from Table 2 the levels of urbanization began to vary sharply between countries where the urbanization level remained at very low levels of urbanization (under 25 per cent), Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, and those increasing their levels of urbanization to over 30 per cent. Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Singapore and Brunei. There were three main conditions that contributed to these developments. First the geo-political conditions of Southeast Asia with the intensification of the Cold War established clear lines between the socialist states of the region (Vietnam, Laos) and the pariah states of Cambodia and Myanmar and the remaining capitalist states. Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia and Brunei. In the planned economies that had been devastated by war much of their energies were spent on rebuilding their societies that were primarily rural and urbanization levels remained low. In the capitalist countries state policies directed to increasing agricultural productivity and import substitution-based industrial growth fueled by international investment led to urbanization rates accelerating.

A second factor was the growth of foreign and investment as the developed economies began to restructure their economies from the 1960's. Singapore, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia became important sites for foreign investment in industrial activity either for internal consumption or export. The process led to the creation of industrial estates, free-export zones, air and container ports and other infrastructure facilities focused on the main mega-urban regions of these countries. Thus, for example, by 1985 almost 60 per cent of non-oil manufacturing was located in the Jabotabek mega-urban region. By 1989 industry had exceeded the contribution of agriculture to the GDP of the six capitalist countries in the region.

A third factor was the growth of tourism in the region. At the beginning of the 1960's most of the mega-urban regions of the market capitalist countries of the region received less than 100,000 tourists a year but by the end of the 1980's this exceeded one million. This was part of a general increase in the higher level services such as finance, that led to the transformation of the cores of the mega-urban regions with the building of hotels and commercial buildings. There was also a rapid emergence of a growing middle class and the growth of residential housing to satisfy their demands for new housing. Struggling with their reconstruction and the rebuilding of their political and economic systems the socialist states did not share in this process at this time.

The consequence of these trends was to produce a fourfold pattern of urbanization in Southeast Asia in the late 1980's. First, Singapore emerged as the regional centre of the region as the Singapore government embarked upon an ambitious programme to make their country the first post-industrial city in the region. Labour intensive industry was rapidly restructured and moved off shore to South Johor in Malaysia and Batam island in the Riau province of Indonesia in a project designed to create a regional growth triangle utilizing the factors of mixed factors of production (Macleod and Mc Gee 1996).

A second group of countries carried out urbanization in much more volatile political and social conditions. In Malaysia the colonial legacy of a plural society of Malays, Chinese and Indian existed within a framework where political power was largely in the hands of the rural-based Malays while the economic power lay with the urban – based Chinese. Ethnic riots in the main urban centres in 1969 that were fostered by Malay dissatisfaction led to the creation of a New Economic policy that allowed Malay participation in the new industries that were rapidly growing at the time leading to an increase of Malays in urban areas. In the Philippines and Thailand persistent rural and urban inequality fueled a rapid movement of rural migrants to the cities but industrial growth was slower leading to a persistence of urban poverty.

Thirdly in Indonesia another pattern of urbanization developed particularly on the island of Java where the high population densities of rural populations encouraged patterns of circulatory migration where migrants returned to their homes two or three times a month and used income earned in the city to subsidize their rural households. Finally from the late 1970s the socialist states of Laos and Vietnam began to slowly liberalize their economies and urbanization began to increase particularly focused on the urban nodes of Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City and Vientiane.

Thus by 1990 the processes of urbanization were beginning to move create the conditions for an accelerated movement of many of the mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia towards increasing global integration particularly reflected in the creation of new “globally – orientated” spaces. The urban centres began to see the emergence of tourist zones, export zones, multiple commercial centres and middle class housing estates. These “spaces” were increasingly linked by road systems of varying degrees of effectiveness. Thus these mega-urban regions were becoming increasing auto-dependent as this fueled a rapid expansion into the adjacent hinterlands.

Many of these processes that have been identified continued and intensified into the 1990s and first decade of the 21st century¹. A major feature has been the accelerated incorporation of capital flows into the region of the region primarily into equity markets, financial institutions, manufacturing industries and property sectors focused on the mega-urban regions. At a policy level this encouraged this encouraged efforts by national and city governments to market their cities as sites for international investment. This also encouraged a major part of infrastructure investment in the MURs resulting in public investment disproportionately concentrated in the region. However, one of the more important consequences of this global integration has been the exposure of Southeast Asian countries to volatility of global financial and commodity markets. The 1997 collapse of equity markets slowed down many of these trends particularly in the property market. Even by 2008 there are still some building developments that have not restarted in Bangkok Secondly as the financial crisis deepened it opened up long standing discontent with the existing governments among the poor, the students and

¹For some recent case studies that document these developments see Kenichero (2001). Kelly (2003) Spreitzhofer (2002) Nakagawa (2004) Lysaga (2006), Waibel (2006).

even the middle class. In Indonesia it created the conditions that led to the collapse of the Suharto government in 1998. Despite the recovery of the global economy in after 2001 recent increases in the price of energy and foodstuffs and the prospects of the increasing vulnerability of Southeast Asian mega cities to environmental change such as sea-level rise and water supply have added even further elements of volatility.

4. Spatiality and the mega-urban regions of southeast asia¹

In this next section I want to outline the major features of the spatial structure of some selected mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia. In order to establish the importance of MUR in the Southeast Asian context it is necessary to construct a longitudinal picture of their demographic growth. This is not a straightforward task for the rapid population growth and spatial spread of MURs since 1950 has often occurred in administrative divisions and census districts that have been classified as rural and therefore not recorded as urban population. Therefore there is substantial under-bounding of MUR's in Southeast Asia.

In the analysis that follows I have used two data sets in an attempt to arrive at a more accurate picture. My earlier attempts to delineate MURs were applied in an analysis for an analysis presented in a book of essays on mega-urban regions in Southeast Asia published in 1995 using data provided by various population censuses between 1960 and 1990 (Mc Gee and Robinson eds 1995). This data essentially adopts what may be described as a functional definition that at time I called an extended metropolitan region (EMR) that assumes that the boundaries of the EMR defined by the intensity of flows of commodities, people, information and capital that were occurring within an extended urban space essentially using the concept of "transactional space" that is discussed in section 1 of this paper. Therefore this data set generates a much larger EMR both in population and area than data using census definitions. This formulation was adopted because there was increasing evidence from field studies that the spread of urbanization outwards was associated with the growth of urban activity as evidenced by the proportion of population engaged in non-agricultural activities, the loss of agricultural land and the spread of industrial and residential estates. Using this data set does mean that many rural households on the outer zones of the EMR were included in the EMR but there was ample evidence that many of these households were rapidly increasing the proportion of their total household income from non-rural sources such as off-farm labour, factory work and migration to cities. This first database also provides statistics for a much longer period of three decades between 1960 and 1990 which enables the recognition of earlier trends of outward urban expansion. This data provides data for four MURs of Jakarta, Bangkok, Manila and Ho Chi Minh City for the period 1960-1990² that indicate that while the city cores of all MUR (except Ho Chi Minh City)

¹I do not have the space to elaborate on the significant economic changes in these fringe areas. They are analyzed in detail in Ginsburg, Koppel and Mc Gee (1991) Mc Gee and Robinson (1995) and Douglass and Jones (2007).

²See Table 1.2 and 1.3 in Mc Gee (1995a): pp12-13 and Mc Gee (1995b).

grew in population their proportion of the total population fell as the inner and outer rings grew rapidly. By 1990 Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila all had a majority of their population living in the two outer rings. Ho Chi Minh City continued to increase its population in the core city reflecting the slow development of the driving forces of urban expansion described earlier in the paper.

For the period 1990-2000 I have relied on a data set developed by Jones (See Jones 2002, 2006). In terms of the understanding of the spatial structure of the MUR the terms used by Mc Gee in the 1995 mega urban analysis, city proper, metro and EMR rings can be roughly equated with the terms core, inner zone and outer zone used by Gavin Jones. It should be stressed again that the Mc Gee data set because it is functionally derived means the outer zones are much larger. Thus for example in 1990, the date at which the two data sets overlap the population assigned to the outer ring is substantially larger. For example, in the Mc Gee data set the outer ring of Jakarta had a population of 4.8 million in 1990 compared to the figure of 3.4 million in Jones (2006). The figures for the core and inner zones are much closer.

However, because Jones analysis is much more rigorous derived based on demographic criteria such as population density and per cent employment in agriculture I have used this data for the decade of the 1990's.

The major findings listed by Jones (2006) are as follows:

1. All the selected MURs increased their populations in the decade of the 1990s to make three of them among the largest urban agglomeration in the world With the exception of Ho Chi Minh City all have experienced a slowing of population growth in the core areas but still retain very high population densities (Table 3).
2. The MURs continued to increase their share of their country's population (Table 4) that as Jones comments is "contrary to the conclusions reached by some observers who have used the population of the officially designated metropolitan area to conclude that many mega-cities have passed their period of rapid growth and are holding a declining share of national population" (Jones, 2006:262).
3. In general the rates of increase the outer zones (inner and outer zones) are greater than the core. Higher rates are recorded in the inner zone which represents the periurban zone and the extension of the built-up areas of the core cities. This is caused by out movement of the core population, differential rates of natural increase and the in-movement of migrants into outer zones from outside the MUR (Table 5).
4. All the MURs populations have been growing at rates well above those of the national population (Table 6).

From the point of view of the central argument of this paper the most important findings are shown in Table 5. These show the increasing importance of the outer zones in terms of urban growth. This shows that non-core zones are increasing their share of the EMR population although by 2000 only Jakarta and Manila had a majority of

their EMR population living in the outer zones. In the case of Bangkok this finding is attributable to the under-bounding of the outer zone which had expanded greatly during the 1990s.

The most important finding of this analysis is that with the exception of Ho Chi Minh MUR is that the outer zones (defined as those zones outside the urban core that fall within the MUR) are growing in demographic importance. This is particularly marked in outer zones and will certainly continue over the next decades. During this period the population of Southeast Asia is predicted to increase by approximately 37 per cent while the urban population will more than double (107%) and the rural population will remain about the same in size. (UN World Urbanization Prospects 2003) This will involve a shift in the urbanization level from 37% in 2000 to 56% in 2030. Thus, if the spatial trends driven by auto-dependent transport technology of the last few decades were to continue most of the urban growth will be occurring in the urban fringe of Southeast Asian urban areas accounting for an estimated increase of 156 million (75 per cent of all projected urban increase) over the next 30 years. Of course this prediction will be affected by demographic trends in mortality, fertility and migration that have been analysed carefully by Hugo in a number of publications (See Hugo 2003, 2006) which suggest that fertility rates in large urban areas were much lower than those of their countries in the early twenty-first century. There is also some evidence that fertility rates are higher in the fringe areas because of a greater proportion of females in the child-bearing cohorts. His analysis further suggests that migration and urban reclassification may contribute up to 60 per cent of this urban increase during the first decade of the 21st century. If our argument that much of the urban growth will occur in the fringe zones of urban areas in Southeast Asia is valid these demographic trends certainly suggest an ongoing population growth in fringe areas. While a considerable proportion of that increase will occur in Indonesia, countries such as Vietnam that will reach over 100 million population in this period will have to absorb a sizeable proportion of their populations into urban fringe areas.

5. Repositioning the urban fringe of southeast asian cities

In the context of this paper I want to argue that should utilize the term “urban fringe” to refer to the zones that lie outside the MUR city core. This term thus encompasses what are often described as the periurban fringes of the MUR which is made-up of the uneven expansion of the built-up core of the city into inner zone adjacent to the city core¹. The outer zone approximates to the earlier definition of the *desakota* region in Asian mega-urban regions (Mc Gee 1991)². Three points need to be emphasized with respect to this definition. First, the concept of “urban fringe” is conceptual. Thus more

¹The concept of “*desakota*” which grew out of fieldwork in the island of Java in the late 1980’s has found resonance among researchers working on Southeast Asian urbanization. Many studies have tested the concept in Southeast Asia and are summarized in Kelly and Mc Gee 2003. However it is among urban researchers working on China that the concept has been most debated. See Mc Gee et.al (2007) p. 65-73.

²There are many different definitions of the urban fringe. For example, Webster (2002) and (2003) in his work on China considers periurban areas to be equivalent to Mc Gee’s earlier definition of *desakota*.

precise definitions of the fringe will have to be worked out in the case of each MUR. Secondly, implicit in this definition is the idea of rural-urban interaction within the eco-system of the MUR. Thirdly, is the fact that that the zones of the fringe are not frozen in geographic space. City cores are taking over the inner zones of their MURs through boundary expansion and administrative reclassification, as is the case with the expansion of the urban boundaries of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City in 2008¹. The outer zone is constantly being expanded outwards and the invasion of urban activities often leapfrogs through the rural areas. Thus while the social and economic forces operating in these MUR fringes have some similarities there are often sharp differences between the MURs that reflect the level of economic development, political economy and culture of the countries of which these MURs are part.

This suggests that urban fringe of Southeast Asia's mega-urban regions requires a focus of ongoing research on collecting information that can be used as a basis for policy formulation. For, as we have argued is this area where the environmental, jurisdictional, social and economic challenges are most marked. It can be further argued that this repositioning of urban policy is made even more urgent because of the vulnerability of many of these mega-urban regions to the effects of global change and fluctuations in global energy, food prices,

This emphasis on the repositioning of urban policy needs to be based upon an understanding of the key components of the urban transition in Southeast Asia over the fifty years.

First, most MUR's have expanded outwards very rapidly beyond the limits of the city core but this is also a process that is occurring throughout the urban system at the level of secondary cities.

Secondly, the pace of development and features of the fringe areas show considerable variation between MURs which reflect the different eco-systems, land-use practices and urban and national policies of the various levels of government and the level and pace of integration into the global system.

Thirdly, there are universal driving forces that are leading to the development of these urban fringe zones. Perhaps most important is that this expansion has been driven by transport systems that have encouraged the increasing use of auto-centred transport systems including private motor cars, motor bikes and various forms of public transport such as buses and minibuses. Barter, (1999) have all shown that while most Southeast Asian countries still have lower vehicle/population ratios than the developed countries their ratios have been increasing rapidly. Most countries have embarked on what may be

¹We will have to await the results of the next census to find out how the extension of urban boundaries in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh Metropolitan areas have affected the official levels of urbanization in Vietnam but we do know that in Hanoi's case the annexation of adjacent provinces that was approved on April 1 tripled its land area and increased its population to an estimated 5 million. The June 2008 request for expansion by Ho Chi Minh City, if approved would incorporate several adjacent provinces and increase the population to between 18-20 million which would make it the third largest metropolitan region in Southeast Asia. This will lead to a substantial increase in the official urbanization level of Vietnam. Information provided by various Vietnam News Agency Reports in 2008. See <http://Vietnamnews.vnagency.com.vn>.

labeled auto-dependent trajectories that will lead to an increase in the number of motor vehicles over the next twenty years. This development will be further reinforced by the growth of national road systems and ongoing mega-urban based policies of freeway development. From the point of view of the earlier argument concerning the forces that create urban regions these auto-centred trends encourage the outward spread of urban activities (residential, work, leisure) in these mega-urban regions. What distinguishes the automobile from most other types of consumer goods is that it requires a great deal of space. These auto-centred activities include “an extensive material infrastructure of roadways, service and repair facilities, storage spaces, and an extensive social infrastructure of elaborate bureaucracies” (Freud and Martin 1999). The automobile dependent mega-urban region is also supported by a culture of “automobility” that is encouraged by the automobile industry through advertising and the creating the desire to own automobiles. The development strategy of the more rapidly industrializing countries of Southeast Asia is also supporting this concept of automobility though the fostering of growth of national automobile industries often in joint ventures with foreign companies.

Another common feature of this expansion has involved these urban “hinterlands” acting as a resource frontier providing, inputs such as water, food, building materials, labour which for the urban core as well as land to be used for urban activities such as industry, commerce, residential and recreational activities. Atkinson points out that this “functional analysis of cities and their hinterlands focuses attention on resources which significant as a serious issue in ecological sustainability” (Atkinson 1999).

Another common feature is that urban expansion is characterized by extensive land conversion that in the Southeast Asian region ranges from state monopoly over the process (Myanmar) to unregulated private sector conversion. In between these two extremes are situations in which the operation of the private sector is regulated and dual land markets operate, as is the case in Vietnam (World Bank 2007: 66, Geertman 2007). These land conversion practices lead to rapid changes in land-use from agriculture to non-agricultural activities. They may be described as most intense at the local level where the urban landscapes become increasingly fragmented into a mosaic of different land uses. Particularly in the context of urban expansion where there is an ongoing unregulated growth of urban activity in the urban fringes a form of “invisible urbanization” (De Gregorio, et.al 2003) or “urbanization by stealth” is occurring.

This process of urban expansion has also involved an uneven allocation of both government and private capital. The major part of government and private investment has been directed to investments in infrastructure and built environment that is being constructed to facilitate the growth of industry, residential complexes, new towns, freeways, international airports, container ports that are directed to integrating the mega-urban region and making it more attractive to global capital. Much of this investment (public and private) is focused on the core cities and inner zones of the mega-urban regions thus causing contradictory processes of greater involvement of the city cores with global transactions and at the same time separating many parts of the urban fringe from this process.

Finally, in the Southeast Asia context this process of expansion varies greatly according to the ecological features, history and political economy of the local region into which the urban expansion is occurring. Broadly I would suggest in the Southeast Asia there are three types of mega-urban region defined in terms of core - hinterland interaction.

1. Those mega-urban regions in which urban expansion has been primarily into high density rice growing areas characterized by high rural densities such as Bangkok, Manila, Jakarta and Hanoi.
2. Those mega-urban regions such that were expanding into areas where agriculture was more mixed including the production of non-food crops where population densities were much lower. Examples are Kuala Lumpur, Ho Chi Minh City.
3. Finally there is the example of the Sijori mega-urban region in which the expansion of the core area has occurred over international boundaries into parts of South Johor (Malaysia) and Batam and Bintang in the Riau Province of Indonesia which ecologically has some similarities to type 2, but has involved international collaboration.

Thus the creation of urban fringe while it directly associated with the same processes of urban expansion is developing in diverse ways and the mix of policy challenges that are occurring vary from country to country. However the urban fringes still remain places of intense competition for resources and threats to eco-systems. Thus the urban fringes become the very centre of the local-global nexus and the rejigging of regional urban space in which policy interventions are urgently needed.

6. Policy challenges of southeast asian urbanization

This preceding discussion of the urban transformation in Southeast Asia raises many policy challenges concerning the most effective way to manage urbanization. It can be argued that the crucial areas for policy formation are the mega-urban regions because of their economic importance and the challenges they pose to sustainability and livability. There are three policy assumptions that underlie my discussion here. First there is a need to recognize that the urban transformation process in the mega-urban regions Southeast Asia poses serious challenges to the eco-systems of these countries and in particular mega-urban regions. Secondly there is a need to accept the fact that urban development is occurring so rapidly that existing management and governance systems are often unable to cope with the problems because of fragmentation of responsibility and limited capacity. Thirdly there is a need to break down prevailing beliefs in rural and urban differences particularly in the mega-urban regions and rethink the spatial categories that they represent.

In the contemporary context of Southeast Asia it would be futile to ignore the fact that it is the mega-urban regions that have become the most important cores of national space. But governments have been slow to understand the nature of these mega-urban regions particularly the new spatial zones of spreading urban activity that are shown in the accompanying Figures 3 and 4 (Mc Gee et al 2007).

Figure 3: Spatial Configuration of Hypothetical Asian State

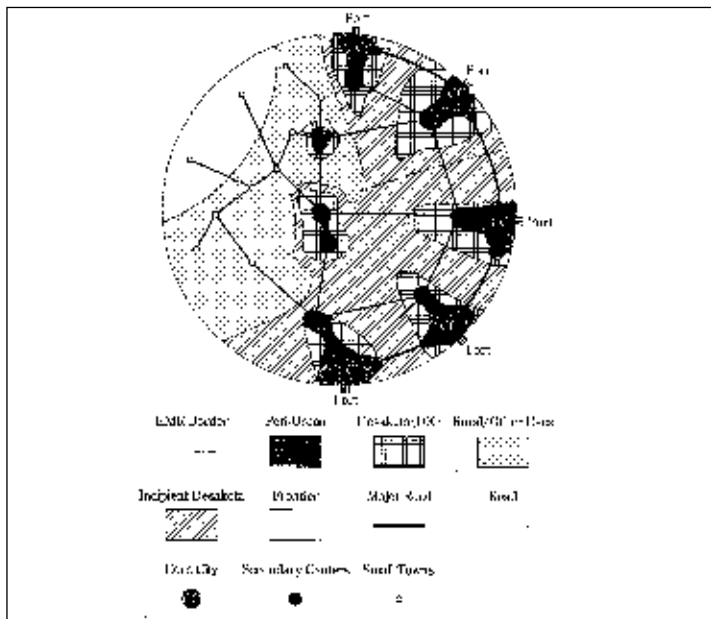
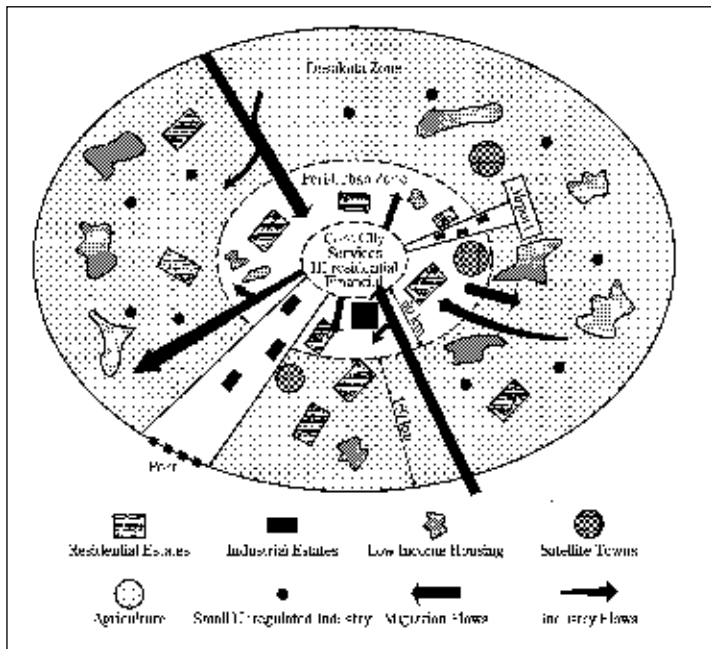
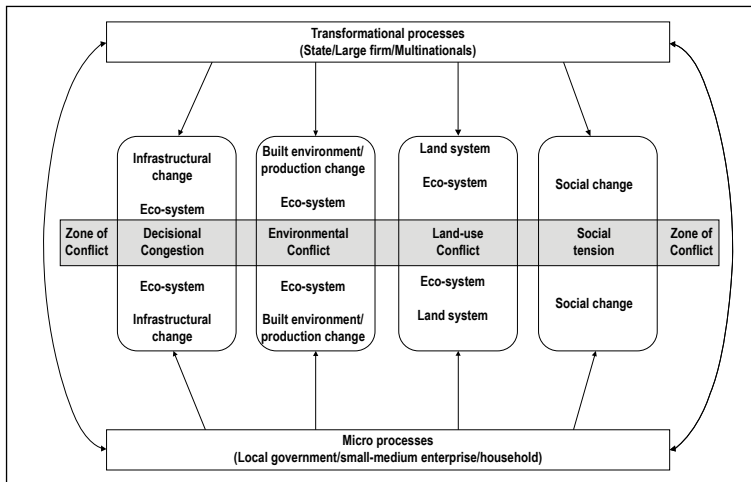


Figure 4: Spatial configuration of Southeast Asian mega-urban region (circa 2000)



Within Southeast Asia most of the mega-urban regions are located in coastal regions. Even Hanoi and Kuala Lumpur some distance from the coast are linked with the ports that form part of the extended metropolitan region. But in Southeast Asia as we have indicated the historical, ecological and cultural differentiation between mega-urban regions is diverse. It is important in developing policies for mega-urban regions that these takes account of this diversity as well as spatial differentiation between the urban cores and the periurban and fringe zones This is important, in part, because it is the margins of the mega-urban regions that will be the focus of most urban-orientated growth absorbing up to 75% of all urban increase over the next decades; in part, because the restructuring of urban cores and their increasing orientation to the global economy is creating fiscal imbalances between the core cities and the margins. The policy solutions for such regions are not easy for unlike the urban cores that are not generally in Southeast Asia governed by a single government the margins are politically fragmented and there are sub-regional variations in the eco-systems that create great difficulty for policy makers. These developments create a complex managerial environment in which a myriad of decisions at the local level come into conflict with the transformative elements of higher level government, business etc resulting in a decisional congestion of management in these fringe areas (See Figure 5).

Figure 5: Model of decision processes in outer zones of Southeast Asian MURs



Thus in Southeast Asia the rethinking of the governance policies that this division between the urban margins and the urban cores of mega-urban regions raises is very challenging. Some countries in Southeast Asia have already adopted administrative reorganization strategies. These vary considerably ranging from the establishment of Metropolitan governments with limited control over local political units as is the case in Manila, or administrative expansion that involve the amalgamation of adjacent political units with municipalities that has occurred in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh Municipalities in 2008. Such measures enable more centralized urban governance and allow more comprehensive planning and particularly infrastructure and urban development at a much larger spatial level. The advantages of such regional responses can be listed as follows:

1. Regional responses can enable a more rational allocation of resources,
2. Regional management can lead to more efficient delivery of services and avoid costly duplication,
3. Regional management must be developed at the level of the eco-system so as to introduce policies of environmental sustainability and reduce environmental problems that preserve the eco-system,
4. Regional policies can deliver more effective infrastructure services such as water and sewerage and increase the livability of the mega-urban region and,
5. Regional responses need to be devoted to the promotion and marketing of the region so that it can be more attractive to investment and become more competitive.

The implementation of these policies involves a fourfold commitment. First, at the level of the MUR there must be a twofold interpretation of governance as incorporating the exercise of political will and power within MURs. It should be emphasized that the implementation of policies at the level of the mega-urban region does not necessarily involve the creation of new levels of government, as is the case when municipalities are elevated to the status of provinces that has occurred in Vietnam or in the case of Kuala Lumpur which became a Federal territory in 1972. In some cases such as Metropolitan Manila Metropolitan Authority lower levels of urban government have not lost political power. For large urban regions that encompass many political jurisdictions there are various models based upon collaborative arrangements. These can be at the level of various units of political administration (e.g. cities, regional authorities) and are designed to create co-operation in planning to overcome policy challenges. These institutional arrangements need not always be made-up of networks of cities but they could also involve sector co-operation within a mega-urban region through regional transportation authorities, regional environmental agencies etc. It is also possible to develop policies that encourage co-operation at a more local level of two or three cities within a mega-urban region.

Secondly, the management of these mega-urban regions must be directed to ensuring livability and sustainability as well as increasing the economic growth and competitive edge of the region. This must be seen as part of a strategy that enhances the economic attractiveness of the mega-urban region which can be carried out in a multi-

layered manner involving all levels of government. Such a vision does not exclude the possibility of city region, public-private partnerships, and government-civil society coalitions being formed. Indeed the administrative spread of Southeast Asian cities that we have referred to earlier offers the institutional possibilities to be make flexible and innovative management decisions. This, of course, requires the continuation of the regional visioning of MUR space is beginning to slowly develop in the MURs of Southeast Asia. In this respect Brenner's carefully articulated review of metropolitan regionalism in the USA and Europe has some relevance. He describes metropolitan regionalism as "including all strategies to establish institutions, policies or governance mechanisms at a geographical scale which approximates that of existing socio-economic interdependencies within an urban agglomeration" (Brenner 1999).

Thirdly, there must be a commitment to the preservation of the eco-systems of which these EMRs are part. In this discussion I want to emphasize first that the local features of the eco system must be taken into account particularly in Southeast Asia where the diversity of mega-urban eco-systems demands locally-derived responses.

The policy implications of regarding the MURs as an integral part of national ecosystems does demand further clarification of the concept. While there are many definitions of eco-systems the simplest is the idea of an eco-system that includes the dynamic interaction between people and the environment mediated through institutional structures. In the simplest iteration of this idea the eco-system provides the resources (water, food energy and land) that provide the necessities of well-being. These systems are capable of being changed as a result of human actions and that have systems changing results for the eco-system that can result in the deterioration of the ecosystem as well as human well-being. This vision of ecosystems sees large urban places as functioning as partial eco-systems that are generally supported by biophysical processes from elsewhere. Generally these mega-urban regions because they are significant users of energy, material transformation and consumption are more demanding of local and non-local energy systems than non-urban places.

These demands can often affect the quality of air, the availability of air, the production of local food, waste disposal and other aspects of the ambient environment and are well documented in the Southeast Asian context¹.

The crucial part of this approach is to recognize not only the importance of protecting eco-systems as part of policy but to build the concept of "spatiality" into the policy process. In 1995 Mc Gee and Robinson had argued that the central imperative for the large mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia was the need to create a response at a regional level that we discussed earlier in this section. But in the decade since this argument was presented the idea that regional planning can provide some rational

¹For example see Greer and Perry (2004).

response to the policy requirements of MURs has become less popular as neo-liberal thinking of has developed an agenda of deregulation, privatization and decentralization. These neo-liberal ideas have become part of the policy agenda of developing Southeast Asian countries and often made the prerequisite of loans by international agencies. In some cases these agendas clash with the top-down agendas of the modernizing states of Southeast Asia and there is a fragmentation of policy responses particularly in the fringe areas of the mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia. Thus policy solutions for the mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia will need some way to combine regional vision that is needed to preserve the ecosystems, sub-regional intervention at the level of the city core, inner and outer margins and contingent solutions at the local level.

Fourthly, as various policies are introduced for mega-urban regions it is important to respond to the issues of vulnerability that are being created by global warming¹, and what seems to be long term increases in the prices of fossil fuel and food prices. As we have already indicated the mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia have been shaped by the ready access to fossil-fuel as the major source of transportation and are becoming increasingly dependent on imported food. Many are also located on low-lying coastal plains that could be vulnerable to projected sea-level rise that is likely to affect the cores cities much more than the urban fringes. The effects of such developments have been already begun to be seen in riots that occurred in Jakarta as a result of increasing oil prices but they have the potential to create even greater social discontent and as the competition for scarce resources increases. One policy response being advocated in developed countries is to plan for higher density cores (compact cities) that that penalize the use of the automobile and develop public transport systems (see Marcotullio 1991) but in the Southeast Asian context many of the mega-urban regions already have high density cores that are well in excess of western cities (where the idea has developed most traction) so that the possibilities for this type of policy response are limited. Some spatial policies have also advocated the development of poly-nucleated form of development in the urban fringes with development of high-density cores in a number of urban nodes within MURs (See Robinson 1995). Other response which would involve efforts to preserve existing eco-systems emphasize increases in the use of alternative energy sources, water conservation and place a major priority on the development of public transportation. Although orthodox planners do not regard it as a viable policy another policy may be to increase the production of food for these mega-urban regions in the outer margins. At least in the case of the densely populated rice growing hinterlands of Manila, Jakarta and Bangkok this would be a return to a historical relationship between these cities and their hinterland that had existed for centuries. But it would also involve a sustained investment in the margins of the mega-urban regions that at present is in conflict with the priorities of creating internationally competitive urban regions. Obviously these policies will have to be embedded in the local context of each mega-urban region but they should contain the following components: (1) effectiveness in contributing to economic growth (2)

¹See De Sherbinnen, Schiller A and Pulsiper, A (2007).

effectiveness in contributing to local and global sustainability (3) effectiveness in promoting eco-systems approach (4) effectiveness in contributing to social inclusion, increasing employment and reducing urban poverty (5) effectiveness in producing a livable environment by increasing the provision of services such as health, education, access to housing, care for the old age etc¹.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to pose the major challenges that the current growth of mega-urban regions in Southeast Asia poses for the future sustainability of Southeast Asian societies. I have been centrally concerned to emphasize the challenges that are posed by the historical evolution of the large mega-urban regions, the importance of using a multi-scalar approach to the analysis of the processes that have created them and from the perspective of this paper the need to spatially deconstruct the internal spatial features of these regions. In particular I have drawn attention to the importance of the “urban fringe” in the creation of these regions and their important role in future urbanization. But this assertion is very dependent upon the persistence of present fossil fuel-based energy trajectory that characterizes these cities. I have chosen to downgrade the current popular interpretation of globalization: as the major determinant of the growth of these urban regions emphasizing the importance of the local, regional and national interaction in the region forming process. Finally I have stressed the increasing vulnerability of mega-urban regions to global forces including global warming and increases in energy and food prices. The task ahead, then, is to incorporate these ideas into the planning for the future so as to ensure that the changing spaces of the mega-urban regions of Southeast Asia are livable and sustainable ones. To return to the introductory quotes of this paper most solutions to the challenges of mega-urbanization will have to be based on the eco-local situation as well as a multi scalar approach at the level of each MUR.

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¹A recent publication of the Asian Development Bank broadly supports these priorities which suggests a shift in the policies of international agencies. See Asian Development Bank (2008).

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ANNEX

Table 1: Southeast Asia. Total Population, Urban Population, Percent Urban, (2007) Percent of Employed Population in Agriculture by Urbanization Trajectory

Type 1.	Total Population (millions)	Urban Population	Per cent Urban	Per cent Agriculture
Brunei	.3	.2	72.2	1.0
Singapore	4.3	4.3	100	-
Type 2.				
Indonesia	226.0	112.0	48.1	44.0
Malaysia	25.7	16.0	67.3	15.0
Philippines	84.0	51.0	62.7	37.0
Thailand.	63.0	20.0	31.1	43.0
Type 3.				
Vietnam	85.0	22.0	25.0	58.0
Myanmar	52.0	18.0	30.7	63.0
Laos	5.6	4.1	20.6	85.0

Source: World Bank (2008) World Development Report 2007

Urbanization Trajectory defined as

Type 1. High Level of Urbanization > 70 per cent

Type 2. Medium Level of Urbanization 30-69 per cent

Type 3. Low Level of Urbanization < 30 per cent

Source: World Development Report 2008

Table 2: Southeast Asia. Levels of Urbanization 1950-2000

Country	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Brunei	43.4	42.8	44.0	49.7	n.a	n.a
Singapore	98.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Indonesia	12.2	14.9	17.1	22.2	30.6	40.3
Malaysia	24.5	30.0	33.5	42.0	49.8	57.5
Philippines	19.8	21.4	33.3	37.5	48.8	59.0
Thailand	10.0	11.4	20.8	24.5	32.5	40.0
Vietnam	n.a	n.a	18.3	19.2	19.9	22.3
Myanmar	12.9	14.3	22.8	24.0	24.8	28.4
Laos	6.5	8.5	9.6	13.4	18.6	25.1

Source: Mc Gee 1967, 1979. Jones 1997 and ESCAP 1992

Table 3: Basic data on Selected Southeast Asian MURS 1990-2000

	Area (skm)	Population (000s)		Density (pskm)	
		1990	2000	1990	2000
Jakarta					
Core	662	8,223	8,347	12,421	12,610
Inner Z	2,374	5,434	9,435	2,289	3,975
Outer Z	3,319	3,442	3,407	1,097	1,085
Total	6,175	17,098	21,190	2,769	3,432
Bangkok					
Core	876	5,455	5,876	6,215	6,709
Inner Z	1,907	1,596	2,380	837	1,248
Outer Z	4,465	1,593	2,163	348	472
Total	7,248	8,634	10,419	1,172	1,414
Manila					
Core	663	7,907	9,880	12,551	15,642
Inner Z	3,105	4,183	6,365	6,215	6,709
Outer Z	8,322	3,819	5,368	461	648
Total	12,061	15,909	21,613	1,324	1,641
Ho Chi Minh City					
Core	170	2,320	3,230	13,647	18,841
Inner Z	617	904	1,078	1,465	1,747
Outer Z	1,308	700	756	535	578
Total	2,095	3,924	5,037	1,873	2,404

Source: Jones 2006. Note Ho Chi Minh City populations are for 1989 and 1999

Table 4: Share of MURs in national population (%) 1990-2000

	Jakarta	Bangkok	Manila	Ho Chi Minh City
1990	9.4	15.8	26.1	5.9
2000	10.0	16.6	28.6	6.4

Source: Jones 2006

Table 5: Selected Southeast MURs. Proportion of population in inner and outer zones; Contribution to total MUR population growth (%) 1990-2000

	Jakarta	Bangkok	Manila	Ho Chi Minh City
1990	51.9	36.9	50.3	40.9
% total MUR Increase	97.9	75.9	65.4	20.7
2000	60.6	43.6	54.3	36.4

Source: Jones 2006

Table 6: Selected Southeast Asian Countries and MURs. Population Growth Rate (av. Ann.) (%) 1990-2000

%av ann.	Jakarta	Bangkok	Manila	Ho Chi Minh City
	2.1	1.9	3.1	2.8
	Indonesia	Thailand	Philippines	Vietnam
	1.5	1.4	2.1	1.7

URBANIZATION AND PERIURBANIZATION IN HANOI

Đào Thế Tuấn*

One of factors causing the current food crisis is the rising disparity between urban and rural areas during industrialization and urbanization process in developing countries. This disparity is best seen in urban and rural areas incomes. Farmers would rather flock into big cities than involve in agriculture and stay in rural areas. This imbalance can also be seen in a gap in social and economic development. A strategy for rural economic restructuring, which is linked to the urbanization process, is unavailable. Urban planning is carried out by planning specialists in the Ministry of Construction while rural development is in the hands of rural development specialists from the Ministry of Agriculture with little cooperation and collaboration.

This article is to analyse various urbanization models aimed at narrowing the gap between urban and rural areas. The first part will deal with conventional urbanization concept in Hanoi, which will hold a great festival to mark its first millennium in the next two years. Later comes the concept of Desakota, an on-going Chinese periurbanization model.

Urbanization in Thang Long-Ke Cho

Hanoi was founded in 1010 when King Ly Thai To moved the capital to the site of the Dai La Citadel, naming it Thang Long which means “Ascending dragon”. While most East Asian capitals follow Chinese Imperial city model, including forbidden city, royal citadel and civil citadel, Thang Long Citadel is an exception.

Popularly known as Ke Cho (Big Market), Thang Long spread its wings since the 14th century and became a big market for handicrafts in the Red River Delta. Ke Cho features 5 to 6 ports and a network of 8 markets in the 16th century. By the 19th century, 4 more markets in all of its gateways were established. Thang Long was then divided into various guilds, each with its own handicraft business.

As many as 61 guilds were recorded in the 13th century, but only 36 guilds remain by the 16th century.

Another feature of Thang Long is that all the guilds in the heart of the city were formed by migrants from craft villages in the Red River Delta, who settled for trading and business. Guilds later became Streets in the Old Quarter area, each street is

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named after the products or service plied on them. A recent survey shows that more than 70 Hanoi streets with trade village origins still stay close to the source villages and its development, which is necessary in creating and improving farmers' income. Connection between trade villages and Thang Long between 15th and 19th century proved that trade and craft villages supply raw materials and labour force to the guilds, which are in turn the villages' markets.

Thang Long's periurban villages, meanwhile, are conservative. All villagers are either locals or migrants settled for generations to develop agriculture or create trade villages by the Court edict, without population explosion. These villages keep their traditional habits. During urbanization process later on, craft faded away and shifted to commerce in respond to urban demand.

This urbanization concept has put Hanoi at the economic centre of Red River Delta, supporting sustainable development in this area. Unfortunately, the new Hanoi has lost its traditional urbanization model. Today, like other Vietnam cities, Hanoi is adopting industrialization and urbanization model based on foreign investment with market opened to foreign companies.

During the 20th century, especially in Doi Moi (Renovation) period, Hanoi has exerted a great influence on periurbanization after a temporary halt. Our study, within the framework of European Union-funded RURBASIE project reveals 3 city-belts established since the last two decades in Hanoi:

- Belt no.1: surrounding villages waiting for urbanization. Farmers keep farming to preserve their land use rights. Land speculation is the main economic engine in this area.
- Belt no. 2: further villages having not been urbanized. They are developing fast with non-agricultural activities into craft villages, or newly-founded villages. Several craft villages partner with surrounding villages to set up trade clusters, creating jobs, improving inhabitant income, and keeping farmers in rural areas. Spontaneous urbanization is taking place without planning and government support, prompting urban sprawl in Hanoi suburban. In this region, belts of dynamic industrial cluster and agriculture have created a new system like in East Asian countries. This process leads to structural changes, based on internal force.
- Belt no. 3: remote villages without direct economic relation with Hanoi. Agriculture is the main economic activity and people's income is very low. Men and young women move to cities seeking for job, leaving behind middle-aged women and the elders with agriculture activity. Extensive farming without livestock keeping may put food security at risk.

Example from Hanoi shows that this city has applied a "city-regions" approach as recommended by A. Scott (1998). The latter suggests an inter-city connection by small towns in rural areas, where economic and political activities are interpolated.

In our opinion, this approach will help solve the issue of incorporating rural and urban issues in a overall policy. Development of cities should be a catalyst for that of the surrounding rural areas, where potentials abound.

Urbanization model in Zhujiang delta, Guangdong province

Decentralized urbanization and periurbanization, also known as Desakota, in Southern China can provide an urbanization model for highly populated deltas. This process has taken place in China's two most dynamic regions: Yangzi delta (near Shanghai) and Zhujiang delta.

Within this essay, will be analysed the urbanization model in Zhujiang delta regardless of its developing tradition, which is quite similar to the phenomenon in Hanoi.

Zhujiang delta, the highest populated and dynamic area in China, is formed by 3 rivers: Xijiang, Beijiang and Dongjiang, of which Xijiang is the largest contributor providing 80% river flow and 90% alluvium. As many as 8 river mouths spread out on an area of 8,601 km.

Zhujiang delta consists of lowland and 300 alluvial hills with altitudes ranging between 10 and 300 m. There are 7 cities, 7 districts within an area of 14,100 km² (accounting for 7.92% of total area of the province). In 1987, this delta was identified with 18 cities and total area of 45,594 km². If Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Zhuhai are also included, the total area will reach 48,005 km², which is a quarter of Guangdong province.

Population in Guangdong rose to 83.04 million people in 2005, not to mention 30 million migrants. Population density is 467 people per km².

Zhujiang delta has developed since 1978, with the construction of Shenzhen city, that has drawn labours from all over the country. From 1986 to 1993, Hong Kong represents 84% of FDI in Guangdong. With other FDI-attracted cities, Guangdong becomes the fastest growing province in China with a growth rate of 13.4%/year and per capita GDP triple national GDP and double other cities. The lowland contributes 92% of export turn-over and 84% of FDI recorded by whole province. In 2000, this area accounted for 34% and 30% of Chinese export turn-over and FDI.

Zhujiang delta comprises 8 major cities, 2 special economic zones, i.e. Zhuhai and Shenzhen, close to to Hong Kong and Macao. Urban here is quite similar to the Desakota model in Netherlands or Northern Italy (McGee, 1991).

Guangdong province includes 21 regional cities, 26 district-equivalent towns, 42 districts, 3 self-governing districts and 52 towns. Currently, the urban-rural boundary

is unclear, that's why only 2 groups are identified in statistical document: agricultural sector and non-agricultural sector.

Migrants do not concentrate in cities due to decentralization in these urban areas. In rural areas, urbanization can be seen with the number of towns rising from 41 in 1890 to 644 in 1922 and 1,458 in 2002. Population in these towns ranges from 2,000 to over 20,000 people. Industry develops rapidly.

Between 1980 and 2002, Guangdong witnessed a GDP growth of 13.4%/year, with an expansion of 5.6% in agriculture, 16.8% in industry and 13.8% in service sector.

There is a specialization among cities: household appliances (sewing-machine, refrigerator) in the central lowland and Guangzhou, washing machine in Zhongshan, electric fan and refrigerator in Foshan; camera and computer in the middle of the lowland, computer and TV set in Shenzhen, motor-bike and bicycle in Guangzhou, hand-tractor (plough) in Jiangmen; clothes and food industries in low land; cement, wood, chemical industry, textile in periurban area.

In the heart of the delta, farmers develop rural industries while coastal districts attract a strong inflow of FDI. Despite low agricultural proportion in GDP, limited agricultural land area and work force, robust economic growth is (5.6%/year) has been recorded. Livestock, fruit farming and pisciculture are fast developing. In service sector, transport communications, tourism and commerce also grow rapidly.

Urbanization and periurbanization models in Asia

Urbanization in Asia features two trends:

1. Population and production concentrates in some places, creating grounds for megalopolis.
2. Within megalopolis area, the rich moves to the surrounding areas to avoid social and environmental adverse impacts caused by megalopolis development.

Urbanization in South Asia is characterized by uncontrolled urban expansion and disorderly land using. Consequently, the mixture of agricultural and non-agricultural land becomes a landscape particularity in these areas. Rural - urban boundary is wiped out of blurred difference between urban and rural lifestyle.

Model of Expanded Metropolis Region (RME)

This model is applied in Hong Kong and Singapore for urbanizing the rural areas surrounding cities with following elements:

- Decentralized population and job, along with sub-centres in urbanized areas,
- Decentralized job in industry and service sector,
- Development of communication routes and car commuting,
- Growing real estate market and relationship between leasing land price and population density,
- Rising housing demand,
- Development of leisure and entertainments facilities in suburban areas to serve high-income earners in downtown,
- Information technology, communication and traffic shortened time and distance between economic activities.

“City-regions” model

This model is proposed by A. Scott (1998). He suggests an inter-city connection by small towns in rural areas, where economic and political activities are interpolated. Hence, we need a new urbanization strategy with following characteristics:

1. Urban and rural development integrated in a national policy.
2. Decentralized urbanization.
3. Urban-rural relationship ensured in the framework of urban developing strategy.
4. Focus on relationships within a system and network instead of administrative boundary.

We believe this approach can help solve the incorporation of urban and rural area planning. Urban development will stimulate the growth of surrounding areas with great endogenous potential.

Interactive Periurban (IPU) model

The British Department for International Development (DFID) has supported the program of developing a productive system with periurban planning and interactive management to mitigate poverty and environmental issues. During its implementation, we found out that the theory of interactive periurban was not well-studied.

Attention should be paid to following factors in interactive periurban theory:

- Importance of buffer zone: Periurban buffer zone is not only a transitional space between urban - rural areas but also home to farmers seeking for jobs in cities. Periurban agriculture also has a crucial role.
- Important role of informal economic activities: small sized production, commerce, income diversification, mutual help groups, informal credit, unlicensed activities.
- Dispute over land-use right and land speculation,
- Growing population supporting buffer zone development.

Medium sized cities and urban sprawl

Medium sized cities have important role in narrowing the urban-rural gap. However, a policy supporting these cities is absent during the urbanization process.

Bottom-up model

Urbanization normally follows top-down approach. In fact, there is a bottom-up approach, which is not recognized in urbanization policies.

Desakota model

Urbanization in Asia adopts a mega-city model with a focus on infrastructure building. This model increases the gap between urban and rural areas, impeding agriculture and rural development. Another model combining medium sized cities and rural development is known as decentralized urbanization model or Desakota (In Indonesian language: Desa = city, kota = rural area). This model has been applied in China (Guangdong and Jiangsu province).

According to McGee (1991), Asian urban areas are unique and can be summarized in “periurban Desakota”. Desakota is a complex space in an area with central cities, buffer zones, satellite towns, wide-spread population but centralized and intensive agricultural activities

Desakota is featured in the interlacing between agricultural and non-agricultural activities and a mixture of villages and small towns. At its dawn in China, this model was spontaneously developed by foreign investors. Upon developing manpower-intensive industries, investment from Hong Kong flowed into villages and small towns rather than into old industrial zones. By that means, this model is developed, which can address urbanization-rural development issues.

This decentralized urbanization and rural industrialization model can ease the urban-rural gap which is the outcome of economic reform during transitional period. It helps solve rural development issues caused by free market as part of the reform. The current economic crisis has sparked huge migration flow from rural to urban areas, jeopardizing food security and agricultural products exports.

Desakota is a process combining agricultural and non-agricultural activities, connecting villages and towns. It includes urbanization and rural development. It should be noticed that this process was initiated by foreign investors rather than Chinese government.

Decentralized urbanization and industrialization in the delta occurred spontaneously.

When Hong Kong intended to hand over manpower-intensive industries to Guangdong, rather than building plants in industrial parks surrounding Guangzhou, they chose new places on Zhujiang delta, including Shenzhen, which is nearer to Hong Kong. Most foreign investment in Guangdong comes from overseas Chinese. Therefore, their investment in home towns and villages, together with industry developing policy in rural area have fastened the industrialization here. Being banned to move to Guangzhou, migrant labours flocked into Guangdong. They have no other choice but stay in the fast growing outskirts.

Current urbanization in Hanoi

Recently, Vietnam wished to speed up industrialization and urbanization process to foster development. With slowing economic growth under the impact of the global crisis, the National Assembly has decided to revise downward the annual growth rate from 8% to 6.5% and finally 5%. This is related to the pace of urbanization and industrialization. We have made a forecast to realize this connection. Hereafter are some comments:

1. With the current national target of becoming an industrial country by 2020, we have tried to develop a development forecast model up to that year. The forecast reveals a possibility of an industrial country if GDP keeps its growth rate of over 8% as in the last few years and agricultural contribution in national GDP drops to nearly 10% in 2020. However, at that time the urbanization ratio will be less than 50% (45%, according to Ministry of Construction). Like other developing countries, our urbanization rate will be lower than industrialization rate with fairly high birth rate (more than 2%), resulting in rising redundant labours. Hence, the share of rural area and agriculture remain high even when the country has become industrialized. Yet this fact is not fully recognized by Vietnam's political and economic leaders, on the assumption that agriculture role in the economy will weaken during the industrialization and urbanization process. It is estimated that by 2020, Chinese agricultural share in GDP will fall to approximately 5% while rural population will remain at 45%.
2. Another factor impacting on Vietnam industrialization and urbanization rate is the current economic downturn. Amid looming global recession, Vietnam cannot become an industrial country by 2020 since GDP will fail to achieve its 8% and higher growth rate as expected. According to IMF and WB forecast, Vietnam's growth rate in the near future will not go beyond the limit of 5-6%/year. The National Assembly has decided to lower the annual growth target to 5%. Our forecast shows that with the growth rate of 5%, agricultural share in GDP will be 13% by 2030. With the growth rate of 4%/year, we never make it to be an industrial country since agriculture growth remain at 4%.
3. Weighing up this condition, industrialization and urbanization pace should be slowed down, to match the actual capacity. Premature development of industrial zones and urbanization can trigger a new crisis. Readjusting industrialization

and urbanization pace is the most effective method to solve urban-rural conflicts regarding land and labour. Developing industrial zones and urbanization too fast would mean an expensive waste while a new way of industrialization has not been identified. A recent project studying the impact of medium-sized towns in Hai Duong and Vinh Phuc shows that these new towns have been artificially set up and unable to foster the comprehensive growth of the whole economy. Land is recovered without labour restructuring, not because workforce had not been trained but because the economic structure had not been changed. Industrialization and urbanization not only depend on FDI and domestic investment but many other factors, especially social factors. A step-by-step approach should be used with a close watch of global evolution. Quickly eliminating agriculture out of the economy like the case of Ha Tay, one of the most dynamic agricultural regions, would be a big mistake.

4. The world now sees in agriculture a means to save nations out of recession. Demand for food will accelerate whether economic crisis occurs or not. The current 6.8 billion people of world population is forecasted to rise to 9.1 billion in 2050, meaning about a double need for food.

Nations worldwide are struggling for a solution to get out of the downturn and an alternative industrialization strategy to ensure sustainable development. An exports-gearred economy which ignores domestic market, relying on low-cost labour, land and environment as competitive advantages is no longer suitable. There is a new tendency of coming back to tap domestic market, using local culture, knowledge and technology as competitive edges. In order to do so, there is a need to develop national creative systems.

Without an alternative way of development, industrialization and urbanization cannot occur. We are working to find out such a development model in the Red River Delta. Hanoi is at the heart of Red River Delta, which has a long-lasting and unique development tradition. Inhabitants from trade and craft villages have built up Thang Long-Ke Cho. The dynamic system of craft villages which is transforming into industrial and agricultural clusters can develop into a national creative system and competitive edge for development model.

Agriculture-based industrialization can be a model with competitive edge in Vietnam, creating sustainable development. Industrialization should base on processing industry so that added value is generated. It should be noted that Ha Tay, with strength in agriculture, should bring into play that strength or it will be a waste.

The widespread model in Asia, rather than developing mega-city (with over 8 million people), is focusing on decentralized urbanization model with small towns and surrounding agricultural belt. This model is expected to save developing countries from recession in the near future.

Countryside tourism can also be integrated into developing rural economy. Experience from other countries shows that rural tourism can double farmers' income, creating jobs and fostering quality improvement in agriculture.

If Hanoi can develop a service system serving rural areas for the Red River Delta, it will create plenty of jobs and help solve the problem of landless farmers. This system should focus on clean agriculture and food processing industry.

The most appropriate vocational training for farmers is nursery garden-plant model which is widely used in many countries and being in pilot stage in Vietnam.

The Association of rural development is preparing to build a rural development service centre to help create jobs for farmers.

5. During its development process, the traditional role of Hanoi as the centre of Red River Delta should not be forgotten. Developing Hanoi should not focus only on Ha Tay, the province which has just been merged to Hanoi. The surrounding economic belt including Vinh Phuc, Bac Ninh, Hung Yen, Hai Duong and Ha Nam should also be taken into account. Those provinces cannot be merged in Hanoi, while a mechanism to foster regional development is unavailable in Vietnam. A French experience suggests there needs a council of regional development to coordinate provinces development in a region.

CHARACTERIZATION OF CONTEMPORARY URBANIZATION BY FORMATION, LANDSCAPE, URBANITY

Yves Chalas*

For public policies to maintain cohesion and to avoid both social and spatial explosion, attention must be paid to new urban inputs. Understanding the contemporary urban conditions is a prerequisite to any future project or research.

The city expands and the city triumphs (BURGEL G., 2006). But what city is it? It is certainly not the city that survived until the “Trente glorieuses” (Glorious Thirties), which is a city with key parts noticeable by a formal architectural area, contiguous built-up, density, neighbourhood life and a unique and powerfully attractive central area. This gone-by city, also founded on the basis of clearly defined opposition between city and countryside, city and nature, central city and suburbs is disappearing to an extent that many observers have found in this disappearance the end of any city possibility (CHOAY F., 1994). However, a certain historically dated and culturally delineated city should not be confused with the city in a larger sense. Cities evolved and this is not new. As a city type dies out, another type flourishes. What matters is just to recognize it. We are always urban, even increasingly urban, but we are urban differently (ASCHER F., 1995). That urban character of the 21st century has evolved into concepts such as the mobile city, territory city, nature city, polycentric city, city of choice, empty space city or the city of continued time (CHALAS Y., 1997). These are new concepts relevant to the current cities that take over those that have gone out of people’s daily life.

We will not study here the causes of current urban changes, which have been dealt with in many useful and well-known works, such as the economic globalization (SASSEN S., 1996; VELTZ P., 1996) or the rise of technologies led by that in information and communication technologies (CASTELLS M., 1996; MUSSO P., 1998; BOULIER D., 1999). Neither do we deal with the social consequences of urban contemporary changes, which are also the focus of many studies and research, especially in face of new social issues (CASTEL R., 1995) or the urban breakaway (JAILLET M.-C., 1999; DONZELOT J., 2006).

Instead, we’ll give an insight into the urban areas’ new situation. Our work is related to what is called characterization of contemporary urbanization issues such as the extent, limits, central city and peripheral areas, the presence of nature and residential urbanity in cities in the future (CHALAS Y., 2000). These are inseparable issues which need to be addressed in a comprehensive approach.

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It is possible to draw a summary table, under the form of non-exhaustive but essential list of specific and even historically unheard-of features of their contemporary territoriality. As many as 15 features can be highlighted.

First feature: the urban aggregation

One of the first characteristics, the most visible of present territorialities is undoubtedly the organic association of many cities, large and small, which used to exist separately and were close to one another, and now are only found to exist in a united way or dependant on one another if they may be located relatively far from one another.

Second feature: the founding mobility

Such an urban aggregation on a large territory can only happen thanks to the combined development of rapid transport, not only economic activities but also in a larger sense of the whole urban life. That is because goods, information and people can circulate rapidly on a larger territory now that cities are connected and increasingly intercalated, and to an extent that any present urban territoriality is not only extended but mobile. The mobility has come in present day society, in disruption with the 20th century society, in our linkages with the places and amongst ourselves. A remarkable reverse trend is now in place in contrary to what used to be true in the past, in terms of residential fixity, of the neighbourhood and even of the jobs that exclude mobility. The right to the city is the right to mobility. From an essentially technical fact of the gone-by city, mobility has evolved to an essentially cultural fact. With present-day territoriality, a new reality of the mobile city has been found (CHALAS Y., 1997), in which city and mobility cannot be thought of separately but rather in an inextricable relationship. There is a new type of urban places now called “transit places” (BELLANGER F. et MARZLOFF B., 1996) and which the RATP (Paris public transport network) research unit uses a rough, yet meaningful neologism: “transport-space” (AMAR G., 1993) to refer to, so as to explain the contemporary inseparable interactive between space and flux, and city and mobility. That can be seen in train stations, airports or airfields and subway stations in which transport is only an aspect among others amenities of these places. Far from being non-places (AUGE M., 1992), these stations have integrated into the city not only its services, animation, attractiveness, and public spaces but also passers-by, consumers and walkers who are not passengers. In the past, if the issue of train station was chiefly on “station within the inner city”, meaning the location and maintenance of train station in the city centre, the current issue is now on “city within the train station” (JOSEPH I., 1999), in other words, the city entrance is on all aspects right at the heart of the train station.

Third feature: the network pattern of polycentrism

The third feature, that of polycentrism, is derived from the two first features of the contemporary territoriality; polycentrism consists exactly of many large and small cities in an urban and interurban rapid multimodal transport of goods, information and people. It should be noted that such a polycentrism is not a new thing. Any city in the past, even remotely located was somewhat polycentric. What changes today is the nature of polycentrism. Centres of current polycentrism are connected in a network logic, and no longer an aureole one (DUPUY G., 1992). The aureole logic belongs to polycentrism of the past, called *christallerien* polycentrism (in reference to the model created by CHRISTALLER W., an urbanist in 1933) who suggested a primary unique centre and secondary centres with the distance from the primary centre. The current networking pattern while not removing secondary centres, seeks to play down the importance of the old principal centres and notably to multiply old and new principal centres, no matter where they are located, whether at the heart or at the edge of urban areas.

Fourth feature: the central place paradox

Current territoriality, in direct relation with their networking pattern of polycentrism, show a paradox of central place, which can be described as follows: whereas historical city centres weakened and became just ordinary centres like the others (MELISSOS A., 1998) – they lost their importance and relationship to become more balanced, and never has been central place in such a good shape. This paradox is attributed to the fact that centres, at times very important ones, appear in large number in urban peripheral areas and consequently, the central place's functions spread out (SECCHI B., 2004) and grow in areas out of the traditional city centre. Moreover, with the moving and eccentricity of central place, the suburbs concept in a sense of suburbs with the only function of dormitory place and far from any central place, is falling into disuse. For it loses its usage, no longer corresponds to the facts and is increasingly replaced by the more appropriate periurban concept to indicate the replication of central place amenities in remote peripheral areas.

Fifth feature: the disconnection between central city and central place

The central place paradox gives rise to a disconnection between central city and central place. While in the yesterday city, including the modern city, historically and geographically the central city is the central place itself or almost so, and consequently central city and central place overlap, today it is no longer the case. In our contemporary territoriality, central place functions are ensured by many other places and amenities, which used to be found solely in the old central city. The periurban has even become the main ground for the extended central place functions.

Sixth feature: the central place functional tripartition

But what are exactly the essential functions of contemporary central place? What are the functions, without which the central place would not be possible in peripheral area and what for that to be called central city? There are three functions defining the contemporary central place: attractively, mass sociability and melting pot.

A central place no matter where it is located must be first equipped with one or several activities (work, entertainment, consumption, culture and so on) which attract urban people including those staying far away to be engaged in, be it for necessity or for desire.

In addition, the number of attracted urban people must be sufficiently large to create a social life based on anonymity and deemed values, or at least a positive urban input (SANSOT P., 1980; PETONNET C., 1994). The existence of such a central place is threatened by two obstacles: a desertification in other words the obvious lack of a large population and of a warm and friendly ambiance if this term means a strong collective pressure of compulsory social interaction that cannot be chosen or managed independently. Urban people would not expect central places to be where they can find warm and friendly ambiance in a sense that people know and are recognized by one another. Neither would they require those in central places. They just want centers to be foremost settlements for men and women to gather in masses as such a gathering helps ensure what contribute to creating urbanity and even the lose (SENNET R., 1979) for urbanity such as: individual secrecy (SIMMEL G., 1984), the right to indifference rather than the right to difference (JOSEPH I., 1984), mutual indifference of passers-by (QUERE L. and BREZGE D., 1993), precariousness and superficiality of social relations, weak bonds, potential meeting with a good or bad partner (PARK R. E., 1984) or discovery of the unknown and learning of uncertainty.

Finally, the importance of a contemporary central place is assessed by the extent of its melting pot. Currently admitted on a small scale in the dwelling place or in neighbourhood and hardly taken into account in urban policies in this respect, the melting pot, however, is a positive mark to the eyes of every inhabitant. The interest of a central place is the gathering of populations from various backgrounds that people can see and in which they take part. A central place should not pose any barrier, be it social, symbolic or physical that may reject any category for users. The rich, poor, elderly, young people, children, the disabled, travelers or foreigners, everyone must be able to find his or her place in a central place worthy of its name. The richer the central place is in terms of human diversity, the more representative or urban centrality it is and the more it is appreciated.

Seventh feature: the central place' diversity

The contemporary networking pattern of polycentrism in terms of territoriality is composed of extremely diversified central places (CERTU, 1999). More precisely, four types of central places, all of them founded on the above-mentioned functional tripartition, make up the current networking pattern of polycentrism.

Old and heritage central cities belong to the first type of central places. These old urban centres are no longer unique and have lost a great deal of their prestige and importance in the benefit of numerous new central places which develop in peripheral areas. However, they were not transformed into impoverished and neglected “downtown” on an American city model, in contrast to what many pessimistic forecasters and other theoreticians of the end-of-the city said in the early 90s.

The second type of central places consists of market towns and village centres which have become fully urban in an extended metropolitan or urban agglomeration following the urban exodus of the middle-class, notably those who have settled massively in the rural peripheral areas in search of countryside and quietness (HERVIEU B. et VIARD J., 1996), while remaining urban both with their job and their consumption style or their behaviour (KAISER B., 1998).

Central places of former suburbs of the first concentric ring around city centre form the third type. In France, these former suburbs where factories and popular residential quarters settled in the years of the Trente glorieuses (Glorious Thirty) have been equipped with central cities since the 80s, which were unavailable previously.

Finally, what is commonly referred to with an oxymoron that serves as a fine description of peripheral central places defines the fourth type, relevant to our contemporary territoriality. In terms of nature, form and aesthetics, the peripheral central places term refers to various facilities ensuring essential functions which are those of urban central places (DESSE R.P., 2002). These facilities come in large numbers at the city entrances, especially shopping and trading centres (PERON R., 2004). Greening, entertainment centres, cultural facilities, multi-modal transports, platforms, among others can also play the role of peripheral central places.

Eighth feature: the city of choice

The diversity of polycentric central places promotes the “city of choice” pattern and in return, this practice reinforces the current territoriality’s polycentrism. The city of choice is the result of a dynamic in which people build up their network of sociability, do their regular and irregular shopping, use services provided by an institution, a doctor or a bank, enjoy their daily or weekly entertainments which suit them. It could be adjacent or far away from their home in the commune’s small central places, or beyond that in old central place of large city in urban area. They would prefer a mall to buy food

or wine or another for its shopping arcade and its clothes shops. They would avoid an overpriced grocery store at the ground floor of their building, get their bread in another neighbourhood for it is better than that in their own living quarter, visit a dentist at the other end of the city for it has a good reputation, or spend less time to meet their neighbours and more time instead, far from their home in a town to play their favourite sport or drop at their friends who live there so frequently that they may be identified themselves as resident of that town, all that is to live a city of choice. The city of choice is also a “a la carte” city, which mean it does not impose a unique and collective menu for people to take or to reject without any other personalized options. The city of choice is a personalized city, a tailor-made city or a city where people live the way they choose, for themselves, for their expectations and needs. The city of choice is a city of individuals (CLAVAL P., 1981; BOURDIN A., 2005). It is not only the city that reflects dwelling practice, but also a production of residents’ individualism - the city that harbours a growing individualism of lifestyles in our contemporary societies (KAUFMANN J.C., 2001).

Ninth feature: the end of centre-periphery dualism

Polycentrism that forms current territoriality rejects the old centre-periphery dualism. This is confirmed by the existence of important central places in urban fringe areas and the practice of living a city of choice. This network pattern not only rejects centralism of a unique centre but also the hierarchized organization of centres.

Tenth feature: an urban area with blurred edge and an unidentifiable centre

In this network of polycentrism where the centre-periphery dualism has become subdued, it is hard to delineate the metropolitan area with precision and the centre itself is hard to be identified. In short, the contemporary urban territory is shaped with blurred edge and an unidentifiable centre.

Eleventh feature: the urban landscape as a melting pot

The contemporary urban landscape comes not only in an association of several central places forming a new polycentrism. Rather it appears, more comprehensively, like a blend of old and newly-founded centres, towns and villages which have become urban areas, farming areas, industrial parks, periurban individual residential areas, roads and expressways etc. which form a certainly heterogeneous setting. This setting has inseparable components where people live and experience. Current territorial dynamic requires us to adopt a view that it as a whole has urban, periurban and rural elements not only adjacent to one another but intertwining, sometimes to the detriment of the other, sometimes benefiting the other.

Twelfth feature: the dual force of nature urbanization and city rurbanization

The current urban assortment from the heterogeneous logic gives rise to a rejection (following the denial of the old center-periphery dualism) of other dualisms which are rural - urban, city - countryside and nature - city. In the formation of the urban entity, countryside becomes urban (DONNADIEU P., 1998), rural and agricultural areas, urban and nature, also urban. This well-known urbanization of rural area and nature is relevant to our current territoriality. However, this force experiences a reverse trend which is also efficient and powerful even if it is less visible: the dynamic ruralization of urban areas. In fact, amid its extension, the city eats into the entire areas of agricultural or wild nature (moreover they are protected) which become part of the city at the same time new urban central places emerging at the heart of metropolises. That is what people refer to as city or urban ruralization force. Nature and agricultural rise back at the heart of urban landscape, like the way they do at the center of political debate on the city organization.

Thirteenth feature: nature as a new urban monument

In the current urban entity, nature acquires a new and even unprecedented status of new urban monumentality (CORAJOU M., 2004). In fact, in the organizational, functional and aesthetic chaos, found mostly in periurban areas, the presence of natural, agricultural or non-agricultural zones appear as new central places but also, they serve as noteworthy landmarks for people to see in them a monument of a territory of the past. Central place, landmarks, and memory can be used to give a definition of the monument. Nature as central place, landmarks and memory in a current territory bears a new urban monumentality. We used to be familiar with the centrally-built and located urban monument. Now, we can get used to the idea of a vegetal and periurban monument.

Fourteenth feature: the structural empty spaces

The current territoriality gives rise to nature as new urban monument like it does with a new urban reality - monument of structural empty space. What does it mean? It means the central, at times, monumental presence of nature in the city which creates empty spaces. They are central and urban spaces which are not filled with construction. As these non-built spaces start to shape and influence the built spaces and the road network around them, (BEAUCHARD J., 1996) and as they are protected, they become 'structural emptiness'. Empty spaces in the current urban entity are no longer like they used to be in the gone-by city. They are no longer secondary spaces, without quality and are just the left-over of the filled spaces. Empty spaces in the current urban entity have the capacity to go beyond and influence the filled spaces. We have been used to 'structural facilities' concept, now it is needed to get familiar with that of the structural emptiness (CHALAS Y., 2005).

Fifteenth and last feature: the parallel extension of city and territory and the non-separation between city and non-city.

In our contemporary society's polycentric and heterogeneous new territorial entity where old centre-periphery and rural-urban dualisms have become subdued, and everywhere we find ourselves in the urban. Either in the old centre or in peripheral area or in the countryside, we are in the urban side, both regarding lifestyle or construction works or facilities. Current territorial changes, an unprecedented fact in human history, prompt the emergence of a massively and fully urban society (MENDRAS H., 1985). Where there is territory, there is a more or less urban factor to a sufficient extent that people can feel they are experiencing an unprecedented logic of parallel extension of city and territory that consists foremost current territorial changes in a process called city-territory (CORBOZ A., 1990). This city-territory is defined with an experienced and tested fact that people today can lead an urban life while they no longer live in the city or while they stay in a remote corner in nature. Another formula relevant to dwelling practice is that the city-territory can be defined with a fact that the city place would not only be the city today itself, but any place in the territory that have the same (or almost) status as the old centre. That is what the metropolis and metropolization terms mean (BASSAND M., 1997). These terms are frequently used to characterize our contemporary territorialities. If we refer to etymology, metropolis mean, on one hand that the urban has become a measurement (metro) of everything, any activity, practice, and landscape; on the other hand, urban facilitates will become the matrix (the city-womb) of everything, any activity, practice and landscape. The city-territory supposes that its inhabitants become new-rurals and also new-urbans, but foremost territorians (MUNOZ F., 2004), who live and experience each day, especially as they travel, the parallel extension of the city and territory and that the urban has become a measure and a source of all things, activities and landscape. Spurred by current territorial changes, the city-territory is also at the origin of a double rejection: denial of dualism between city and territory, certainly but also a rejection of a city-non city dualism. Moreover, if only one feature of today's territoriality is to be retained, it would be that of a non-separation between city and non-city, at a time when city is everywhere, in the centres but also in the nature (wild) and in empty spaces, and conversely, what used to be yesterday non-city, such as protected agricultural non-built spaces, isolated patio houses, or peripheral trading zones – appear more and more present, at times central, in the urban fringe which now make up our territories.

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PERIURBANIZATION AND GOVERNANCE OF LARGE METROPOLISES IN VIETNAM

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Claude de Miras**

Facing its paces and challenges, the periurban area of large metropolises in developing countries appears to be a changing place and a complex process that reflects the making of the city: it is - not the unique - but privileged and especially active and extended place of urban living. If a biological metaphor is used, this area is genetically similar to the city which generates it. It is a city landscape production process, but also a reflection of urban governance and the way in which the city makes decisions.

In emerging Southeast Asian nations and more particularly in Vietnam, we consider periurbanization an excellent prism to decipher and understand the relation between globalization, metropolization and urban extension. But we will go beyond it, questioning ourselves on the function of the urban decision process, its presuppositions, its limits on periurbanization and its features.

1. Periurbanization: a general and descriptive concept?

From Europe to Asia

The following quotation will indicate the first orientations - more descriptive than analytical - referred to by the concept of periurbanization during the industrialization period of the 19th century until the “Trente Glorieuses” (Glorious Thirties):

After the development of the faubourg (inner suburbs), a traditional form of urban space until around 1870, and the afterwards expansion of suburbs characterizing the 1870-1970 century, periurbanization has been playing an important role in France since then. [...]. Unlike suburbs which belong structurally to the city and which contribute to forming an area as a whole referred to by the term of agglomeration (metropolitan area), periurbanism is an introduction of urban elements into rural environment.

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“Periurbanization thus indicates the phenomenon of sprawl and absorption of surrounding rural areas by cities. [...] In large urban agglomerations, the downtown population decreases while flat blocks or individual houses are spread out further away. The neologism “rurbanization”, combining the term “rural” with “urban”, has been proposed to reflect this particular periurbanization phenomenon. In that way, a population growth occurs in towns 20 or 30 km away from a city which has experienced a depopulation, sometimes for a century [...]”¹.

This approach refers more to developed countries. However, regarding urban expansion and development, it is necessary to distinguish developed and developing countries. The latter should be clearly identified both in terms of growth (pace and nature) and periurbanization (cadence, contents and landscapes): capitals and big cities of the least developed countries (LDCs particularly in Africa) also undergo a periurbanization but their issues and their morphology are completely different from those encountered by emerging nations and their metropolises. Governance of these urban territories in expansion is another issue in addition to the rhythm and the landscape. These territories, not only put into practice specific coordination patterns among stakeholders, projects, and territories, but they also constitute a prism reflecting the cluster of multiple powers and forces which together make *urban decision* in emerging economies.

In developed countries, it appears that periurbanization was and still relates primarily to the question of urban sprawl on two principal aspects: on one hand, it relates to rural areas and, on the other hand, it brings a social, architectural and finally qualitative re-formation in between urban centre and urban periphery. It is obviously the urbanization process causing these evolutions but it is not this single specific issue that will dictate growth pattern (for example, at first Fordist, and then post-Fordist with gradually lower growth rates) and urban forms. As Remi Prud’homme² puts it, the evolutions can be spotted, they are of a qualitative nature and it is observed that their relationship with macroeconomic re-formation, growth, pace and contents is hardly explicit. On the contrary, as for emerging nations, there exists a strong correlation between *metropolization* (economic growth + urban growth), integration into *globalization* and extension of *periurbanization*³, together with other factors contributing to this process⁴.

In developing countries, (...) city population rises rapidly. Today, demographic analyses carried out by most of international organizations suggest that the number

¹The periurbanization in France by Bernard Dézert, Alain Metton, Jean Steinberg (<http://www.guichetdusavoir.org/ipb/index.php?showtopic=12548>).

²Les contraintes économiques et financières du développement urbain. (Economic and financial constraints of urban development) Institut Véolia Environnement. Développement urbain: nouvelles contraintes. N°1 Les rapports de l’Institut Véolia Environnement. <http://www.institut.veolia.org/fr/cahiers/developpement-urbain/> unavailable date.

³This is not the case in the least developed countries where large cities extend under the effect of demographic centripetal migration and of land speculation.

⁴The multiplication of nuclear families, increase of housing area per inhabitant, etc.

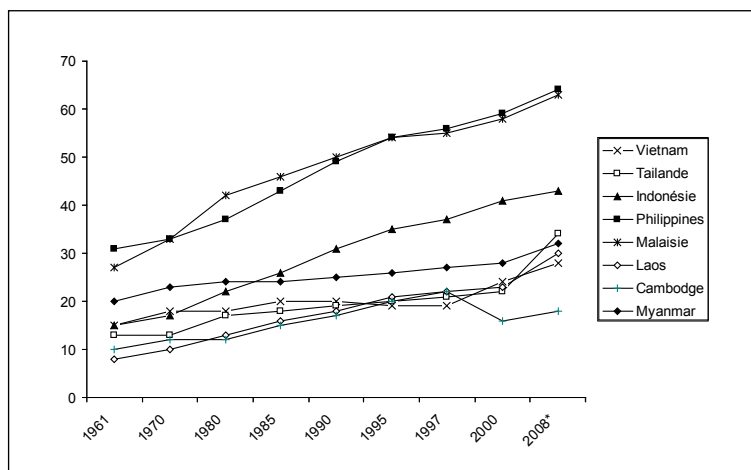
of new urban dweller increases by 70 million per year, including a very strong proportion in the developing countries. Currently, more than half of the world population lives in cities, and it is forecast that two thirds the population will live in cities in 2025. At this stage, it is necessary to come to three observations on the growth of cities in developing countries.

First of all, it should not be forgotten that there are large disparities from one country to another. It is thus impossible to draw common features on the population growth rate (China, with a relatively stabilized population, has nothing to do with Africa) and on the pool of rural population (enormous differences exist between India, where urban population accounts for only 30% of the total population, and Africa; or China, on one hand, and Latin America, which is already strongly urbanized, on the other).

Then, it should be noted that fast urbanization of developing countries is a transitory and non-exponential phenomenon. The urbanization curve certainly has a logistic shape with a fast urban growth period which varies between 10 and 30 years. Lastly, it is observed that henceforth, very large cities are no longer those which develop the most rapidly. Most of the urban growth is seen today in the cities of one hundred thousand to a million inhabitants.

The specific character of the Asian periurbanization relates to the size of the cities, growth pace (fast urban extension over a few decades) and on the level of development (often related to a two-digit growth). But beyond that, the new development models also influence the issues of periurbanization.

Figure 1: Developments of urbanization in Southeast Asia between 1961 and 2000 (%)



Source: FAO (1961-1997) World Bank (2000)

Source: ADB - Key Indicator 2009 May 2009

“Of the 25 biggest cities of the world, 14 are Asian (Forrest and Al, 2000). Urbanization of Asia in the 21st century is marked by the urbanization rate (33%), by the growing weight of the large metropolitan areas and by the spread of the metropolization process, absorbing an increasing rural population”.

Table 1: General data in East Asia

	Area (thousand km ²)	Population (million inhabitants) 2008	Urban population 2008	Density (inhabitants/ km ²)	Population of the biggest city (million inhabitants) 2008	Population of the second biggest city (million inhabitants) 2008	GDP per capita (USD/ inhabitant)
Singapore	0.7	4.84	100.00	6,844			50,456
Hong Kong	1.1	6.98	100.00	6,319			43,954
South Korea	99.3	48.61	81.2 (2007)	490	Seoul: 22.6	Pusan: 4.7	27,620
Malaysia	329.7	27.73	63.5	84	Kuala Lumpur	Pinang: 1.8	13,816
Thailand	513.1	66.29	33.8	129	Bangkok: 10.6		8,216
China	9,598.1	1,328.65	45.7	130	Shanghai: 17.8	Beijing: 12.2	5,958
Indonesia	1,904.6	227.65	43.1(2005)	120	Jakarta: 18.6	Bandung: 6.2	3,975
Philippines	300.0	90.46	64.2(2007)	302	Manila: 20.0*	Cebu: 1.7*	3,507
India	3,287.3	1,150.20	29.4	350	Bombay: 21.3*	Delhi: 18.6*	2,923
Vietnam	329.3	86.25	28.1	262	Ho Chi Minh City:	Hanoi: 2.6	2,788
Laos	236.8	5.99	29.7(2007)	25	Vientiane: 0.9	Savannakhet:	2,387
Cambodia	181.0	14.63	17.9	81	Phnom Penh	Sihanoukville	2,030
Myanmar	676.6	58.82	31.9(2007)	87	Rangoon: 4.9	Mandalay: 1.3	2,030

Sources :

- ADB - Key Indicator 2009, May 2009
- Asian Development Bank - Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific 2009 - 40th Edition, August 2009
- PopulationData.net (UN-WHO, university maps of the University of Texas at Austin, database of U.S. Census, World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO, books, works, maps, various websites, local newspapers, etc)

The reflection on large metropolises of Southeast Asia rests on their economic growth “model” and the opening to the world market [...] as well as the changes which occur there...” (Goldblum, 2002). As for us, the urban dynamics of Southeast Asia helps set the situation in Vietnam, which we describe as urban catching-up, in search of economic and spatial development model. To us, it is interesting to analyse this regional reference, as Vietnam and more particularly Hanoi are located at the crossroads of urban transition aimed at catching up with the urbanization pace of neighbouring countries (cf. tables 1) in order to obtain the status of attractive.

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“These metropolises are the result of economic growth and the high-speed rural-urban transition, since the 1970s. Also, Asian cities (...) are urban laboratories for French and European researchers and stakeholders of urbanism. They are at the heart of fast and at times uncontrolled, economic, urban and spatial processes which model their development and which are rich lessons for the future of the urban policies to be implemented in metropolises of Northern countries. Government pull-out from urban programming, for budgetary reasons, led to a special attention to collaboration with the private sector. It is also needed to take into account a new approach known as public management in metropolization”².

Public management is all the more necessary as the economic function of urbanization has been the focus worldwide for a decade. Urban productivity, agglomeration effects, positive externalities generated by urban proximity and competition between urban territories are now regarded as growth potentials. The urban bias supposition therefore no longer exists; neither does the city withdraw its primitive accumulation from the rural area.

¹Quertamp F., Hanoi, a paradoxical periurbanization. Transition and Metropolization, Cartographic analysis. Doctoral thesis in Geography, under the direction of Mr. Georges ROSSI, Talence: Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3 University (2 volumes), 2003, 604 p.

²Mariéu (Jean), Small (Olivier), the role of the State in decentralization, Paris, Urbanism documentation centre, 2003, 24 p.

The urban growth issue has been gradually addressed in Vietnam since its opening to the world in early 1990s, by many studies in social and human sciences relating implicitly or explicitly to “the transformation of the city in Vietnam”¹.

This can be explained by the important role played by large urban centres in the socio-economic transition of the country: the Vietnamese cities, particularly Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, the two most important agglomerations of the country, are the engines of strong economic growth enjoyed by Vietnam for about fifteen years², the sites of all the innovations and experimentations, but also and foremost the territories where political, socio-economic, spatial and cultural developments inspired by the implementation of Doi Moi are the most visible. Just paying attention to the on-going great human and environmental challenges here would be enough to understand why the Vietnamese city as a scientific topic arouses such a strong interest from the researchers working on this country.

Following a geographical approach, and looking at the issue of Vietnamese city at different angles while paying attention to the spatial and territorial dynamics, three points can be developed here and serve as benchmarks for understanding the issue and the transformation of cities in Vietnam:

- The Vietnamese cities have seen for two decades a fast urbanization which is based on the revival of urban economies (in particular on a strong growth of tertiary sector) and on an increase of migration into major urban centres of the country-made possible by the easing of the licensing of residence. Regarding spatial aspect, this dynamics of strong urban growth is far from being uniform in time and space. Indeed, urbanization has spread in large agglomerations of the country-led by Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City - from the late 1980s until the middle of the 1990s. This phase was characterized by population concentration in central areas and spontaneous settlement of populations coming mainly from rural areas in the inner peripheral areas, i.e. in the inner suburbs. However, for approximately ten years a whole different dynamic has been observed. The urban growth of the Vietnamese major cities and of first peripheral ring already densely populated is no longer driven by central areas, but is rather led by an urbanization and fast industrial development in more remote peripheral areas. These periurban zones, which were made up of rice fields, vegetable gardens and small village just about twenty years ago, have witnessed considerable socio-economic transformations. In the last decade, these territories have seen the establishment of industrial parks

¹Regarding Ho Chi Minh City, the noteworthy works include studies by Gubry on environmental and migratory dynamics (Gubry, 1996, 2000, 2003), by Bassand and Boley on metropolization and sustainable development (Bassand and al, 2002), by Burlat on urban planning (Burlat, 2001) or by Nguyen on urbanism (Nguyen, 1998). As for Hanoi, there are works by historians (Papin, 1997) geographer (Quertamp, 2003) and urbanist (Pandolfi, 2001), (Ipraus, 2001) on environmental issues (Parenteau, 1997).

²Since the late 1990s, Vietnam has recorded one of Asia's strongest economic growths. The country's annual economic growth rate since 1988 has exceeded 4.5% . During the 2000-2005 period, Vietnam enjoyed an average economic growth rate of 7%.

and businesses, which are affiliated by small units working as sub-contractors or those in trading and services activities. This economic and industrial development is accompanied by important spatial and territorial changes: a residential dilation of old villages, a linear extension of the built-up along the road arteries and a progressive disappearance of arable land which leaves little room to a new periurban landscape. From a general point of view, if some aspects of this fast urbanization show a certain success – such as gentrification of central space, urban restoration and renovation operations, and a overall rise in living standards of populations, the problems encountered by the Vietnamese authorities and the inhabitants in this context of urban strong growth are many: concentration of population in a number of districts with more storeys added to the existing Chinese-style houses (terrace houses running deep with narrow frontages), the degraded and dilapidated built-up area, the insufficient road network, which is badly adapted to the increasing traffic intensity, lack of housing, insufficiencies in terms of connection to the water supply and waste water drainage, insufficient access to public services in education and health, pollution, the widening gap of income exacerbated by persistent under-employment and rising insecurity, etc.

- This strong urban growth, which initially dilates the large agglomerations under development in Hanoi and especially in Ho Chi Minh City, but also, to a lesser extent, in Hai Phong, Da Nang and Can Tho, is characterized by a rise in economic activities and adjacent industrial spaces under periurbanization. At the regional scale, this dynamic forms part of a process which sees large metropolized areas established. This metropolization, based on the development of transportation and telecommunications facilities, tends to make these extended and populated territorial systems the new setting of inhabitants' and enterprises' everyday life. This new geographical dimension due to the city character largely exceeds the urban framework in a sense that these metropolized areas include morphologically heterogeneous territories: periurban spaces, rural areas, also known as “natural” spaces, etc. This raises challenges of urban and rural planning and territorial development which are found on the regional scale rather than municipal one: management of infrastructure and intra-regional transportation, waste collection and treatment, identification of polluting activities, development of territories in socio-economic troubles and application of national income redistribution system. Such a change of scale will be undoubtedly necessary to address many problems in the coming years; it will represent a major challenge for Vietnam, first because in this country, the commune still remains an administrative division strongly anchored in the society both from the point of view of the usage and from the representation system. The second reason is that in Vietnam, the old city-countryside confrontation, replaced then by the urban space-rural space dichotomy, remains in many aspects of its relevance, preserving consequently a strong symbolic value for all inhabitants.
- At the national level, the reorganization of the Vietnamese urban network results in a reinforcement of the bipolarization of the country around Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. This phenomenon is based on the flow of foreign investment into the two cities and their deltaic subspaces and is explained by obvious reasons:

concentration of functions and political powers, transport infrastructure, hosting capacity, workforce availability, etc., all this supporting the concentration and deployment of economic and industrial activities within the Northern and Southern development centres. Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City ensure today nearly 70% of the gross domestic product in the service and manufacturing sectors. Between 1988 and 1998, four-fifths of foreign investments were poured into these two “key regions” which concentrate capital, industrial parks (25 out of 29), export processing zones, and hotel and real estate projects (Weissberg Daniel, 2001). In a context of Vietnam’s open-door policy of international exchanges, this reinforcement of bipolarization of the country around Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City is emphasized by the need to have metropolises which serve as main gateways to the world. This phenomenon heightens the domination of the two Northern and Southern agglomerations on the national space and contributes to a deepening of regional disparity in terms of development level nationwide. Particularly, one will wonder about the position of the large central region in such a territorial organization. It will be very interesting to see how the position, the role and the functions of Da Nang city will develop in the forthcoming decades, as the largest urban centre of the central Vietnam has ascertained itself for about fifteen years as an industrial and harbour centre, opened to the very dynamic world.

2. Periurbanization: theoretical approaches

The concept of periurbanization is paradoxical- one which refers initially to a varied and polymorphic vocabulary: urban spread, urban sprawl, spatial extension of the city, periurban concentric zone (INSEE, France), suburbs, rurbanization, suburbanization, proto-urbanization, etc.

But in the second place, it refers to a diversity of urban landscapes, extremely different according to the considered countries and cities.

The difficulty comes from this kaleidoscope, created by the periurbanized areas. They combine among others, depending on the national and urban contexts, detached houses, residential areas or working class collective dwellings, space-consuming export-gearred industrial parks, or areas of informal craft activities, traces of former rural activities but also intensive agricultural activities of truck farming or horticulture and collective infrastructure (airports, highways, water treatment stations, urban waste landfills, etc.).

Towards this empirical expansion, which theoretical frameworks can apply?

“Parallel to the increase in the weight of the cities, periurbanization asserts itself as a new spatial form transforming the cities and their peripheries. This urbanization pattern appearing in Asia in the 1980s is regarded, by certain authors (Yeung, 2000), as an answer to the process of globalization. For MacGee (1991; 1996), the

periurbanization, named Desakota, makes it possible to develop the urban area while integrating and stabilizing the surrounding rural areas. The rural populations are sustained, without being automatically engulfed by the cities. This helps create new employment opportunities in rural environment while increasing substantially the rural households' income. It seems that for this reason, there exists a strong degree of similarity between Jabotabek (Jakarta and its neighbourhoods), the metropolitan zone of Bangkok and the zone of Manila (Yeung, 2000) (...).

(...) To understand the emerging urban forms, parallel to the metropolization process, we will base on work by MacGee (1991; 1992) who was one of the first to reconsider traditional urban spaces. He has therefore identified the metropolization spatial process, developing an "Asian spatial model" and the role of the desakota, a term derived from Des which means village and Kota which means city in Indonesian language, in the spatial organization of Asian metropolises. Later, Macleod and MacGee (1996) have analysed the development of the "Extended metropolitan areas (EMRs)" within the ASEAN. The five key metropolises of the region were classified in three types: 1) Expanding city state illustrated by the case of Singapore; 2) Metropolises with peripheral areas having medium demographic densities as seen in Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia (or Seoul in South Korea), which helps ensure a relative control of the urban growth; 3) EMR densely populated by rice-growing populations like Jakarta, Manila, Bangkok, capable of absorbing the surplus agricultural labour (...).

(...) For a long time, in Southeast Asia, the agglomerations were fed with rural migrations creating precarious dwelling zones in the urban margins. More recently, in the 1980s, industrial and residential projects, or new cities have been multiplied in the urban periphery. These two urbanization vectors have caused a change in the city scale. Two-tier effects can be seen. Firstly, needed areas are larger and secondly, the effective investments, mostly foreign investments, are increasingly important. It is what Charmes (2001) describes as the megaprojects in the case of Bangkok" (Quertamp, 2003).

Observer realizes that this diversity is not contingent and that, in accordance with the economic growth engine and demographic and migration dynamics, the appearance of periurbanization will not be identical. These are undoubtedly two determining factors of periurbanization because it suggests a double demographic and economic dynamics. Moreover, the urban frame (spread around a series of medium-sized cities and rural townships, or on the contrary, monocephalic and schematically centred on a single megalopolis) will dilute or, conversely, concentrate periurbanization. But it is necessary to also focus on the geographical constraints and local natural morphology (landscape, slopes, coastal features, lakeside areas, etc.) which govern, constrain and finally shape the forms and contours of periurbanization.

At this stage, it appears that "macro" factors (economic growth pace and pattern, natural and migration demographic evolution, history and national dynamic of urbanization, and natural morphological constraints), will emerge spatially and locally through multiple possible combinations of "periurbanized landscapes".

If the scale is shifted from macro to local level, then the issue of spatial district¹ of these periurbanization areas will arise. People would wonder - geographically - where these periurbanization territories start and finish. But then, is there a risk of definition for delineated areas now being multiplied at every possibility?

Beside this periurbanization diversity, its mechanisms, forms, rhythms and landscapes, it is necessary to take into account the dynamic process which characterizes it.

- Periurbanization can be approached in a given place, and landscape evolutions take place from rural and peripheral. This place will become gradually urban (in terms of demographic density, distance between buildings, administrative functions, and economic profile) to be a new central area.
- Or periurbanization can be conceived as a specific landscape, a contact area between the rural and the urban, like an urbanization occurring on a peripheral and mobile front on the rural area: then this centrifugal urban ring, typical of urbanization dynamic, is on the external limits of the urban area.

Periurbanization is therefore located at the intersection of spatial and diachronic approaches. It fits very clearly in a combination of space and time.

If the spatial approach is preferred, it is needed to study how urbanization front moves at the same time as the urban area widens with external limits moving away from the city centre.

If the diachronic approach is preferred, it is needed to look at the “rural-urban” interface area by imagining how a territory will gradually integrate into the city and become an integral part of it in the future.

In this perspective, it could be said that periurbanization occurs at the same time as the countryside disappears and the city is built on its external limits. Periurbanization is neither a permanent state nor a given place, not an intangible urban landscape; but it is a double process: it is a rural retreat if the location is exactly at the edge of the urban front; at the same time, this concept covers an urbanization in the making, observing how this urban front evolves and how this territory is urbanized (land rent, functions, architecture, density, etc.). The periurbanization has certainly a spatial aspect but could be basically a dynamic inclusion process of places and people to create new landscapes in urban logics. This exceeds geographical dimension and also refers to economic, sociological, institutional and cultural components.

¹L'au-delà des villes contre l'entre-deux des villes. Un espace suburbain français occulté. Marc Dumont et Anne Bossé. *Espaces Temps*. net <http://www.espacestems.net/document2003.html>.

The unstable character of this periurbanization concept comes not only from this great diversity of the considered proto-urban landscapes, but also from more fundamental uncertainty as for the process taken into account: is it a question of a narrow rural fringe being transformed into urban one at a given moment, or is it a question of considering a larger temporary and spatial zone which makes up a space-time interface, in which new territories and new players will integrate the city while contributing to the making of it?

The periurbanization issue becomes a little more complex if this process is put in the context of globalization and metropolization while considering its impacts on urban socio-spatial reformations.

In fact, according to Michel Bassand¹, metropolization refers to two parallel but distinct phenomena: the first relates to urban sprawl. It is decided by the departure of working class who is pushed towards the periphery under the land rent hike effect and at the same time its impact on the intra-urban rents hike. Zones of collective habitats were developed at the same time as industrial areas. Bassand names this phenomenon suburbanization, which is made possible and replicable by technological progress (individual and public transport and telephony).

In parallel, a phenomenon of gentrification and restoration of the city centres, invested by the affluent urban people at the same time as they settle in urban periphery's protected and safe habitats. They thus contribute to periurbanization. However, does metropolization weakens the periurbanization? It is noted that globalization process is at the origin of periurbanization, undoubtedly characterized by unprecedented pace and scale. But it is not the globalization which essentially explains periurbanization but it prompted a new form of periurbanization.

The subsequent issue to consider is the governance of these peripheral territorial units and their dynamic. The question, just like the one raised by Bassand, is on the governance of these areas and to which extent these territories will be involved in a sustained development path?

This requires bypassing the local level: how to facilitate positive connections and regulation processes between periurban territories with scales² being extremely different?

This reflection calls for researching on methods and stages of periurbanization. There arises a question not about what is generically the periurbanization but rather

¹Under the direction of Bassand (Michel), Thai Ti (Ngoc Du), Tarradellas (Joseph), Cunha (Antonio), Bolay (Jean-Claude) *Metropolization, ecological crisis and sustainable development: water and precarious habitat in Ho Chi Minh City*. Lausanne, Presses Universitaires Romandes, 2000, 300 p.

²From Commune to Région while passing by Intercommunalité and Territoires de projets (synergy among local administrations in accordance with association status).

about the differential characterization of the periurbanizations induced by the great specific economic phases which carry them. This reflection is on the question of the indicators or at criteria to be considered and built to establish the methods and stages of periurbanization.

Is there a correlation between metropolization and extension of the urban area; in other words, are national growth rates in Asia the good discriminating indicators to circumscribe and approach the territories of periurbanization of the large metropolises?

It is perceived that the issue of city governance and sustainability (regarding economic, social and environmental aspects) of this exponential process is relevant to the analysis of city concentric and peripheral growth process. It is therefore supposed that globalization, with its spatial and demo-economic implications on urban peripheral areas of countries in transition, has modified the issue of periurbanization by focusing, on their governance and their sustainability, not on the extent and description of the phenomena. As Olivier Petit refers to it² with regard to globalization, “There would be, then, a shift from description to prescription in the study of metropolization”. Unless the vision of an immediately with regard to globalization, “*There would be, then, a shift from description to prescription in the study of metropolization*”. Unless the vision of an immediately prescriptive governance is exceeded, it is the dismantle of the matrix where urban decision is made to understand the overlap of powers and forces which will sustain it. Amid the complexity of factors which determine and which depend on the urban decision, governance becomes the indispensable analyser.

3. Urban governance and periurbanization

Amid its rhythms and challenges, particularly in Asia, periurbanization could be addressed from the perspective of relevant public policies, except that periurbanization is not a specific field of public action, for instance in maritime coastal forests, industrial parks, historical natural parks or urban centres. On the contrary, periurbanization is an excellent prism to decipher and understand the function of urban decision, its presuppositions and its limits.

We will initially observe the practices of public administration in urban peripheral areas of Vietnam’s large metropolises. We then suggest an overall issue of urban and periurban governance in the context of countries in transition to rapid growth.

Urban development put to the test of practice and into the lines of players

“On the Vietnamese authorities’ side, true reflection on the dynamics of these spaces does not exist. It turns out that the economic development goals of this zone, in particular

²Summary note on metropolisation. Documentation Centre on Town Planning. DGUHC. Paris la Défense. September 2003. p.6.

the development of a “clean” agriculture, often contradict urban development projects (such as new city projects). In this area, different ministries and research institutes are still deeply marked by a monolithic, linear and technical vision of urban development. The concepts confrontation issue is fundamental, because Western researchers’ reflection is often opposed to a urban technical vision. The social representations have here their full sense and beyond the vocabulary it is the different trends of thought that influence the territory development policies. At various administrative levels, the concepts, when they exist, are handled in very diverse ways which do not take into account the current reality” (Quertamp, 2003).

The administrative vision of territory makes it possible to plan and refers to a technical vision of this territory while helping keep a balance in population settlement. This vision is the reflection of Vietnamese extremely centralized urban planning, and aimed at integrating rural areas into urban administrative limits in order to set aside land for urban growth. But today, market forces and new mobilities have changed what is at stake and the new dynamics non longer fit in the pre-established framework. As a result, a complete inconsistency is seen between urban categories and urban realities, prompting mismatches and irrelevant choices in development.

Amid the increasing problems of urban development (construction, planning, land management, environmental problems, employment, social cohesion and so on), sustainable development is a real challenge. To support economic development in the new economic context (joining WTO, industrialization policy, etc.), urban development enhances pressure on both urban and rural periurban areas in terms of administration. The move can be seen with regard to such areas as economic (access to employment), social (access to collective services) and environmental (conservation of resources and the life environment) aspects, questioning the city’s capacity to absorb this increasing population while maintaining social cohesion and minimizing environmental impacts.

Land laws especially focus on abusive land speculation because many provinces, in particular those peripheral areas of the two large metropolises, such as Hung Yen and Bac Giang, freeze arable lands without giving them an exact solution. Thus, thousands of farmers lose their land capital and their job, without prospect for professional shift. They need to be content themselves with a volatile improvement of their living conditions from quickly spent compensations (purchases of motor bikes, housing, etc.). Each hectare of lost land affects between 10 and 13 farming jobs (to which it is necessary to add indirect jobs in services and trade). As many as 20% of the relocated farmers become unemployed or have precarious employment; they appear to be insufficiently trained and qualified to be able to land an industrial job.

Diminished agricultural land is a problem on several aspects since it relates to productive arable land and therefore employment. No support and professional reintegration facility has been available with relevance to provincial situation and working-age population. This deficiency has brutal and contrasted effects in socio-spatial terms in various aspects: the first aspect relates to the amount and the distribution

of expropriations; they function according to mechanisms at several speeds. The second aspect is related to the issue of career shift of expropriated people in the short run and medium term, prompting widening social inequalities. Overall, this has questioned the transformation and social cohesion between the population groups.

Behind this process of government-imposed eviction, an urban management has been set up. In the case of Ho Chi Minh City, it appears chaotic in multiple aspects. Planning seems to have little effect on this urban and architectural landscape; traffic arteries are increasingly congested and old heritages are degraded amid construction of increasingly imposing towers. Under these conditions, people wonder about the effectiveness of the management style of Vietnamese cities, twenty years after the beginning of economic transition.

However, since the mid-1990s, the city has become without doubt the heart of trading and economic growth (80% of the growth come from manufacturing and services located essentially in the cities); the urban area of Ho Chi Minh City attracts nearly 75% of total investments in Vietnam and accounts for approximately 25% of national GDP¹. The urban transition results in a urbanization rate of almost 30% in 2009 (19% in 1984) and evolving by 3% in the case of Ho Chi Minh City whose population is more than 7 million. As many as 50% of the urban population reside in the three major urban centres of Vietnam, Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City and Hai Phong and 70% in these three metropolitan areas². This transition seems to enter in a new stage today, while reaching what looks like a saturation (or more exactly a negative balance due to urban area effects) by imposing a new reflection on the city planning.

This reflection appears at several levels. The first question relates to the logic of the rules which until the years 1990 governed the planning of Vietnamese cities under the command economy. The second question concerns land acquisition modality and the last raises the issue of the civil society's role and on a larger scale the establishment of a new urban governance.

It is increasingly proved that besides tools, services organization and definition of their mandate, it is the very approach of planning which is questioned internally. Contradictions are increasing regarding urban development and it is recognizable with the regulation started at the beginning of the 1990s. This led to an alarming irrelevance between urban planning documents and the market dynamic, making local authorities increasingly inefficient as compared to their ambition of putting urban growth under control. The Prime Minister's approval of Ho Chi Minh City master plan towards 2025³ shows the extent to which this document works and its difficult application.

¹Globally, about 75 % of economic production are made in cities. Developing countries are in a rush to increase the share of city in their GDP with a majority of them already exceeding the cap of 60 %.

²According to the Ministry of Construction, Vietnam has seen a new city created every month on average, over recent years (*Saigon Giaiphong*, December 15, 2009).

³On a global scale, approximately 75% of economic production occur in cities. Developing countries are in a rush to increase the city share in GDP, a majority of them already have exceeded the cap of 60%.

Urban governance in strong growth context

Globalization, metropolization and a fast demo-economic growth lead to an urban economic expansion, based on a considerable land rent hike, among other factors. In this respect, it is advisable to insist on the wealth self-generating economic mechanism, that cannot be attributed to any productive economic activity: in the context of metropolization, the adjacent arable land quickly becomes urban land and then land capital. Its value increases according to the following mechanism:

Considerable capital gain is made in two manners :

- on one hand, a long chain of agents is set up to ensure this transformation of land into capital sold by farmers or more often, land expropriated from farmers to the final property developer, via all the intermediate developers. It should be noted that this process occurs in the periphery of metropolized cities, but also within the city with a *intra muros* (inner city) restructuring. Through renovation projects at the neighbourhood level, these operations come back with the clearance of shanty towns and precarious habitat, or resettling non-structured quarters, prompting a gentrification phenomenon. In all cases, on these intra-urban territories, land rent rises and contributes identically to the process of creating new values fully or partly injected in the urban economy.
- on the other hand, a continuous income is generated through land rent deriving from property investment made on this capital; moreover, these land and real estate property will support the granting of mortgage credit.

This urban land capital valorization process is still on the rise as economic agents who have it or who wish it, all believe that this mechanism will sustain. If they anticipate that this enrichment will sustain or even consolidate, the level of land rent will continue to surge even if it means entering the unstable zone of speculation. There, no rational factor will explain the peaks reached by land selling prices or buying prices.

Urban land is thus a stake and a powerful funding engine of urban economy, but it is not only one. Foreign currencies income from exports and massive inflow of external resources through FDI are the two other funding sources of urban economy.

The metropolized city is a tremendous living matrix where new economic values are continuously created; they generate, through the banking network as a counterpart, monetary liquidities; the latter will then enter the circulation sphere and will irrigate all the petty trading and informal small commodity production sector.

It is the **“real city”** because of its founding economic commercial mechanism.

Conversely, there is the **“dream city”**, that only pays attention to retaining the design, the esthetic and the form but not covering this broad and powerful mechanism which is the urban economy.

A third is suggested to the city, located at the interface of the “real city” and the “dream city”, it would be the “**thought city**” which would try to be compatible with the first two representations of the city through, if possible, *sustainable urban development strategy*.

It should be noted that these three city-related views can be the fact of identical actors the authorities trying to juxtapose which are market forces in a metropolized urban context, the model of a harmonious city and a public action of coordinating, regulating and making balance.

The sustained economic, social, environmental and cultural transformations question the model of city and beyond it that of society which is being forged by political openness, fast creation of an infrastructural network, more intra-urban than inter-urban, and mobilization of rural labour. Which sustainability and which contradictions are contained in this exogenous economic dynamic and this endogenous political dynamic?

There arises a question of this model control. The authorities try to put in place the conditions for economic expansion. However, after more than one decade, it is high time to ponder on the regulation of this model, and after diagnosis, its insufficiencies or its excesses.

It is clear that the sustained rhythm in terms of urbanized areas, created employment and added-value of used natural resources require to be studied to be controlled and assessed.

The extremely fast urbanization rhythm prompts a certain discrepancy with the planning and the comprehension of periurbanization process. Despite availability of tools and standards for control and sanctioning, there is the increasing difference between urban development in reality and knowledge of its mechanism, its contradictions and its control.

One can put forth the assumption that the approach of “projects” (industrial, land, real estate, infrastructure, etc.), and their poorly coordinated implementation, through concessions or delegation to public or private operators, would spark a number of consequences: the general coherence of the *urban project* is hardly ensured. The negative externalities (effluents, harmful effects, mobilities, etc.) generated by each project are not taken into account duly.

Under these conditions, social and environmental tensions can accumulate without being taken into account.

Moreover, the “projects” logic appears to generate a specific economy which goes beyond the apparent perimeter of the aforesaid industrial or infrastructural projects.

There are various reasons for project replication. Could commission payment in multiple forms or vested interests, etc. constitute a reason?

If industrial infrastructural project is a social and objective necessity amid urbanization needs, can it be individual? If the implementation of these projects is outsourced, the amount outsourced requires to be subjected to a higher supervision.

The sustained urban growth, a limited national and local administrative capacity, a project approach, non or little compulsory master planning, the absence or the difficulty enforcement of regulation, the non-responsive and top-down character of the decision, the financial amounts at stake are all the factors which cause the existing form of periurbanization.

There is a logic of - automatic maintenance of this logic of projects by land valorization for with the generalized enthusiasm.

Conclusion

Periurbanization is above all a specific landscape. Its morphology is different according to considered national and urban contexts. If this landscape is a genuine prism or analyser of the urban development, it indicates their symptoms and consequences as a set of indicators.

At first sight, periurbanization is a process of absorption of an adjacent agricultural territory or a close rural village in their transformation into a city. Periurbanization resets, in a centrifugal way, geographical borders. It is a dynamic, visible and territorialized scene where the material consequences of an urban socio-system and its growth are projected.

However, periurbanization is not problematic. It is a geographical container with certainly specific contents. But in itself, periurbanization does not exhaust the territory and provides even the key of knowledge on this territory development. It is a photograph which does not provide by itself an explanatory reading of the challenges and contradictions, it is about vision and description. It does not give the key to the territory issue, its tensions, its internal contradictions, and its bonds with the regional or international dynamics. Periurbanization is a geographical melting pot which potentially has a structural significance to the urban development model and even at national level where the territory in question has a strong balancing power in the national economic dynamic.

But how to read these indices is not granted. This requires that ways are found to understand them. It is no longer about geography, observation but about systemic and theoretical analysis.

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Part II

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE EXPANSION OF CITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO PERIURBANIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Trần Ngọc Hiền*

Urbanization is a historical process that only takes place in a *market economy*. New towns spring up in the first phase of industrialization and are modernized in the ensuing phases.

Given the fast changes in market economy as well as the conflicts and paradoxes in the early 21st century, a look at different approaches to periurbanization is necessary to the reform process. The face of an urban area in terms of cultural structure and public life is the basis of evaluating the quality of urban development.

So, different approaches to urbanization will bring in the different faces of an urban area, hence difference faces of a country.

Analysing the different approaches to urbanization will contribute to setting the standards for an urban area at different economic and cultural development stages. It is possible to figure out through such criteria a proper path to urban development at each step of the economic and cultural development process.

I would like to analyse the different approaches to the periurbanization in the contexts of Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries. The analysis will be focused on the two features of periurbanization.

The first feature is that Vietnam and Southeast Asian countries share the same low starting points as lag-behind economies in world industrialization and modernization. The second feature is that these countries embrace industrialization and modernization at a time when the world economy moves from the stage of industrial economy to that of knowledge economy and globalization.

I. PERIURBANIZATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GLOBALIZATION

Countries going for industrialization in the second half of the 20th century have come under the mounting impacts of globalization in the directions of width and depth. The greatest and foremost impact is urbanization in these countries. Vietnam and Southeast Asian nations are among them. However, how big the impacts affect the

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countries in a positive or negative way depends on the starting point economically, socially, culturally and politically in each of the countries as well as the competence of the national administration.

Globalization has the following impacts on the periurbanization.

Economic globalization is driving a change to fundamental relationships in industrialization and modernization, including urbanization as the key core.

1. Relationship between urban development and state foreign policy

The open – door policy and international integration have direct impacts on urban development. There have been lessons of success and failure of some countries, which should be studied for the current development exercise. The relationship between urban development and state foreign policy reflects the interaction between the two different *levels of development*, local and international development. This is a problem to be solved for developing countries.

Urban areas are a pillar of the entire socio – economic development process. How the urban areas are developed decides how a national economy grows. The failures experienced by some countries are shown in their substantial economic growth. Some Southeast Asian nations, including Vietnam are under pressure of receiving secondhand technologies from the less developed countries, which in turn get them from the developed countries through joint venture projects with foreign partners. This is shown by the *percentage of high technology* in a business. In Southeast Asia, Vietnam has the lowest ratio of less than 10%. Thailand has a higher ratio than Vietnam. Malaysia has a higher ratio than Thailand. If nothing changes, the countries such low high – technology ratios like Vietnam will risk becoming the world’s dumping sites of technologies. It is pretty hard to work out the face of urban areas in Vietnam by then.

2. Relationship between urbanization and rural development

This relationship is treated differently in the range of scientific – technological levels, governance competence and macro administration. At the level of industrialized level, it is reflected in the relationship between manufacturers and suppliers and workers. At the level of knowledge economy and globalization, this relationship has changed. Global competition pressure is changing the labour distribution system of a nation, making it a link in a “*global development network – GDN*” and the results can only be found in the “*global value chain - GVC*”. The pressure forces each nation to find for itself a competitive edge for its urban development. Only when a *competitive edge* for successful competition can there be change to the urban – rural relationship.

3. Economic globalization is serving capitalist groups

While paying little attention to social and environmental issues. This tendency is reflected in the face of urban areas nowadays. It is abused in the countries where administrators only care for quantity growth and how to address issues during their office. However, it also works for the better with less negative impacts in the countries where administrators have a strategic vision to globalization.

At worldwide scale, globalization for the best profits of investors at the expense of social and environmental protection needs have by the turn of the 21st century left life – or – death consequences to humanity. Its aftermath are worsening ecosystem, global warming, rising sea water and frequent tsunami attacks. The hardest hits are always the developing nations, including Vietnam. Meanwhile, rehabilitation efforts from such natural hazard attacks are always weak. This is a risk to the process of urbanization in Vietnam, a coastal country with a long coast line of 3,000 km and a large portion of high mountain. Coastal and riverside urban areas are the direct victims of climate change impacts.

II. PERIURBANIZATION ON THE CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Generally, Vietnam and Southeast Asia as a whole are at low levels of cultural, scientific and technological development. This explains why they have been lagging behind with agricultural economies for a long time. Market economy systems and industrialization have partly changed their economies. However, there remains a great challenge to their urbanization exercise.

The challenge manifests itself in the gap of development between national and international levels, especially in urbanization. Obviously, urbanization is part of a market economy and depends on the level of cultural, scientific – technological levels in the process of economic development. In the process of development, urban areas reflect the development of a market economy and depend on the levels of cultural and, scientific – technological development.

These are challenges to Vietnamese urban areas. Reports at an international seminar on planning institutions and urban development in Vietnam held in Hanoi on 23 October, 2001 say that the percentage of urban residents increased from 14% in 1994 to 20% in 2001. The increase was spontaneous due to the exodus to the cities by farmers who have lost their land and employment. Spontaneous migration to the city make it imbued with rural lifestyle, rather than industrialized and urban styles, causing traffic jams, housing problems and environmental pollution.

The challenge to the urbanization stems also from *urban planning and architecture*. Urban planning and site clearance for building are the headache of administrators and

investors. Many planning and urban development projects such as the one to replace Ho Tay lake water or build resettlement thrill the public as they are merely for the profiteering purpose of some individuals. There have been lots of seminars on urban development but the face of urban areas remains unchanged. At a conference on urban development in Hanoi, a delegate said “our country has constructions but no architecture” and he received consensus from others. This story indicates the problem of urbanization in Vietnam.

The problem is also *seen in the level of scientific* and technological development. Poor education and low levels of scientific and technological development have affected the socio – economic development of urban areas where the life style is partly rural and partly urban, making it difficult for a new town of urbanized culture to form.

When the country goes for international integration, the opportunity arises to promote cultural, scientific and technological development, laying the grounds for the formation of new towns. However, opportunities are accompanied by challenges to governance and administration, which nowadays play the decisive role in the development of an urban area.

III. PERIURBANIZATION AT THE ECONOMIC STAGE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Market economies are formed from the basis of materials, technologies and machinery resulted from the scientific – technological revolution which started in the early half of the 18th century and lasted till the end of the 20th century. The birth of market economies at the stage of industrialization gives rise to the formation and development of new towns. The second scientific – technological revolution beginning at the turn of the 20th century have brought urban areas to a new height of development, turning them into cultural centres imbued with national identity. *Cultural industries* emerged and grew strongly on national and international levels, making urban areas economic and cultural engines.

This pattern of urban development lasted till the end of the 20th century and as a result, urbanized areas have become the consumers of economic and cultural products and the places of technological transfer among nations. However, the economically and culturally low starting point of these areas means the process of urbanization is full of risks.

First, building new towns by awkwardly imitating others have resulted in the situation that “our country has constructions but no architecture”.

Second, periurban areas have become the places of technological transfer for joint venture projects with international partners, making them potential “dumping sites of technologies” for more developed countries.

Third, the unfiltered absorption of western lifestyles may give rise to a potential “social crisis”.

Fourth, the deteriorating urban environment as a result of industrial development not accompanied by environmental protection, uncontrolled building, non-compliance with the law or inappropriate law has caused serious social and environmental consequences.

Fifth, the inevitability of the widening gaps in industrialization between rural and urban areas and the rich and the poor of an urban area are impeding the development of modern urban areas.

Sixth, such problems can have long – lasting impacts on the administration of urban areas and are manifested in the localism, conservatism, red-tape and corruption of the bureaucracy.

These problems have started to take its toll at different levels of seriousness in periurban areas. Therefore, it is important that the development of an urban area starts with a *proper orientation* for economic development in association with a direction of cultural development.

IV. PERIURBANIZATION AT THE STAGE OF KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

The scientific – technological revolution was followed by the birth and growth of knowledge economy at the end of the 20th century. The knowledge economy as witnessed in the past decades has been the result of the evolution of the market economy. This new type of economy is capable of addressing economic, social, environmental and international relationship problems of the industrialized economy. It can give rise to a new economy, new society, new culture and new politics. All these possibilities converge on urbanization and mean that the urban area will have a new economic structure, new social structure, new urban administration, new living standards and new lifestyle.

New towns in general and new towns in the periurban area in particular will have challenges to change themselves into a new type of new town.

It is the challenge to change the direction of economic development from meeting the investors’ requirements to *sustainable development*, in which economic growth needs to couple with social advances and environmental friendliness.

It is the challenge to change society from that of manual workers to that of *knowledge workers* together with social and individual advancements.

It is the challenge to the cultural, scientific and educational change in the *humanistic* direction. Notably, *the new education* will produce knowledge workers. Individual creations will be key to development. *Scientifically and technologically*, natural sciences and technologies will combine with social sciences and humanity studies to give creations new properties targeted at human and humanity development.

Above all, the advance to the new type of new town at the stage of knowledge economy requires of administrators at the macro level a new vision, new standard and new methodology to be manifested in the development and running of democratic and humanistic economic – political institutions.

When it comes to the approaches to urbanization, the term “periurbanization” means *urbanization in developing countries* adopting a market economy. The term “periurban area” can be interpreted as an urbanized area in a developing country in reference to other world urbanized areas or the developed world’s new urban areas.

GLOBALIZATION ON EDGE: FLEEING THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE (PERI-)URBAN TRANSITION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Abstract

The urban transition underway in Southeast Asia poses serious challenges to the governance of rapidly expanding cities, especially in periurban areas that are experiencing large-scale transformations from rural to urban land uses. Global land and housing consortia are leading actors in this process of converting agrarian settings into gigantic new towns, gated housing estates, mega-shopping malls and big box stores. While these projects are creating modern dwellings and amenities for higher-income segments of the population, they are also inverting the idea of the city as a public realm containing privately-owned spaces by creating vast privately-owned realms with little, if any, public access, space or governance. These new land uses are elements of the privatization of the city that is also occurring in the urban core in the form of very tall buildings, business complexes, supermarkets, world trade centres, and other sites of global consumption and management. Together these periurban and core transformations pose fundamental questions about the future of urban governance and public space in Southeast Asia.

1. Lift-off: Globalizing Periurban Southeast Asia

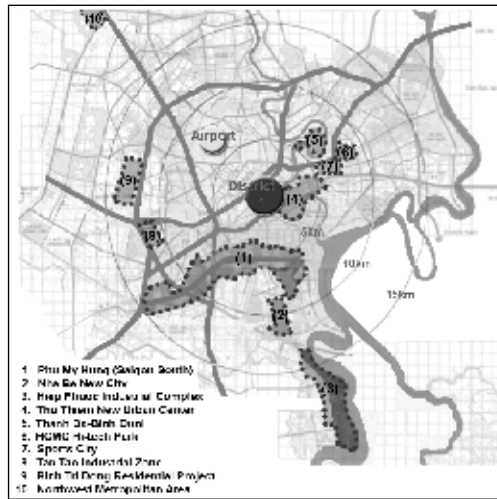
A radically new landscape is surrounding the great cities of Southeast Asia. Rising from farm land and villages is a new built environment composed of vast new towns and gated housing estates supported by newly built shopping malls, big box stores and suburban supermarkets that are prodigious in number and scale. Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC) (Figure 1) exemplifies this transformation. Its earliest and largest edge city is Phu My Hung (a.k.a. Saigon South), which is ostensibly being built for 1 million residents (PMHC 2004, 2007). The more modest Nha Be New Town is modeled after new towns in Korea and is to be the home of 68,000 residents along with a hospital, schools, a commercial complex, and airport. Further south is a massive industrial estate complex at Hiep Phuoc¹.

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¹A New Zealand based company, Contue Jinwan Enterprise Group, is also looking for a 300 hectare area for a new city development (Luan 2007).

On the other side of HCMC about 30 kilometres from the centre of the city is one of the biggest of the new edge city projects, North-West Metropolitan Area, that is to be “a modern ecological metropolitan area” (Thanh Nien News 2007:1). Initiated by a Malaysian firm, its area is vast: 6,000 hectares in total with a width of 3-5 km, stretching some 18 km in length adjoining the Trans-Asia highway. The 30,000 people who now live there are to be resettled elsewhere (TPC 2007) to make room for 300,000 new inhabitants (Investmentmart 2007).

Figure 1: Edge-City Projects around Ho Chi Minh City



Source: Douglass (2007), after GS E&C (2007)

Well before Vietnam opened to edge-city development, the extended metropolitan region of Jakarta, called Jabodetabek, was already festooned with them (Figure 2).

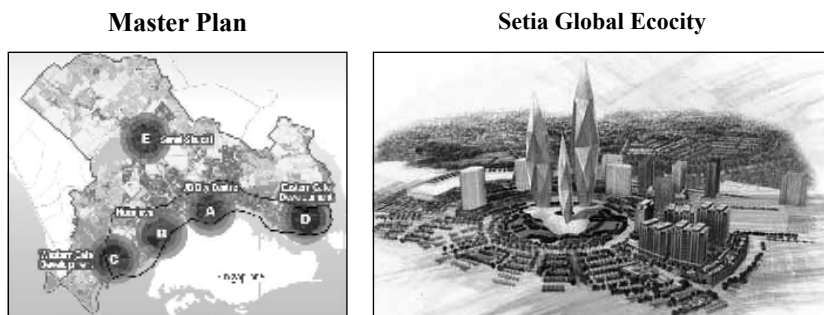
Figure 2: New Towns in Jabodetabek circa 2000



Source: Mamas and Komalasari 2008

By the 1990s it had at least 25 of these projects ranging from 500 to 30,000 hectares in size. Hundreds of small projects of less than 500 hectares were also undertaken (Firman 1997; Douglass 2008). In Thailand, Bangkok, has experienced massive edge-city development from the 1990s, the most well known of which is Muang Thong Thani (MTT), a US\$2.5 billion edge city that by 1996 had completed housing for 250,000 people and 8 million square feet of commercial space until it went bankrupt before opening in the 1997 finance crisis (Douglass and Boonchuen 2006, Sutiprapa, et al. 2007). In Malaysia's edge city development carries on the practices of former Prime Minister Mahathir, who used government resources to create a setting "where utopian megaprojects, meant to wow the world, have become a cornerstone of nation building" (Gatsiounis 2007:1). In 2006 the Sultan of Johor State announced the establishment of the "Iskandar (his name) Development Region" (IDR), which, while located in southern Peninsular Malaysia, is also a periurban area of Singapore (Figure 3) that has remained "surprisingly undeveloped" (OPM 2007). At almost three times the land area of Singapore, it is "positioned to be an international city".

Figure 3: Iskandar, Malaysia



Source: Iskandar Malaysia (2008)

Although a few edge cities in Southeast Asia began construction as early as the 1970s, the boom came with the bubble economy initiated by the globalization of finance capital in the late 1980s that powered the advent of a new era of urban megaprojects (Flyvbjerg et al. 2003, Altshuler and Luberoff 2003, Douglass 2008). Although they abruptly stopped with the 1997/98 economic meltdown in the region, these megaprojects resumed with even stronger force in the aftermath of neoliberal economic reforms that were instituted as part of IMF bailout packages for economic recovery.

All of these megaprojects have several features in common, the principal one being that they are private developments with little or no public space or public right of access. They are not governed as municipalities; they are managed by corporations. To ensure their autonomy from surrounding areas and local government, they all proclaim themselves to be self-contained by including independent energy and water supplies, large private security forces and maintenance crews, recreation and entertainment facilities. The result is that major aspects of the city that were once assumed to be

public – streets, sidewalks, plaza, parks, and other forms of collective experiences such as cultural festivals – are suddenly private spaces that are produced and sustained by the dynamics of commodification, simulation, and new global identities explicitly programmed into the production of new urban spaces.

The new edge cities are complemented by a host of other smaller global sites that are also appearing in periurban areas. These include free trade export zones, high technology “parks”, global business hubs, mega-malls filled with global franchises, and Disneyland-like theme parks. Sibling sites in the urban core such as world business complexes, very tall commercial buildings and hotels, and in-town shopping malls are link by new transportation corridors with the components of privatized periurban megaprojects to comprise a system of “secessionary networked spaces” (Graham and Marvin 2001) – a deterritorialization of urban space under global capital. The frictions of space and government regulation are minimized by privatization and interconnecting infrastructure made possible by publicly-funded world airports, superhighways, rapid rail systems, and now also by high-speed internet and other informational services creating a “premium networked infrastructure” that is able to resist unwanted aspects of territorial governance while accruing public subsidies and other benefits (Graham and Marvin 2001).

2. Edge City Visions and Global Narratives

The disengagement of the new edge cities from the territories in which they are sited is crafted through the visions and ideological positions they extol as their virtues. They invariably cast themselves as utopian settlements that through private management, design, scale and self-containment allow elites to leap over the long process of modernizing the rest of the city region today, right now. Utopian visions of the city have a long tradition covering centuries and many parts of the world (Eaton 2001; Harvey 2000; Mazlish 2003; Kumar 2003; Shoshkes 2004). Modernist planning in the West had its origins in 19th Century utopian socialist as it was filtered into such ideas as Ebenezer Howard’s Garden Cities of Tomorrow (Hall 2002; MacLeod and Ward 2002). But unlike the edge cities being constructed in Southeast Asia, these earlier traditions spoke of a common good, popular governance, and broader intentions to alleviate social ills (Mumford 1922; Turner 2003).

The new edge cities in Southeast Asia talk instead of individualized lifestyles, opulent consumption, and escape from society. As such the reflect a baroque end point of the earlier ideals that, when put into practice, turned Garden Cities into “bourgeois utopia” where “suburbia represents a collective assertion of class wealth and privilege as impressive as any medieval castle” (Fishman 1987:3). The major difference is that while the earlier modes kept the pretense of having a social purpose, the new ones today unabashedly disclaim such interests (Alexander 2001). As summarized by Harvey (2000:152), the more recent types of utopia centre on “the urban spectacle as a commodity”. They are put forth as “Privatopia” and are presented in the form of

the “gated communities – ghettos of affluence that undermine concepts of citizenship, social belonging, and mutual support”. Some are also in the mode of “degenerate utopia” that are likened to “Disneyland’s supposedly happy, harmonious, and non-conflictual space set aside from the ‘real’ world ‘outside’, in such a way as to soothe and mollify, to entertain, to invent history and to cultivate a nostalgia for some mythical past, perpetuate the fetish of community culture rather than critique it” (167). Like shopping malls that are “conceived of as a fantasy world in which the commodity reigned supreme” (Harvey 2000:168), many edge cities are given theme park motifs in their names and architecture.

These new edge-city utopia comprise the “new urbanism” that is a “reification of a nostalgic community that quells chaos” by “exclusion favoring the affluent, inequality and larger missions of social change and civilization”. They also create private, gated enclaves in a manner that “undermines the very concept of civitas – organized community life” from which the word “city” is derived (Blakely and Snyder 1999; cited in Platt, 2001: 22). They are also a far cry from the multicultural Cosmopolis that other contemporary writers put forth as their utopia (Sandercock 1998, 2003; Pinder 2002).

In other terms, these utopias comprise are not just replications of the suburbs of the mid-20th Century; they are instead Southeast Asia’s versions of what Knox (2005:33), referring to contemporary America, calls “Vulgaria – the re-enchantment of suburbia” with “landscapes of bigness and spectacle, characterized by packaged developments, simulated settings, and conspicuous consumption” that have “naturalized an ideology of competitive consumption, moral minimalism, and disengagement from notions of social justice and civil society”.

Through their grand visions they present vast hyperspaces that are consistently coded in the same way through architecture, signage, and corporate manifestos. Global, new urban culture, private, exclusive, secure, and self-contained are the key words that justify their elitism and disengagement from the city region in which they are located.

Global. The pretension that the new edge cities are not local is accomplished by invoking the term “global” to indicate both its identity and orientation. Among the more improbable presentations is that for a new town called Camko (meaning Cambodia-Korea) that its creators put forth as Phnom Penh’s “First Global City” (Figure 4). Under the banner, “A New History Is Coming”, Camko’s Korean developers, who call themselves World City Co., Ltd., claim that it will “change the Cambodian life style” to that of a “global standard city” (WCC 2008). At a cost of US\$2 billion, it is located only 3 kilometres from the heart of Phnom Penh, it covers an area of 120 hectares that when completed in 2018 will have villas, skyscrapers, hospital, one university and several shopping centres.

Elsewhere “global” is invoked in many ways. In Manila the Megaworld Corporation (2007a, 2007b) builds Eastwood, and further out Global City appears in Fort Bonifacio. Outside of Hanoi the edge city Ciputra is officially labeled “International City”. By

appealing to global linkages, these projects re-orient urban identity away from its basis in the local culture and endogenous production of space. In so doing, they give legitimacy to global corporate production and control over these projects before, during and after their completion.

Global also means global consumption, and the relationship between global edge-cities and exclusive selling of global commodities is reciprocal. These projects typically include shopping centres/malls that are replete with global franchises, chain stores, and name-brand merchandise. Advertisements of super scale fashion models gazing challengingly down at shoppers or upward to a global stratosphere are ubiquitous. Local food products are displaced in supermarkets by globally sourced canned and preserved goods¹.

Figure 4: Camko - “1st Global City of Phnom Penh”

(a) Master Plan



Source: WCC (2008)

(b) “A New History Is Coming”



Source: author

The projects are dependent on having these fast food and haute couture fashion, cosmetics, and accessories as a means of validating their global worth. At the same time, the shops require affluent consumers, air-conditioned comfort, and agglomeration with like shops to become shopping Mecca for the new urban middle class. Edge-city and global retail consumption need each other, and they say so through banners and other media that combine both into a single image of affluent lifestyles.

To counter the feelings of being lost with no reference to anything local, Orwellian pronouncements are made about how friendly and even homey the new habitats and shopping complexes are. Thus Eastwood’s City Walk of global franchises and chain stores declares on innumerable postings that it is “your city” where you will make “fond memories” while “strolling with your family” (Megaworld 2007b:1).

¹Residents of Ciputra, Hanoi, are unhappy with food and other prices, noting, for example, that “an ice cream is four times more than in other places” (Phong 2006:1).

New urban culture. The projects openly claim that their mission is to create a new urban culture, a major dimension of which is “modernity”, a slippery term that is used to signal not only modern technology and the latest architecture but also the ways people will act toward each other. Phu My Hung (Saigon South) developers declare that it “brings a modern and brand new lifestyle to people in Vietnam” (CT&D Group 2007). Not to be outdone, Korean developers of Nha Be New Town say that they will “introduce a new residential culture”. The Ciputra developer from Indonesia states that its entrance is “The Gate to a New Lifestyle” and that “sixteen statues of horses taking flight can be seen as a reflection of the community’s transition to a modern urban lifestyle” (PKG 2007:1 and Figure 5).

The architecture employed to materialize the cultural shift has virtually no reference to the locality. Further, in de-territorializing place-making, the projects deftly subordinate aesthetics to commodity, community to global, and freedom to choose to corporate control by confusing and disorienting identities (Jameson 1991, 1998). All the projects present with great pride motifs, landscaping and architectural styles inspired by other parts of the world. Thus Eastwood’s “Grandiose Residences” in its Olympic Heights are “reminiscent of the sun kissed dwellings of the Grecian isles – a blend of post-modern styled structures sitting on top of a classic grand Grecian podium” in Manila is illustrative of the hyperbolic identity muddling (EPH 2005:1).

Figure 5: Ciputra Main Gate



Source: author

The clearest statement barring local culture comes from Star World, located outside of Hanoi, which ordains “the principle of ‘not reiterating any existing urban area in Hanoi’” (Phong 2006). Nha Be New Town in Ho Chi Minh City is touted as a “future-oriented Korean style town” (GS E&C 2007). Well underway on 368 hectares, the US\$2.1 billion Ciputra’s 2,000 luxury houses and 50 blocks of high-rise apartments are designed in “Las Vegas” style architecture (PKG 2007). In suburban Jakarta, Kota

Wisata (Tour Town), built by a consortium of Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Indonesian corporations, consists of “five continents” of neighbourhoods in the “City of Millions Enchantments”. Each continent has 6 clusters, including themes touted as being from such cities as Kyoto, Marseilles, Orlando, Montreal, and Beverly Hills (Kota Wisata 2007). Figure 6 shows the America complex entrance with cowboy, Indian fronting the Statue of Liberty.

Figure 6: Kota Wisata



Source: author

Hyper-realities are magnified by scales that make people feel small and inconsequential. The projects generally have the largest and tallest buildings. Housing has no individuality but is instead cookie cutter mass production packed together with little open space. Human interaction is dwarfed and visually marginalized by gigantic landscaping schemes, buildings and commercial graphics. Star World, for example, declares that its visual focus will be 70 storey twin towers with “tens of thousands of square metres for offices, trade centres, and high-grade apartments”. More than 100 buildings of 15 to 25 stories will surround the twin towers – all next to a city, Hanoi, where the tallest buildings in the recent past were 4 or 5 stories (Figure 7). The intention is to impress its inhabitants and, equally, the world of global investors. It implicitly also seems to intend to justify corporate control and management through the grandeur of the built environment and the expert knowledge required for it to be realized and kept in good order.

Private. Edge-city projects extol the virtues of being “private” in at least three ways: ownership, commodification of space, and management. Private ownership covers every aspect of these projects. Areas that are landscaped to replicate common images of public space, such as open areas in shopping malls, are, in fact, subject to rules of access and use made by corporations in their contracts with residents. Ciputra (PKG 2007:1) explains how it intentionally pioneered the exclusion of authentic public spaces from these sites in the early 1960s when it “reversed the traditional approach to city planning by creating Indonesia’s first ‘Island Concept’ shopping centre, in which the retail orientation faced inwards onto an attractive central plaza, instead of onto the surrounding streets”.

Figure 7: Star World



Source: POSCO E&C (2006)

Most of these projects have no spaces that are actually public spaces where people can freely associate. Even in the private neighbourhoods houses entirely fill up their lots with almost no open spaces. Sidewalks are generally absent, and with cars parked in the tiny lanes there is little space to even walk side by side with another person (Douglass, *et al.* 2007). Landscaping of open spaces is ornamental and controlling rather than intended to be open and flexible in use.

Private also means that every aspect of the edge-city is a commodity with a price tag. Gates within gates ensure that only those who paid for access to a particular facility are allowed to use it. Use of a gymnasium or swimming pool can require extra fees per head, not just per household. Car parking might require extra payments, too. Religious and cultural institutions are absent or only in pre-selected, token numbers that do not readily represent the local society. For example, Kota Wisata, “city of a million people” has just one mosque and one catholic church (Kota Wisata 2007).

The megaprojects uniformly extol the ways in which their privately owned and managed edge cities offer a much desired alternative to the “chaos” of city life in the urban core. As proclaimed by the developer of Bangkok’s Muang Thong Thani, “We have all intentions to develop Muang Thong Thani as a complete city run by private-sector people” (Kristof and Sanger 1999:1).

Privatization of entire cities is one of the most profound changes in the idea of the city that these projects project. They have no mechanisms for popular participation in governance except through grievances to corporate management about the poor quality of buildings, maintenance and fees or other dissatisfactions¹. As summarized by Dear (2000) in the U.S. case, they form a ‘shadow government’ that can collect revenues, regulate and police without accountability through democratic governance and are “often responsive largely to the whims of globally oriented wealth creation” (MacLeod and Ward 2002:166).

Exclusive and Secure. A key selling point universally claimed by these projects is their exclusivity, beginning with the outer gates and into inner gates and check points that compartmentalize service and amenity spaces (Hogan and Houston 2002; Waibel 2006). By definition, exclusive means exclusion, which builds on rejection and fear of the rest of the city portrayed as chaotic and full of criminal elements (Hogan and Houston 2002). Pejorative attitudes among the new middle class about the rest of the urban population make tight security both essential and an added attraction.

Within the edge cities gates are also used to separate housing areas according to price. In some projects, such as Camko, residents of lower status housing cannot drive or even walk into areas of higher status, and vice versa. In contrast to the idealized open city, edge-cities are limited both in who can be in them and what activities are allowed in highly controlled inner spaces. Private security forces are typically much larger than similar size areas of the nearby municipality.

Self-contained. The edge cities pride themselves on being self-contained, complete with all functions for urban living. Contests seem to abound around this idea. In periurban Hanoi, the parent company, POSCO (Korea), of An Khanh and its 10,000 residences plus shopping centres, public service facilities, schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and entertainment facilities, boldly claims to be Vietnam’s “first-ever self-contained urban area” (POSCO E&C 2007:1; Phong 2006). In the same city, Ciputra, which begin construction well before An Khanh, declares that it is “a self-contained City” (PKG 2007:1). Muang Thong Thani, Bangkok, used the same term (MTT 2007), and the developer of Kota Wisata in Jakarta says that “an alive self-contained city” is its

¹These projects open in phases to get cash flows into them even before all infrastructure and services are in place. This becomes a major source of grievances (Shatkin 2007). Residents in Ciputra, Hanoi, for example, have complained that they are unhappy about the lack of children’s playgrounds, public parks, hospitals, kindergartens and tennis courts. Some houses sold to residents long ago still had no telephone lines (VIR 2007; Phong 2006). Management had not responded to complaints even several months later.

“end purpose” (Kota Wisata 2007:1). Megaworld (2007a) announces that its “Laguna Bel Air IV” residential development in periurban Manila is “a self-contained, master planned community that fulfills the needs for good living, leisure and learning”. Even the relatively small Nha Be New Town outside Ho Chi Minh City is designed to be a “self-supporting city”.

The meaning of self-contained is not only about the array of functions thought to be complete for city life. It is also a signal that the project is of sufficient scale and scope to be autonomous from the metropolitan region in which it is located. This is important in attracting investors and residents by telling them that they need not frequent the undesirable conditions of the polluted, congested, and poorly maintained urban habitat nearby. In reality, however, these edge cities remain bed-towns from which most working residents commute to the urban core everyday.

Together all of these self-proclaimed and stylized attributes of the new edge cities-global, larger-than-life scale, new urban culture, private, exclusive, secure, and self-contained-sum to a fundamental reconstruction and re-imaging of the idea of the city. The ideology is not that of Jane Jacob’s ideal of local community life played out in neighbourhoods of small local shops along public sidewalks (Jacobs 1961). Nor is it the convivial city with spaces where a sense of community emerges from unscripted encounters and where people gather for “pure social ability” (Peattie, 1998:248).

In this regard, a key missing element in such controlled cities is public space, “the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds...an essential counterpart to the more settled places and routines of work and home life” (Carr, *et al.* 1992:3). At a higher level is the absence of a participatory governance within the sites, through which residents can not only negotiate over management policies but also proactively change design elements and spaces to include social, cultural, and religious activities that do not necessarily generate revenue streams for corporate enterprises. Finally, at an even higher scale is the question of what role these projects play in the wider urban region in which they are located. With their architectural and management intent to remove them from responsibilities to provide for such needs as affordable housing, amenities for the population at large, or opportunities for local small-scale shops, they seem to offer very little in return for the land they have obtained from local uses and evictions of local residents.

4. Conclusions

Variations among edge cities obviously exist. Yet they all draw upon the same imaginaries: global, new urban culture, private, exclusive, secure, and self-contained. Together with related services and infrastructure connecting them with each other they form “interdictory spaces” that systematically exclude people who do not fit the targeted market profile of desirable residents (Flusty 2001, Douglass 2007). In this process they effectively de-politicize and de-socialize space through privatization and

exclusion, turning governance into corporate management of private residences and amenities (Gleeson 2006).

As human habitats of the future, the intentions of the new edge cities contrast fundamentally with the idea of a spontaneous, vibrant city that is a Cosmopolitan “heteropolis” of landscapes that are not just for a single class or authority but are instead made by varieties of people and are valued for all their differences (Foucault 1967, Sandercock 1998, 2003). While they are proclaimed to be the most exciting forms of human settlements in world history, as Merrifield (2000:479) states, “Living in them means the end of novelty, fantasy and curiosity; everything becomes routine, never adventure, the death-knell to the human spirit”. No wonder, then, when traveling through projects like Phu My Hung, the sidewalks have no pedestrians, the franchise food shops have few customers during commuting hours to the city, and even streets have very little traffic most of the day, which stands in marked contrast to city life in the core urban areas with public streets and vernacular architecture (Waibel 2004, Douglass and Huang 2007).

As unexciting as they may be, their attraction to urban elites is apparent. During the accelerated urban transition now occurring in Southeast Asia, big cities are under great stress from chronic congestion, pollution, expanding slums, poverty and inequality, unreliable infrastructure and inadequate housing. The offer of edge cities to escape all of these problems in one-step is undoubtedly compelling for those who can afford it. They also prove to be equally attractive to speculative buyers who have no intention to live in them but rather see private edge cities as an investment opportunity. As long as national economic growth focuses on these city regions, populations and economic activities will continue to gravitate to them, virtually guaranteeing continuous increases in land prices and future profits for investors (Jones and Douglass 2008).

Yet given the high prices of housing in the new edge cities, they can only offer their escape to at most 5-10 percent of the total population of their host city regions. Although the replication of private edge cities is phenomenal, the larger metropolitan fields in which they locate are projected to have much greater population increases. Most now have more than 5 million residents, with Jakarta and Manila already over 20 million; and most, too, are now increasing by 200,000 people per year or more, doubling every 20 years or so (Jones and Douglass 2008). In the next few decades, these edge cities of today will be completely surrounded by the expanding metropolis, becoming urban enclaves rather than castles in the fields. In this context, sustaining these self-proclaimed autonomous settlements will be difficult in regions in which environmental degradation and other crises increasingly press on them. If for no other reason than self-preservation, the more circumspect course of action for these megaprojects would be to contribute to making improvements in their surrounding areas now.

To do this, however, would require substantially different forms of governance. Specifically, it would require the creation of a public sphere of governance that would include both the residents of these edge cities and larger participatory governance

institutions for the city region. Developing new governance structures within the settlements would allow residents to collectively organize and interact not only on equal footing with edge city management but also with the wider region in ways that are not solely determined by corporate bottom lines of profit. Sharing environmental infrastructure such as water treatment facilities, providing some amounts of affordable housing and public spaces for the region, and assisting with nearby infrastructure improvements would be among the considerations. In addition, opening these edge-cities to local shops, including restaurants and services as well as shopping, could help generate a more resilient local economy and job creation in the region, and would also contribute to the vitality of social life in the edge cities.

At a higher region-wide level of governance structures are needed to routinely allow for participation of periurban populations in processes of land acquisition, constructions of new built environments through edge city and other types of megaprojects, and resolution of after completion issues. National and municipal governments have mostly been unaccountable in relationships with global corporations and their edge cities. Yet in most cases they are crucial actors in evicting communities from their land to make way for them, and corruption in these processes is well documented (Olds, *et al.* 2002; Delauney 2008). Without such reforms in governance, the privatization of periurban Southeast Asia into these vast and exclusive settlements will not be going forward in history, but will instead continue to reinvent the walled city in ultra-modern global form.

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URBANIZATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. RESEARCH IDEAS FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF VIETNAM

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In 2008, for the first time, the world's urban population surpassed the rural population, crossing the threshold of 50%, according to the most coherent and most comparative estimates at international level (United Nations: Population Division, 2008). Indeed, the major obstacle to overcome in the study of the world urbanization resides in differences in the definition of urban agglomerations and their limits among various countries, as well as in the modification of these limits over time.

The situation varies sharply from region to region, both with regard to the urbanization ratio (or proportion of urban population) and to the number of megalopolises [*megalopolises*] (agglomerations of more than 10 million inhabitants). Estimated at 49.4% worldwide in 2007, the urbanization ratio, in the large regions was as follows: North America (81.3%), Latin America and the Caribbean (78.3%), Europe (72.2%), Oceania (70.5%), Asia (40.8%), and Africa (38.7%). At the same time, there are 19 megalopolises in the world: 11 in Asia, 4 in Latin America, 2 in North America, 1 in Africa and 1 in Europe. Asia records a number of megalopolises deemed to expand the most.

In this context, how does urbanization in Southeast Asia look like?

Southeast Asia: a relatively less urbanized region with strong urban growth potential

According to the United Nations, Southeast Asia includes the 11 following countries: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, East Timor and Vietnam. This region has a total population of 573 million inhabitants in 2007 (table 1).

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This study aims at setting the framework for urbanization in Southeast Asia in the light of population studies, then starting from the Vietnamese example, to propose for reflection possible research topics which emerge from the experience of recent research which serves in particular the research in partnership.

Southeast Asia's overall urbanization is 45.8%, but with wide disparity from one country to another. Thus it varies from 100% in Singapore, which is a developed "City State", to only 20.9% in Cambodia. In the latter, this low ratio not only demonstrates a weak industrialization, but also the lingering consequences of the cities "destruction" policy conducted by the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979.

The "poorest" countries (Cambodia, East Timor and Laos), which lag behind in urbanization, currently have the highest urban growth rates (from 4.6 to 5.6% per annum); conversely, the "richest" countries (Singapore, Brunei and Thailand) experience low urban growth rates (from 1.2 to 2.6% per annum). It is interesting to notice that the rural population started to decline in the whole region, but that 6 of the 10 countries concerned (Singapore does not have rural population) still see their rural population increasing; the growth rate of the rural population is particularly high in East Timor (2.9% per annum), as the result of both a strong fertility (family planning, not helped by the dilapidation of the country and by Catholic religion, is weak there), and a strong return of refugees who had left the country at the independence war time.

The urban growth has three components: natural urban population growth, migration growth and "reclassification" of rural areas into urban areas during the spatial extension of urban agglomerations. The share of these three elements varies respectively over time (Oberai, 1989): Migration to the city generally prevails in the first phase with a population natural growth being limited as the result of a strong fertility associated with a strong mortality; in the second phase, following a decline of mortality, natural growth increases and prevails over migration; in the third phase, once demographic transition has terminated, migration becomes again dominating, with a reduced natural growth due to combination of a low fertility and a weak mortality. Reclassification is a continuous phenomenon, as new constructions attach the peripheral rural settlement to the urban habitat in a contiguous way; however, it can only be measured sporadically, on the occasion of the official change of category of city peripheral administrative units from rural to urban. Also, necessary data (urban fertility and mortality, migration, and reclassification of peripheral zones) are not immediately available so as to compare among countries and which requires a meticulous study. It is what had been made for Ho Chi Minh City for example (table 2); the historical evolution of the population of the city, in addition, has experienced major turbulences (Gubry & Le Thi Huong, 2004).

Table 1 : Urbanization status and evolution in Southeast Asia and in the world (2007-2050)

Country	Population 2007 (thousands)	Population 2025 (thousands)	Population 2050 (thousands)	% urban population			Annual growth rate 2005-2010 (%)		Additional urban population 2007-2050 (thousands)	Key agglomeration 2007		
				2007	2025	2050	Urban	Rural		Agglomeration	Population (thousand)	% of urban population
Singapore	4,436	5,104	5,026	100.0	100.0	100.0	1.2	-	590	Singapore	4 436	100.0
Brunei	390	527	681	74.4	80.9	87.2	2.6	0.4	304	B. Seri Begawan	22	7.7
Malaysia	26,572	33,769	39,631	69.6	80.5	87.9	3.0	-1.3	16,332	Kuala Lumpur	1 448	7.8
Philippines	87,961	115,878	140,466	64.2	74.6	83.9	3.0	-0.2	61,330	Manila	11 100	19.6
Indonesia	231,627	271,227	296,884	50.4	65.9	79.4	3.3	-1.1	119,028	Jakarta	9 125	7.8
Thailand	63,884	68,802	67,376	32.9	42.2	60.0	1.7	0.2	19,375	Bangkok	6 704	31.9
Myanmar	48,799	55,374	58,709	31.9	44.6	63.1	2.9	-0.1	21,494	Rangoon	4 088	26.3
Laos	5,859	7,713	9,291	29.7	49.0	68.0	5.6	0.1	4,581	Vientiane	745	42.8
Vietnam	87,375	106,357	119,970	27.3	38.1	57.0	3.1	0.7	44,505	Ho Chi Minh City	5 314	22.2
East Timor	1,155	2,012	3,463	26.9	36.4	54.9	5.0	2.9	1,592	Dili	159	51.2
Cambodia	14,443	19,489	25,114	20.9	33.2	53.2	4.6	1.0	10,349	Phnom Penh	1 466	48.5
<i>Total of Southeast Asia</i>	<i>572,500</i>	<i>686,251</i>	<i>766,611</i>	<i>45.8</i>	<i>58.7</i>	<i>73.3</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>-0.3</i>	<i>299,479</i>	-	-	-
<i>Developed countries</i>	<i>1,223,004</i>	<i>1,258,970</i>	<i>1,245,247</i>	<i>74.4</i>	<i>79.0</i>	<i>86.0</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>-0.5</i>	<i>161,418</i>	-	-	-
<i>World</i>	<i>6,671,227</i>	<i>8,010,509</i>	<i>9,191,286</i>	<i>49.4</i>	<i>57.2</i>	<i>69.6</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>0.4</i>	<i>3,104,347</i>	-	-	-

(a) Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, Japan
 Source: United Nations: Population Division, 2008

Table 2: Estimate of the components of the urban growth in Ho Chi Minh City (1999-2004 period)

Component	Rate (%)	Annual total growth share (%)
Natural growth	1.2	32.4
Migration growth	1.0	27.0
Reclassification	1.5	40.6
Total growth	3.7	100.0

Source: Gubry & Le Thi Huong, 2005

It is important to estimate the future urban growth and in particular the additional quantity of urban population that countries will have to absorb during the years to come. This figure is related to many variables, such as the size of the remaining rural population (if this size is large, there are many potential migrants), the difference between the level of living conditions in the city and in the countryside, the polarization of space and the employment opportunities (large investments are drawn to cities) and consequently economic growth (a strong growth, like that in several countries of the region, calls for a large labour force), etc. Projections indicate that cities of Southeast Asia will have to absorb nearly 300 million people from 2007 to 2050.

However, migrants will not move in a uniform way towards all the cities. This in particular will depend on the structure of the urban network. This structure can be measured by the primacy rate, or proportion of the population of the largest city compared to the entire urban population of the country; it gives an idea of “macrocephaly” or sometimes the disproportionate weight of the largest agglomeration. In this respect, the urban network appears well balanced in Brunei (given the country’s small size), Malaysia and Indonesia; conversely, a notable macrocephaly is seen in East Timor, Cambodia and Laos, which are less urbanized countries.

In 2007, the region recorded only one megalopolis, with more than 10 million inhabitants, Manila (11.1 million inhabitants), which will be joined soon by Jakarta (9.1 million).

A specific urbanization in Southeast Asia?

The concept of desakota region

The Canadian geographer Terrence G. McGee (1991) has developed a fundamental concept to underline a major specificity of the highly populated rice deltas of Southeast Asia: that of “*desakota region*”; this term derived from two words in Indonesian language (*Bahasa Indonesia*) meaning *kota* (city) and *desa* (village). It is close to the notion of “*rurbanisation*” sometimes used by the French-speaking geographers. It

emphasizes the fact that these regions closely link up agriculture with non agricultural activities of urban type. Many industrial parks settled in rural areas (strong population density and the relatively high level of education facilitate the recruitment of necessary workforce) while sub-contracting works for city factories spread in the villages, in particular garment-related work handled by a women labor force. Moreover, the city-countryside relations are generalized, in the form of temporary mobility (related to the construction sites and other informal activities) and/or seasonality (related to the agricultural calendar). On the whole, the incomes drawn from non-agricultural activities are higher than those from agriculture.

It is logical to think that the *desakota region* slows down or delays the rural-urban migration, insofar as it helps generate substantial additional off-farm incomes, in the rural area. In addition, temporary mobilities are particularly difficult to evaluate, since they do not correspond to a change of residence while their duration varies considerably.

Selection in migration and urban poverty

Within the framework of the *desakota region*, the urban agglomerations permanently comprise a stock of population leaving home because of the rural under-employment or at the time of an agricultural leisure season. People come to the city, taking on temporary activities, on construction sites for instance. These people remain for less than 6 months in the city, often spend the night on a building site or in factories dormitories, commuting to their native village. Thus, this stock is relatively permanent, while its members are renewed. As they are not city residents, it is obvious that these people are often not recorded in most of the socio-economic surveys, which focus on the resident population in ordinary households.

A constant notable fact in the results of these investigations, in particular in Vietnam, is the notice that migrants are on average richer than non-migrants, which appears surprising at first sight. In fact, within the effect of the sample selection, this observation is not at all surprising: migrants are already selected compared to their place of origin (the poorest have more difficulty to migrate); these migrants often work in the formal sector; among them, there is a large number of pupils and students who need to move towards largest cities for their studies. They then would take a better-paid urban job upon their graduation; there is also an important number of wives who joined their husband downtown, in virilocal society: it is logical to think in this respect, rural women getting married to a husband of the city are on average better-off than those who marry a man of the countryside.

On the whole, it is suggested that urban poverty thus affects this non-resident mobile population which is not taken into account in traditional households surveys. Therefore, urban poverty research requires the use of a much more complex specific methodology.

The large share of female migration

In several of Southeast Asian major agglomerations, the number of female prevails over the other sex in the rural-urban migration, contrary to what occurs in most countries in the world. It is the case with Ho Chi Minh City for instance. This situation until now was explained in a probably unsatisfactory way, attributing it exclusively to the prevalence of female employment in cities: factories with strong proportion of female labor including garment factories and services employment including housemaid services. It is undoubtedly necessary to conduct complementary research on the decline of fertility, family structure, succession rules and socio-religious practice: in a family reduced to two children, if there are a boy and a girl, the girl often tends to leave her home in the countryside as the boy has to take charge of the family production and to ensure ancestors worship.

Sexual preference and selective abortion

In certain regions of many Asian countries, for a few years, an increase in male ratio at birth, is recorded, which often exceeds 120 male births for 100 female births (the normal is around 105). It is the case in China, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal; in Southeast Asia, only Vietnam starts to be concerned and probably Singapore, although the preference for a boy-birth seems generalized. The increase in the prevalence of boys at birth appears to be attributed essentially to selective abortion: amid a strong family planning, couples want to have at least one male heir and if they cannot have many children they use selective abortion of female fetuses following recourse to ultrasound scan. This phenomenon has been largely documented in Asia and it appears that the phenomenon is mostly seen in cities, where people are better informed and have more means and facilities to access to modern technologies (Sabharwal & Than Thi Thien Huong, 2006). In any case, this evolution which is likely to generate a strong imbalance between the sexes and considerable socio-economic consequences in the cities of the region must be studied.

Recent research on the city in Vietnam

The most abundant literature on urban studies in Vietnam is obviously written in Vietnamese. It is composed primarily of consultancy reports, urban planning reports, academic work and sometimes articles in reviews; it is not very present on the Web and is difficult to access, unless one has lots of time to visit public services and libraries, for which the national researchers hardly have time, while the foreign researchers seldom have the needed command of language. It is thus not surprising that the references of foreign authors represent a higher place than their effective contribution, including among the Vietnamese authors, which leads to a bias in the assessment of knowledge.

During the last decade, urban-related theses in Vietnam have multiplied: Nguyễn, 1999; Vu Quốc Huong, 2000; Burlat, 2001; Pandolfi, 2001; Wust, 2001; Phạm Thị Xuân Tho, 2002; Quertamp, 2003; Chabert, 2004; Nguyễn Thiên Phú, 2005, etc. In parallel,

studies on living environment have been conducted in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City (Dang Nguyen Anh & al., 2002), synthesis of urbanization in the country (Douglass & al., 2002) and rural-urban migration towards Ho Chi Minh City (Gubry & al., 2002), as results of previous research.

Regarding the most recent research, far from seeking any representativeness, we will mention here only some recent or on-going key co-operation research projects, among which are those known to us or those in which we have been involved.

The Urban Research Programme for Development (PRUD)

This programme, funded from 2002 to 2004 by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with results under publication process in 2008, comprises 32 research operations in the world, including 8 in Vietnam. The latter's outcome includes the publication of a collective summary work on many aspects of urban transition in Vietnam (Castiglioni & al., 2006). It deals, especially for Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, with the process and the stakeholders of urban transition, roads network and urban rearrangements, intra-urban mobilities, relocation of precarious dwelling areas, water management, role of the civil society in environmental management, ODA projects and international consultants... Orientations of research are provided in the conclusion.

Intra-urban mobilities in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi

One of the operations conducted as part of the PRUD covers intra-urban mobilities in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi, adopting a "population" approach through a households survey (Gubry & al., 2008). It highlighted the "spread" of downtown population towards cities peripheral areas in a "gentrification" process related to land price hike in central city. Periurbanization development lengthens the commuting time and requires the development of public transport. In addition, the relative under-equipment of peri-urban zone has been clarified.

The "Comprehensive Urban Development Programme" (HAIDEP) in Hanoi

The Japanese co-operation made a thorough study of urban issues in Hanoi, with important means, which resulted in the publication of 21 volumes (JICA, Hanoi People's Committee, 2007). This series of studies rather belongs to consultancy, but several of them constitute real research works. Numerous aspects have been addressed: context, urban planning, land use, socio-economic development, urban transport and traffic, roads network, water, housing, land expropriation and relocation, environment, living conditions, implementation and management, etc. The overall project is supported by a household survey, including survey on opinions, a transport survey and an important cartography.

The project "Support to research on economic and social transition challenges in Vietnam"

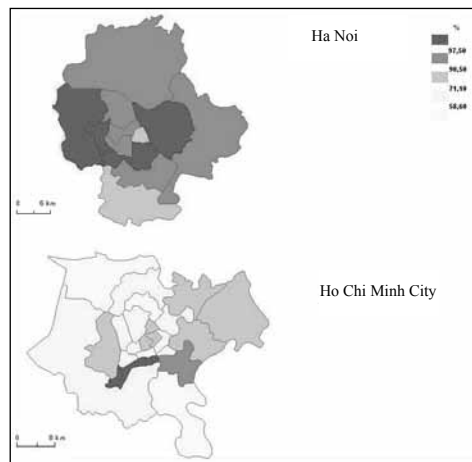
This on-going project in 2008 is funded by the French embassy with loans from the Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire (FSP). Of the selected 10 partnership studies, 3 are explicitly related with urbanization:

- “The rise of the craft villages: Economic development, industrialization and urbanization of the rural areas in the highly populated Red River delta”;
- “Urbanization and transformation of professional structures in rapidly urbanized areas in the South – the cases of Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho”;
- “Migration, poverty and urban environment: Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City”.

This last operation is conducted by a team comprising members of the Institute of Population and Social Studies, belonging to the National Economics University in Hanoi (IPSS), the Ho Chi Minh City Institute for Development Studies (HIDS) and the Institute of Research for Development (IRD) of France. It resumes the “population” approach through a representative households survey in the two cities. The environmental urban problems are analyzed according to living standards on one hand and to migration status on the other, systematically comparing the two cities. A large part is obtained with opinion questions.

As an example, among the available results, it appears that - contrary to what was expected – that the inhabitants of Hanoi are more concerned than those of Ho Chi Minh City by environmental problems. It is also observed that better-off people are more concerned than the poor. It is attributed to the role of education. Especially notable intra-urban disparities are seen in this field, people claiming more “concerned” in the suburban districts where environmental problems are most serious (figure 1).

Figure 1: Percentage of people claiming personally “concerned” by the environment in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, by district



Source: Project “Migration, poverty and urban environment”, 2007; Philcarto software, 2008

In the light of recent research and available results, it is possible to raise for reflection some issues relating to data-collection and to make proposals regarding urban research in Vietnam.

Data collection and urban research issues in Vietnam

Reflections on the available data

Population census

The decennial censuses in Vietnam, with the last one prior to 2008 dating back to 1999, are of international standard. Their quality is recognized and the publication of the results is very swift. A number of statements regularly formulated by non-specialists, including journalists, affirming that a certain category of population –the “floating population” such as non-registered population, migrants, tenants, etc.) would be excluded– might also be considered. The resident population is indeed counted according to international standards, without taking into account their residential registration, with the exception of foreigners so far. On the other hand, it is logical to think that there exists a certain under-estimation in the city, as it is generally the case everywhere in the world, due to more challenging conditions of data collection: more frequent reluctance within the population to answer the questions, absence of respondents at their residence during the day, higher proportion of the single person households, “difficult” quarters, etc. It is even agreed that the under-estimation is on average higher in the above-mentioned groups than in the entire population.

That is to say several improvements regarding cities data are needed in censuses in Vietnam:

- All the residents, including foreigners in a rising number, in particular those coming from ASEAN countries (movement within ASEAN is free) and who are involved in the economy of the country should be taken into account. Foreigners can then be easily distinguished from nationals with question about nationality in the event that analysis requires this distinction.
- The decennial periodicity is too long to track urbanization correctly, because evolution of the city population is fast. A lighter intercalated census is needed every five years after the general census for the largest cities: Ho Chi Minh City (which already implemented an operation of this type in 2004) with Bien Hoa (which is now part of the agglomeration of Ho Chi Minh City in 2008), Hanoi, Hai Phong, Da Nang,.
- So far, no official publication of the Census has focused on the cities. The data on the cities are obviously included in the files, but a specific selection work is necessary for urban research or urban planning. In the future, it would be interesting to have a volume dedicated to the urban population of the country and another on each big city for example. In the absence of a more scientific criterion, selection according

to the nature of the administrative units (urban districts classified as *quan*; and rural districts as *huyen*) could be enough at this level. In fact, the administrative units of the cities in Vietnam, in particular the largest municipalities like Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City include a large rural area; the city planning, as well as the international comparisons need such a distinction.

Limits of the urban agglomerations

It was underlined that the administrative boundaries of the urban agglomerations comprise a large rural area. Thus, in the 1999 census, the rural districts or *huyen* accounted for 46% of the total population of Hanoi and 18% of that of Ho Chi Minh City. In Hanoi, the share of the rural population still increased considerably since the expansion of the city administrative limits in 2008, including area up to the national park of Ba Vi, some 40 km west of the city. The apparent goal of this reform is to include the city planning in a regional context in order to manage the infrastructure and transport issues more effectively. However, these new limits undoubtedly do not solve all the problems linked to the regular relations of the city with its support region, which covers in fact all the Red River's delta.

In the urban study, the need for suitable statistics hence becomes even more urgent, especially when a comparison among the cities at national and international levels is needed. In this respect, a possible delimitation of the limits of large agglomerations could start from the continuity of the built-up area located on satellite picture, which is more refined than simply taking into account the administrative definitions; then, the administrative limits map should be placed over the satellite picture for estimating the respective parts of urban population and rural population in the peripheral units with census-obtained data.

Socio-economic sample surveys

Most socio-economic sample surveys on the households in Vietnam so far have applied a multiple degree sampling design: in urban area, *phuong* (units immediately below the urban district) are drawn at first level, then blocks (*to dan pho*) and finally households. The first problem is that the *phuong* is a broad and highly populated unit (nearly 2,900 households in Hanoi and 3,300 households in Ho Chi Minh City); therefore drawing of *phuong* is likely to trigger a large "cluster effect" at sampling, decreasing its precision if only a small number of them are drawn

The second problem is that the households are in general drawn down from the available list with the person in charge of the block (*to dan pho*). However this list has quite a specific objective, different from the statistical one, since it is aimed at managing the residential registration (in Vietnam, each one is normally registered somewhere). In fact, the lists available with the persons in charge of the block are clearly incomplete as they include the people having a permanent residential permit (KT1 and KT2), but they include those having a temporary residential permit (KT3 and KT4) only if

they actually achieved a certain procedure to obtain this kind of permit. It is what has been clearly noticed at the census in Ho Chi Minh City in 2004, which attached the type of residential permit to every one; however, it was quickly concluded that it was not possible for the temporary permits to note the really owned permit (which is often non-existent) but only *the kind of permit which the person could have claimed if he or she had achieved the procedures in this way*. On the whole, the available lists do not include foreigners and tenants; migrants and people in irregular situation in accordance with the residence regulation are highly under-estimated. No doubt that there is an important bias in most of these surveys. To address this problem, recent surveys have implemented a two-level draw: blocks and households, making a new inventory of the households within the block; the survey staff goes around the block on foot, accompanied by the person in charge of the block (Gubry & al., 2008). A specific computer programme has enabled both to arrange the draw of the blocks simply by the number of blocks from *phuong* at the first level, then amongst households by selected blocks at the second level.

Regarding urban research, it turns out that some well-known periodic surveys such as Vietnam Household Living Standards Surveys (VHLSS), organized or programmed every two years from 2002 to 2010, simply do not provide result on the cities, but only on the provinces in which they are conducted (Tong Cuc Thong Ke - General Statistics Office, 2007). However, it is known that Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City include a large peripheral rural area so that the data on the provinces correspond by no means to those on the cities.

Some urban research topics

Evolution of land and housing

The land price is both a consequence and a cause of urban population distribution and intra-urban mobilities. It is fundamental in terms of urbanism. The land price is close to the world peaks in certain central districts of the big cities in Vietnam and, particularly in the capital. A fundamental study has covered this subject on Hanoi (Pandolfi, 2001). However, nothing equivalent exists for Ho Chi Minh City or the medium-sized cities. A follow-up of this issue would be highly useful so as to identify the intra-urban differences and the social differentiations and to evaluate the consequences regarding housing, roadway network and infrastructure. In this field, as in the others, a comparison between the two metropolises would be very rewarding.

The evolution of housing is closely linked to that of land, especially in a context where land price by far represents the most significant part of construction. A special attention should be paid to the evolution of the social housing and that of the middle-class population taking into account the urban growth prospects.

Evolution of the residential registration

The residential registration in Vietnam was initially established to distribute the food coupons. This function has disappeared for a long time and the residential registration has been gradually deemed the key part of the migration policy of which the declared goal is to limit internal migrations and particularly rural-urban migration towards the largest agglomerations. The fact is that spontaneous migrations were practically non-existent in the country until the economic liberalization by the end of the 1980s. The absence of economic growth and employment opportunities in the cities together with the restrictive legislation have made migration useless, so that it is impossible to distinguish between these two factors. Currently, amid an economic context of strong growth, it appears that the restrictive legislation can no longer prevent migration (Gubry & al., 2002), but few studies were explicitly devoted to this issue (Hardy, 2001; VeT & al., 2005).

The legislation was eased in 2006, making it possible for larger numbers of people to request a permanent residential status in the city¹. Hence, it is high time to monitor the application of this law and to revisit its possible influence on migration: the restrictive legislation did not help impede current migrants, but can a more flexible legislation contribute to increasing the number of migrants in the future?

Urbanization in medium-sized cities

Research on medium-sized cities, such as Hai Phong and Da Nang, remains largely insufficient. It would be interesting to examine the arising urban planning issues and how they are addressed in comparison with the big cities. It is also of paramount importance to identify the methods which could help medium-sized cities attract and absorb a more important proportion of the migrants.

Mobilities, rural-urban migration and poverty

It has been proved that conventional household surveys, which are limited to the residents in “ordinary households”, do not capture the urban poverty of the whole population living in the city at a given time. In fact, in addition to the “ordinary households” are workers and employees residing in “collective households”, which are dormitories, provided by employers, on one hand and a number of “visiting population” which is constantly renewed, on the other. The latter may well be described as “floating population”, in Vietnam just like in China, to describe the migrants without permanent

¹Luật cư trú của quốc hội khóa xi, kỳ họp thứ 10 số 81/2006/qh11 ngày 29 tháng 11 năm 2006.
[Law on Residence of the National Assembly XI tenure, 10th session n° 81/2006/qh dated November 29, 2006.]

registration; they are actually a population temporarily traveling to the city for work. This population most often stays within ordinary households, living with relatives, renting a room, or sleeping at the work place.

Capturing these different types of population requires the use of a specific methodology which remains to be devised. In any case, the topic “mobilities, rural-urban migration and poverty” in the Vietnamese cities must be “revisited” completely.

Periurbanization

Periurbanization is a hot topic. In a context of strong urban growth, the peri-urban area is obviously the area witnessing the most changes. It is interesting to observe there the consumption of space at the detriment of farm lands, constructions, infrastructure building, population inflow both from downtown and from the rural areas, population mobilities, urban transport and professional mobility, etc. Particularly the sustainability of the “new urban areas” policy, with a proliferation of high-end domestic or foreign-funded towers which one can cast doubts on their occupancy, should be questioned.

It is within this framework that one should examine which status to grant to the small towns included within the administrative boundaries of the large urban areas but without continuity of the built-up area, like Ha Tay near Hanoi (in 2008) or Cu Chi in Ho Chi Minh City for example.

This research topic has been developed in Hanoi (VTGEO, 2002; Quertamp, 2003); it is currently transferred to the CEFURDS-LPED research team in Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho within the framework of FSP in selected zones. An overall study, like that on Hanoi, could be considered on Ho Chi Minh City.

Urban environment

Beside many technical studies conducted long ago, the urban environment approach through a household survey has just started with the IPSS-HIDS-IRD research team in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City within the framework of the FSP. Undoubtedly, many aspects of this issue will be further explored to come up with new sustainable development indicators.

The impact of climate change on the Vietnamese cities must be studied at this level. Several of them correspond to what is described as “megahydropolis” (Timmerman & Rodney, 1997). Right now, nearly 10% of the dwellings of Ho Chi Minh City are at times flooded by the river bursts, which especially occur at high tide (according to migration, poverty and urban environment survey, 2007). An eventual rise of the sea level would be of concern as the current urbanization reaches to the lowest-lying areas, like in the District 2 for example.

Urbanization must also be confronted with the consumption of energy. Vietnam already is in short of energy, as evidenced by the frequent power cuts at the end of the dry season when the water level of the reservoirs is low whereas a strong growth of the demand for energy has been predicted (Delesalle and Grillot, 2007). The nuclear power plants project will function only as from 2020. In this context, the sustainability of currently promoted urban planning type with the construction of a large number of energy-consuming buildings is questioned.

International migration is back

The number of overseas Vietnamese is estimated at 2.7 million, living in 90 countries in the world¹. In 2004, the overseas Vietnamese or *Viet Kieu* have sent approximately 3.2 billion dollars to the country. However, the investments by the *Viet Kieu* represent only a tiny fraction (1 to 2%) of the foreign direct investments (FDI) in Vietnam. The current policy aims at facilitating the return of the *Viet Kieu* and at luring their investments. Under certain conditions, foreigners can now acquire a house within Vietnam.

The large majority of the *Viet Kieu* returning to the country settle in Ho Chi Minh City and pour their investments there. Little information is available on the procedures and the consequences of this movement, which also affect the urban planning area.

In conclusion: Institutional strengths and weaknesses of urban research in Vietnam

Urban research can't avoid the constraints of research in general and it's needless to raise the research issue in Vietnam without mentioning the conditions affecting research in general and cooperation research in particular.

The current liberal globalization process witnesses considerable upheavals of research in every country, which can be seen for instance by the reduction in public funding, a growing number of programmes conducted under contract form, the increase of consultancies, an insecure employment (the proportion of temporary jobs, for the duration of a project, increases to the detriment of fixed employment, etc). These upheavals are more sensitive in the countries where public research occupies a dominating position, which is the case of both France and Vietnam, for instance.

Vietnam seems even to have taken a certain advance in this evolution with the progressive application of universities empowerment². In a context where the wages were hardly revalued and do not ensure to make ends meet for a family (except for staff working for limited duration projects), the situation becomes very difficult

¹Resolution n° 36-NQ/TW of March 26, 2004 by the Politbureau on the Overseas Vietnamese Affairs [*Website of the Nhân Dân daily, updated on 30th June 2004*].

²Decree n° 115/2005/ND-CP of September 5, 2005.

(Gubry, 2004; Phuong Mai, 2007). Researchers and lecturers-researchers are thus forced into a race in search of simultaneous consultancies, and the research centres tend to be transformed into consultancy offices working on the short term (Tessier, 2008). Meanwhile, research work requires foremost a serenity helping the researcher to have time for reflection and reading, which they can no longer afford under the new conditions. The situation will remain precarious before a new balance is found, after having learned the lessons from the evolution in progress.

Alongside this development backdrop, the country is not in a shortage of strength. There is no doubt that urban research finds decisive support from the Cooperation Center for Urban Development (*Institut des Métiers de la Ville - IMV*) in Hanoi, founded by the Hanoi People's Committee and the Ile-de-France Region in France, and from the Urban Development Management Support Centre (PADDI) in Ho Chi Minh City, created by the Ho Chi Minh City People's Committee and the Rhone-Alps Region of France. Quite recently, in Ho Chi Minh City, the merger on October 1st, 2008 of three institutions linking economic research, sociological research and urban planning within the new Ho Chi Minh City Institute for Development Studies (HIDS) can make it possible to give a new momentum to urban research, essentially multidisciplinary. The existence, within this institute, of the Ho Chi Minh City WTO Affairs Consultation Center will also help better study the influence of globalization on urbanization.

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NORTH AN KHANH SATELLITE TOWN AND THE SEARCH FOR A SUITABLE URBAN STRUCTURE FOR HANOI

Hoàng Hữu Phê*

The vitality of the city

The mid 70s witnessed a generally pessimistic outlook, at least among academic circles, on issues relating to urban affairs. In the developed countries, the shift from an economic order based on the Fordist mode of production, with its emphasis on speed, volume, quality, and low cost (a philosophy founded and named after Henry Ford), towards one based on the principles of JIT (just-in-time) production, has led to a large disconnect between the skill and knowledge level of a large sector of the urban population and the demands of the new, so-called high tech industries. Unemployment running at double figures, the repercussion of the war in Vietnam, increasing cost of energy resulting from the oil crises of 1973, all conspired to push the cities in the especially in America, into a period of relative decline. A number of urban theorists have even predicted the total collapse of the urban order as we know it. However, the mid 1980s onwards witnessed a remarkable recovery, not only in the functioning of the large urban centres, but also in their understanding by researchers and practitioners in the field. The urban resurgence has led to renewed debates on the very origin and development of the city itself. Classical urban theories have held that the concentration of people and the means of production (agglomeration) have resulted from the need to minimize transportation cost and to optimize the means of production. However, despite transportation costs reducing by some 90% in real terms over the past century, the often-predicted demise of the city has not come about. Subsequently, the main driver for the concentration of population has been attributed to an entirely different cause: the desire for face - to - face population has been attributed to an entirely different cause: the desire for face - to - face contact, facilitating the formulation and exchange of creative ideas (Hall, 2000, Glaeser2006).

The last half century has seen numerous such instances where seemingly highly theoretical ideas have quickly developed into real life industries commanding immense wealth: examples include the growth of information technology in Silicon Valley, biotechnology in the Cambridge corridor, or high tech manufacturing clusters in Taiwan. From these examples we can readily conclude that city is the physical location where the economy based on knowledge takes roots. The life of the city has, therefore, returned to the humanist roots which have given rise to cities in the first place.

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Competition of the cities

The concept of competition between cities was first proposed within the past decade. The world witnessed direct competition between cities on a variety of levels: manufacturing capacity, amenities, social and cultural resource, etc. The main aim of this competition is to attract new talents (in fields such as science, technology, management and the arts, etc), attracting TNC (trans national corporations) and the significant foreign investment that they bring, and (last but not least) exploiting the potentials of tourism. From a systemic viewpoint this could be seen as a competition to improve the position/ranking of an individual city within the global network of cities (Hall, 2000; Friedman, 1995; Sassen, 1995). According to Marcotullio et al (2000), within the Asia-Pacific region, fierce inter-city rivalry has led to a process of functional specialization, resulting in: The city of capitalist export (post - industrial cities – Tokyo, Seoul, Taipei); The city of manufacture (cities receiving Foreign Direct Investment: Bangkok, Bangkok); The city of amenity (Sydney, Vancouver). This ‘division of labour’ between the cities may appear to have occurred naturally; however, in reality, the role of conscious choice, or intention, and planning, should not be underestimated. If the cities in the world can be arranged in a continuum according to the degree of intentionality, with one end of the continuum being completely unplanned urban settlements (Houston, Bangkok, Rio de Janeiro) and the other end being cities which have developed according to strict planning regime (Beijing, Singapore, Pyongyang), we observe an interesting pattern: Those cities with the highest potential for competition, usually termed World Cities, such as London, New York and Tokyo, usually occupy the middle position in the continuum. Therefore, it can be concluded that for cities, competitiveness is the result of a subtle combination of, on the one hand, their natural ability to adapt and grow and, on the other, the conscious choices by the planners of these cities.

The structure of the city

The urban structure of a city, in the current context of globalization, depends almost entirely on its position or ranking in the global network of cities (Sassen, 1995). There exists a substantial consensus regarding the classification of cities by their underlying structures, which includes: Monocentric or concentric cities (Burgess et al, 1925); Star-shaped cities (resulting from the growth of a monocentric city along its principal communication routes); Fan-shaped cities (Hoyot, 1939); Polycentric/multipolar cities (Haris, Ullman, 1951). Numerous explanations exist in the various theories of human settlement for the formation of each type of structure. One of the newest such theories, proposed by the author of this paper, offers an entirely new way of looking at these non-random phenomena, with the potential to be applied to cities throughout the world. Rather than a trade-off between the cost of transport and the land or rental cost, the author have put forward the hypothesis (subsequently backed up by field studies) that the location of dwelling is determined by a consideration of its inherent social status versus the physical characteristics of the dwelling. This new theory has received strong support from researchers and academics in the field of urban studies, and the research

project leading to it was awarded the Donald Robertson Memorial Prize in 2000 by the Urban Studies Journal in the UK (Hoàng Hữu Phê & Patrick Wakely, 2000). In general, the development of cities could be said to progress from simple to complex, from monocentric to polycentric, and from unplanned to planned. The creation of poles of development is one of the decisive factors in urban policy which we will elaborate upon in the subsequent section.

Current thoughts on the urban structure of Hanoi

The latest theoretical thinking sees Hanoi as the central component in a much larger urban structure known as the Hanoi Region Development Area. This is without doubt an important step in the evolution of thoughts on the development of the city; it can also be seen as a response to the need for a coherent strategy for the development of the city in order to improve the competitiveness of the Hanoi Region as a whole. Within the framework of this structure, aside from the general theoretical basis for a project of this scale, which goes beyond the scope of this article, a number of proposals are under discussion.

- a) Hanoi is treated as the centre of an urban region formed by a development corridor comprising two main poles which are Hanoi and Ha Long – Hai Phong.
- b) The emphasis of growth for Hanoi should be towards the north of the Red River.
- c) A system of primary and satellite cities is created to reduce density in the centre of the primary city Proposal a) reflects (whether deliberately or by accident) a current global trend of twinning large cities (Hongkong/Guangzhou; Amsterdam/The Hague; Brasilia/Rio de Janeiro; Moscow/St Petersburg; Sydney/Canberra; NY/Washing DC, etc). However, the proposal to turn the region between Hanoi and Ha Long into an area geared towards industrial development will very likely turn the Hanoi Region into a prime example of what McGee (1995) terms a *desakota* within an Extended Urban Region. Aside from some short term gains (Yichun Xie et al, 2005), this development scenario has the potential for some unfortunate consequences. *Firstly* a large proportion of our manufacturing capacity at the moment is based on light labour intensive industry. This is precisely the basis of Fordist production, characterized by low value, lack of flexibility, resource intensiveness (in labour, energy, space and raw material, etc.), and with the capacity to create a considerable amount of pollution. The *raison d'être*, and also unique selling point, of such an industrial base, is cheap labour. However, with an inevitable improvement in the general level of skills and productivity of the workforce, accompanied by improvement in management, it is highly likely that the principal source of income for the country would and should derive from high technology products. The general applicability of this progression can be observed in our neighbouring countries such as China and Thailand. In the future, the task of dismantling the sites of Fordist production, with their attendant contamination issue and the required readjustment to the infrastructure, will be of a scale, complexity and cost which can only be guessed at this stage. The

second unfortunate consequence of this scenario is that, by concentrating our effort and investment into low tech industry, we will be moving further away from the priorities which have been identified for Hanoi, the key component of which is the development of high tech and other knowledge-intensive service industries. The *third unfortunate consequence* relates to the difficulty which will be encountered in adjusting the population mix and land use in a *desakota* to suit the requirements of an economy based on high tech industries Proposal. b) emphasizes the need to correct an anomaly in the growth of Hanoi: this is the inherent bias towards the south west, creating a fan shape development area with the handle of the fan on the south bank of the Red River. In addition to security and technical issues, there is probably also an element of inertia in thinking which has contributed to this tendency.

According to this second proposal, the city will prioritize development towards the North, the Red River will be in the centre of Hanoi, and the extension of growth towards Hai Phong will in fact be completely in line with the first proposal. c) is based on a typical response for a conventional city with very high population density which have undergone a long period of decline brought about by spatial constraints and that due imposed by the (usually inadequate) infrastructure. The main thrust of this proposal is the creation of a system of primary and satellite cities based on *existing centres of population* in this case the capitals of the provinces surrounding Hanoi. Apart from the obvious advantage of being able to utilize existing transport network, albeit only up to a certain level (which may not satisfy eventual requirements), this proposal presents a number of difficult challenges. The use of existing centres of population leads to significant issues with land clearance, compensation and resettlement; these are in fact some of the biggest obstacles to the urban regeneration process in Vietnam. Another disadvantage of this proposal is the fact that, because it relies on the use of existing centres of population, the resultant urban network lacks the necessary conditions for the development of a comprehensive system of infrastructures, and lack the space for possible future expansion. The reliance on the existing transport network may also lead to missed opportunities to create new connections, which may be more direct and effective, but which may need a more significant initial investment.

We can therefore deduce that, on closer inspection, the various proposals for the development of the Hanoi Region all contain underlying dilemmas which have already, and will continue to, significantly impede any attempt to implement such proposals. It could be said that the principal trend in urban development over the last century has been one of decentralization. This trend sees the fundamental purpose of planning as the creation of suitable conditions for cities to transition from a monocentric to a polycentric model with effective spatial linkages. It would be instructive to examine how this process has been facilitated in various countries facilitated in various countries to 40km from major cities; these New Towns had a high degree of self-sufficiency. The Swedes created satellite cities according to the hierarchical model in the early 1950s. The French began to develop Paris as an urban corridor (the Ile-de-France region) but recently has returned to the satellite city concept. Nearer to home, Singapore, Hong

Kong and Bangkok all have substantial plans to develop sub-centres. Most of the large cities in China either already have in place or are in the process of implementing a satellite city system. Although they serve the same aim, i.e. decentralization, a distinction between the various development strategies listed above can be made according to the degree of autonomy of the extended city regions. While the satellite towns in the Swedish model depend on a hierarchical commercial network and (effective) transport nodes, especially the underground, the French chose to extend Paris in a development corridor along an axis parallel to the Seine (this model has now been replaced). At the other end of the spectrum, the British endeavoured to encourage a level of autonomy in the new cities which will ensure long term independent and sustainable growth. Unlike the dormitory towns common in other countries, the emphasis for the New Towns in the UK was very much on independence, or self-sufficiency, through the creation of viable employment within the cities themselves, thus thereby cutting down on non-essential transport activities.

An Khanh in the context of the urban structure of Hanoi. Although at present North An Khanh lies entirely within the jurisdiction of the province Ha Tay, Ring Road No 4 of Hanoi in effect forms the boundary of the new urban area. Thus, when this new city/town is completed 6-7 years from now, North An Khanh will play an active role in the functioning of the Capital City. What the role can North An Khanh play in the growth of Hanoi? cultural centre for the whole country, the city has the potential to play a significant role, or to with priorities. In the vision for the development of Hanoi, aside from being the political, economic and put it another way, the city is at a relatively advantageous position, in the network of cities in the region and globally. The question is, in which direction will the city prioritize its development? It is possible to choose the priority based on the analysis of the very functional Specialization mentioned above. It could be seen that choosing to become a “city of amenities” such as Sydney and Vancouver, may well be the wisest course, after all. A number of points can be put forward in support of this proposal Hanoi is the only major capital city in Southeast Asia without a seaport. The creation of a route to the sea would require some form of linkage with Hai Phong, at immense costs and with the various disadvantages as discussed previously. However, if the main output of the city is high-tech products which can be transported instantaneously through the internet (software & other internet – based services) or by air freight (software, precision instruments), then the potential advantage conferred by access to cheap sea transport becomes superfluous. It also means that large-scale industrial pollution could also be avoided. Hanoi is probably the oldest city in Asia which has retained its original historical character and features, thanks in large part to a very low pace of development for a significant period of time. The result is that the cultural/historical context (including historical districts, network of temples and places of worship, traditional handicraft villages etc) has not suffered significant degradation and has in fact become a major draw especially for a demographic comprising educated, high-income professionals. Hanoi is probably the oldest city in Asia which has retained its original historical character and features, thanks in large part to a very low pace of development for a significant period of

time. The result is that the cultural/historical context (including historical districts, network of temples and places of worship, traditional handicraft villages etc) has not suffered significant degradation and has in fact become a major draw especially for a demographic comprising educated, high-income professionals. The urban and natural settings of Hanoi, with its large and largely undeveloped hinterland, has the potential to support a high level of civic amenity— there are already a number of million-dollar apartments in certain areas of the city (adjacent to the West Lake). Taking these obvious strengths into consideration, the aspiration for a high rank in the global ranking of cities, as a city of knowledge and amenity, is not necessarily so unrealistic. Such a high rank would be facilitated by: a concentration of offices/ headquarters of transnational corporations, the presence of high value - added services (the so-called producer services) such as banking, consultancy, insurance etc – in other words, a concentration of services with a high knowledge content. Such a concentration would demand very high quality space and infrastructure (especially in terms of telecommunication), and it is unlikely that the existing city centre (of Hanoi) will be able to satisfy these demands. They would however be satisfied by a compact town developed on greenfield land with entirely new, purpose-built infrastructure, rather than one which has been adapted or upgraded.

Location and strategic links

If it were to be judged purely by the real estate mantra of ‘location, location and location’, then North An Khanh would satisfy even the most stringent of such criteria. The distance to the centre of Hanoi, at around 12km, allow this new city to become a pole of development in its own right, based upon both an ability to create and attract employment in the producer services sector in the new town itself, and also, with a suitable network of high capacity and low pollution rapid transit infrastructure (such as high speed maglev etc), it will be able to attract a high quality workforce from the centre of Hanoi, from the vicinity of the National University and Hoa Lac high-tech zone, with a travel time not exceeding a quarter of an hour. To this end, we are proposing the creation of a new railway link between North An Khanh and the existing national rail network, with a direct connection to Noi Bai International Airport. In the future, this would act as a shuttle service with check-in facilities available at the North An Khanh terminus for the convenience of business traveler.

Planning for mixed use

Unlike a dormitory town, where most of the space is occupied by low rise, villa type dwellings designed for a population assumed to work in the city centre and only spending a minimum amount of time in their neighbourhood, North An Khanh has been planned as an autonomous town with the capacity for self-generated employment. The town centre has been designed to prioritize pedestrians, and to promote a strategy of mixed land usage. In the first instance, the functional zoning of this new town will

be more flexible than is usually the case (in Vietnam). As an example, even in the business district, a large percentage of floor area, mainly on the upper floors of high-rise buildings, will be used for housing.

Through this we hope to avoid the mistakes made by cities in the more developed countries such the UK or North America, where the excessively unifunctional nature and make up of the town-centre business districts often turn them into highly unwelcoming virtual ghost towns out of office hours.

Furthermore, in the new town, land use planning will be taking into consideration a holistic consideration of life cycle. On the one hand, the high-rise area will create a high population density, encouraging a high level of social interaction necessary for and conducive to creativity, while at the same time freeing up the ground plan for green spaces. This is an ideal environment for the so-called young urban professionals (yuppies). On the other hand, the low-rise area, will be designed for families, from young couples to the extended network characteristic of the Vietnamese culture. In time, the younger generations brought up in these family units will come to replace the previous generation in the high rise areas. And so the cycle continues.

Fostering creativity through encouraging interaction

This is a new city built to encourage and take advantage of the creative potential of its inhabitants, or to put it another way, to foster the creation of employment opportunities with high knowledge contents and extended networking potentials in a new knowledge-based economy. The high population density of a compact town is in fact one of the prerequisite for such a development. Furthermore, the strategic provision of public spaces at both the city scale as well as the neighbourhood scale, for example exhibition centres, theatres, clubs, parks, river walks, and pedestrianised commercial and leisure districts, will turn north An Khanh into a destination for meaningful and creative interaction.

Specific recommendations

We are returning to the starting point. The very structure of a city, if well thought out, can produce advantages in the competition between cities, creating a vibrancy which in turn will become the basis for the sustainable development of the city. This should be the case for Hanoi. An essential feature of the search for such a suitable structure is the creation of conditions suitable for a transition from a predominantly monocentric city model to a polycentric one, with a diverse urban environment supporting high value added and knowledge intensive services – a city of knowledge and amenity. The satellite cities, rather than merely serving the purpose of population dispersal, will become poles/clusters of development with the ability to determine and control their future growth, in the framework of a long term urban strategy which emphasizes the importance of a knowledge-based economy.

Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that any strategy for development, no matter how forward-looking, will only be able to realize its full potentials with specific and practical investments. These investments, in turn, will only be able to reach a critical level necessary for the initiation of the development process, through the support of suitable incentive measures. In this case, such measures could include:

Transportation links

The creation of a Mass Rapid Transit system to serve North An Khanh internally should be regarded as the first priority in any viable scenario for the development of this new town; In parallel with the MRT system, a network of high quality road giving direct access to the centre of the urban area. A high speed rail link connecting to the existing railway network giving direct access to Noi Bai International Airport.

Training and education/learning facilities

A proportion of public spaces and facilities should be dedicated to educational activities aimed at fostering ties with the adjacent centres of learning in Hanoi and Hoa Lac which are some of the most significant in the country (National University and the High Tech Development Zone). The exhibition & convention centre will focus on high tech industries and will link in with the creation of Learned Societies/Clubs in strategic areas such as aerospace robotics, nanotechnology, etc.

Public amenities

Working towards the vision that north An Khanh will become an important centre in the new knowledge-based economy, civic amenities will play a very significant role in attracting high quality inhabitants (with high income) to the new city. Leisure and cultural facilities – opera house and theatre, cinema, sports grounds and stadia, swimming pool, etc will require the appropriate amount of investment. Public amenities which can encourage and maximize the potential for interaction will need to be established as a priority: for example, IT infrastructure with high speed internet portal and wireless link to be established at a city-wide level.

Assessment & re-evaluation of existing building standards and introduction of new ones

As a new urban area capable of reaching highest planning standards, in terms of both technical and social infrastructure, certain existing standards (such as site coverage, population density, levels of services, etc.) should be reconsidered and amended. Other standards relating to environment performance criteria, telecommunication, referential tax treatment etc) must also be looked at as means to increase investment and attractiveness of the city as a place to live and work.

Learning from examples worldwide

If North An Khanh could be developed along the vision set out above, it has every potential to become a significant centre of development for the Hanoi Urban Region, specially in the areas of commerce and international trade. With its obvious links with the capital city and the Hoa Lac area, North An Khanh could become an attractive destination for multinationals operating in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia as a whole. These firms will find in this new city a technical and social infrastructure, and cultural and knowledge environment which will be second to none in Vietnam; their investment into north An Khanh in terms of finance, technology and even their reputation, will help turn Hanoi into an important city in the network of cities within the region and also on the worldwide scale. In order to turn this into reality, we will need to assimilate the lessons learnt elsewhere in the world – La Defence in Paris, Canary Wharf in London, Cyberjaya in Malaysia, etc. The vitality and competitiveness of a city depend on many factors, which can be subjective and objective; these factors closely interact. At a recent Urban Future 21 seminar, Professor Peter Hall, one of the most influential urban theorists in the world at the moment, and the main speaker at the conference, has chosen a very interesting way to illustrate the relationship between these factors. The most major/significant urban issues are divided into two categories: one of which is a scenario of what will happen if the city is left to its own device to develop naturally without intervention; and the other, a scenario where the development is shaped by intervention based on an in-depth understanding and informed by past experience (Hall, 2001). In the urban theory that we postulated, the social status of a particular location plays a very important, if not dominant role, compared with other physical factors (in determining the desirability and value of that location), and this (hypothesis) has enormous potential in the consideration, and possibly even creation of, characteristics to create the desired social status. Without doubt, amenity and knowledge are two of the most significant parameters in determining the appeal or desirability of a city, whether new or old, to its existing and potential inhabitants. A scenario of intervention where Hanoi is linked in a development corridor with Ha Long will present significant difficulties to the process of positioning the city as a centre of knowledge-based economy with a high level of amenity in order to attract fresh talents and exploit the economic benefits from international trade. It is worth noting that even the Ile de France region, whose concept of the development corridor seems to provide the direct inspiration for this scenario, has now reverted to a classical multi-polar or polycentric model. We propose a different option. In this option, the Hanoi urban area should develop in a more compact manner (rather than following the *desakota* model previously discussed), with secondary centres strengthening and supplementing the existing advantages while at the same time also helping to alleviate the more negative issues affecting the main city.

From this viewpoint, the sub-centres or secondary cities play a role which nothing less than essential to the survival of a competitive city. We have presented in brief some of the essential features of such a sub-centre – North An Khanh. Other sub-centres can be examined and analysed in a similar manner. While the importance of natural factors in the growth and development of cities cannot be denied, it is worth bearing in mind

that the city is the product of human society, and their success or failures rarely occur by happenstance. The present deliberations on the urban structure of Hanoi, including consideration of the role of satellite cities (or sub centres, or secondary cities), can be regarded as cautious and necessary preparation for a scenario of subtle intervention aimed at advancing the competitiveness of Hanoi as a city of knowledge and amenity, in the network of cities in the region and worldwide.

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North An Khanh – Access from Hanoi



Missing model of An Khanh New Town

DA NANG, NEW METROPOLIS IN CENTRAL VIETNAM, A COMBINATION OF DEVELOPMENT BY LAND STRIPS AND POLYCENTRIC ORGANIZATION OF NETWORKS

Christian Taillard*

The year 1997 marked a turning point for the urban development of Da Nang. On this date indeed the Vietnamese government worked out the strategy for *key economic zones*, in order to catch up with the second generation of New Asian industrialized countries (Thailand, Malaysia, etc.) and the coastal provinces of China. Three key economic zones were thus defined, for each of the three regions of the country: the Northern development triangle (Hanoi - Hai Phong - Ha Long, including since 2004 all the provinces bordering the Northern metropolis) in the North of the Red River's delta; the Southern one along the Saigon and Dong Nai rivers, in the North of Mekong delta (Ho Chi Minh City - Bien Hoa - Vung Tau, extended with all the provinces bordering on the metropolis of the South and Binh Phuoc), and the last in the central region along the coast (Hue - Da Nang - Tam Ky - Dung Quat, extended southward to Binh Dinh province). This strategy was devised given the need to deal with rundown infrastructure which suffered from about thirty years' uninterrupted war, then the urgency to attract desperately-needed foreign investments.

In parallel, the Vietnamese government decided the development of a third metropolis, halfway between the two hubs of the North and the South, so as to limit the migratory influx towards Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, and to avoid the risk of a country fracture because of the economic weakening of the central region, as it occurred twice in the past. So Da Nang was upgraded in 1997 into a centrally-governed municipality, a status shared by Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City and also by Hai Phong and Can Tho.

The year 1997 saw the start of, within the framework of the transnational integration programme of the Greater Mekong Subregion supported by the Asian Development Bank, the building of the East-West corridor. Thanks to this pilot corridor which today connects the two Indochinese peninsula's sea fronts, Da Nang rose to prominence, becoming the gateway to the South China sea and the global container carriers' circumnavigation route which runs along its coast. In this way, it enters into international functions, which until recently were dominated by the two metropolises in Northern and Southern Vietnam (CH. Taillard, 2005).

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The combination of these three policies (creation of the central region's key economic zone, building of a new metropolis and access to international functions related to the East-West corridor), made Da Nang the regional economic capital, eclipsing the old historical capital of Hue. It has reproduced, at the level of the central region, the existing bipartition at the national level between Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi. Moreover, the central government injected large investments, cofinancing with Japanese funds, to bring Da Nang closer to Hue with a tunnel under the Clouds (Hai Van) pass opened to traffic in June 2005, and the scheduled construction of a high flow traffic lane. These new infrastructures will bring closer, both psychologically and physically, the two former rivals, and thus facilitating the emergence of an urban area¹ within the key economic zone.

The combination of these three policies reflects also the originality of urbanization which Da Nang has gone for since 1997 in its extremely fast pace and formation bolstered by the estuary of the Hàn river and an airport located on the edge of the old centre, which resulted in an urban development in strips and polycentric structure², quite different from the process of periurbanization in aureole and glove finger forms along the traffic arteries prevalent in the two other Vietnamese metropolises.

Embracing a spatial development of Da Nang in three parallel strips, the process of this contemporary urban construction has its five components: redesign of the Hàn river banks, renewal of built-up area, linear urbanization, experience in land administration and property development on large scale started since 2006³. Also considered is the on-going bond between the dynamic of metropolization and the polycentric system as the result of it.

1. An urban spread constrained by meridian arteries

The new status of Da Nang in 1997 prompted a change of rhythm and urbanization scale compared to the city inherited from the colonial and post-colonial periods.

A city designed on the basis of port and airport facilities

Like Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, the town of Da Nang covering an area of 1,256 km², has spread fast its urbanized space which was only 161 km² in 2001. The

¹The Asian Development Bank prefers the term *city cluster to that of urban area* to define its new integrated strategy of development support. The concept refers to the level of spatial, economic and social development where the cities provide a momentum for the whole of industrial clusters. Moreover, this term is often used, in the work published by the ADB, like synonym of City cluster (Kyeongae Choe and Aprodicio Laquian, ADB, 2008).

²This remark is developed in an article, titled "Metropolitan planning and transition in Da Nang, central Vietnam's hub" to be published in 2012 in the book "Cities on the edge of metropolization in South East Asia", edited by our laboratory, the South East Asia Centre (CASE).

³Our thanks to Madam Huynh Lien Phuong, Da Nang Investment Promotion Centre IT Division manager, who allowed us to update the city-related data and Nguyen Tung, engineer with CNRS, who has shared with us his in-depth knowledge of Da Nang.

city area reached 196 km² in 2005, with the creation of the Cẩm Lệ urban district to its south-west and south. The territory of Da Nang today encompasses six urban districts and two rural districts. To identify the urbanized area, it is necessary to first exclude the 305 km² from the uninhabited Eastern maritime district of Hoang Sa archipelago (Paracel), then the 703 km² of the rural western district of Hòa Vang, that is to say 248 km² (Table 1). A more precise calculation further cuts off uninhabited space from two of the six urban districts: the 44 km² of the natural park of Sơn Trà peninsula and 8.4 km² of the airport area, which brings the urban area down from 248 to 196 km². While taking into account these deductions, the urbanized population was revised down from 777,215 to 670,470¹ in 2005 from the whole administrative territory to the urbanized space.

Da Nang is an estuary city, located on the West bank of the Hàn river. This river is formed by the meeting, just upstream of the city, of two tributaries descending from the mountain range to the west which converge into the Cẩm Lệ river, then join the Vĩnh Điện canal (dug up under Minh Mạng) which connects the Hàn river to the Thu Bồn river to the south (Map 1). As the Cẩm Lệ river is about to reach the South China Sea, a dune string stretching from Sơn Trà peninsula to the Thu Bồn river estuary, abruptly diverts it northward in the direction of the bay. Due to the Clouds Pass range to the north and the Sơn Trà peninsula to the east which create a frame of the bay and reach 1,000 and 700 respectively metres high in altitude, the estuary and the city are protected from North-East monsoon.

This site, favourable for a port, used to be the town of Tourane, developed in the colonial period. The Hàn river mouth and the Tiên Sa seaport on the Western coast of the Sơn Trà peninsula are much more favourable than those in Hội An, located 5 km from the Thu Bồn river mouth. The latter, exposed to typhoons, is threatened by floods and silting up of the river mouth due to the moving southward of the dune string. However, Hội An has long profited from its proximity with the old chief town of Quang Nam, located just five kilometres west of the old harbour, and from its location on the largest river basin of the Centre. Since the establishment of the French concession on the Western bank of the Hàn river, the Da Nang ports have taken over Hội An (Nelly Krowolski and Nguyễn Tùng, 2001).

If the port helped lay down the foundation of the new colonial city, the airport, built in 1940 just to the West of downtown area, has influenced its later evolution. Developed into an air base at the time of the American war, it spreads on 8.4 km² (Table 1), or one third of the central Hải Châu district area (24.1 km²) and a quarter of the central zone if Thanh Khê district bordering the north (33.4 km²) is included. Of the 842 hectares of the airport, 150 are reserved for civil aviation, the air force still controls 692 ha. This area was however reduced as compared to the previous American base related to housing development on the Eastern edge in the direction of the old centre into plots for sale (Map 1).

¹The entire centrally-governed municipality population was 806,000 in 2008.

From downtown to airport bypassing and river crossing (1965-1990)

The colonial city was built along the Western bank of the river, initially as the fishing harbour near the estuary, north of the old Eiffel Bridge, which was built for the railroad and replaced by a cement bridge after 1975 to provide access to the seaport. It has an orthogonal mesh street network which characterizes French colonial town planning. To the West was a living quarter, particularly developed during the American war, connecting the colonial city to the airport (Map 1). Around the downtown area, the urbanization expanded, to the North-West, between the old centre and the airfield, making denser a habitat created by the arrival in 1954 of the Northern Vietnam refugees. The city comprises also two urban quarters on the coastal strip: one at one end of the bridge spanning the river, and the other close to the seaport. The seaport and the airport thus provide a frame for urban development in 1965. Beyond that, on Map 1, can be seen only rural villages marking out by road arteries, in particular at the main crossroads, or forming alluvial strips over the inundated land near the river banks or behind the bay.

Driven by the American war, the refugees from Quang Nam arrived massively, occupying all the free, private or public areas of the colonial centre, and prompting a fast rising density of the coastal strip, in particular in the flood prone area, behind the bay, in Thanh Khê (Map 2¹). This urban district, with a dense living quarter of bad quality and served by a network of fishbone alleys, has retained traits of this period. The pressure was so strong that the refugees also settled in the eastern coastal strip which had more accommodation space, once a metal American bridge was added to the colonial bridge. This migration pressure prompted the formation of the third urban district: Sơn Trà.

Periurban villages developed at the same time, scattered evenly along the bay and the Northern city gateway artery, noticeable by a linear town planning that can be seen on Map 2. This planning is found again along the city's Southern gateway artery. The linear extension is seen again west of the airfield along the national road 1A and the rail link connecting Hanoi to Ho Chi Minh City. To the West of the Northern city entrance crossroads was dense rural villages established at the foot of the hills, then spreading to the bay after having crossed a zone of marshes. Southeastward, rural villages formed less densely settlements between the river and the road 14 which prolongs the Southern city entrance, providing access to the central highlands. Finally, on the eastern coastal strip, the only really urbanized parts developed in a continuous way are found only to the North, behind the military establishments; to the south, they are inserted between them.

¹The maps 2 and 3 are extracted from a thesis by Tran Thi Dong Binh (2007). The maps were drawn, using a fractal analysis on satellite images. In terms of land use type, continuous urban areas cannot be distinguished from discontinuous ones. The special urban category for military and industrial enclaves can be found in large numbers in Da Nang.

The emergence of an urban organization along three meridian strips (1990-2007)

Between 1975 and 1996, when the city was still part of the Quang Nam – Da Nang province, key urban developments were related to the two main roads at the city's North and South entrances. The crossroads of Hue, to the North-West, was arranged in 1976 and the 2.4 km long Dien Bien Phu Avenue, connecting it to the downtown was enlarged in 1985. This avenue provides an access to the main commercial street with the two greatest markets. The linear urbanization prevails along this northern entrance and the new Boulevard along the bay before their junction with the urban center (Map 3). In the middle of 1990, planning of the city's Southern entrance was undertaken. The September 2nd Boulevard along the river was created. There too, an urbanization strip was developed by the river bend. Until then, the built-up area had been on either side of the artery. Right in 2001, the airfield was encircled by urbanization, it is in direct contact with the downtown to the North-East, whereas agricultural spaces without construction were kept on its circumference in the north, west and south.

The political will in 1997 to make Da Nang the metropolis of central Vietnam quickly revealed a very ambitious urban rearrangement plan towards 2020, where transport infrastructure represents a dominating share (Map 4). The initial planning of two river fronts and the construction of four additional bridges¹ aim at making the river the main meridian axis between the old center of the city and the new eastern coast urbanization. The opening of two sea frontages to the north on the bay and to the east on the South China Sea helps develop areas with strong tourist and residential potentials contributing to changing the city's industry-dominated image.

A new artery, with a width comparable to the two city entrances and the sea front boulevards, borders today the airport to the east. It is the only new meridian artery shaping the central zone. This boulevard, starting on Dien Bien Phu Avenue and ending in the south on the Cầm Lê river, allows traffic, coming from the Northern entrance and bound for the coast, to bypass the old centre. Four crossing roads, spreading from north to south, provide access to the river. This boulevard and these roads constitute today an important vector of urbanization of the central zone's south-western quarter.

Lastly, new transport (tunnel under the Clouds pass and project of an expressway bypassing the national road 1A) and economic infrastructure (creation of a port for heavy cargo and industrial parks), have restructured the western part of the city, west of the airport. These new infrastructures help on one hand consolidate the central position of Da Nang at the level of the central key economic zone, and on the other, its intermediary position between the northern and southern deltas. Moreover, the city is

¹In addition to two old bridges, built by the French in 1902 (Trần Thị Lý) and the American in 1965 (Nguyễn Văn Trỗi), four new bridges now span the river. The Sông Hàn swing bridge, finished soon after 1997, in the city centre, has become the urban renewal emblem. The Tuyên Sơn bridge, to the South of the two old ones, links the dune string to the central quarter. The Cầm Lê bridge provides a direct access to National Road 1A thus avoiding the Hoà Cầm crossroad. Finally, the Thuận Phước bridge on the estuary links the seaport to the east and the river terminal in the centre to the new large-vessel port to the west by a boulevard bordering the bay.

no longer only on the main coastal meridian development axis of the country, but due to two roads in construction, it is now also on the second one along the borders with Laos and Cambodia: the Ho Chi Minh road, built to avoid frequent traffic disruptions by typhoons along the coastal road.

Map 3 shows that in 2001, five years after the establishment of the centrally-governed municipality, the city planning has reshaped its urban infrastructure. The central part of the city, after having reached the bay to the north, extends southward. The northern coastal part is almost entirely urbanized, whereas in the south, residential quarters are sandwiched between military zones. The urbanization of the western part of the city also progressed as compared to 1990: a host of periurban villages develop west of the highway 1A, framed by two more densely inhabited zones in the north of either side of Cu Đê river, and in the south between the river and the road 14 leading towards the highlands.

Beside urban extension by centre-periphery model, there emerges an urban space organization in three parallel, relatively narrow strips, delineated by the river on one hand and the airport on the other. This organization maintains a structural discontinuity in the city architecture, connected by the Northern and Southern entrance roads. Their splitting by the new boulevard bordering the bay to the north and by another one under construction along the Cầm Lê river bank to the south respectively, opens two new urban fronts.

The relative weight of the three metropolitan components

The territorial metropolitan organization takes into account the parallel urbanization along the three strips, and the settlement history (Table 1). The two oldest urban districts of the central strip, Hải Châu and Thanh Khê, are home to nearly 365,000 inhabitants in 2005, or 54.4% of the population, on 13% of the metropolitan area. They are now framed to the east by the urban districts of the eastern strip, Sơn Trà and Ngũ Hành Sơn, which have a population of 162,300, or 24.2% of the city's population, on 40% of the area (this percentage drops by 27.4% if the Sơn Trà peninsula is excluded), and to the west by the western strip's urban districts, Liên Chiểu and Cầm Lê, with a population of 143,250, or 21.4%, and on 47% of the area (the percentage which surges to nearly 60% if the peninsula is excluded). The central zone thus accounts for more than half of the population whereas the two strips shaping the area represent 87% of the metropolitan area. In 2020 the metropolitan population should increase by a third as compared to 2001, rising from 576,700 to 850,000 (the centrally-governed municipality's population to exceed one million if rural districts are included). The central zone should record a growth rate of only 20%, far from the 48% of the eastern strip and surpassing the western strip's expected growth of 32%.

In terms of density, in the central zone, the Hải Châu central urban district has the density of 12,555/km², while that of Thanh Khê is 17,125 because of the massive settlement of refugees during the American war. This migration movement also explains

why, in the eastern strip, the density of Sơn Trà district, excluding the peninsula, is higher than Ngũ Hành Sơn (6,800 and 1,345/km² respectively). Conversely, in the western strip, the new Cẩm Lệ district which comprises part of the city to the south of the airport, has higher density than that of Liên Chiểu to the north (2,165 and 855 respectively). The latter has a much more mountainous terrain, bordered by the Clouds pass range to the north and the Bà Nà range to the west, with a coastal plain partly encroached by marshes.

The western strip, however concentrates 60% of the land stock of the metropolitan area as the two other strips can only become more densely populated with the renewal of the built-up area. In her thesis, Tran Thi Dong Binh demonstrated that one third of the growth between 1990 and 2001 of the continuous residential zone (856 ha) comes from the discontinuous settled zones occupied by military or industrial enclaves, 20% of the filled wetland or fallow land, and about half of the land reclaimed for culture or with vegetation cover.

2. Mechanisms of contemporary urban construction

The urban construction of Da Nang combines a process of river bank rearrangement, a population concentration around the built-up area and a linear urbanization along the rearranged old roads or new arteries. It is also based on land control and property developments which facilitate a large-scale development of urban planning.

The rearrangement of Han river banks

The most visible transformation of the downtown area comes from the arrangement of two river banks, which required the displacement of the fishing port in the west bank to the east bank, thus closer to the seafood processing industrial park. The same happened to the warehouses. The oil warehouses and shipyard, to the south of the old centre, should still be displaced towards the Liên Chiểu sea port or to the south of the Sơn Trà seaport to complete the process.

The redistribution of activities linked to the river helps prolong the western quay southward, in the direction of the two old bridges, and northward to the river port. This river walking path, is extremely busy, in the morning and evening alike, with downtown residents. Their frequentation prompts a facelift of the built-up area with the first high-rise buildings, which accommodates new functions, in particular related to tourism. Hotels and restaurants share space with the old administrative buildings built in the colonial period. A new quay was created on the eastern bank. The built-up front is composed of four or five-storey Chinese-style shophouses, but there have appeared also some middle-rise buildings. This river area, close to the Han bridge end, is also very busy in the evening because it concentrates many outdoor coffees and small restaurants. The quays make the river a downtown attractive area.

The renewal of built-up area and population concentration in the central zone

In the orthogonal grid of the colonial centre, the commercial streets with old attached buildings and Chinese-style shophouses opening on the street are replaced by new, higher, Western-style boutiques. In this way is arranged the oldest commercial artery, composed of the Ly Thai To and Hung Vuong streets which connect the two main markets. This artery, having the most narrowest and degraded road system (two lanes), is extended to the west by the Dien Bien Phu avenue which joins the Northern city entrance crossroads. The avenue, much larger (six lanes with traffic partition), is also bordered by two or three-storey shophouses. This commercial artery is doubled, in its eastern part, by the Le Duan Avenue which connects the Dien Bien Phu Avenue to the Sông Hàn Bridge. It is bordered by three to four-storey shophouses. The two main meridian arteries (Tran Phu and Le Loi being split to the south by Phan Chau Trinh and Hoang Dieu streets), and the artery leading to the airport (Nguyen Van Linh) have a comparable dynamic. Along these commercial streets, a built-up area with up-to-twenty-storey buildings is intercalated with the continuous sprawl of shophouses now under modernization.

However, these spectacular transformations should not eclipse a much less visible dynamic - a population concentration in the built-up area in the central sector, which can be found in the urban centres of many Vietnamese cities. Designed around a lane regulated by a gate opening on the main street, the built-up area becomes denser with the filling up of remaining available spaces, advancement of the frontage encroaching at times over the lane and the expansion for additional living space. Behind the bay, in the area settled by refugees of the American war, the population concentration appears all the more uncontrolled as the lanes arranged like fish bones give a labyrinthine way to the local traffic. Constructions here are by far more diversified, from low-cost dwelling to villas, according to the success of the residents.

The dominant pattern: the linear urbanization along structural arteries

In addition to the arrangement of the Hàn river river fronts, new urban boulevards have been opened (through city entrances, on the seafronts or along arteries on the eastern and western strips), resulting in a linear mode of urbanization. The four lanes of the new Nguyen Tat Thanh Boulevard, built along the bay prompt a transformation of this part of the city. Construction of Chinese-style shophouses and high-rise houses along the seafront and housing immediately at the backside, contrasts with the highly dense built up area further inland, inherited from the American war time. This boulevard is rather badly connected to the downtown area given the lack of feeder roads.

Another four-lane boulevard, on the seaside, connects the Son Trà peninsula to Hội An, running east of the Marble mountains (Non Nước), opens to international tourism a coast hitherto forgotten and badly connected to the remainder of the city before the recent multiplication of bridges spanning the river. This coast has had only a few resorts serving domestic customers. Since the opening of the Sông Hàn Bridge, the Pham Van

Dong Boulevard provides an access to the sea front from the downtown area. This boulevard designed to offer a privileged location for the establishment of high-end villas is now left unused, whereas construction of the sea front at its end has just started behind a boulevard which runs along the coast. On this same coastal strip and in central position, the old boulevard was enlarged to six lanes, plus two side roads making it possible to access the local built-up area behind and making it the largest of the city. It is the main vector of urbanization over the entire eastern part of Da Nang, from the new quay along the river to the new boulevard in the sea front.

West of the airport, the western strip of the metropolitan area is structured by the national road 1A which generates also an important linear urbanization. Initiated right in the American period, the built-up area has spread to near the two today industrial parks bordering the Cu Đê river. Elsewhere, in particular near the two city northern and southern entrance crossroads, the urbanization progresses by filling of interstitial spaces between former villages, without forming a continuous built-up area. These two periurban urbanization patterns have progressed since the opening in 2004 of the tunnel under the Clouds pass and will be reinforced by the forthcoming construction of an expressway bypassing the current national road 1A.

Experience in land administration facilitating the process of urban rearrangement

The speed of transformations occurring in Da Nang in less than ten years and their scale with about thirty roads created or rearranged requiring the displacement of a large number of people are surprising in Vietnam. Indeed, the regulation framework governing land expropriation is still at the initial stage, creating room for improvisations, and triggering many delays in the project implementation. Thanks to the experience developed since its transformation into a centrally-governed municipality, Da Nang has avoided that pitfall. Its policy of compensation of the displaced people is presented like a model for the other cities of comparable or smaller size.

Da Nang has set up a fund for compensation for displaced people. The fund includes fundings by the People's Committee and the central government which had spent a lot between 1997 and 2004 to make Da Nang the central region metropolis. The city has disbursed for resettlement, financed by the local budget. The funds reasonably compensated the demolished dwellings and resettled the displaced people near their old dwelling so they can continue their activities and thus keep their income. Hence, 80% of the households having part of their dwelling to be demolished to allow the widening of the national road 1A have accepted the compensation proposed to them (Nguyễn Xuân Thành, 2003). The city could also involve the population in its projects. To finance the over cost of the Sông Hàn swing bridge so that large vessel can sail up the river, it has called upon the population which contributed 27 of the necessary 95 billion dong with the central government financing 53 billion and the People's Committee only 15 billion.

The city policy consists of retrieving the land profit generated by the creation of new boulevards. Thanks to the fund set up since 1998 to finance the displacement of the

population from the site of a new road, the People's Committee divides land bordering the new boulevard into plots and sells them at market price. Thus the generated funds help resettle the displaced people in the back streets parallel to the new boulevard, just behind the two strips divided in land plots. With a financial compensation the former dwellers can buy a land plot at the official price, or other land for them to rebuild their house, mostly shophouses or an apartment in a building with construction quality depending on the nature of the demolished residence and therefore the incomes of their occupants. Thus, buildings established on the edge of the Thuận Phước wetland, near the estuary, are better built than those installed along the boulevard bordering the bay where the degraded dwelling dated from the arrival of the refugees during the American war. Access to the property is facilitated with a refundable credit over a long period and at a lower price than market one. The procedure, however, does not prevent voluntary displacements to a longer distance because some beneficiaries resell their land plot or their apartment to secure the profit.

This policy helps sustain the operation which once made up the fund. However, it shelters limits regarding urban rearrangement. It helps only restore or create urbanization by strip. As there are not many secondary roads accessing these new boulevards, the arrangement does not help improve access to the inner side of the quarter being crossed. Moreover, it blocks any possibility of later enlargement, if not by a new destruction of the built-up area on a greater scale. Finally, a large number of rearranged or newly built roads result in a surplus of land for building, both in central and peripheral areas, which caused land price to fall, in spite of the urban explosion in the city in 1998, after a long sluggish period. The action performed is therefore not without impact on the property market which reacts accordingly.

Emergence of real estate development since 2006

During the first decade of the metropolization process, the road grid rearrangement and the related linear urbanization prevailed. This development pattern continues today but with certain delay, caused by lack of funding, both by the central government and the People's Committee, notably regarding the completion of the Thuận Phước Bridge on the estuary, which was postponed to the end of 2009, or the replacement of the national road 1A by an expressway. Nevertheless, new arteries have been considered, such as the extension of the boulevard from the airport to the river which it should be spanned by a new bridge. The project is controversial because it must encroach on the site of the Cham Museum, the cities unique truly tourist centre.

However, this process is no longer the momentum of the second decade of metropolization. Today, priority is given to modernization of the built-up area landscape rather than infrastructural rearrangement. In this new phase, the government still plays a major role, notably with the construction underway in 2009 of an administrative complex housed in a 34-storey tower, gathering all the People's Committee's offices. This 55 million dollar investment should be partly funded by resales of the liberalized housing stock owned by the Committee, in particular the two colonial buildings of

its current head office and various services located on the river banks, whose value skyrocketed since the rearrangement of river front.

However, the People's Committee is no longer the main stakeholder of the built-up area modernization and has been replaced by private property developers. Vietnamese investors, both northern and southern, met on the initiative of the city's entrepreneurs, or property developers coming directly from Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City have financed for example the first two large shopping centres of the commercial artery, Ly Thai To and Hung Vuong. The first supermarket is entirely Vietnamese-funded (built at the beginning of the year 2000 and upgraded in 2009 by the B i Th  group), and the second is funded by a joint-venture with Carrefour group (under Big C trademark like in China): a mall with two office and apartment towers located near the C n market (Vinh Trung Plaza: 20 storeys, 50 million USD).

Since 2006, more and more foreign investors, in particular Americans and Koreans have joined in. The property development sector accounts for 75% of the total foreign investment, which multiplied by 6.6 folds between 2005 and 2007 (jumping from 132.4 to 875.8 million dollars). The ratio of effectively implemented projects rose to 60% of the granted licenses. Some projects are located along the river front in the old centre such as an international hotel tower (the Vietnamese invested Green Plaza) and an apartment's tower connected to an office complex (Indochina Riverside Tower). Work on two new quarters by Korean property developers also kick started (including hotels, offices, apartments, mansions, shopping mall, international school and golf course, etc.) on large land plots reclaimed on the riverside to the south (Kreves Residential and Commercial Complex) or on the seaside to the north (Đa Phước New Town). About twenty large scale projects, including three located on the river eastern side, close to the H n bridge end (Vinacapital Commercial Centre with American fundings) were underway in 2009.

The land and property investments also target tourism. A chain of international class resorts has emerged along the southern part of the coast, from the site of Furama (the first one operational) to the marble mountain. At least seven projects, with investment ranging from 86 to 130 million dollars combining luxury hotels and residential facilities have been recorded in 2009. The multiplication of these property and housing complexes, in the old centre, along the river and on the coast represents a change in the extent of property development which becomes the most dynamic sector of the economy. The disproportion of the projects however has cast doubt on the absorbing capacity of the market targeting affluent customers, the majority of them being foreigners.

3. A metropolization generating a spatial arrangement in strips and an polycentric organization of networks

The outcome of this urban project planning is not only an urban spread in each of the three meridian strips forming the city, first oriented northward of the historic

center in direction of the bay and now reoriented southward where key urbanization concentrates. A polycentric metropolization emerges today, based on a network of hierarchized centres, forming new quarters, in the central zone as well as in its two bordering strips (Map 5).

The emergence, in the central zone, of a business district and two new international quarters on the river front

The downtown area is organized around a meridian-oriented business district, and delineated to the east by the river and the west by Le Loi street (extended in the south by Phan Chau Trinh and Hoang Dieu streets). It spreads on over the entire length of the old French concession, from the river port to Hung Vuong street (where the first buildings of the colonial administration were built), and through the old commercial quarter where it extends to the south until the current place of the Cham Museum. A fast renewal of an increasingly verticalized built-up is going on here.

In the eastern part of this business quarter, between the river front and Tran Phu street which has just been rehabilitated, a dynamic central business district has emerged. The verticalization here is much more obvious, the new buildings sheltering offices and large hotels, limited elsewhere to ten storeys but exceed here thirty storeys. As seen from the eastern river front, the skyline, distinguished from the surrounding built-up area, is interrupted in the centre by the People's Committee colonial buildings. In the south of the Sông Hàn Bridge to the television high-rise are buildings closer to each other and they appear increasingly continuous. Behind the quay, two verticalized Vietnamese-invested centres are emerging. The first, to the north, includes the 34-storey administrative tower (55 millions dollars) bordered, by the technological park tower to the south and the twin towers of Da Nang Plaza to the north. The second centre is located on the new theater square where are grouped three projects underway in 2009 which combine malls, offices and apartments: to the west, Da Nang Centre building and to the east, two twin towers connected by a bridge constructed by Vien Dong Méridian (180 millions dollars) opposite to an even more bigger Dong A Bank complex.

Two new centralities appear at the two ends of the central zone, bordering the river, both developed by Korean investors catering for an international clientele. To the north of the old town, the first one stretches along a reclaimed platform bordering the bay west of the Thuận Phước bridge end on the estuary. It comprises the new city Dap Phước (Đà Phước) (204 ha developed by Daewon Cantavil at a cost of 250 million dollars) and the True Friend Parks 37-storey twin towers (Bukusan, 50 million dollars) and Daewon Cantavil (30 million dollars). To the south of the old town, at the Tuyên Sơn bridge end, another international quarter has started work in 2009 on the initiative of the Keyes groups (on 9.8 ha, 200 million dollars) and Daewon Cantavil (30 million dollars), on part of the green land reclaimed by the People's Committee from the wetland bordering the river.

North of this area and at the end of two old bridges, on an artificial island developed by a group from Ho Chi Minh City, are the Green Island Hotel's tower, restaurants and luxury villas, far from the communities for expatriates, as suggested by the site arrangement. This international centrality is completed further south by metropolitan-ranking amenities: Metro hypermarket, exhibition centre, Nhat Linh supermarket and the Vietnamese Thanh Nien residential park organized around a lake. It is noted however that this development stops at the bank of the Cầm Lê river as the green town project, scheduled in the master plan by 2020, at the junction of three rivers, is yet to be implemented (Map 4).

A seaside international tourism front framed by two new quarters with metropolitan functions in the eastern strip

The seafront boulevard becomes the main international tourism development artery. It connects the seven existing or future beach resorts between Bắc Mỹ An and the marble mountain: Furama (foreign investment undertaken with Vietnamese capital), My Khe Beach Tourane Hotel (Vietnamese-American), Maia Fusion (Vietnamese), My Phat Olalani (Overseas Vietnamese), Crown plaza Hoang Dat (Chinese-American), Hyatt Regency (American), and Raffles Hotel (Dubai). They make up a chain of tourist amenities bordering the sea, artificially reproducing enclaves of tropical coastal landscapes tourists can dream of. This continuous front of adjacent and often verticalized seaside resorts is located next to old villages and military enclaves without access to the sea, and which can now hardly profit from tourist resources.

These tourist coastal resorts, with old residential area developed on the dune ridge, in the east are bordered by two new centres: an old one to the north, and the other under development to the south. From the eastern end of the Thuận Phước suspension bridge to the container terminal financed by Japan on the eastern coast of the Sơn Trà peninsula, the restructuring of the quarter was in full swing in 2009. The manufacturing sector, developed from the first industrial parks located on the old army land (Thọ Quang located at 2.5 km away from the seaport or An Đồn located near the Sông Hàn Bridge), is no longer the momentum of the quarter, in spite of the creation of a new zone devoted to seafood processing. It is overshadowed today by apartment buildings. It is the largest complex of this kind under construction in Da Nang, aimed at accommodating the population displaced by construction of the river fronts and ramps accessing to the bridge on the estuary, but also meeting the housing need of the emerging middle-class.

In the southern part of the eastern coast, in Ngũ Hành Sơn district, are planned in 2009 new facilities southward facilities of the marble mountain. The new campus of the Da Nang University covering 300 ha, should host doctoral training and research as well as a university village, on 50 ha, financed by the 350 million dollars fundings from the Asian Development Bank. Later on, research centres on tourism, medicine and oceanography will add to the quarter. It is also expected that a new residential area will be built. The scientific specialization of this new quarter thus seems quite obvious.

Hierarchized industrial and logistic centres marking the western strip's artery

West of the airport, the development artery is structured around three quarters with three key junctions on the national road 1A (Maps 3 and 4). Between the Cu Đê river's estuary and entrance of the tunnel road under the Clouds pass, a first centre has a deep-sea port being able to accommodate ships of 50,000 tons (while the Tiên Sa port being limited to vessels of up to 30,000 tons), specialized in transport of construction materials and petrochemical products, and the Liên Chiểu industrial park (373 ha), completed with a chemical industry section. A linear urbanization develops here along the national road 1A, limited by the narrow coastal plain to the north of the Cu Đê river. Profiting from the conjunction of maritime, railway and road transports, logistics and industry are the main development engines.

South of the Cu Đê river, in Hòa Khánh at the junction between the national road 1A and the road to Bà Nà old colonial mountain resort under revival, at 1,400 metres above the sea level, the second centre is being built at a larger scale. The urbanization here has a larger extent as the national road runs across a zone of old rural settlement bordering wetlands with part of them being reclaimed and on which the most dynamic industrial park of the city, covering 640 ha has been built. Moreover, this center homes the Liên Chiểu urban district People's Committee and campuses of technology and foreign language colleges of the Da Nang University. Lastly, the city gateway, constrained by the junction between the meridian railroad and the branch connecting to the central station, does not create favourable conditions to the development of structuring projects. This could change in the future with the relocation of the central station to the intersection between the national road and the future expressway, near the new bus station; this new logistic focal point will probably support, in the medium term, the emergence of a new quarter.

Finally, to the south, in the new Cẩm Lệ urban district, the Hòa Cầm intersection between the national road 1A and the city southern entrance which is prolonged westward by the road 14B in the direction of the highlands, does not help develop a urbanization centre for at least two reasons: first- the construction of a flyover to limit the accidents, and second-the Cẩm Lệ bridge making it possible to avoid the Hòa Cầm crossroads and access directly the national road 1A further south. Given this, the district People's Committee is located east of Hòa Cầm crossroads at an old military base. Urbanization can develop in the west of the national road 1A only when a second industrial park, namely Hòa Khương is added to the first industrial park of Hòa Cầm (137 ha), near the future expressway bypassing the national road 1A, with the creation of a new residential quarter by 2020. Hence, for the moment, urbanization of the western strip is based on two centres to the north whereas the emergence of a southern centre depends on the enhancement of the industrial function and the increase of traffic in the direction of the Ho Chi Minh road and the corridor leading towards Thailand via Pakse in Laos.

Forms and future of polycentric metropolitan development process

The metropolitan area of Da Nang comprises today three parallel urban strips but of unequal width, limited by the river on one side and the airport on the other, which maintains a structural discontinuity in the city architecture. The transportation grid combines meridian and transversal arteries in the central zone and increasingly looser from the eastern to the western strip. This grid and these arteries organize a network of increasingly specialized hierarchized centralities, as a result of function redistribution on a metropolitan scale. This specific metropolitan spatial organization requires, in the long term, the installation of a public transport network, tram or rapid bus, to connect the various centres (cf CH. Taillard, 2005). By the way, this architecture in three parallel strips rules out any centre-periphery urban development model, presented in a non convincing attempt by Tran Thi Dong Binh in her thesis.

In the central zone, many ingredients of metropolization can be found: a central business district with high-rise buildings dominating the built-up of the surrounding commercial arteries. The district comprises high-end hotels, offices and apartment towers connected by malls. For the first time, an administrative tower and a high-tech park specialized in softwares take part in the replanning of urban landscape in downtown area. In the north and south of the central zone, two residential quarters made of towers, urban houses and entertainment facilities concentrate in the river front downstream and upstream, along the boulevard bordering the river. In addition, there is a shift in the scale of projects dispersed according land opportunities for developers to create new quarters and organized around structuring facilities with metropolitan or international functions.

In the eastern strip, the urbanization engine has moved from industry to international beaches and resort tourism, whereas the western strip gives priority to industrial functions, spurred by a powerful logistic infrastructure. In these two peripheral components, as in the central zone, new facilities (economic, university, cultural or sporting) new centralities have been found as an emergence of new quarters. These bring Da Nang an equivalent position to the new cities in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. However, the on-going metropolization process, related to a urban planning of large projects, is so recent that the transformations of urban landscape follow in most cases the new arteries, gradually shaping the centres of these emerging quarters, in particular at the bridge ends.

At present, however, this urbanization process affects little the built-up area inside the mesh of the transport grid, no matter they are urban-dominated in the central zone or rural-dominated in the peripheral areas. In both cases, the densification with self-construction initially tends to fill the empty space, then more storeys are added, grafting on the existing built-up. The urban landscape thus appears today composite in the central zone just as in the two bordering strips. New constructions mix up with the old built-up of rural villages in neighbouring urban units, forming the first urbanization matrix.

The current dynamic implies a transition from a metropolization based on urban planning during the first decade, the outcome of a strategy aimed at providing the central region with a metropolis at national level, to a more conventional and internationalized metropolization during the second decade, involving private investors and foreigners and playing the card of integration to globalization. From one decade to another, internationalization intervenes in a selective way on the structural spatial architecture in strips of Da Nang. In the course of the first decade, it has especially profited the two strips bordering the central zone: foreign investments, still modest in size are injected mostly into industrial parks (two in the eastern strip and four in the western strip). With a boom in property development in the course of the second decade, foreign investors have initially preferred the central zone, in particular the new waterfront of the Hàn river, then the eastern strip's coastal resorts. The internationalization thus benefits from now on the most urbanized and most developed central urban districts, and those having tourist potential.

The future of this polycentric development model, fueled by the metropolization dynamic in Da Nang, depends on the capacity of the People's Committee and the central government but also private domestic and foreign investors, to equip the new hierarchized centralities with a mass transportation grid to connect them, to facilitate a redistribution of functions between them, and to generate a viable dynamic on a metropolitan scale. The second decade of metropolization, that of internationalization, began in a context of global downturn, that casts doubt on the continuation of a process based on high-end property development both in residential and business areas in the central zone and tourist-related coast. A risk of real estate bubble burst cannot be excluded, for a national or expatriate clientele would not be sufficient in number (it is limited today to just one thousand) to replace the temporarily weakened foreign buyers. At best, the investment pace in this sector will slow down and the continuation of this second phase of metropolization will be delayed of a few years. The future depends finally on the capacity of Da Nang and Hue to overcome their rivalries and to develop synergies to create a true bipolar urban region, capable of dynamizing the central Vietnam by mobilizing foreign investors sustainably.

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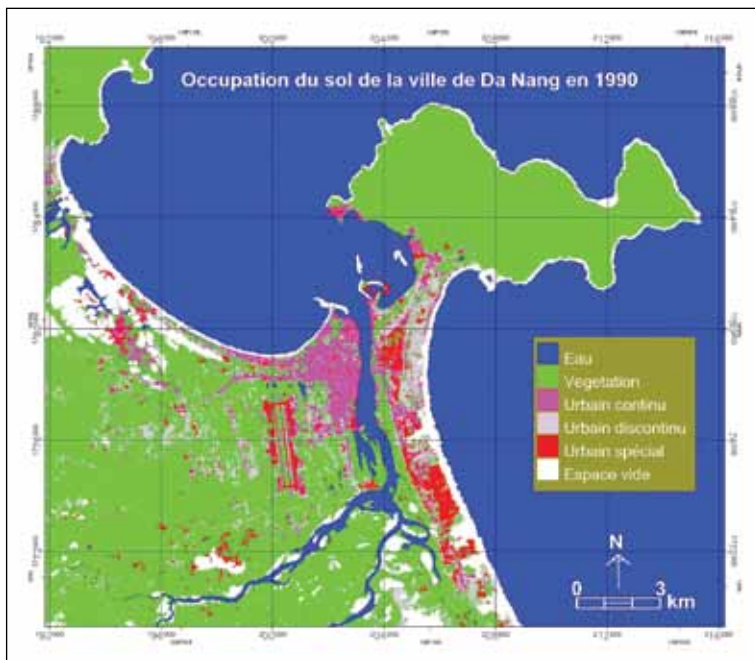
Table 1: Population, density and area in 2001, 2005 and up to 2020 of Da Nang by urban and rural districts

	Population 2001	Density by km ² 2001	Area 2001	Population 2005	Density by km ² 2005	Area 2005	Population 2020	Construction area (ha) 2020
Da Nang City	729 000	580	1 256	777 215	619	1 256	1 055 000	10 900
(without archipelago)		766	951		817	951		
Urban district central zone								
Hải Châu	200 700	8 340	24.1	197 120	8 680	22.7		
(area, density without airport)		12 780	15.7		12 555	15.7		
Thanh Khê	155 700	16 750	9.3	167 830	17 125	9.8		
Total	356 400		33.4	364 950		32.5	443 000	3 000
% with and without airport				54.4		13/13		
Urban district eastern strip								
Sơn Trà	105 000	1 730	60.8	112 195	1 809	62	165 000	1 200
(without peninsula parc)		6 360	16.5		6 800	16.5		
Ngũ Hành Sơn	46 700	1 280	36.5	50 100	1 345	37.2	126 000	2 400
Total	151 700		97.3	162 295		99.2	291 000	3 600
% with and without peninsula				24.2		40/27.4		
Urban district eastern strip								
Liên Chiểu	67 600	810	83.1	71 820	855	83.9		2 600
Cẩm Lệ (since 2005)				71 429	2 165	33		1 000
Total				143 249		116.9	205 000	2 600
%				21.4		47/59.6		
Rural district								
Hòa Vang	153 000	210	737	106 745	152	703	116 000	700
Agglomeration urban district	153 000	2 690	214	670 490	2 703	248	850 000	10 200
(without airport and peninsula)		3 580	161		3 438	196		

Chapter 9: Da nang, New Metropolis in Central Vietnam, a Combination of Development by Land Strip and Polycentric Organization of Networks



Map 1. Topographic map of Da Nang in 1990 (Vietnamese source)



Map 2. Map of land use in Da Nang in 1990 (source: Tran Thi Dong Binh)



Map 3. Map of land use in Da Nang in 2001 (source: Tran Thi Dong Binh)



Map 4: Strategic plan of Da Nang in 2020 (source: People's Committee)

Chapter 9: Danang, New Metropolis in Central Vietnam, a Combination of Development by Land Strip and Polycentric Organization of Networks



Map 5. Model of organization in strips and networks in Da Nang

SAIGON: FROM HO BIEU CHANH'S NOVELS TO VUONG HONG SEN'S MONOGRAPH

Trịnh Văn Thảo*

CAPITAL OF THE SOUTH IN HO BIEU CHANH'S NOVELS

Saigon used to be the destination of rural migrants during the whole transitional period in the Cochinchina between 1858 and 1955 (when Saigon became the capital of the (former) Republic of Vietnam). During the colonial period, Saigon was the place of contradictions – on one hand, the place of people with ultimate social and professional success and on the other, the place of bottom society and people of failures, poverty and uncertainty. The novels of the author Ho Bieu Chanh described the living places of these people in a sharp contrast. On one side were the spacious boulevards, where the European and some rich natives reside and where exist the administrative offices. On the other side were the slums such as Ban Co, Khanh Hoi, Cau Kieu, Xom Chieu, U Tau, etc. where the poorest of society live. Between the two extremes were the living places of the middle class such as Da Kao, Phu Nhuan, Tan Dinh, Thi Nghe, Go Vap, etc.

Saigon was also the place where appeared and were developed the careers of modernity practiced by the white collars (secretaries, engineers, physicians, teachers, lawyers, etc.) who worked for local administrative agencies, schools, hospitals and courts; the blue collars who toiled in the Ba Son shipyard, shops and garages; and the wretched people who lived on petty trade, stealing, prostitution and other illegal activities. Besides, there was the dynamic ethnic Hoa (Chinese) community in the business districts of the Cho Lon city near Saigon.

Space and time of the time in the novels of Ho Bieu Chanh were also clearly described in Vietnamese for the first time by the southern anthropologist Vuong Hong Sen in his monograph “Saigon nam xua” (Saigon of the past). Through these literature, geographic and historical works of the two witnesses, we can re-discover more about this bustling and beloved city.

Geographical and social space of Saigon in Ho Bieu Chanh's novels

The image of Cochinchina in Ho Bieu Chanh's novels.

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Despite his rarely detailed description of the sites (but more focus on describing the character's psychology and social backgrounds, his novels usually began with some lines describing the geography and space of the area he was talking about except for the familiar places such as his home land – Go Cong, the health resort in Ben Suc, Binh Duong and Da Lat. He possessed a deep knowledge of the place where he was working and Saigon where he was a council member. I will refer to 3 areas in this paper: the area north of Saigon (stretching up to the Central Highlands), the Mekong delta (the area between the Tien Giang and Hau Giang rivers and the metropolis of Saigon).

Saigon and “Luc tinh” (6 provinces established under the Nguyen dynasty’s Ming Mang king or the whole Cochinchina): The convergence of arteries

Before becoming the centre of Cochinchina, the city of Saigon was the convergence of arteries connecting provinces. This is said in one of the Ho Bieu Chanh’s novels.

“From Saigon, you can take a boat for Luc Tinh¹ which runs through My Tho, up to Vinh Long, Sa Dec, Chau Doc, and down to Long Xuyen and Can Tho or you can take a train to My Tho, therefrom you can embark on a small boat to Can Tho” (Bo Vo (Divorce) 6/47).

According to the scholar Vuong Hong Sen, the waterway route mentioned above connects Saigon and Phnom Penh running through the area of the Tien Giang river (My Tho, Vinh Long, Chau Doc, etc.). Also according to the writer of “Saigon of the past”, there was a boat service from *Nam Vang* (the former Vietnamese name of Phnom Penh) serving the area of the Hau Giang river connecting My Tho and Bac Lieu, Can Tho, Soc Trang, etc.

Motorcars in the 30th

The writer describes the evolution of motorcars in Cochinchina, in the period between the end of the first World War and the boom of motorcars in the years before the 1930 crisis as follows.

“At that time, there were not that many cars as present. If any, they would shuttle between Saigon and Cho Lon only because there was no motorway down in those provinces”, (*Con nha ngheo* – Born in a poor family, 28/100)².

¹Luc Tinh denotes the southern provinces or Cochinchina under the French colony or Gia Dinh Thanh under the first king of the Nguyen dynasty Gia Long (19th century) with the principal city being Gia Dinh, including 6 provinces Phien An (the seat is Gia Dinh city), Bien Hoa, Vinh Thanh (later divided into Vinh Long and An Giang provinces), Vinh Tuong and Ha Tien.

²There is a part devoted to describing the mechanical structure of a motorcar in the novel.

Ben Suc village (Binh Duong, 1941)

“Ben Suc lies adjacent to Road 14 running from Thu Dau Mot to the rubber plantation of Dau Tieng, so motorcars run past the village market day and night. Ben Suc is located in a large basin facing the direction of sunrise. The low-lying land is watered by the winding Ben Nghe river and as a result, vegetation is lush and green. Behind the village to the direction of sunset are bushy hills, plush rubber plantations and paddy fields on the slope”.

Because of its location, the tiny village of Ben Suc has the ambiance of half – urban and half – rural lifestyle. Villagers have the lifestyle similar to other urban areas but inside they are as honest farmers as they used to be unlike urban dwellers. In such a land, those who want to find an escape from the city will love such mind very much, so do the knowledgeable people” (*Ai Tinh Mieu – the Temple of Love*, 1/84).

The motorway from Saigon to Can Tho (1936)

“The government has opened to traffic a motorway running from Saigon to Can Tho. Villagers living near the road have never left their home village and the majority have never seen the city civilization. Whenever they hear the buzzing of motorcars on the road, the farmers who are bending their back to plant the rice seedlings in the field will all straighten up and turn their eyes to the car while children and adults in the village will all get out of their house to the front yard for a look” (*No Doi – The Debt of Life*, 1/72).

The presence of motorcars and the ownership of motorcars by the middle class not only embodied a colonial regime – rulers and entrepreneurs but also gave rise to related occupations including mechanics, civil engineers (*Bo Vo – Divorce*, *Chi Dao Chi Ly – Ms Dao and Ms Ly*, etc.), garage workers, apprentices, gas station tenders, and particularly chauffeurs. Talking about this reminds me of the humiliated chauffeur who caused the death of the chief of province in the story “*Tien bac, bac tien - Money, money*”. Beside motorcars, other means of transport such as train and boats have contributed to changing the face of urban life in a new civilization.

On the Northeast Saigon road (1957)

“When the car runs out of Ba Chieu¹, many types of cars, going in and out of the city in droves can be seen. Until the bridge Binh Loi, there are still many cars running towards Bien Hoa or towards Thu Dau Mot. Cars follow one another along the road. They are of all types, including tourism cars, military cars, coaches and trucks forming

¹A market near the (former) city of Gia Dinh.

a line. From Binh Trieu up to Binh Phuoc, on either side of the road are vegetable crops and fruit trees. It seems that they are even more plenty than before. In the far distance is a watch tower where soldiers stand guard for farmers to toil the field. Beyond the vegetable field is the vast area under sugarcane, block after block stretching up to the Go Dua river bank and into the Suoi Cha area” (Chi Dao, Chi Ly – Ms Dao and Ms Ly, 87/128).

The paragraph vividly shows a prosperous, though short-lived period in the history of Saigon between the French withdrawal (1955) and the beginning of the second war in Vietnam (1959), the early phase of the Republic of Vietnam under the regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem (1955-1963).

Urban and suburban areas

Cho Dui¹ (Silk Market) (1930)

“The Saigon downtown, especially the Cho Dui church area, teems up with people, the tired working class in a hurry back home for a rest and the unhurried flying kites for recreation. In addition, the noisy trains coming up from My Tho and down from Bien Hoa blow a whistle to add hustle and bustle to the sight, which is very proper to the energetic youngsters but uncomfortable to the elderly who love tranquility” (Hai Khoi Tinh - Two Love Stories, 1/83).

The daily life (1935)

Ho Bieu Chanh predicts the important role played by suburbs in urbanization, particularly the suburbs to the North and Northeast of Saigon, including Gia Dinh – Ba Chieu (now Binh Thanh), Phu Nhuan² and Go Vap districts. In contrast to Phu Nhuan, which is commercially proper, Binh Thanh and Go Vap are the habitat of the native middle class (students, public servants and farmers from the Lai Thieu orchard area). The central residential district (now District 1) is the living place of Europeans and the native elite.

“The tram running from Go Vap³ to Saigon stops at the Xom Ga (Chicken Hamlet) station for passengers getting on and off. This service is designed to serve commuters so all the seats are occupied. As soon as the tram stops, a group of about 20 people elbows to get on. Because the inside is cramped, the new passengers have to stand without a seat to sit on” (Day Oan - Misfortune⁴, 18/35).

¹Cho Vai (Fabrics Market) and Cho Dui (Silk Market) on the road connecting Saigon (District 1) and Cho Lon (District 5)

²Ong Cu – the Old Man (1935).

³The name of Go Vap is associated with the suburban area where occurs the abundance of heartleaf or fish leaf (Vap, Vap Ca or Dap Ca in Vietnamese) (according to Nguyen Dinh Dau, Go Vap is part of the former Gia Dinh province).

⁴Refer also to “Thay Chung trung so – Mr. Chung Won Lottery” (1944).

The working hamlet (1937)

While Ban Co (now District 3) is the habitat of the poor, the abandoned streets in District 4 and District 5 are the scenes of tragedies of poverty, crime and extreme passion.

“It is at twilight.

The thatched cottages lining the canal Derivation, a canal between Lang To and Rach Cat, used as a channel of transporting rice from rice mills in Cho Lon to the Saigon port, have contributed to making the area look less poor and low a little bit.

Still, the groups of children playing in the street with untidy clothes and dirty looking, the women sitting at the doorstep to take the air or feed their children with their skinny bodies and disorder hair, the working men on their way home from office with their dark skin and hands full of callosities are the enough proof that this is the working hamlet. The evening cool breezes blow. The canal water curls. The boat blows the whistle loud. The port of Saigon is brightly lit with electricity” (Getting Lost, 1/62).

... 20 years later (1956)

“It is at twilight.

Light is on all over the city of Saigon and Cho Lon. The artificial light enables each of the streets escape from the darkness.

However, it is not so in the area of Vinh Hoi¹ where there are some riverside hamlets of common people on the stretch from the Long Kien ferry station to the U Tau hamlet, the streets are unlit and the thatched cottages are poorly lit by kerosene, so at twilight, despite the full water of the canal and the cool evening breeze, the landscape looks gloomy and frustrative.

In the U Tau hamlet adjacent to the Rach Ong Lon river, the poorest of all in this area, there are a few workers, who left office late, hurrying home because their wives and children are waiting them for the dinner. There are also some peddling women bringing their empty baskets home after selling out glutinous steamed rice and others carrying porridge to sell on the street as a snack. The occasional presence of travelers helps raise the spirit and ease the dusky melancholy landscape” (*Vo gia Chong tre*, The old Wife young Husband, 1/66).

¹Khanh Hoi, Tan Vinh, Vinh Khanh, Vinh Hoi and Xom Chieu are now in District 4, surrounded by the Rach Ben Nghe river, Kinh Te canal and Saigon river. These areas are inhabited by workers of the Ba Son shipyard and companies based in Cho Lon.

Whereas Lac Duong – Getting Lost culminate in a hopeless tragedy, *Vo gia Chong tre* – The old Wife young Husband shows a path to success for those who know how to make use of the best of life.

Happiness and misfortune during the war time (1944-1957)

“A little while after it got dark on a day in May 1944, the alarm sounded across the areas of Saigon, Cho Lon and Gia Dinh. Complying with the passive defense law, everyone turned off the light to get down into the shelter. After the alarm, the city scene was as quiescent and empty as a desert.

In no time, some aircraft following one another buzzed in the sky area of Saigon and dropped bombs on the stretch from *Xom Chieu* (Sedge Hamlet) to the Ben Thanh market, terrifying people. The next morning, people talked about the heavy devastation and loss of life. I was curious and went to see. Oh my goodness! It was so heart-breaking to see the terrible damage caused by the war to the innocent Vietnamese” (*Thay Chung Trung So* – Mr Chung Won Lottery, 1/26)... “Over a few years of anarchy, the Japanese army occupied some secondary schools in Saigon and they were replaced by the French again”... By the mid – 1946, the secondary school Truong Vinh Ky and the girls’ school Gia Long re-opened (*Chi Dao, Chi Ly* – Ms Dao And Ms Ly, 24/128).



Ben Thanh Market in the past

Phu Nhuan District in 1935

The birth of a busy street

“Next to the city of Saigon, the area of Phu Nhuan has developed quite fast on the economic boom triggered by the rising rice price. Nowadays, it is populous residential and trading area teeming with cars and trams. Brick houses line up. A few years ago, Phu

Nhuan was just a village of Gia Dinh province. The village had a market place called Xa Tai lying on the road to Cau Kieu. The market opened in the morning with some stalls selling fish, shrimp, vegetable and meat to villagers. There were no specialties on sales. Along the road to Cau Kieu were a few clean – looking tile – roofed brick houses with steel fence and some groceries resembling rural market stalls at interval. The other housing were thatched cottages and storied or tile-roofed houses with dirty worn-out and disordered wooden walls”.

The owners of these cottages and old street houses are:

1. Drivers of car or two horses - drawn carriages, which they owned and drive to the Ben Thanh market each day to pick up passengers;
2. Masons, carpenters, fitters, painters and workers who earn daily and weekly wages by working for companies down in Saigon;
3. Fruit and vegetable sellers who go to gardens daily to buy fruits and vegetable and bring them to the Ben Thanh market for sales;
4. Chef assistants or people who cook meals for Western masters.

There is another class of people, who account for the biggest share of the population and who are jobless. They include men and women, who earn just enough money to feed themselves each day and who are ready to be hired to do anything, including illegal activities” (*Ong Cu – Mr Graduate*, 1/46).

The suburbs of Saigon (1957)

“The road section from the Thi Nghe market to the Ba Chieu market, recently built over the past years, has become famous for the busy Xom Hang Xanh¹ hamlet. The quite landscape of the past has disappeared and the district is now as busy as Phu Nhuan, Hoa Hung, Vuon Lai or Xom Chieu. The houses lining the road are so close to each other that there seems no space to wedge in. Day and night, the area swamps with travelers and vehicles running continuously” (*Chi Dao, Chi Ly – Ms Dao and Ms Ly*, 1/28).

“Anyone who came here 30 years ago will remember this area frequented every afternoon by prostitute seekers² or the rich who would have a rickshaw ride every afternoon to take the air. Past the Ba Chieu and Thi Nghe markets, the stretch from Truong Tien driver licencing agency to Cau Moi is the boundary of the city of Ba Chieu. Either side of the road is swamp and field, typical of the quite and rustic area. From Thi Nghe looking down to the Thanh Da³ cannal bridge, one will see the wind

¹Binh Thanh district.

²Geisha girls. Are they Ms Ba Tra, Tu Nhi, Sau Huong or Hai Thoi mentioned by Vuong Hong Sen?.

³The district of Binh Thanh is nowadays a touristic area.

blow at the coconut palm leaves up and down to greet the wandering travelers. There are some apple mangroves on the river bank and they are surrounded by sedges at the stump. It seems that sedges do not want to abandon the apple mangrove while the apple mangrove stands in wait of the high rise to come back” (*Chi Dao, Chi Ly* – Ms Dao and Ms Ly, 1/28).

Out of Saigon to Can Giuoc (1957)

“It is needless to go further. We just go to the neighbourhood of Can Giuoc, which is a dozens of kilometres away from Saigon, and live with the farmers there for a while, which is enough to make us comfortable and smart. Annually, the Northeast wind starts to blow from November bringing the cool every night. At this time in the area of Can Giuoc and other areas distant from Saigon, the rich or the poor are all happy and forget their hard work in preparation for a new lunar year so all people, old or young, are so busy. Some are visiting their rice fields while others are growing vegetables with the hope that they can sell their crops at high price to buy goods for use during the New Year holiday” (*Hanh Phuc Loi Nao* – Which Way To Happiness, 2/83).

The beach of Saigonese - Vung Tau (1947)

Another sign of modernity is the engaging beach, the relaxing place and symbol of the Saigonese elite – Vung Tau (Cap Saint Jacques).

“In Vung Tau, the *Bai Sau* (gear beach) beach is under high tide. The puffing breezes combine with moisture in the air to cool the temperature.

Farther out in the sea, the sea water shone by the sun has the golden colour. Some sailing boats are approaching slowly to the shore. The sails are white.

To the left of the beach are Long Hai and Long Phu rugged mountains looks like a giant green blotch against the grey horizon ...

The horizon is blur. The sea is a vast expanse of water. The waves are rustling. The evening breezes are whiffing” (*Bo Vo* – Divorce, 41/47).

While the Tay Nguyen (Central Highlands) with Da Lat is the unwinding and relaxing place of Europeans, Vung Tau is the newer destination.

Vuong Hong Sen, *Saigon nam xua* (Saigon of the past) (160 ? 1968, 1992): the unique reality

A few years after the author's death, there appeared a book written by him in Saigon, which can be seen a heritage of literature. It is neither an ethnographic nor historical book but a work of mixed types. The first two parts deal with the history, culture and demography of the city. The third part covers the changes of the land (Gia Dinh, Ben Nghe and Ba Chieu) during the Nguyen dynasty, particularly under the reign of Nguyen Anh king (ruled from 1802-1820) and Minh Mang king (ruled from 1820-1841). The fourth part, the most important, accounts for 100 out of the 400 pages and describes the evolution and nearly-complete structure of this land under the colonial period. The work shows the ethnographic and historical complexity of the land (of the 3 cities Prei Nokor (of the Khmer) in 1680, De Ngan (of Tai Ngon of the Chinese) from 1778 and Ben Nghe of the Vietnamese from 1790). The anthropological and social change is embodied by the fast diminishing of Khmer factors and the survival of the Hoa (Chinese) and Vietnamese factors in Cho Lon (the economic city) and Saigon (the political and cultural centre). The fifth part displays the religious and cultural legacies through the surviving relics of the past (which are likely to vanish as the Nguyen dynasty is not fond of) such as temples and churches. The sixth part lists the people who left imprints during the colonial period, from the rulers to the ruled and from the administrators to the commoners operating in the colonial administration, the expanding economy and trade and the fledgling urbanization. The most vivid part talks about the life of the marginalized, about the low – lying areas where the poor reside and about gangsters and their notorious scandals.

Finally, we are grateful to the author who introduced to us the Hoa (Chinese) and famous people at the early stage of colonization in the seventh and final part of the work. It is due to the author's sharp pen and indefinite enthusiasm that we get to know these people have contributed lots of grey matter and energy to this hospitable land but is forgotten in official documents.

Surprisingly, despite lots of change after the wars, the changing of street names depending on the contemporary situation and even modifications made by the editorial board (in the latest edition, the changes were even overwritten on the original version instead of footnoting, the author's sharp vision and infinite sense of humour remains existent. With such strengths, he wrote another book about Saigon called Saigon Ta Pin Lu – Saigon, the Melting Pot, which was published in 1992.

Following his tracks, the today reader discovers a busy world where the past and the present intertwine and where the name of each place is reminiscent of things of the past. For example, the name "Tau O", the word denoting the Chinese pirates, which would terrify a stubborn child and shut his mouth upon hearing it.

Vuong Hong Sen's work is more than a monograph sending us back to his time. It is unnecessary to use the Carbon 14 test to trace down the flows of migration at different periods of time. The naming of streets tells it all. Examples are the Dinh Tong Thong – The Presidential Palace (now changed into the Hoi Truong Thong Nhat – the

Unification Hall), the headquarters of the Bo Noi Vu (Home Office) and Mui Dat Bon Tan Doc (Cape of Chatters) which is near the Cot Co Thu Ngu flag tower. Thanks to him, the today generation can trace down to the school of administrators training (later changed into the school of training colonial administrators, where worked such professors as Luro, Cheon, Truong Vinh Ky, Truong Minh Ky, etc), the school of primary teachers training (where my dad was attending as a boarder), the Tong Nha Giao Duc – Department of Education, and the Vo Truong Toan school.

From Saigon to Ho Chi Minh City, the urban space of the former and that of the latter no longer match as the map of Saigon at the times of Vuong Hong Sen was in the late 50s of the last century¹. The description of the Rach Ben Nghe river (the French named it “Arroyo chinois”) reminds me of the narration of Saigon and Cho Lon by Paul Doumer.

“There are several connections between Saigon and Cho Lon, of which the river “Arroyo chinois” was used the most. The river runs from the port of Saigon, filled with ships and boats for at times in a year. There is a road running alongside the river called “the lower road” lined by some scattered houses. The two cities are truly connected but not by the means of “upper road” or “strategic road”, which run through a vast, dry and fallow plain between Saigon and Cho Lon – the plain of graves” (French Indochina, Paris Vuibert and Nony, 1905, p. 65).



¹The city centre (present-day District 1) has expanded much from the colonial core, especially to the North and the Northeast.

The area of Cho Lon

Around ports in Cho Lon as described by Vuong Hong Sen, there were several beautiful houses on stilts above the swamp, which used to be the living places of slaves (?) and then they turned into brothels on the streets from Boresse to Lefèbvre. The area around the Ong Lanh bridge was called the Hoa (Chinese) district although half of the residents were Vietnamese or Vietnamese-Chinese people.

Beside the streets that retained the old names such as *Xom Than* (Charcoal Hamlet), *Xom Cui* (Firewood Hamlet), *Xom Bau Sen* (Lotus Pond Hamlet), *Xom Ray* (Field Hamlet), etc., the author mentioned the places tracing back to the Nguyen dynasty (p. 160) and the premises of the rich Hoa (Chinese) who turned this city into a hub of rice for domestic sales and export.

As said by the musician Pham Duy, south and central Saigon was not only a centre of food supply. Saigon's history is linked to religion, culture and stories which put the mind of vivid imagination to work as sources of inspiration for artistic creations. *Saigon nam xua* – Saigon of the past – is a truly precious material for reference for anyone who is interested into the land and people of this southern city.

To justify why the urban changes of the 20s decade gave birth to the rise of the native Vietnamese intelligentsia, who received the western education but became the vanguards in the fight against the colonial government while the others wanted to restore the perishing monarchy, it takes just a look at the new entries of civil professions such as lawyers, engineers, journalists, writers and business people to find that civil society has taken root here. These people were trained by the colonial regime but refused to serve it.

Are keen on the early stage of the Vietnamese emancipation and its peak in the 30s? Just study the training of journalism devoted to women and female newspaper columnists of the time, only to discover the interesting talk between the writer Phan Khoi, whose successor was by Phan Van Hum, with Ms But Tra and the interview gave the rise to the first women's newspaper – *Phu Nu Tan Van* (Women's New Culture).

It is no coincidence that the author of *Tan Phong Nu Si* – Ms New Style and *Chi Dao Chi Ly* – Ms Dao and Ms Ly, which describe the modern, educated, hard – working and social women, and of the lady killers and womanizers in the story of *No Doi* – Debt of Life, set his stories in the Saigon of Vuong Hong Sen with the maternity house, Nhi Dong 1 (children's) hospital, Cho Ray market, Cho Quan market, the schools of Chasseloup Laubat, Taberd and Petrus Ky, and Ao Tim, appeals court, City Hall and the love venues of Da Kao and Phu Nhuan.

PERIURBANIZATION IN HO CHI MINH CITY - IDENTIFICATION OF TRENDS AND SOME SOLUTIONS IN URBAN MANAGEMENT

Dư Phước Tân*

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF HO CHI MINH CITY PERIURBAN AREAS

First, let's have a look at the concept of periurban areas in this report. The periurban area includes not only districts surrounding the inner city but also new districts in the transitional area between the inner and the suburbs of Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC). According to HCMC Planning Institute, the difference of periurban districts versus inner-city and suburban districts lies in its "half-rural, half-urban" nature with agricultural land making up 10-30% of the natural land. Because there is land stock room for rural-urban conversion, the periurban area can be seen as a buffer zone and subject to inclusion into the existing inner city during HCMC expansion process. The periurbanization pace is relatively fast in tandem with the growth of population density and off-farm (as a result of dwindled farmland), especially of new infrastructure. As a rule, how the State plan, manage and monitor this area will decide its periurbanization pace and sustainability.

During its development, periurban areas in HCMC have witnessed relatively fast change. Urbanization has taken place in the former periurban districts (before 1995) such as *Tan Binh, Go Vap, Binh Thanh and District 8, which have run out of farmland and become inner city districts*. The inner-city expansion policy of 1997 gave rise to 5 new districts, including *Thu Duc, District 2, District 9, District 7 and District 12, making them a transitional or periurban area area*. Binh Tan district established in 2003 can be considered periurban with 20% of the natural land being farmland. Due to limited statistics, this report mainly focuses on the role of the 5 new districts in periurban development in general.

The reduced farmland acreage of periurban areas (5 new districts) in the last few years has brought about a decrease in the number of agricultural households. The number of agricultural households has dropped from 18,518 in 1998 to approximately 6,000 in 2005 (decreasing by 19.0% annually). Meanwhile, the population of the 5 districts rose from 730,200 in 1998 to over 900,000 in 2005 and 1.25 million in 2007 (growing by 6.1% annually). Such fast population growth has resulted in socio-economic problems

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during the periurbanization process. The conversion of land, development of apartment buildings and industrial parks, and especially conversion of jobs from agriculture to non-agriculture have led to massive change in local livelihoods, unemployment, rich-poor gap and displacement caused by land clearance for project implementation. Although HCMC authorities have had many efforts and issued policies to support periurban areas achieve stable and sustainable development and has gained initial achievements, the development remains spontaneous and directly impacts the investment environment in HCMC, especially life quality in periurban areas in particular and HCMC in general. Moreover, without immediate monitoring and management, there is a risk that the area will need another costly design and planning in the future. Therefore, it is urgent to come up with solutions of management and development for periurban areas for sustainable development.

II. PERIURBAN AREAS BEFORE AND AFTER 1995

Overall, the development pattern of the 5 newer districts has no difference from the 4 older periurban districts, except for some big residential areas. Right from the beginning, the periurban districts (5 new districts) employed the old planning method, leading to spontaneous and uncontrolled development. Especially, compared with the 4 older districts, the 5 newer (not including Binh Tan district) experienced waves of migrants causing other social issues. Land clearance and compensation are the top pressing issues, obstructing the progress of project implementation and giving rise to complaints, etc.

The table below outlines a comparison of periurban areas before and after 1995:

Table 1: Comparing development features in the 4 old periurban districts and the 5 new ones

ITEM	4 OLDER PERIURBAN DISTRICTS (District 8, Binh Thanh, Tan Binh and Go Vap)	DISTRICTS (Districts 2, 7, 9, 12 and Thu Duc)
Planning methodology	Periurbanization mainly bases on detail planning, in stead of structural planning and as a result, plans (e.g. Binh Hoa industrial zone in Binh Thanh district) are suspended.	Periurbanization bases on master and detail planning instead of structural planning and consequently, many plans are suspended. Currently, the city is seeking a solution to this problem.
Land-use planning	+ Scattered and uncontrolled development out of line with plans (e.g. Go Vap flower village was wiped out) + No planning for big residential areas, except for Bau Cat residential area.	+ Development was shattered and uncontrolled until 2005 when a plan to reorganize and control this development was drawn out. + 3 big residential areas: South Saigon, Thu Thiem and North-west. Except for South Saigon, Thu Thiem and Northwest are in trouble with site clearance.
Industrial zone planning	+ There are plans for 2 industrial: Tan Binh and Binh Hoa but only Tan Binh was built.	+ There are plans for 6 concentrated industrial zones and 1 high-tech zone in 5 new districts. HCMC also has plans for more industrial zones to be built in suburban areas in the long term.
Population attraction	+ The period 1989-1995 saw an addition of 420,770 people with an average growth rate of 5.2%/year. The period 1999-2004 has 382,000 people more (3.93% growth).	+ The period 1999-2005 saw an addition of 626,000 people with an average growth rate of 7.72%/year. The percentage of immigrants is higher than in the older periurban areas.

Source: Author, 2006

III. URBANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS OF PERIURBAN AREAS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

1. Urbanization pace

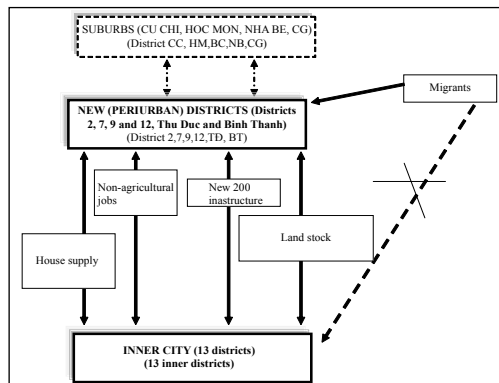
Being one of the biggest cities in Vietnam, HCMC has a fast pace of urbanization. Non-agricultural population increased from 87.7% in 1993, to 93.7% in 2000 and 96.4% in 2007. Urbanization has helped population density grow considerably. The share of urban population in the city was 74.2% (that is 3.25 million) in 1993 and 83.7% (i.e. 5.56 million) in 2007. The urbanization rate in HCM in 1993-2007 **averaging 4.0%** a year (by urban population growth rate).

2. The theoretical functions of periurban areas from the author's point of view

The periurban area is considered a buffer zone between the inner city and the suburbs, providing land stock for the constantly-expanding inner city. This is a potential area for building new and improved infrastructure compared to the inner city. It serves as a buffer zone to attract migrants, helping to divert the flow of migrants to the city centre, which causes downtown overload. Through surveys, periurban areas are recognized with 4 functions as follows:

1. Provide land stock for housing and new residential areas to ease housing pressure from urban expansion;
2. Provide land stock for agricultural production, helping to accelerate the economic restructuring, increase off-farm jobs, and accelerate the urbanization in periurban districts;
3. Create a buffer zone to accommodate migrants and reduce the population overload for the inner city; and
4. Create urban space and develop infrastructure for the whole city.

The relationship between inner and periurban areas is described in the below diagram:



3. Periurban development comparison 5 years after the establishment of 5 new districts

Given the fact that Binh Tan is a newly established district, this report will focus only on analysing the situation in 5 new districts in the period since 1998 to facilitate evaluating and comparing.

3.1. Land supply for industrial zones and residential areas

The fast urbanization pace has changed land use structure in Ho Chi Minh City. The agricultural area reduced from 130,720 ha in 2000 (in which, agriculture production land makes up 91,139.2 ha) to 123,517 ha in 2005 (in which, agriculture production land makes up 77,954.8 ha). In the 2001-2005 period, the periurban districts (5 new districts) witnessed a 4.4%/year decrease in agricultural land while urban land saw an increase of 7.2%/ and traffic land, 15%/year. The land use structure has seen a rise in special use land and residential land. The above statistics prove the right direction of land structure shift in periurban areas, in accordance with viewpoint on the function of peripheral area.

Table 2: Change in the area of major land types in periurban areas in 2001-2005

	District 2		District 9		Thu Duc		District 7		District 12		Total		
	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005	(%)
Agricultural land	2,606	1,617	6,465	5,196	1,847	1,496	826	1,267	2,907	2,079	14,651	11,655	-4.4
Urban residential land	710	1,403	868	1,495	1,066	1,322	490	304	1,174	1,592	4,308	6,116	7.2
Traffic land	106	387	231	400	268	514	206	359	255	493	1,066	2,153	15.1
Unused land	43	0	110	62	26	1	16	0	5	0	200	63	-20.0

Source: Department of Natural Resource and Environment, 2006

According to the HCMC master plan made in 1998 for the year 2005, the 5 new districts' population would reach 1,070,000 with more residential areas, resident use land will be 9,856 ha, averaging 92m²/person, increasing by 571 ha/year. The rise is a result of land conversion from agricultural land, water surface, uncultivated land and cleared graveyards. Statistics in 2005 showed that the population of the 5 new districts reached 1,143,023. The resident use land area was 9,944 ha averaging 89.2 m²/person, expanding by 4,667 ha from the area recorded in 1998. This means a rise of 583 ha per year and **98 ha more than the 2005 forecast**. In general, land use structure outcome in 2005 was higher than the targets set in 1998.

Up to 2006, the total area of centralized industrial zones exceeded 2,000 ha. The new districts facilitated the establishment of such new industrial zones as Tan Thuan

industrial-export processing zone (District 7) and Linh Trung industrial zone (Thu Duc). The planning for industrial clusters or zones has been being implemented. Of the total industrial zones in HCMC, those located in the new districts make up 40.0%. This shows that the new districts have reserved a considerable area for industrial and export processing zones in HCMC.

Table 3: Industrial zone area up to 2008 in new districts

NO	CENTRALIZED INDUSTRIAL - EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE	LOCATION	SET UP YEAR	AREA up to 2008 (Ha)
1	Tan Thuan export processing zone	District 7	1991	300
2	Linh Trung I export processing zone	Thu Duc district	1992	62
3	Linh Trung II export processing zone	Thu Duc district	1997	63
4	Tan Tao industrial zone	Binh Tan district	1996	381
5	Binh Chieu industrial zone	Thu Duc district	1996	27
6	Tan Binh industrial zone	Tan Phu - Binh Tan	1997	134
7	Tan Thoi Hiep industrial zone	District 12	1997	28
8	Cat Lai industrial zone	District 12	1997	124
9	Vinh Loc	Binh Tan District 12	1997	259
10	High-tech zone	District 9	2001	872
Total industrial zone area in newer districts (ha)				2,250
Total industrial zone area in urban and suburban areas (ha)				5,620
Proportion (%) in total industrial zone area				40.0

Source: HCMC industrial-export processing zone management board, 2008

3.2. Periurban role in economic restructuring and off-farm jobs enhancement

Economic structure in the newer districts shifts in a way that increases industrial and service shares and reduces agricultural share. During 2001-2005, Districts 12, 2 and 9 had recorded annual economic growth rates of 13.6%, 22.9% and 12.3% respectively. Thu Duc district saw a growth of 12.6% and District 7, 11.2%. Analysing the average annual growth rates and total production values, it is clear that Thu Duc district has the best growth of all the new districts, followed by District 2 with 22.9%. However, Thu Duc depends much on industry (which grew 11.6%) while District 2 relies on commerce and services (77.3%/year). Such development displays the specialization in each of the new districts. Besides, reduction in agricultural land can be seen clearly in Thu Duc district and District 12.

3.3. Periurban role in public space and infrastructure development

HCMC has recently developed major building projects in periurban areas such as Nguyen Van Linh avenue, Dong Tay avenue and Thu Thiem tunnel, ring roads, Phu My bridge BOT project, Eastern belt road (connecting to Phu My bridge), infrastructure along Nhieu Loc - Thi Nghe canal, A5 inter - port road, skytrain and metro, etc. Especially, the city authorities have paid special attention to the bus network, with an effort to make it a key public means of transportation for the time being. Investment has been made in maintaining bridges, roads, drainage and lighting to improve their operation. Such investment has met just 26% of the demand but has grown steadily 19%/year.

In addition to the expansion of traffic works, trees and greening in the 5 new districts have been developed. Up to 2006, there were 23,897 trees in the 5 new districts, including 3,098 in District 2; 6,951 in District 7; 5,780 in District 9; 2,032 in District 12 and 6,036 in Thu Duc district. Since the establishment of the 5 new districts, the density of public greening has increased from 2.3m²/person to 4m²/person.

3.4. Periurban role in creating buffer zone to ease migration into the inner city

With 100,000-200,000 migrants annually flocking into HCMC in the last 5 years, the city infrastructure, environment and landscape has become overloaded. The Mid-term census below displays the population growth between 1999 and 2004 was highest in periurban areas (the 5 newer districts) with 7.14%/year, followed by the suburbs with 5%/year, and the inner city with a relatively low rate of 0.24%/year. This outcome proves the role of periurban areas.

Table 4: Some population indicators of the 5 new districts in 2004

	Real residents	By status of residence					KT3 K4 ratio (%)	KT2 ratio (%)	KT1 ratio (%)	Population growth 1999-2004 (%/year)
		KT1	KT2	KT3	KT4	Foreigner				
Inner city	3626137	2279311	393742	458107	492311	2666	26.2	10.9	62.9	0.24
New district	1534969	609771	222246	288275	413277	2400	45.7	14.5	39.7	7.14
District 2	127944	75171	14568	17761	18625	1819	28.4	11.4	58.8	3.79
District 7	174064	85730	22405	21594	44029	306	37.7	12.9	49.3	6.67
District 9	201672	106939	15329	41216	38100	88	39.3	7.6	53.0	5.83
District 12	297059	119559	32445	64503	81529	23	49.2	10.9	40.2	10.4
District 2	337575	141029	31487	59518	105431	110	48.9	9.3	41.8	9.01
Binh Tan	396655	81343	106012	83683	125563	54	52.8	26.7	20.5	
Suburbs	973041	678331	102062	105070	88508	70	19.9	10.5	69.7	5.03

Source: Mid-term census, HCMC department of statistics, October 2004

The 5 new districts experienced fastest population growth with 7.1%/year. Internal shift within HCMC area was as low as 14.5% out of total population. However, migrants moving in (KT3 and KT4) made up 45.7% while locality population accounts for 39.7% only. These figures prove that periurban areas serve as buffer zones to attract migrants in a way that contributes to new area development and eases the migration pressure in the inner city.

According to the Adjustments to master plan in HCMC up to 2020, there is a considerable change in population allocation by zones. Suburban population increased from 17.8% to 22.5% in 2005, and from 14.7% to 18.3% in 5 new districts. Meanwhile, population in the inner city reduced from 67.5% in 1998 to 59.2% in 2005. This is just the initial outcome of the stretching-out policy implementation, based on accommodating sites in periurban and suburban areas.

Table 5: Population size by area

	Item	1998 situation		Plan for 2005		2005	
		(people)	(%)	(people)	(%)	(people)	(%)
1	Inner city (13 districts)	3,345,222	67.5	3,880,000	62.6	3,693,850	59.2
2	5 new districts	730,201	14.7	1,070,000	17.2	1,143,023	18.3
3	Suburbs (5 districts and Binh Tan district)	882,433	17.8	1,250,000	20.2	1,403,065	22.5
4	HCMC	4,957,856	100.0	6,200,000	100.0	6,239,938	100.0

Source: Adjustments to HCMC master plan up to 2020

IV. PROPOSED CRITERIA FOR MONITORING PERIURBAN DEVELOPMENT

Beside some achievements such as job creation, and the birth of new towns of international standards and in the different forms of BT, BOT, etc. In periurban areas (i.e. Phu My Hung, Saigon South) in different infrastructure development (i.e. BT, BOT, etc.) giving a new look to the new districts, shortcomings still exist and potentials of the 5 new districts have not been fully tapped.

Shortcomings in the new districts (periurban area) are mentioned below:

1. Although land is largely available, its use in the 5 new districts has been ineffective and spontaneous.
2. Infrastructure in general is downgraded and inconsistent. Slums are set up on rivers, causing environment population, etc.
3. Investment projects are delayed by troubles in land clearance. Although efforts have been made, paperwork remains cumbersome with adverse impact on housing project progress.
4. Local labour force fail to meet the employer's requirements.

Analysis and evaluation of socio-economic development in periurban areas (5 new districts) after 10 years shows most indicators are relatively high but development quality is unstable. Against this backdrop, the author would like to make a proposal regarding the development of criteria for monitoring periurban development as follows.

Table 6: Four proposed criteria groups to monitor periurban development by 4 functions

Periurban function	Criteria	Achievements in 2005 (With illustration)	Achievements
1. Provide land to develop housing to ease overload for the inner city	Agricultural land area (ha)/year Special use land area (ha) New residential area/year (ha) Established industrial zone area (ha) Number of relocated production premises	Agricultural land area reduced 85.26 ha/year Increased 58.2 ha/year Increased 30 ha/year Reaching 2,000 ha 484 out of 1,100 premises	+ In 2001-2005, residential area increased 30ha/year but builders lacked in fund or had difficulties in land clearance. + Land divided in small plots with developed foundation affect the landscape and living quality of the city (without sufficient infrastructure).
2. Shift economic structure, create nonagricultural jobs locally	Annual economic growth rate (1999-2004) Economic section share Living standards Yearly created jobs Non-agricultural population growth	Growth rate: 12-20%/year Economic section shares Agriculture: >2%; Industry and Construction: 83% and Services: 15% Average 45,000 jobs/year (5 districts) Increased 1-5%/year	+ Agriculture share reduced -0.8%/year while industry reduced -3.5%/year while services increased 4.5%/year. + Non-agricultural population grew 5%/year in comparison with 7.4%/year of total population growth. This proves the inefficient urban growth.
3. Create buffer zone to reduce migration to the inner city	Population growth in periurban areas, in comparison with those the inner city and suburbs Migrant population growth/year KT3&KT4 resident proportions in periurban areas Population density in periurban areas Migrant labour/ industrial zone	Periurban areas up 7.14%, inner city: 24% suburbs 5.03% Additional 80,000 people/year Proportion of 45.7% Additional 2,225 people/km ² Proportion of 50-70%	+ Population in periurban areas registered highest increase of 7.4% of the 3 areas + Migrant population grew high, particularly in centralized industrial zones, causing a strong rise in the demand for housing
4. Invest in new infrastructure in a way that modernizes the city and expands public space	Greening area/person Investment in infrastructure Infrastructure investment against 2010 planning	From 2.3m ² /person to 4m ² /person 500 billion dong/year 26-30%	+ No match with potentials of periurban areas + Greening density increased.

Source: Author, 2005

This criteria set is subject to annual updates to monitor periurban changes by 4 functions.

V. PROPOSED SOLUTIONS GUIDING PERIURBANIZATION MANAGEMENT IN HO CHI MINH CITY

1. Experience with urban management by 3 zones (mainly land issue)

1.1. Experience of Japan

To have firm ground for working out proposed periurban management solutions, the author has referred to the Japanese urban development experience in the last 30 years regarding the division of 3 management zones. Reality shows that urban development in Japan happened fast. Urban population grew from 15% of total population in the 1920s to 50% in 1955 and over 80% in 2000. Between 1910 and 1990, urban area in Tokyo increased 5 times while urban population tripled. During urban development, Japan finds the division into zones by socio-economic development level is the best method. Aware of the role of land use planning under urban planning, Japanese urban administrators have issued guidelines and controls when it comes to detailing urban planning. They found that moving industrial zones can not address the issue of fast urbanization, which makes it hard to keep areas with booming population under control while infrastructure was not equally developed (like the situation in HCMC at present). Consequently, a regulation in urban planning adjusted in 2000 focuses on controlling urban development by defining zones of “boosted urbanization” or those of “controlled urbanization” (see illustration below).

On that ground, urban planning in Japan is implemented in urban clusters with no delineated administrative boundaries to enhance development and uniform services provision. Besides, rural and forested areas are managed by institutions and systems quite different from those on urban planning.

1.2. Trial application in the case of Ho Chi Minh City

Urbanization in Ho Chi Minh City can be divided into 3 zones to facilitate management:

- 1) **Inner-city**: This area has completed urbanization and is at the centre of city, including 13 inner districts: Districts 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, Phu Nhuan, Tan Binh, Tan Phu, Go Vap and Binh Thanh. Urbanization needs **to be continued here by means of improvement and modernization**.
- 2) **Urbanized (periurban) area**: This zone is under urbanization, including 5 new districts (Districts 2, 7,9,12 and Thu Duc) and Binh Tan district. Some districts are “half rural - half urban” with very quick urbanization pace. This zone can be identified as **a controlled urbanization zone**. Investment and construction activities should be closely monitored to prevent spontaneous development which can result in costly adjustment later on.

- 3) **Suburbs:** With large agriculture land, this zone consists of Cu Chi, Hoc Mon, Binh Chanh, Nha Be and Duyen Hai districts. The pace of urbanization and **urban sprawl should be constrained in this zone.**

So by the Japanese way of division, there are 3 urban management zones, in which periurban areas are next to the inner city and area of controlled urbanization. In other words, the new districts can be called periurban areas where the population and land are subject to great developments.

2. Proposed solutions to guide periurban development in Ho Chi Minh City

With the population of more than 1.2 million (or over 1.6 million with Binh Tan district included) and estimated 2-2.5 million by 2010, the periurban area is a transitional area with fairly modern infrastructure connecting Ho Chi Minh City centre with suburban areas and neighbouring provinces.

Thanks to industrial zones, periurban areas have made considerable contribution to the city's GDP growth, displaying its importance in the coming years. In the near future, this area will boast new towns of international scale and stature, such as South Saigon, Thu Thiem, and Tay Bac (Northwest), a number of high-tech and industrial zones, to create jobs and provide services, particularly in Districts 12 and 9. The last few years have witnessed considerable periurban contribution to HCMC development. Some ecotourism areas, for instance Dong Hung Thuan (District 12) or Long Phuoc (District 9), have taken shape.

Given the situation and shortcomings in the newer district areas, we suggest some solutions to guide periurban development as follows:

- 2.1. Planning is a tool for governance and economic restructuring. Therefore, rural – urban land conversion requires an economic, efficient plan and solutions to help farmers change jobs and build up a better life upon receiving land compensation. The three-zone division practice (inner city, periurban area and suburban area) should be studied and employed to constrain or control the pace of urbanization with land being the main object of management.
- 2.2. Planning must be realistic to restrict spontaneous development. Traffic network must be completed. Traffic and public areas should reach international standard (over 20% of the total urban area). Periurban areas' strength must be used in the process of trade and service corridors development under the motto "where the road reaches is where civilization comes". It has been proved that the synchronous development of industrial zones, shopping malls or infrastructure will create prosperity for periurban areas and help new urban districts "take off". Infrastructure investment should be prioritized for traffic and drainage works.
- 2.3. Periurban areas provide spare land for development. However prolonged spontaneous development has resulted in scattered lots of unused land, which

causes difficulties in land clearance for large projects. Ho Chi Minh City plans to review and control land in periurban areas. Although many decisions on land allocation at a large area have been issued, it is imperative to review the effects of those decisions and withdraw if need be.

Resettlement areas must be of high quality and convenient for resident livelihood.

- 2.4. Issues such as job creation and vocational training must be addressed to help farmers after land conversion. This task is being implemented through Fund 156 but a surveillance mechanism must be in place to monitor the resettlement of displaced households.
- 2.5. Periurban areas will remain the spare land for outward development from the inner city and restrict the eastward spread of industrial zones (District 9) since the eastern Ho Chi Minh City has been planned to develop eco-agriculture. Other plans must be consistent with this one. Besides, HCMC should foster the development of trade and services, with a focus on ecotourism, especially on the Long Phuoc river island, creating a corridor connecting with the Long Thanh airport axis in the future.
- 2.6. Environmental pollution needs to be addressed immediately. Industrial zones in periurban areas need to be planned with a long-term vision. Being contiguous to other provinces, some periurban areas are facing deforestation, illegal sand exploitation or impacts caused by economic development in surrounding provinces. Special attention should be paid to these issues right from now on. Also, HCMC should improve urban management competency and institutions for the new districts.
- 2.7. Recent mass land clearance projects may drive some households to be marginalized unless there is a sustainable policy of compensations. Therefore, there must be a reasonable compensation policy to ensure the benefit of both the State and displaced households.
- 2.8. Managing migrants in periurban areas is one of the top priorities. As a buffer zone, the periurban area attracts a large number of migrants moving to the industrial zones. Therefore, it is necessary for the authorities to closely and consistently manage migrants in terms of residence registration to restrict and minimize social evils.
- 2.9. Finally, social policy on poverty alleviation should be continued building on recent achievements for periurban districts. In the long term, discrimination between migrants and residents should be wiped out. It is necessary to work out a policy on education and vocational training to help migrants integrate into the local community. Besides, authorities in periurban districts need to attract human resources and improve administration to be up to the increasing requirements of governance.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, there are various viewpoints towards periurban area. The concept used in this report is related to the viewpoint that clarifies roles and functions of the new

urban districts in Ho Chi Minh City during its development and expansion process. The report has underlined (1) The function of providing land stock for developing houses and new residential areas; (2) The function of providing land stock for developing industrial zones, contributing to the economic restructuring and generating more non-agricultural jobs; (3) The function of creating a buffer zone to attract migrants and ease population overload in the inner city; and (4) The function of creating urban space and developing infrastructure in the whole city. The report also makes comparison in development characteristics between the 4 former periurban districts and the new urban districts (currently the periurban area). By means of these 4 functions, the report proposes a number of quantitative criteria which can be updated yearly to monitor the development of periurban areas (new urban districts), timely suggest solutions and guidelines to sustainable development. Finally, in addition to some general orientations, the report refers to lessons learnt from urban management in Japan, then suggests the practice of urbanization management by 3 zones, i.e. encouraging urbanization, controlling urbanization and constraining urbanization pace, in which land use management is identified as a top priority.

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Part III

FACING CHALLENGES IN URBANIZATION PROCESS: POLICIES, TOOLS TOWARDS THE NEW URBAN GOVERNANCE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

SPONTANEOUS PERIURBANIZATION – BIG CHALLENGE TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF HO CHI MINH CITY

Võ Kim Cương*

It is commonly understood that urbanization is the expansion of the current urban area and development of new towns. For developing countries, urbanization is associated with industrialization as a must. Periurbanization is part of this irresistible process. However, there is a fact that the expansion of the former Saigon-Cho Lon area or the current Ho Chi Minh City has been spontaneous. Spontaneous urban sprawl is deemed an uncontrolled and unplanned urban expansion. In other words, urbanization has taken place at a greater pace than planning and intervention by the government.

Spontaneous sprawl has left heavy impacts on Ho Chi Minh City. Over the last decades, the city have taken remedial action but impacts of the wars, embargo and command economy will take decades to address this problem.

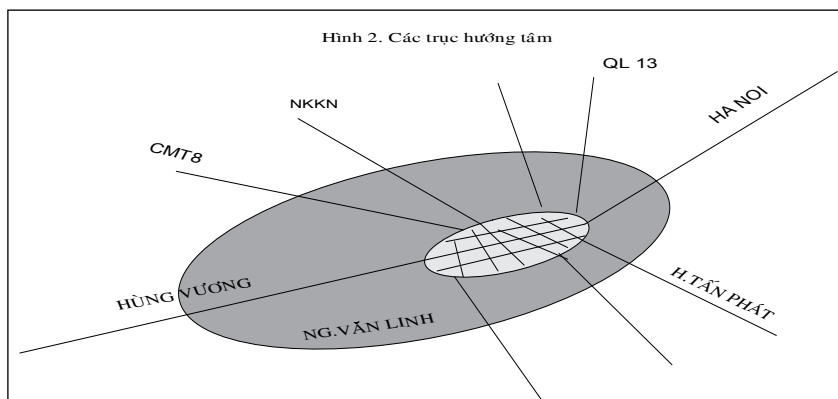
I. PERIURBANIZATION OF SAIGON – CHO LON AREA AND HO CHI MINH CITY

The periurban area of Ho Chi Minh City is different at various stages of history.

The periurban area of the former Saigon-Cho Lon includes what is today districts of Binh Thanh, Phu Nhuan, Go Vap, Tan Binh, Tan Phu, District 4, District 6, District 8, District 11 and part of District 3. Hardly any plan had been made to the residential quarters here. Most of the area is where villages were turned into towns. There were few streets, a number of centripetal arteries and lots of narrow lanes of just some metres in width winding in the slum. These lanes used to be village roads or field embankments. The built - up density is as high as 80 – 90% while the land use coefficient is as low as 1.0. This urban fringe has become a solid belt surrounding the city centre (see the figure below). The belt is increasingly solid because of the fast appearance of solid housing in this area. Despite the unavailability of urban amenities, the population density is very high. The primary (also proper) means of transport here is motorcycles as traveling by motorcycle will prevent traffic congestion. However, due to the low density of roads and few exits into some main roads which are just 20 metres or so in width like Nguyen Dinh Chieu and Ly Chinh Thang in District 3, there are frequent traffic jams in the city centre.

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Figure 1: The spontaneous urban sprawl surrounding the centre of Ho Chi Minh City



Within this urban sprawl which was formed before 1975, there are thousands of polluting plants, including major manufactures which need a large-scale resettlement programme.

The post-1975 was the period of command economy and embargo (15 years between 1975 and 1990), there was almost no development. Meanwhile, the technical infrastructure in this area worsened amid lack of maintenance and the addition of many small – scale industrial establishments employing rudimentary and polluting technologies. This period is also dubbed the “city realization” era because at that time, the practice such as to raise battery chicken, quails, pigs and African catfish (just for the purpose of food for subsistence) was common across the city. The periurban area then looked no different from that before 1975, if not worse. The only difference is that after 1975, the year of reunification, this area is considered part of the inner city, hence different governance systems from those in suburban districts. Then, by 1995, five more inner city districts were established. However, they remained in practice rural, with farms and villages.

The question is whether the villages have been preserved or replanned after becoming part of the inner city. The answer is they have neither been preserved nor replanned. Simply, a new periurban area has come under spontaneous urban sprawl. It was not until the introduction of the “Doi Moi” – economic renewal in 1986 and especially 1993, substantial urbanization could speed up.

The nature of urbanization in this period is somewhat different from that before 1975. Beside the houses built illegally (a very common practice), there are legally built houses and planned residential areas. Industrial parks crop up beside villages and simple houses built for rental to industrial park workers. There are decent residential quarters set up in the middle of field beside what is called “the city of pillars”, which in fact, is a way of land speculation. The periurban area has facelift although the new

fringe area (now including many rural districts) remains in critical shortage of urban amenities. This is because the building of infrastructure has not caught up with the pace of urbanization. New planned residential areas are mingled with villages and slums. More slums have been sprung up farther away from downtown. When slums set up on the canals Nhieu Loc – Thi Nghe and Tau Hu – Ben Nghe are removed, new ones mushroom on the Kinh Doi and Kinh Te canals. The centripetal roads like Hanoi, Dien Bien Phu, Truong Chinh, Cach Mang Thang Tam and Hung Vuong become overloaded. The black canals now become blacker. The green canals now also become black. Traffic congestion and water logging have no signs of easing.

Urban lifestyle and pollution now spill over the new periurban area of the city.

The fight against illegal building and property speculation is going on fiercely. Spontaneous sprawl emerges as a great challenge.

II. THE PROBLEM DOES NOT STEM FROM PLANNING AND BUILDING ADMINISTRATION ONLY

There is no denying the fact that there have been great achievements of improving and expanding Ho Chi Minh City over the last 15 years. However, it remains a far cry from the target of sustainable development, especially when it comes to the periurbanization. I would like to raise some points for discussion as follows.

1. Is there a practice that we plan one way but implement the other?

We plan to build a city of multiple centres but there is no planning representing it in terms of the location, size and nature of each of them and the connection between them. Neither urban planning nor transport plans say about this. The city's expansion is a centripetal spread from a single centre.

The city has a plan according to which, a city with satellite towns means that there is greening separating the city and the towns. In fact, the city has no satellite towns at all and the city spreads out alongside roads arteries. Greening and green belts are on the verge of disappearing.

It is planned that there will be ring roads circling the city centre. In practice, these ring roads have become narrow streets. Ring Road 2, also called Dai Han boulevard, designed to have a round boundary of 120 metres wide, is now 29 metres broad. Ring Road 1 (the inner ring road) has been a suspended project for 25 year now and increasingly not feasible and so far only sections of it can still be feasible.

There is no planning for making the area of Can Gio a city. However, there is a plan to build a 120 m –boundary road running through the nature reserve in this district together with a project worth hundreds of USD to build the Binh Khanh road on this road.

Ho Chi Minh City is designed to become the core of an urban agglomeration and the southern key economic region. However, the role of the city in urban planning and how the periurban areas of the adjacent cities are planned are unclear. It seems that urban expansion is the business of each of the cities and there is little coordination between them.

2. Do we pay too much attention to the living room but little to the kitchen and toilet?

In a rural Vietnamese house, greater care is given to the living room where there is place of the ancestral alter and receiving guests than to the kitchen and toilet although more domestic activities are carried out in the latter. Even there is no toilet at all and human waste is dumped direct onto the river or field. Meanwhile, in a modern house, the kitchen and toilet attract greater attention and decide the architecture of the whole structure.

As to Ho Chi Minh City, the core (District 1 and District 3) is considered the living room of a house while the periurban area the kitchen and toilet, the dumping place for the city's discharge. As long as some bricks on a pavement in District 1 and District 3 districts lose colour or a little bit bumpy, in no time are they replaced with new ones. Meanwhile, the arteries of the periurban, mostly dirt roads, have no water drains but many pots. They are barely maintained due to the limited investment by the district government. The water bill in the periurban is higher than in the centre.

No attention has been paid to how villages become urbanized. Sociologists worry that the village culture will be vulnerable. How can the village culture be preserved when the village is urbanized. It is no doubt that the urban lifestyle will replace the rural lifestyle. But how about the infrastructure? Villages will turn into urban slums unless there is proper management and investment. Only adequate new apartment buildings are set up in the middle of the field. No urban quarter building has been seen created in the old residential quarter to embellish the later except the case that the latter is totally cleared.

Paying attention to the periurban area should not deal with urbanization and improving the living standards for the area only but the economic and environmental sides for the entire city. Economically, the city desperately needs agricultural quarters of high – yield production to serve as greening. So, the periurban area is also an ecological and biosphere area. At present times of knowledge society, the periurban area is no

longer a backyard of the city centre or the kitchen but an indispensable part of the city and the gateway to the city.

The question comes to finance for investment in the periurban area. All outer districts are poorer than those in the inner city. In the same city, one district is very rich while the other is very poor. What drives this rich – poor gap? What is the solution of urban finance for sustainable development?

3. Can the existing solutions help to improve the conditions of the periurban area?

There are now solutions of urban improvement and expansion:

- The programs to move polluting businesses to the new periurban fringe.
- The World Bank funded projects on urban upgrade.
- The projects to build new towns (in the open field).
- The projects to improve and expand technical infrastructure, especially transport and drainage structures.

It can be seen that all these projects have both positive and negative impacts on the periurban area. The negative things are best mirrored in the spontaneous sprawl in which the poor and migrants concentrate. Apart from the projects to upgrade the urbanized areas (improving the lousy living conditions of slums while replacing them with solid building at the same time, which seems increasingly difficult), there are no other large – scale projects to improve the existing residential quarters. The spontaneous urbanized area short of all amenities is spreading further together with the increasing population. Is it the biggest challenge to sustainable development in Ho Chi Minh City?

URBANIZATION AND ACCESS TO LABOUR MARKET IN VIETNAM: WEIGHT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR

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The growth model embraced by Vietnam during the last two decades, in an urbanization context, has prompted deep social economic transformation. The private sector has been thriving with the transition of a command economy towards a “socialist-oriented market economy” since the Doi Moi (Reform) launched in 1986. Economic growth has helped reduce poverty considerably, but in the mean time, spark increasing social inequality. The gap within a region and between urban and social areas has widened (Cling *et alii*, 2009). Market freedom, meanwhile, paved the way for the development of an informal economy.

To understand on-going trends better, it would be necessary to seek to study the mechanisms which cause different growth impacts on the living conditions of households in cities and rural areas. If the growth appears to be most favourable to urban dynamics, which type of household would most benefit from it? What are the characteristics of these households in terms of their access to the jobs and sectoral market? Knowing that private investment obviously pours into two of the country’s economic hubs, namely Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC) and Hanoi, which, on their own, attract 90% of foreign investment, how would that dynamic be seen in periurban and rural areas? In this context, how would the informal sector evolve and what is its role on the labour market? An analysis of the sector’s characteristics will help focus on the job opportunities offered to the households. Our study is part of a research programme on the informal sector in Vietnam jointly conducted by the Research Institute of Development (Development, Institutions and Globalization Division) and the General Statistics Office¹.

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** NEU-ISS-DIAL.

¹ The published Cling *et alii* (2010), as part of this programme, reveals for the first time specific statistical information and in-depth economic analysis on the informal sector in Vietnam.

In order to study the concurrent impact of the private sector's growth and that of urbanization, we will distinguish in our analysis different types of areas according to their urbanization level. To this effect, we use official definition of rural and urban zones in Vietnam. According to this definition, an urban commune must meet three criteria at the same time¹: the off-farm labour force accounts for more than 65% of the total labour force; the commune's total population is more than 4,000; finally the density is higher than 2,000 people/km². Rural communes are those which do not meet those criteria. We will analyse hereafter the results of official surveys conducted by GSO (the General Statistics Office), which are all based on that definition. Therefore, our approach is constrained by the limits of urban/rural division in those surveys.

However, like in many developing countries, an official checklist based on a urban/rural division would make it completely inappropriate to understand the urbanization process. Cour (2005), for instance, calls for a more operational classification, around the concept of a urban central regions with high intensity of services exchange (RUCHES), rather than a binary division which ends up in providing little information.

In the case of Vietnam, some zones defined as rural may probably be considered urban in other countries, especially those in the major cities' peripheral areas. Official definition of periurban zones, however, was not provided. To make up for this shortcoming, we consider here, the rural areas of Hanoi and HCMC periurban zones, which allows us to distinguish 4 categories of zones depending on their urbanization level: Hanoi and HCMC urbans; other urban centres; rural Hanoi and HCMC; and other rural areas. We will take a comparative approach aimed at clarifying the features of these urban, periurban and rural areas.

This study is made in two parts. In the first part, we study the urbanization trends and labour market from the late 1990s. Major facts observed in the labour market in the on-going urbanization process will be explored, so will be the effects of restructuring as a result. Special attention will be paid to the dynamic and role of the informal sector given its weight in the job market.

In the second part, we analyse compared characteristics of the informal sector in urban and periurban areas, with examples in Hanoi and HCMC. The aim is to identify the characteristics of informal activities in each area, focusing on the activity type, working conditions and performance in this sector. The way in which these activities integrate into the remainder of the economy is also be diagnosed. Finally, to complete the panorama, an analysis of production units in the informal sector would help better understand the informal sector's perspectives.

¹Government Decree N^o 72/2001 dated October 5, 2001 on the classification of urban centres.

I. URBANIZATION AND RECENT DRIVING FORCE ON THE LABOUR MARKET

We propose to explore the nature and range of on-going evolutions on Vietnam's labour market using data obtained by VLSS and VHLSS (Vietnam Household Living Standards Survey). The available comparable surveys (VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006) facilitate an analysis of the driving force with a focus on the "job and income", topic of this national survey. We will study the changes that happened during this period: in terms of job opportunities (regarding the sectors: public, domestic formal private, foreign private, and informal) as well as the conditions of activity.

The comparison of labour market evolutions in these different sectors will help bring out the driving force typical to each area. Our aim is to identify the on-going restructuring and to pinpoint its range.

At first, we're interested in the significant facts of the labour market: What are the changes and diversification of household income sources? Notably: what type of job does the workforce move to? What happens to multi-activities? Given the fact that the country is increasingly engaged in the urbanization and industrialization process, is there a salary raise? What is the development pace of the off-farm private sector in urban and rural areas?

We will then look at the evolution of sectoral job distribution. Special attention will be paid to the periurban area as we seek to find out whether the proximity to a major urban centre (Hanoi or HCMC) would help to benefit from a specific dynamic¹.

1. Key facts of the labour market

A diminishing agricultural sector

The first notice is a direct outcome of urbanization phenomenon in Vietnam, which is the decline of farm activities. An analysis of the sector's weight on the labour market shows the scale of on-going changes. The decline is seen in both urban areas, where it plummets to a tiny portion and rural areas where job opportunities in the agricultural sector become increasingly a scarcity. In this way, the percentage of farm jobs dropped from 65% in 1998 to 48% in 2006.

¹Our analysis is conducted based on the surveys performed prior to the administrative extension of Hanoi, which took place in August 2008. According to the 2009 population census, based on the "Greater Hanoi", the capital population (6.5 million) is now close to that of HCMC (7.1 million) with 60 % considered rural population (GSO and UNFPA, 2009; Fanchette, 2010).

Table 1.
Ratio of farm jobs (main jobs)

	1998	2002	2004	2006
Other rural areas	78.0%	78.0%	62.4%	60.2%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	58.4%	58.4%	30.3%	21.7%
Other urban areas	21.0%	21.0%	19.1%	17.0%
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	4.3%	4.3%	2.8%	2.0%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

The decline of farm activities can also be seen if multi-activities pattern (households would take several manufacturing, trading or services activities together with farm work at the same time) is taken into account. Considering workers who undertake farm activities as their second job, the percentage of farm jobs decreased from 76% in 1998 to 63% in 2006. The decline is seen in every area.

One would wonder if farm households might diversify their income sources, taking up wages-paid jobs or creating individual business while maintaining their farm activities. However, the opposite trend is seen in urban and especially periurban areas, where fewer people combine agricultural activities with other activities. The percentage plunged from 33% in 1998 to 19% in 2006. Focusing again on a unique activity appears to gain the upper hand¹. Although the proportion of those who combine agricultural work with other activities is obviously higher in rural areas, the expected growth of multi-activities pattern didn't happen.

Table 2
Ratio of multi-activities

(Proportion of workers combining farm activity with another type of activity)

	1998	2002	2004	2006
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	3.3%	0.8%	1.7%	1.0%
Other urban areas	14.9%	15.4%	16.0%	12.7%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	32.7%	20.1%	25%	19.2%
Other rural areas	33.3%	32.5%	35.6%	34.8%
Total	28.9%	27.7%	29.7%	28.1%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

¹This remark confirms and might explain the diminution of seasonal migrants from rural areas during agricultural low season period (Henaff, 2004).

To benefit the non-agricultural private sector

The country's opening and encouragement of private initiatives since the launch of Doi Moi have facilitated a robust growth of jobs created by private (national and foreign) enterprises nationwide. Though the number of jobs is obviously limited in rural areas, it is rising strongly (the annual average growth rate is 16% in Hanoi's and HCMC's periurban areas, and 14% in rural areas, against 7% and 9.6% in the two metropolitan provinces and other cities respectively). This reflects entrepreneurs' choice to increasingly settle in cities' peripheral (periurban) areas and even in rural areas.

Table 3
Number of jobs in large private enterprises
 (Formal enterprises including foreign businesses)

	1998	2002	2004	2006	Annual average growth rate
Urban Hanoi HCMC	491 074	415 393	908 652	835 135	6.9%
Other urban areas	375 092	298 460	615 717	781 872	9.6%
Rural Hanoi HCMC	59 345	101 360	103 059	196 923	16.2%
Other rural areas	647 013	685 848	1 394 446	1 832 140	13.9%
Total	1 572 524	1 501 061	3 021 874	3 646 070	11.1%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

The share of salary-paid jobs in private enterprises remains much higher in the urban labour market than in the rural one. In the two metropolises of Hanoi and HCMC, it represents almost a quarter of the total jobs in 2006 (from 15% in 1998). It is also noteworthy that the share of these enterprises is greater in the periurban Hanoi and HCMC (17.6% in 2006 from 6% in 1998) than in other urban areas (9% in 2006). Proximity to the two metropolises is an advantage to rural households as average remuneration in private enterprises is higher than that in other enterprises (excluding the public sector).

However, while the growth of job opportunities offered by private enterprises has been a significant phenomenon, it is needed to emphasize that the weight of private enterprises has been reduced in terms of work force engaged in small enterprises (whether self-employed worker or wage earners).

Table 4
Workforce in individual enterprises
 (Self-employed workers and wage earners)

	1998	2002	2004	2006	Annual average growth rate
Urban Hanoi HCMC	1 728 895	1 359 135	1 594 376	1 647 470	-0.6%
Other urban	3 106 254	3 483 952	3 830 919	4 417 217	4.5%
Rural HN HCMC	262 299	488 242	481 013	539 767	9.4%
Other rural	5 172 265	9 297 090	9 787 496	10 027 115	8.6%
Total	10 269 713	14 628 419	15 693 804	16 631 569	6.2%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

The number of jobs in this type of enterprises tends to stay unchanged in two major urban centres (Hanoi and HCMC). This is attributed to the possibility of households to join larger enterprises. The smaller enterprises, by contrary, have generated many jobs in other urban centres, particularly in the periurban Hanoi and HCMC, and to a lesser extent, in rural areas (the average annual growth rate of jobs created by small, individual enterprises in these areas stood at 12.5%, 27% and 25% respectively in the 1998-2006 period).

Sharp rise of people on the payroll (wage earners)

Vietnam's impressive economic growth during the last decade is characterized by a sharp rise of people on the payroll, which is one of the most remarkable facts recorded on the labour market evolution over recent years. It jumped from 18% in 1998 to 33% in 2006. The rate, quite different at the beginning of the period, rose in all areas (urban, periurban and rural). Salary-paid jobs are available the most in the two metropolises (65%), which are followed by other urban areas (48%), Hanoi and HCMC periurban areas (46%) and lastly in the remainder of the country (26% in the rural area).

Table 5
Ratio of people on the payroll (main jobs)

	1998	2002	2004	2006
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	54.3%	63.5%	64.2%	64.6%
Other urban areas	35.7%	44.8%	46.5%	48.5%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	24.6%	44.3%	46.2%	45.9%
Other rural areas	11.0%	21.9%	23.8%	25.8%
Total	17.5%	28.6%	31.0%	33.1%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

However, if multi-activities pattern is taken into account, the rate of people on the payroll in the rural area could rise significantly (26% are wage earners on their main job, but the rate will rise to 39% if people having a second job paid with a salary are also considered). This shows that agricultural households are resorting to salary-paid jobs to enhance their farm income.

In any case, the number of salary-paid jobs is on the rise throughout the country, regardless of the area, even if there is considerable imbalance. The gap tends to be narrowed as a catching-up process is in place (particularly in periurban areas where the growth of people on the payroll is the strongest).

Urbanization: a phenomenon found in every city in Vietnam

Urbanization finally is not limited to the two largest cities in Vietnam. Looking at the evolvement of each area in terms of jobs, one could see that other urban areas are characterized by a continuous and strong growth of the work force. Over the last few years, more migrants have been moving from rural areas to urban areas other than the two largest cities of Hanoi and HCMC.

Table 6
Shares of different areas in jobs

	1998	2002	2004	2006
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	7.0%	6.1%	7.4%	7.1%
Other urban areas	12.9%	15.4%	16.2%	17.8%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	2.2%	2.8%	2.3%	2.3%
Other rural areas	78.0%	75.8%	74.1%	72.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

This is attributed to restriction on migration to the two largest cities but also to a density which had already been very high here. Rural migrants thus have more chances to integrate into the urban economy of other cities¹.

2. Urbanization: an rapid restructuring in the two metropolises' neighbourhoods

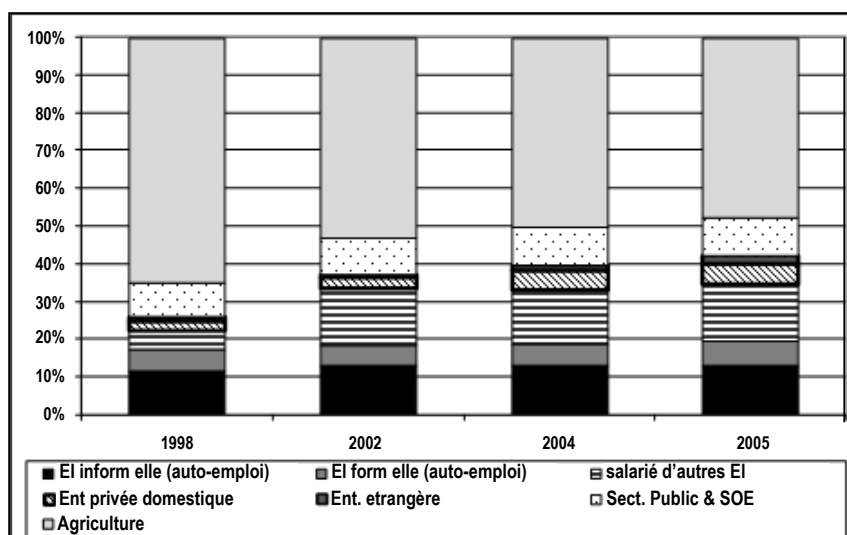
This part is aimed at clarifying the on-going restructuring on the labour market by analyzing the development of labour market shares of various sectors (agricultural, public, national private enterprises, foreign businesses, small (individual) enterprises,

¹It should be noted that a number of migrants might fail to register in the two largest cities, which, at least partly lead to these results (Pincus et Sender, 2007).

self-employed in formal small enterprises, self-employed in informal small enterprises and wage earners in small enterprises¹). The comparison of changes in these areas (two largest cities, other cities, Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City periurban areas and rural areas) helps identify the dynamics relevant to each zone. The analysis only relates to the worker's main job.

Overall, the development of private enterprises nationwide (including small enterprises) at the expense of the informal sector, which we have underlined above, is obvious (see Chart 1). The rise of jobs in "large" national and foreign private enterprises is also noted (from 3.5% in 1998 to 7.6% in 2006). But the emphasis is laid on the rising share of small individual enterprises, a result not of self-employment but of the rising number of recruited wage earners.

Figure 1: Developments of employment distribution by sector in Vietnam (%)



Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

Comparing the different geographic areas, relatively different developments are found.

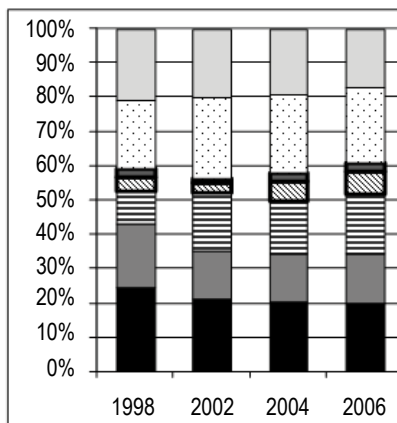
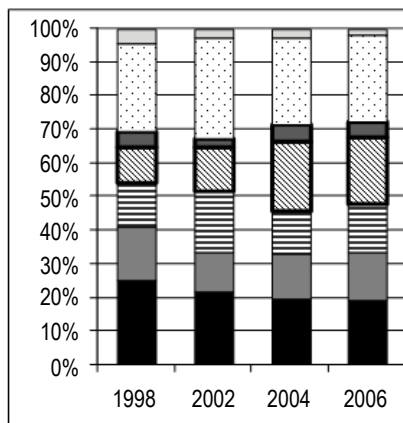
- In the two largest cities, the share of formal and informal small enterprises is shrinking (even if they still hold an important position), with more job opportunities being offered by national or foreign private enterprises.

¹VHLSS was not able to identify and distinguish wage earners in informal individual enterprises (IE) and those in the formal IE.

Figure 2: Changes in sectoral employment distribution by area (%)

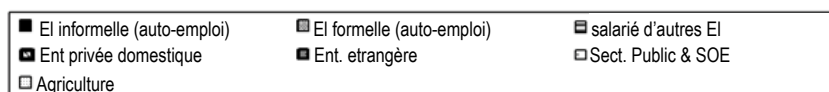
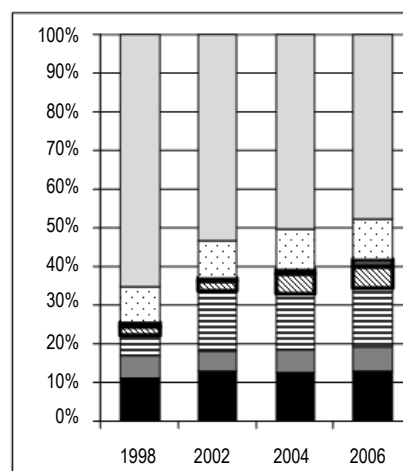
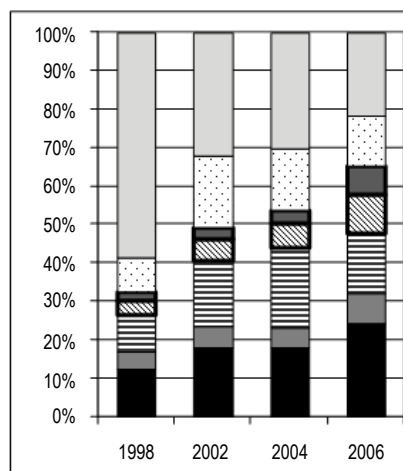
Two largest cities Hanoi and HCMC

Other urban centres



Periurban Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City

Remaining rural areas



Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

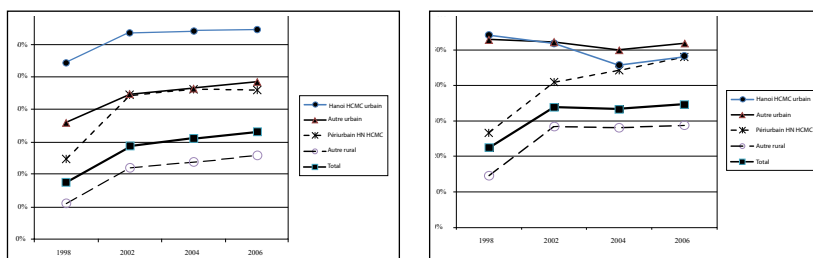
- In other urban centres, the labour market structure is generally stable. The agricultural sector did experience a light decrease (from 21% in 1998 to 17% in 2006) while national private enterprises represent more jobs in the total market (from 4% to 6.7%). However, the share of small enterprises stays almost unchanged. The remarkable fact is the rise of wage earners due to the increase of self-employed jobs at small individual enterprises.
- Conversely, the rapid restructuring of labour market now taking place in Hanoi and HCMC periurban areas is quite clear. The share of agricultural sector slumped (declining from 58% in 1998 to just 22% in 2006) while national and foreign private enterprises were gaining ground (from 6% to 17.5%). Also noteworthy is the addition of jobs with individual enterprises (self-employed jobs or wage earners), particularly informal enterprises (for Hanoi, see Fanchette, 2010).
- Finally, in rural areas, changes occurred but at much slower pace: domestic private enterprises are created in the same way but to a minor extent as individual enterprises while self-employed opportunities were few. The notable change was recorded in the transformation of part of the agricultural labour force into wage earners in individual enterprises.

One could suppose that the labour market's different structures in different geographic areas, demonstrate, to some extent, the different stages of urbanization in Vietnam. Initially, in rural areas, farm jobs largely dominated and private enterprises barely existed. Then came the stage of second jobs (about 20% of work force would combine two jobs at the same time) in other urban centres, where individual enterprises became a key source of job creation with the rise of either self-employed or wage earning jobs. Finally, in major cities, the agricultural sector disappeared and smaller enterprises diminished, facilitating jobs in larger enterprises.

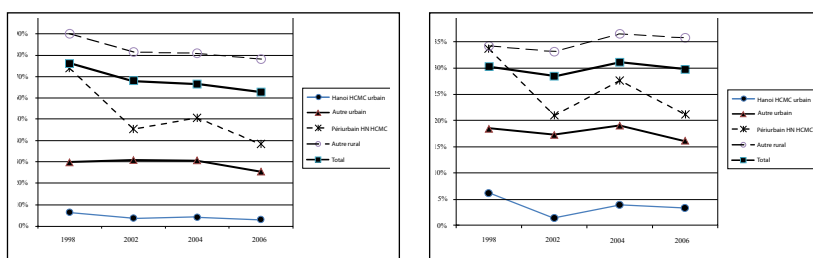
The irregular pattern in periurban areas of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city on one hand is characterized by the rapid pace of restructuring and growth of jobs in larger enterprises (even if compared to other urban areas) and on the other, shows a locally specific phenomenon. This is resulted from job opportunities offered by enterprises settled in peripheral areas, the changed role of urban product and services markets as well as the facilitated daily transport to major cities for work (sales of services).

The following charts illustrate the job surge in periurban zones, and the typical rapid transformation from rural areas into periurban areas.

Figure 3: Share of wage earners in various areas



Share of farm jobs Share of multi-activities (Main and second jobs) (various types: agriculture, IE, wage earners)



Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

3. Position and role of informal sector in urbanization context

We are aware of the important role of individual enterprises in the urbanization process due to the fact that agricultural households seeking to diversify their income sources or to escape from agricultural hardships would often turn to this sector. As most of individual enterprises are made of informal units, in this part, we will look at the weight and specific role of the informal sector.

This analysis differs from the two previous sections in the way we use information on production units in VHLSS surveys (individual enterprises). In this way, the total labour force (including wage earners) working in informal units can be clearly identified.

Expansion of informal sector in periurban areas and other urban centres

While the informal sector experienced a fast expansion in periurban zones (the number of establishments growing by 16% between 2004 and 2006) and in cities other than Hanoi and HCMC (+ 7%), it is sluggish, not to say regression, both in terms of production units and of jobs.

Table 7
Number of enterprises and jobs in the informal sector

	Number of enterprises			Number of jobs		
	2006	Growth 1998-2006	Growth 2004-2006	2006	Growth 1998-2006	Growth 2004-2006
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	637 096	-6%	-6%	940 511	-21%	-2%
Other urban areas	1 770 922	17%	7%	2 694 674	11%	8%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	218 045	55%	16%	407 200	73%	61%
Other rural areas	4 677 396	-6%	-5%	6 855 213	-18%	-6%
Total	7 303 459	0%	-2%	10 897 598	-11%	-1%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculations

Two characteristics of the informal sector can be seen from the table:

- On one hand, the sector develops in areas where the formal sector is relatively under-developed and unable to employ all the available labour force. Hence, in the two metropolises where job opportunities with larger enterprises rise, the informal sector diminishes. The informal sector, for most of its workers, is just a refuge while they're awaiting a chance to access the formal sector.
- On the other, the informal sector's development depends on the dynamic of urban economy, which can be seen in its slow development in rural areas. The proximity to these two metropolises, on the contrary, strongly affects growth. The pulling impact of urbanization could be via various channels: the demand effect (due to population density); the migration of rural residents seeking a job in the informal sector; an articulated interconnection of the sector's activities with the urban economy. These various assumptions will be further analysed in the second part of this study.

Informal sector: First off-farm source of employment

The informal sector is currently the first off-farm job provider in Vietnam. This is valid in every area of the country. In spite of the falling numbers of establishments and of jobs generated by this sector in the two metropolises, it represents 30 % of the total jobs. In the rural area, it is the main off-farm source of employment. But it is necessary to stress the weight of the informal sector in periurban areas of Hanoi and HCMC. Given its weight and role, the sector is worth special attention, which will be the focus of the study's second part.

Table 8
Distribution of employment by institutional sector

Institutional Sector	Urban Hanoi HCM	Other urban	Rural Hanoi HCM	Other rural	Total
Public business	25.5%	23.7%	13.5%	6.0%	10.7%
Foreign enterprise	5.5%	2.5%	7.6%	1.3%	2.0%
Domestic private enterprise	19.4%	8.2%	10.7%	3.5%	5.7%
Formal individual enterprise	16.9%	16.8%	6.9%	4.7%	7.8%
Informal sector	30.3%	31.9%	36.9%	20.4%	23.5%
Agriculture	1.3%	16.5%	24.1%	64.0%	50.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Employment survey 2007, GSO; authors' calculation
The total is less than 100% because of non-respondents (0.3%)

II. COMPARED CHARACTERISTICS OF INFORMAL SECTOR IN URBAN AND PERIURBAN AREAS: THE CASES OF HANOI AND HO CHI MINH CITY

The survey of informal sector's individual enterprises (HB&IS2007) covers all the non-agricultural production units¹. Excluding agricultural activities and formal individual enterprises, the total numbers of informal individual enterprises were 321,000 and 749,000 in Hanoi and HCMC respectively.

1. Activity type and enterprise size

Services prevail in urban areas and so does industry in periurban areas

In the two metropolises, the sectoral structure of informal activities is highly diversified depending on their geographic location. This Specialization is obvious, even when the overall list classified in three economic sectors, namely manufacturing (including construction), trade and services is considered.

¹For further details on the survey methodology, refer to Duy, Razafindrakoto and Roubaud (2008).

Table 9
Informal production units and employment by economic sector

Sector	Urban zone				Periurban zone			
	Number of IPU	Struct. %	Number of jobs	Struct. %	Number of IPU	Struct. %	Number of jobs	Struct. %
Hanoi	184657	100	253124	100	136512	100	210092	100
Manufacturing	26733	14.5	54958	21.7	31627	23.2	73944	35.2
Trade	51306	27.8	61581	24.3	68440	50.1	89213	42.5
Services	106618	57.7	136585	54.0	36445	26.7	46935	22.3
HCMC	612712	100	913965	100	136646	100	202911	100
Manufacturing	122794	20.0	260698	28.5	41058	30.0	70035	34.5
Trade	194170	31.7	253611	27.7	47329	34.6	66448	32.7
Services	295748	48.3	399656	43.7	48259	35.3	66429	32.7

Source: Survey on individual enterprises and informal sector (HB&ISS), Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City (2008), GSO-ISS / IRD-DIAL, authors' calculation

As such, services alone (mainly culinary, repair and transport services) rank first in urban areas with half of informal individual enterprises and jobs created and with their share in Hanoi being larger than that in HCMC. The opposite is found in periurban areas where services rank bottom with only 22.3% of jobs created in Hanoi and 32.7% in HCMC. Periurban areas are closer in this respect to rural areas where most people eat at home and sales services are still at the embryo stage while these services can be "outsourced" in urban areas.

In the opposite direction, the share of two other sectors (manufacturing and trade) is much larger in the periurban area than in the urban area¹. Manufacturing activities represent more than one third of the jobs (35.2 and 34.5%) in periurban areas while their workforce shares are a little bit lower in urban areas (21.7 and 28.5%). The activities mainly consist of the processing of key consumer goods (food and garments). Finally, trade (retail sales of raw and processed products) represents 42.5% of jobs in the informal sector in periurban Hanoi and 32.7% in periurban HCMC and 24.3% and 27.7% in urban areas respectively.

Self-employment is the norm

The informal sector is made up of micro-units averaging 1.5 jobs per unit regardless of the informal individual enterprises' location (but the size does vary among economic sectors). Self-employment is the rule with 73% of individual production units having a single member of staff (self-employment). Paid workers account for a tiny share of 15% (which rises to 38% in the informal manufacturing sector). Most workers in the informal sector do not have access to social insurance.

¹Those activities are often very close to services provision (for instance, a tailor working at home makes clothes for his/her neighbours).

2. Work uncertainty

Increasingly difficult working conditions in periurban areas

The informal sector is characterized by a serious precariousness of working conditions. Only 16% of informal individual enterprises have appropriate professional working premises (separate from home) and 40% do not have fixed premises (12% in Hanoi and 37% in HCMC), which seriously affect their access to public services (water, electricity and wire telephone) and Internet connection barely exists. Although the proportion of informal individual enterprises having professional premises in urban areas is lower than that in periurban areas, the number of informal individual enterprises without fixed premises (mobile office, etc.) is very high, which is attributed to the high price of real estate and the increasing difficulty in finding workshops in town.

Even access to utilities is higher in cities than in periurban areas; the fact that a higher proportion of informal individual enterprises in cities are without fixed premises means that access to public services is finally equal in both urban and periurban areas with respect to electricity and telephone. Conversely, informal individual enterprises in periurban areas barely have access to safe water (12.7% in Hanoi and 24% in HCMC) while half of such enterprises (53.7% in Hanoi and 47.6% in HCMC) enjoy water access in urban areas.

Poorer earnings due to lower qualification and productivity

In spite of longer hours of working and longer job seniority (averaging 6 years in Hanoi and more than 7 years in HCMC), the earnings are smaller. Average earning is estimated at 2.5 million VND and median earning at 1.5 million VND in Hanoi (2.4 million and 1.4 million in HCMC respectively), or almost 50% less than in other sectors, including informal individual enterprises. However, informal sector is by far the most heterogeneous, with a majority offering poorly-paid jobs and small minority well-paid jobs. A steep gradient is seen in earnings between urban and periurban areas.

In any city and sector, the earnings are clearly lower in the periurban area (about 20% on average) where the education level is also lower. Workers employed in the informal sector in the periurban area have a schooling period of a year shorter than their peers in urban areas regardless of the city and sector. On the contrary, no significant difference in the proportion of wage earners is seen in the two areas, which shows no big gap in earnings: the proportion of wage earners is 15% in Hanoi's urban area and 16% in periurban area. The proportion in HCMC is 17% and 15% in HCMC respectively.

Data collected during the survey have facilitated our calculation of indicators on productivity of informal individual enterprises. Work productivity in urban areas is systematically higher than that in periurban areas, regardless of the sector (with an exception for manufacturing in Hanoi where both salaries and productivity lag behind).

Therefore, a linkage between salary gap and productivity can be established. The urban informal individual enterprises perform better (workers better qualified, higher population density, hence more clients, and better working organization), and therefore can pay their workers better. The gap in production costs may exist among the studied geographic areas, which helps explain the higher sales prices and salaries in urban areas while the purchasing power may not be very different. This aspect needs to be researched in order to evaluate the importance of two factors affecting the salary gap.

Table 10
Informal sector's economic performance by area

Economic activities	Urban			Periurban		
	Added value	Work productivity (1,000 VND)		Added value	Work productivity (1,000 VND)	
		VA/L1	VA/L2		VA/L1	VA/L2
Hanoi						
Formal	8,879	3,863	16.3	6,642	3,181	16.5
Informal	3,570	2,604	12.1	3,332	2,165	11.0
Manufacturing	4,745	2,308	10.2	5,534	2,367	11.3
Trade	3,605	2,403	11.4	2,764	2,121	10.7
Services	4,745	2,814	13.3	2,485	1,930	10.9
HCMC						
Formal	11,271	4193	16.8	7,298	3363	13.2
Informal	3,488	2338	10.7	2,808	1885	8.8
Manufacturing	4,337	2043	9.3	3,153	1848	9.0
Trade	2,874	2200	9.5	2,908	2050	9.0
Services	3,539	2619	12.4	2,417	1756	8.3

Source: Survey on individual enterprises and informal sector (HB&ISS), Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city (2008), GSO-ISS / IRD-DIAL; authors' calculations
L1: Number of paid workers. L2: number of working hours

A high rate of migrants employed in HCMC

Lastly, employment in the informal sector is characterized by a high ratio of migrants in HCMC (not in Hanoi). About 20 percent of the workforce is migrants. As they are not in the possession of a permanent residence license (but probably also because of their low qualification level), many of migrants end up in the informal sector (particularly in manufacturing)

Most of migrants are self-employed (work for themselves or assist with family tasks). The fact that just a few of them work as wages earners shows that they struggle to integrate into the economy of the two metropolises.

Table 11
Weight of migrants in the informal sector employment

	Urban				Periurban			
	Migrant %	Residential registration			Migrant %	Residential registration		
		Temporary Card 6 months and longer	Temporary Card less than 6 months	Not registered		Temporary Card 6 months and longer	Temporary Card less than 6 months	Not registered
Hanoi	8.7	53.5	35.0	11.5	2.6	68.2	7.4	24.4
1 Manufacturing	21.9	41.0	45.5	13.5	2.6	87.6	12.4	0.0
2 Trade	3.7	38.2	61.8	0.0	1.0	50.2	0.0	49.8
3 Services	5.6	77.7	10.6	11.7	5.2.76	32.0	0.0	68.0
HCMC	17.4	46.6	38.5	14.8	18.2	62.0	37.1	0.9
1 Manufacturing	30.0	35.4	47.4	17.2	21.2	69.6	30.4	0.0
2 Trade	7.8	63.0	30.5	6.5	24.0	37.0	63.0	0.0
3 Services	15.0	57.7	27.9	14.5	10.6	89.9	6.0	4.0

Source: Survey on individual enterprises and informal sector (HB&ISS), Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city (2008), GSO-ISS / IRD-DIAL; authors' calculations

3. An informal sector struggling to integrate into the economy

Households are the informal sector's first target

Exclusively geared to domestic market, the informal sector's major target is to meet the demand of households. Most of the demand comes from households, including both their own consumption and an intermediary consumption to serve the production of other individual enterprises. Only informal individual enterprises in the manufacturing sector sell part of their production to larger enterprises: in Hanoi, the proportion of the informal individual enterprises located in periurban areas is 11.8%; in HCMC, this type of enterprises occupies a relatively important niche in the urban area (10.8%) and periurban area (8.4%); the share of trade enterprises in the informal sector is 16.7% in HCMC.

Conversely, a large share of the informal sector's intermediary consumption market comes from non-informal enterprises, particularly in Hanoi where the share is 49.4% for informal individual enterprises in periurban areas, and HCMC only 5.5%. The share is high in manufacturing, trade and services. In urban areas, 29.5% of buying by informal individual enterprises in Hanoi for their intermediary consumption comes from larger enterprises and that in HCMC is 39.4%.

If these purchasings are excluded, the informal sector and individual enterprises in general have little to do with the formal sector (foreign enterprises excluded) and subcontracting represents a marginal share, in stark contrast to general assumption (2-3% in the informal manufacturing sector with the only exception to Hanoi's periurban areas where the ratio is 7.8%).

Subcontracting is key in the informal manufacturing sector

The role of subcontracting is highly important. The activity is described as having raw materials supplied by a client for processing with the end-product sent back to him. With this definition, subcontracting is only relevant to the manufacturing sector. As shown in the table 3.21% of the informal individual enterprises located in the urban area of Hanoi are involved in this activity and the ratio is 28% in the periurban area. In HCMC, the ratio is even higher without much discrepancy between urban and periurban areas (41% and 43.5% respectively).

Most processors work for households and just a tiny share of them work for the formal sector (maximum 19% of processors in urban Hanoi). In this city, this is true with “craft villages” which produce intermediary commodities (steel industry) and consumer goods (furniture and garments) traded through the formal sector (Fanchette, 2007). However, our survey was conducted in Hanoi only (excluding neighbouring provinces) thus the results cover just a small number of informal individual enterprises located in those villages. A strong ratio of processors (45.1%) is recorded in the construction sector in Hanoi’s peripheral areas. In HCMC, a majority of processors work in the garment sector.

Table 12
Share of subcontracting in the informal sector (% of informal production units)

	Urban					Periurban				
			Most important clients					Most important clients		
	Sub-contractors	Processors	Public sector	FIE	Households	Sub-contractors	Processors	Public sector	FIE	Households
Hanoi										
Formal	0.1	7.2	0	35.5	64.5	0.0	2.9	0	0	100.0
Informal	0.7	4.8	4.7	17.8	77.5	3.4	14.5	0	9.3	90.7
Manufacturing	2.8	20.5	4.9	18.9	76.2	7.6	3.5	0	13.2	86.8
Trade	0.0	0.0	0	0	100.0	1.6	3.5	0	0.0	100.0
Services	0.2	0.5	0	0	100.0	0.0	13.2	0	0.0	100.0
HCMC										
Formal	29	15.3	0	29.3	70.7	0.0	25.3	0	5.3	94.7
Informal	0.9	12.0	0	13.2	86.8	0.7	15.0	0	12.2	88.8
Manufacturing	3.1	41.0	0	13.4	86.6	2.1	43.5	0	12.2	88.8
Trade	0.0	0.0	0	0	100.0	0.0	0	0	0	100.0
Services	0.0	0.4	0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0	0	0	100.0

Source: Survey on individual enterprises and informal sector (HB&ISS), Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city (2008), GSO-ISS / IRD-DIAL; authors’ calculation

Finally, the informal sector operates in a stiff competition environment. Only 7% of informal production units claim they don’t know their direct competitors. The competition is seen foremost in their internal sector. Trading activities are the most affected.

Overall, all the indicators of the informal sector in the production process consistently show that it is producing largely on the sideline of the formal sector

(public and private). It is relatively disconnected to the formal economic channels and the linkages are indirect through purchasing, world market demand or public infrastructure.

4. Informal sector outlook

Confidence on the future of the informal sector in periurban area

In both Hanoi and HCMC, informal individual enterprises' managers are systematically more confident in periurban areas than in urban ones with respect to the future of their activity. The ratios of IIE managers seeing a bright future for their enterprises are 30.8% and 56.5% in Hanoi's periurban and urban areas and 28.2 and 42.6% in HCMC. However, there is a gap regarding the ratios of IIE managers wishing to have their children taking up their enterprise: in Hanoi, they are 13.3% and 27.8% and in HCMC 16.1% and 23.2% respectively.

The higher degree of confidence of IIEs in periurban areas can be explained by at least two elements : first, informal jobs offer alternatives to farm jobs while jobs opportunities in the formal sector (off-farm) are quite limited, which is not the case in cities where IIE managers would rather wish their children to join the formal sector; secondly, informal jobs provide for improved income and better working conditions as compared to farm work so IIE managers want their children to continue in the future.

Table 13
IIE managers' confidence in the future of their enterprise

Activity sector	Urban		Periurban	
	IIE managers confident that their activities have bright future (%)	IIE managers wishing their children to continue their activities (%)	IIE managers confident that their activities have bright future (%)	IIE managers wishing their children to continue their activities (%)
Hanoi				
Formal	70.4	34.8	88.6	46.5
Informal	30.8	13.3	56.5	27.8
Manufacturing	52.3	18.8	73.0	45.9
Trade	35.2	14.4	51.3	21.7
Services	24.2	11.7	52.2	23.6
HCMC				
Formal	61.8	41.8	84.7	47.6
Informal	28.2	16.1	42.6	23.2
Manufacturing	36.5	21.7	61.2	29.0
Trade	24.5	11.7	35.7	26.9
Services	27.3	16.6	33.6	14.7

Source: Survey on individual enterprises and informal sector (HB&ISS), Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city (2008), GSO-ISS / IRD-DIAL; authors' calculation

Conclusion

In this study, we have revealed a number of key features of urbanization during a decade in Vietnam. As we have demonstrated, it appears that the urbanization phenomenon and as a result, changes in the labour market (job generation, emergence of wage earners, declined farm work, and integration into formal private enterprises) have, to some extent, reached its limit in the two major cities. Even though the activities will continue to expand here in the future, the evolution scope will be limited given the on-going dynamic and restructuring that occur in Hanoi and HCMC periurban areas as well as other cities and to a lesser extent, in the remaining rural area.

We have shown a number of key facts concerning the on-going restructuring in the labour market: the fast decline of agricultural sector that benefits the private off-farm sector; the accelerated restructuring in periurban areas and the rise of the informal sector in these areas as well as in smaller cities.

Nevertheless, the informal sector is characterized by small size production units (under-funded, and often without premises), precarious working conditions (low wages, and no protection) and the fact that it is relatively disconnected to the remainder of the economy (on the sideline of the formal sector).

The informal sector is likely to grow in the short and medium term due to urbanization, the limited absorption capacity by the formal sector and the arrival of new stakeholders on the labour market – youth, migrants, etc. (Cling, Razafindrakoto et Roubaud, 2010). Our analysis of the informal sector in Hanoi and HCMC shows that it is in the periurban area that the informal sector plays its key role in absorbing the labour force surplus, whether they are local people or migrants from rural areas. The precariousness of working conditions in the sector needs to be addressed with policies designed to support its development as now the sector barely benefits from any support structure (Cling et alii, 2010).

What are the policies likely to improve its productivity and protect the work force while ensuring that they don't constrain the sector's dynamics? The study's policy suggestions in order to improve employment and income are vocational training, access to credit, and management of migrants.

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ANNEX

Share of agricultural employment (main job and second job)

	1998	2002	2004	2006
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	6.3%	3.5%	4.0%	2.9%
Other urban areas	29.7%	30.8%	30.7%	25.5%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	73.8%	45.4%	50.6%	38.3%
Other rural areas	90.0%	81.5%	80.8%	78.1%
Total	76.0%	68.0%	66.3%	62.5%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

Share of employment in large private enterprises (including foreign ones)

	1998	2002	2004	2006
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	15.4%	15.8%	26.0%	24.4%
Other urban areas	6.4%	4.5%	8.0%	9.2%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	6.0%	8.5%	9.5%	17.5%
Other rural areas	1.8%	2.1%	4.0%	5.2%
Total	3.4%	3.5%	6.4%	7.6%

Ratio of wage earners (main job and second job)

	1998	2002	2004	2006
Urban Hanoi and HCMC	55.7%	63.6%	65.0%	65.3%
Other urban areas	39.9%	48.5%	50.7%	52.3%
Rural Hanoi and HCMC	33.7%	49.3%	50.5%	48.4%
Other rural areas	24.0%	32.3%	36.2%	38.1%
Total	28.5%	37.2%	41.0%	42.8%

Sources: VLSS 1998, VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006; authors' calculation

PERIURBAN CRAFT VILLAGES IN THE STORM OF HANOI EXPANSION

Sylvie Fanchette*

Hanoi remained confined in a limited space for four decades. Until the beginning of the 1990s, under the effect of a top-down interventionist policy, absence of foreign investments, low standard of living and moderate population growth, the city was contained in its four urban districts. Since then, a process of “urban correction” has been in place (Quertamp F., 2003) for it to secure the status of an attractive international metropolis. Its expansion has accelerated since 2000, urban development henceforth becomes the main engine of the economy.

The public authorities are no longer the owners of the majority of the urban or industrial projects and have disengaged themselves from compensation for farmers who lost land, giving the task to property developers. But they remain strongly involved in planning as far as they are the only ones entitled to transform land use rights, from agricultural to residential or industrial lands. Depending on the size of the projects, the Prime Minister or the Provincial People’s Committee shall approve their implementation. The involvement of private property developers seeking a quick return on their investment (as the long-term lease is valid for 40 years) has changed the social orientations of town and country planning (Ségard J., 2010).

A second crucial factor of on-going changes in the Hanoi peripheral areas is the administrative expansion of the capital. In fact, in August 2008, this centrally-controlled municipality absorbed the entire Hà Tây province to the West and a small number of communes of the neighbouring provinces, a move that triples its area and doubles its population. The space expansion of Hanoi aims to make it more competitive at international level, putting it on the same level as other large Asian cities. In the same way, the urban area extends to the East, towards Gia Lâm, along the economic development corridor which is stretched until Hải Phòng, along the national road 5. A parallel highway, along which will be built several urban residential zones, is in the pipeline and should be able to relieve traffic congestion on this congested artery, which leads to the main port of the delta.

This urban expansion takes place on densely-populated rural margins (1500 hab/km² on average), with diversified productive activities similar to the Asian *desakota*, as studied by Mac Gee (1991). More than 500 villages are involved in craft and semi-industrial activities, some of which for several centuries. These very varied, large

*IRD.

labour-intensive activities take place in a residential environment already in high demand for housing.

If during the 1990s the government issued policies to stop migrations from the densely populated countryside to the cities, as a result of the opening of the country to the market economy by widening residential and industrial space in the villages and supporting diversification of production, it has withdrawn itself from the country planning a few years ago and “liberalized” the land market, which has been thriving. Construction works mushroomed all over the place according to imported urban models.

The new urban “project” implemented by private and semi-public property developers with approval by the central and provincial authorities is founded on separation of activities, and on a zoning of residential, industrial and entertainment areas. It is carried out in an area where multi-usages of land are adopted and the quick rotation of crops has facilitated a rural settlement among the most densely-populated in the world.

In this article, we discuss the modalities and the consequences of capital extension on his boundaries, in particular on the craft villages. This top-down policy is carried out without consultation with the entire relevant administrations, in particular those of agriculture and water resources management, and with residents. Worse still, it is imposed without taking into account the characteristic of these periurban areas that have extremely long-standing economic and demographic dynamics¹.

I. CRAFT VILLAGES WHERE URBANIZATION OCCURS IN CENTURY-OLD RURAL AREA

The monsoon-influenced Asia’s deltas are typical of activities linked to intensive rice growing, craft and trade, made possible by the density of river networks which connect the upstream areas to the sea and the residential areas between them.

1. A system of production associated with intensive rice growing: the multiple-purpose use of spaces

In the Asian rice-growing deltas influenced by tropical rain, rice transplanting, a method needed for very high outputs and up to three crops per annum, requires

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much labour seasonally. Rice, a staple food crop, has the advantage of feeding a large population, but requires heavy workloads over specific periods. For centuries, during the time between crops, and especially in the areas where rice cultivation is not possible in period of monsoons because of submerged low-lying terrain and farmers have had to find other activities on their small land plots being unable to nourish them. Many villages of the over-populated rice plains specialized in other non-agricultural activities, in particular the craft industry, requiring little capital and being able to absorb under-employed labour for most of the year. In the Red River Delta, there are currently approximately 1,000 craft villages, some of which have kept artisanal activities for several centuries. These villages produce commodities for villagers and urban dwellers (foodstuffs, objects of worship, manufactured products and construction materials, trade and transport services) and for exports (baskets, furniture, woolen clothes and art pieces).

They enjoy incomes four times higher than those of the “agricultural” villages and thus could invest in building premises and improve their living conditions.

Half of these villages are located in a radius of fifty kilometres around Hanoi and, several of them, maintaining thousand-year-old activities, took part in the development of the capital in feudal time and especially at its heyday of Southeast and East Asia.

Since *Doi Moi*, or renovation, the fast development of craft and especially industrial activities has facilitated fast growth of production, its diversification, and the recruiting of many villagers suffering from agricultural under-employment and working in subcontracting.

Most of these villages are organized in clusters which gather craftsmen working in the same sector. Among them, a division of work tasks has taken place. Work is socially divided within the framework of informal partnership agreements between small sizes companies geared to undertake additional activities, which carry out a segment of the production process, and between enterprises of various size bonded by subcontracting relations.

The geographic concentration of small-sized enterprises can be attributed to the development of commercial and non-commercial interactions: external economic sectors, networks of suppliers and purchasers, and economic scale. A cluster of craft villages can cover a small or large number of localities, as well as small and large-sized enterprises in various proportions. Their grouping depends on the type of activity, mode of organization, their seniority, their integration to the upstream or the downstream of the commercial sector and the markets to which they supply (local, domestic or export).

This system of localized production is adapted to the economic context of transition. According to Digregorio (2001), contrary to the public or private sector’s large enterprises, the organization of enterprises in cluster is much more flexible and market responsive, mainly due to their more compacted organizational apparatus and their being part of the informal sector. The production costs are lower and they can access

the market “niches” leftover by the formal sector’s large enterprises which must meet standards of management, quality and a much more stringent legislation. They profit from a greater flexibility of the use of family labour force, most of them underpaid for the least qualified activities and who undertake these activities in the same time as agricultural ones.

2. Villages which employ a large share of labour force but weakened by the 2008 crisis

The population density of rural communes in the neighbourhoods of Hanoi in 1999 averaged 1,500 inhabitants per km², and many communes recorded a density exceeding 2,000 inhabitants per km², in the craft villages or along the most commercial axes. The qualitative surveys carried out in about forty craft villages in peripheral Hanoi (IRD/Casrad 2003-2009) show the attraction of these small employment sources, some of them being organized in clusters. However, the migrations to these areas for settlement are rare because work is often temporary and, in the absence of sufficient housing to accommodate the workers, the small employers sub-contract to craftsmen of the close or more distant villages so that they can work at home. The temporary workers seek homestay or an accommodation in the vicinity, but they are still counted at the time of the census in their village of origin.

The Casrad survey carried out in 2005-2006 as part of Program FSP2 on the craft villages covering the two provinces bordering on Hanoi (formerly Hà Tây and Bắc Ninh) produces figures which are based on statistics given by the Commune People’s Committees which take into account only the population of working age from 16 to 60. In the 269 villages surveyed in the former Hà Tây province, 229,000 full-time craftsmen have been recorded, of them approximately 23,000 were migrants. In this province, only some large clusters emerge, employing more than 10,000 workers: La Phù (knitting and confectionery), Hữu Bằng - Chàng Sơn (manufacture of furniture), Dương Liễu - Cát Quế Minh Khai (agricultural produce processing for noodles, etc.). As for the multitude of villages specialised in basket making, they would be rather organized in networks than in clusters, but employ a large number of temporary subcontracted workers, in the province’s south-western area. Two communes (Phú Nghĩa and Đông Phương Yên) also have large enterprises working for exports settled in industrial parks along National Road No. 6 and which employ 35,000 workers aged above 16.

In Bắc Ninh, in the 60 craft villages surveyed by Casrad in 2005, 62,000 workers have been recorded, of them 15,000 were migrants. Three large clusters of villages dominate: the most dynamic is Đông Kỵ (art furniture), made up of three neighbouring villages which employ 25,000 workers with more than a third of them being migrants. Phong Khê - Phú Lâm (paper) and Châu Khê - Tư Đức - Đình Bảng (iron and steel industry), clusters specialized in industry, employ 8,200 and 7,000 workers respectively from various backgrounds.

In addition to these workers kept busy most of the year by craft and small industry are many other family workers and assistants who take part in a temporary way in the activity of these villages and provide support during the period of important orders.

The formal sector's large enterprises which sub-contract to and recruit hundreds of workers were seriously impacted by the 2008 international crisis. The fall of exports has mainly affected the villages specialized in the art furniture (Đồng Kỵ), knitting (La Phù) and basket making. In the villages of Phú Nghĩa and Đông Phương Yên, many families were at technical unemployment at the time of our visits. Some had left for other districts searching for work.

However, the crisis is all the more sensitive as competition is strong in certain sectors like basket making: the Philippines, Myanmar and especially Indonesia are large producers of high quality bamboo products which earn them a much higher income than their Vietnamese counterparts. Accessing the very demanding markets in terms of quality (Japan, France, and the USA) is a real challenge.

3. The creation of an industrial production space difficult to match urban standards

a. A changing space of craft and industrial production

In the 1990s, in the villages starting to embrace mechanization or having widened their scale of production to access the international markets, the most dynamic craftsmen, with the assistance of the local communities, created new spaces of production. The Provincial People's Committees, at the request of the craftsmen, took measures to change the status of agricultural land into grounds intended for industrial production and let them create informal craft mini-parks. Then in the 2000s, the Provincial People's Committees built industrial sites in the most dynamic communes in order to separate the most polluting activities from residential space, to give to the companies the means of expanding their production scale and to pave the way for the workshops away from the axes of communication. Amid the slow progress, and corruption of a number of local communities, part of the villagers have built workshops, and sometimes houses, in an illegal way on agricultural land. The development at three different speeds of a space of production took shape:

- in industrial sites, enterprises in the process of modernization reaching the same level of production as the formal sector's large enterprises, both public and private enterprises with mixed capital. They are increasingly consuming space and energy.
- enterprises starting to embrace mechanization settled in the boundary of residential area, along the dikes, at the former site of co-operative premises or in pond areas which were partially filled, and in formerly vegetable-cultivated areas.
- in village residential areas, only the manual activities or those using machines of small size are maintained. The family enterprises, with low capacity of investment, mainly use family labour or day labour and work in sub-contracting. In spite of the deafening noise of certain workshops (metallurgy and textile), these activities are tolerated.

While the production area has widened, little has been made to meet the need for accommodation of migrant workers. In the most attractive craft villages, shortage of housing land makes it difficult to construct dormitories and the small employers, with fluctuating incomes, do not have the means to accommodate their labour. In La Phù, large enterprises have to build in an illegal way on agricultural land some dormitories to accommodate their permanent workers, which is the only way to keep them in place and of avoiding a work force turn-over, which is harmful to these enterprises weakened by the crisis of exports. The few thousands of workers of Đồng Kỳ live in difficult conditions (tents, workshops, etc.). The situation makes it hard for migrants, already tightly checked by local security services, to integrate.

b. The environmental challenge: a hard nut to crack amid loose governance

The fast development of craft and especially industrial activities has caused serious environmental and health problems. The original area of craft villages and the village society are subjected to strong pressures since the production was mechanized, the material types changed and so did the waste volume. In this highly-populated deltaic area, the agricultural territory bears a dense irrigation network, inserted in the craft production area. Whereas the irrigation infrastructures were designed and modernized at the communal level with an aim of ensuring agricultural production and of protecting the population against floods, the irrigation network first has changed. Some waterways and water reservoirs used for irrigation and drainage purposes, or ponds have become true dumps for craft and industrial enterprises which prefer to settle in the vicinity. As there is no network making it possible to separately agricultural water and industrial waste water, the pollutants discharged by craft villages are poured in the waterways and then on agricultural land.

The water pollution in some craft villages (paper, metals, textiles, etc.) has reached very high levels in heavy metals, acids and coliforms, which jeopardize rice outputs, and consequently residents' health while spreading in the neighbourhood. The coal-fired ceramic kilns discharge into the air dust harmful to the villagers' health.

The rural small-sized enterprises are less directly polluting than the large factories, because they use the recycled raw materials which require less chemicals to be treated, and consume less energy. However, due to their large number and scattered location with a number of them right in the village centre, they cause serious damage to human health and the environment.

The multiplication of family craft enterprises without funds to invest in water treatment, the lack of place to expand production and to make it more appropriate to human health, and the lack of co-operative and community institutions which would make it possible for waste treatment at a collective level, are all those elements which jeopardize the activities. Some water-consuming enterprises (iron and steel and paper mills) drilled wells, which in the future are likely to cause subsidence, in the flood-prone delta. The craftsmen, meanwhile, are unable to afford the construction of high

chimneys to disperse into the air harmful smoke for human health or the purchasing of gas furnaces.

II. THE CENTRALLY-GOVERNED MUNICIPALITY EXPANSION ACCELERATES SINCE THE END OF THE YEAR 2000

The merger of the rural Hà Tây province in August 2008 made it possible to extend the administrative limits of the capital and thus bringing the population to 6.5 million with 60% being rural population. This extension translates a government political will to control the growth of the capital in a context of urban transition which places the big cities in the heart of economic growth. The urban planning projects of the entity have first aimed at serving housing and road construction needs, the construction of industrial and trading facilities remains limited by the failure of industrial parks to attract long – term committed foreign investments.

1. Urban and industrial planning projects in the greater Hanoi: between planning and realities.

a. A government project for the greater Hanoi: Master Plan 2010

A Master Plan is under development (Ministry of Construction, Master Plan 2010) and should be completed for the millennium of Hanoi in October 2010. This Plan, though yet to be operational, should work out key directions for planning of this future metropolis which, by 2030, should contain 10 million inhabitants. The plan attempts to give a big picture of its economic, social and water resources management. The metropolis of 2030 will consist of several types of spaces, with various population density and functions, adapted to the terrain of this highly flood-prone delta (Vietnam ranks 6th amongst countries most affected by climate change). Two types of areas will be arranged:

- The densely populated urban area, representing 32% of the city's total area, which will be home to more than 7 million inhabitants in 2030, or 65% of the city population. It will be made up of two types of towns:

Five autonomous satellite towns will be mapped. The current city to its Ring Road 3 will cover half of the urban area. It will be replanned (in particular the old centre and administration quarters) and will shelter approximately 2.2 million inhabitants.

Future cities:

- In a radius of twenty to thirty km of the city centre (Hòa Lạc, Sơn Tây, Xuân Mai, Phú Xuyên - Phú Minh and Sóc Sơn), their population will reach approximately

- 250,000 each, except for the first, where a technopolis is located the end of the Láng-Hòa Lạc highway and which will shelter 750,000 inhabitants. They will theoretically ensure job generation for the majority.
- The periurban area located between Ring Roads 3 and 4, to the Đáy river, will be completely urbanized and will be home to approximately 1.5 million inhabitants. Many residential areas, including the satellite town of northern An Khánh, will be included in the planning.
 - One of the strong points of this new Master Plan which wants to give to the capital a very ecological character is the proposal to maintain a “green corridor” between the Đáy and Tich rivers. The highly flood-prone Day river basin, is the outlet of Red River flooding. Two million rural residents (of the three million rural population of Hanoi) will live in the villages of farmers or craftsmen. In this area with low population density,
 - +40% of the land will be earmarked for intensive agriculture, biodiversity conservation parks and cultural heritage preservation. Any urban and industrial development will be prohibited here. As many as 40,000 ha of agricultural land will be maintained to ensure food security.
 - + In the remaining 28%, clusters of highly developed villages will be devoted to craft industry and to agricultural produce processing. The production conditions will be improved to attract a large number of labourers and to avoid the migration towards the city. Three eco-cities of approximately 60,000 inhabitants (Phúc Thọ, Quốc Oai, and Chúc Sơn) will be built at the intersections of the highway intersections which will cross the region in a north-south direction and the three East-West connecting roads. With a low population density, these towns will be arranged with lots of greenings, particularly on the river banks, and essential drainage axes for the rainy season. Priority will be given to eco-tourism and relations with the neighbouring villages to which they will supply services and trade.

Many experts have questioned the validity of such master plans for Vietnam at a time of government disengagement, of property developers’ emergence in urban planning and the dominant role of market forces in urban extension. While memory of the government dominant role in planning work remains lively, in reality, it is proved that no master plan has been followed so far: the recent economic boom over the last five years and the massive investments injected in urban development have little in common with orientations set in various master plans. For Lawrie Wilson (2009), it is proved that:

- On the institutional aspect, the fragmentation of responsibilities between ministries and departments, and the domination of the Ministry for Construction to the detriment of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, make it difficult for the urban planning to be operational and sustainable. Normally, because of decentralization in effect in Vietnam, the Master Plan should be initiated by the

People's Committee of Hanoi and not by the Ministry of Construction which accounts directly to the Prime Minister. Within the city, the relationships among the various departments are closer than those among the ministries as the latter are closer in distance.

- The various master plans were developed as if the government was always the main urban building project owner, whereas until the 1990s, and especially 2000, the private sector, both large construction firms and small family enterprises, were the main builders of the city. In addition, the management of land in some provinces such Hà Tây was too loose, which adversely affects the urban extension management.
- These plans do not take into account the land situation, in particular the socio-economic context of the zones to be built. Proposals for alternative occupations to people who lost land are inadequate and not working.

A master plan is not a strategic development plan, it is only a planning. It needs to be accompanied by other policies to be really effective.

Experts question the feasibility of such a top-down project without institutional means on the ground to put into practice whereas local authorities are in lack of facilities for enforcement, expertise and fundings.

b. Investors' projects and their implementation on the site.

While the Master Plan of Hanoi 2010 is under drafting, development and planning projects progress at various paces. With the exception of the huge Láng – Hòa Lạc road construction project, which should be completed to mark the millennium anniversary of the capital, since the merger of Hà Tây, the progress has slowed down. The People's Committee of the new Hanoi wanted to review all the projects which had been approved by the former Hà Tây Province, and new resolutions on land expropriation have been enacted (in particular Resolution 69, then Decision 108, specific to this province). Since the end of the year 2009, works have resumed, but the difficulty of farmers land withdrawal and confusion between the various modes of compensation (the old system or the new system suggested by Decree 69 and Resolution 108) slow down the operations. At the end of 2008, 772 projects (residential, entertainment and industrial) for the new Hanoi have been recorded (Look At Vietnam, March 27th, 2009).

The urban project of the capital, with a philosophy slightly different from the first versions of Master Plan 2010, is founded on a network of satellite towns intended to relieve the congested downtown, connected to the capital by a highway system of several ring roads and by the enlarged highway Láng - Hòa Lạc (152 m and 30 km) leading to the Hòa Lạc high-tech park. Covering an area of 264 ha, the town of Northern An Khánh (recently renamed Spendor!), located 12 km from Hanoi downtown, should become a development hub. A modern city with skyscrapers-dotted landscape and luxurious residences, it would accommodate many service enterprises like 'London City' as the old downtown is now unable to ensure its function, as well as new technology industries which would function in partnership with the high-tech park.

Around this satellite town, several new urban areas or *Khu Đô Thị Mới*, with primarily residential function, offering several categories of residences on areas varying from two to five hundred hectares, will be built along secondary road axes.

At 25 km from Hanoi, a ring road of 62 km surrounding its western area is in the pipeline and will be connected to roads which lead to the Chinese border. The project kick-started in June 2008 (*Giaothongvantai* July 8, 2008), but the 19,680 ha which should be cleared for the construction of this road and the adjacent residential and industrial zones are always awaiting the Prime Minister's approval. In fact, the financing of this road to be conducted by Nam Cường property developer, must be made according to the "land for infrastructure" policy. The purchase of land at low prices along this six-lane road and its urbanization should pay for the cost of its construction. However, according to Master Plan 2010, the surroundings of this road should not be urbanized, except for the intersections with the three connecting roads (National Roads 6 and 32, and Highway Láng - Hòa Lạc) where three eco-towns are to be built. Greening should adorn the road's surroundings as well as the centre in order to keep the ecological character of the "green corridor", crossed in the north-south direction by this road. In addition, planning and development projects of these 19,680 ha are in complete contradiction with the philosophy of the Master Plan which intends to maintain in this "green corridor" agricultural land and craft villages. These will generate jobs to around two million rural residents (of the capital' expected three million rural population). Without golf courses, luxury residential zones and industrial parks proposed by this property developer, how the construction of this "green" centripetal road at a cost of 8 trillion VND could be funded remains questionable. (*Giaothongvantai* 7/8/2008).

For the moment, a cut back on these projects has been done by the People's Committee of Hanoi. Some have been approved, others suspended and the remainder to be revised to be in conformity with the future Master Plan, in particular in the area which will be urbanized between Ring Roads 3 and 4 and will contain large greenings, notably on the Nhuệ river banks. Part of these projects had been signed in a hurry by Hà Tây province authorities, who had approved many residential zones and golf courses, some of them covering several thousands of hectares, in complete contradiction with local environmental, demographic and irrigation conditions.

c. Industrialization of the expanded Hanoi and the Eastern provinces

The construction of industrial parks in the rural areas and along the main roads is one of the major elements of the industrial policy of the provinces to attract foreign funds. It aims at relocating the too polluting enterprises out of the capital and benefiting from the lower land prices as well as a more flexible environmental legislation.

The industrial park projects of the greater Hanoi are divided into four types :

- The Hòa Lạc hi-tech zone located to the West of Hanoi at the end of the highway. Covering an area of 1,586 ha, it is in the course of completion.

- The industrial parks covering hundreds of hectares intended to accommodate large foreign companies and other enterprises. These 18 parks of a total area of 3,166 ha are managed by the metropolis and are located along the main arteries, in particular close to the airport. They are aimed at boosting the urban development of Hanoi peripheral areas.
- The district-managed industrial zones covering tens of hectares must accommodate at the same time polluting factories moved from the capital as well as local enterprises. For the expanded Hanoi, there are 45 of them.
Craft and industrial sites of a few hectares prioritized for craft villages workers number 171.

In Bắc Ninh, to the east of the capital, the policy of the authorities is to transform it into an industrial province. Strategically located on the road to China with rich trading and craft tradition, Bắc Ninh has 13 industrial parks spreading over hundreds of hectares, both already operational and in the pipeline around the province. Their total area is of approximately 5,000 ha along the two highways.

Highly attractive tax and land policies are offered to foreign investors with most of them being Asian (South Koreans, Japanese, etc.). Some projects are deemed to cater to both for industrial and housing needs (high-end villas, entertainment parks and so on). However, in the most remote districts from Hanoi, where land price is much more affordable, in spite of the enticing conditions offered to investors, most of these industrial parks are only filled by half, which does not prevent local authorities from continuing to expand the existing parks.

One of the reasons explained to villagers to acquire hundreds of hectares of agricultural land is employment opportunities. According to the legislation, part of the jobs must be allotted to the residents of the village in which the project is located. But these industrial zones cannot solve the local employment problem. The residents do not have in general the necessary qualifications to be recruited in these foreign invested factories. The villagers only land the least rewarding and poorly-paid jobs (Museum of Ethnography of Vietnam, 2008). These industrial zones attract skilled workers and employees but large companies do not offer them accommodation. In the peripheral area's most urbanized villages, a new stock of private rental houses and rooms is developed, not without creating problems to local residents.

2. New urban development players: rise of large property developers

The Vietnamese government intends to proceed with the enlarged Hanoi planning following the urban planning model of Asian major metropolizes (Ho Chi Minh City, Jakarta, and Kuala Lumpur). Organized around satellite towns able to accommodate tens of thousands of inhabitants and residential zones of smaller scale, connected by a dense highway network with development axes running to the South of China or to the East of the delta, these models are introduced to Northern Vietnam at a new

period. These private and closed cities are aimed at offering all the necessary services to their inhabitants. They are primarily intended for the high-society (accounting for only 5% of the population, according to a report in 2007 by CB Richard Ellis property consulting office). They symbolize the rise to power of the neo-liberal private sector in construction and urban management versus a post-Communist government in lack of means.

a. From public to private: a struggling marriage of convenience

Since 2003, the authorities have no longer been the owners of the majority of the urban or industrial projects but they remain involved in these development projects as they are the only eligible to transform the land use right, and thus to convert agricultural land into residential or industrial land. Only the central government has the right to change the status of rural communes into urban ones, a process which has a considerable impact on the land price and land management norms. The Prime Minister or the Chairperson of the Provincial People's Committee signs the building licenses, depending on the scale of the projects which are proposed to them. These projects must meet a certain number of criteria, not always clearly defined for the moment, as long as the Master Plan of enlarged Hanoi is not completed. Land acquirement is henceforth undertaken by the property developers who compensate farmers according to the rates suggested by the provincial authorities.

“This process, common now in and around major urban areas, is an exceptionally regressive form of taxation that has as its moral hazard a virtually unlimited capacity to create revenue for the state and private fortunes for the deal makers as long as the urban growth machine remains propelled by investment. Needless to say, in disputes, the state is generally on the side of developers, most of whom are state corporations or state corporations in joint venture with foreign and domestic private corporations. (DiGregorio M., 2009)”.

The lack of facilities is exacerbated by the authorities' financial woes: the government does not have the means to implement large expressway projects of the enlarged Hanoi, and large sized residential projects. It attempts henceforth to address these flaws by encouraging B.O.T type (Built Operate Transfer) and the “lands for infrastructures” projects, where the private construction firms can more easily acquire land at lower cost in return for construction of public infrastructures (schools, hospitals or roads).

However, investors who seek a quick return on investment within the limit of 40 year term (Ségard J., 2010) are less inclined to make available the facilities needed for their projects (in particular villages' protection against floods) and to build housing for lower-income people. In addition, land speculation and the desire to “put one's hand on” property with the fast-rising value as well as rampant corruption at all administrative levels impede lost-land people's access to residential and industrial land. The craft production zones in the craft villages are intended for the richest enterprises, capable

to buy auctioned land plots, even technically, it is mentioned that the villagers have priority.

The many irregularities experienced by these projects again reflect the authorities' somewhat incompetence and absence of development management, since the authorities do not manage to control the developers, even when they are state enterprises (Ségard J., 2010).

b. Property markets in the periurban area and its unequal access

Large projects will be carried out mainly on agricultural land. In case of road building or road widening, the land acquirement from residential areas is considered. The merging of Hà Tây into the capital sparked a land price bubble amid an expected projects' inflation. Recently converted residential land, and in particular agricultural land within the framework of development projects, are sold at high price by real estate traders and other intermediaries who invest in the periurban zones. The instability of land prices and their extreme sensitivity to institutional reforms and changes are likely to cause great tensions in the villages between the land-losing farmers, who will not have access to the property at too high a price, and the purchasers, mainly outsiders.

There are two types of agricultural land in periurban zones:

- Residential and agricultural lands, intended for vegetable production (known as "land of 5%" which started to be allotted to the villagers before 1993 for family food production). They are in general tiny pieces (on average 100 m² per household) on the village's boundaries. Villagers tended to build illegally on this land or to sell it for construction. This spontaneous urbanization is not taken into account in large urban projects as people's need for residential land is ignored. The land is the aim of many property negotiations and, depending on their location, is sold at prices ten times higher than that of the agricultural land.
- The agricultural land on which households have usufruct (20 year lease by the government since 1991). Large residential and industrial projects of the enlarged Hanoi will take place on that land in return for compensations funded by the property developers according to rates imposed by municipal government. Until October 2009, the land was compensated at a rate of 45.7 million VND a "sào" (360 m²), that is to say 126,944 VND m² in the periurban district of Hoài Đức. To make up for the losses farmers suffer for this low price, those who had more than 50% of their land acquired could receive the equivalent of 10% of the value of their land, called "land of services", to build a workshop or open a shop there to shift their occupations to non-agricultural activities. That land of services is regrouped over the communal land and must be arranged by a company, and - is not intended for construction by the recipients. However, opacity and slowness in policy implementation end up in worsening the relations between farmers and the authorities with the farmers refusing to be having their land sold at low price, only to pay for the arrangement of the land of services which belonged to them.

In October 2009, the Government issued Decree 69 to raise the rates of compensation for rice field clearances to a five-fold increase from the old rates and to protect the best rice acreage. However, according to Resolution 108 of Hanoi, land of services cannot be distributed to farmers having their land expropriated any more, under the pretext that Hanoi is in need of land for its development projects. This new directive worries the periurban villagers, in particular those whose total land will be expropriated. Those aged more than 40 years have little chance to change their career into a new trade and to be recruited by enterprises which will sit in their commune. Even with an increase of five times the original amounts, the compensations they're likely to receive do not allow them to make investments in production, not to mention that they can help them buy land on the free market now becoming prohibitive.

3. Attempts to resume control by Hanoi: the setting of land and environment standards

The Commune People's Committees in Vietnam are equipped with human and financial means to manage communities of 5,000 inhabitants on average with dominant activity being agriculture. The committees, staffed by civil servants and elected people deal with administration, civil and social affairs, tax collection, and land management.

The rural legislation regarding the management of space, in particular environmental aspect, is not very clear and badly adapted to craft villages. It would take two years for resolutions, once adopted at provincial level to be known at grassroot level (Monre, 2008), a testimony of the lack of relations among different levels of administrative hierarchy. This opacity of legal affairs, related to the lack of means, impedes management of the most industrialized and most populated communes, notably in the context of Hanoi's fast-changing peripheral areas.

More over, the People's Committees are not well prepared to be up to the requirements of managing communes with more than 5,000 inhabitants, as well as industrial and multi-activity requirements (tax collection, land and migrant worker management, application of social law, planning and arrangement of public spaces and protection of human health and environment, etc.): they are in lack of competence and funds, are poorly-informed of the environmental legislation (Monre, 2008) and they have few law enforcement tools. The fact that grassroot civil organization members are also part of the commune government is a constraint to their capacity to decide matters related to residents who are their relatives or neighbours. Only district governments can resort to armed force. Chairpersons of People's Committees of several surveyed craft communes claim they are overloaded with the task which is assigned to them and request the higher levels to grant them the same institutional facilities as the urban communes. They do not have budgetary autonomy and cannot invest in development projects for their commune.

Since August 2008, the new Hanoi, wishing to build a new megalopolis of international ranking, wants to control land use and standardization of production conditions (environment, management of labour force and human health). The local authorities of the communes where many urban projects are planned must quickly solve land disputes related to illegal constructions on the agricultural land, in particular along the roads which must be widened. They must crack down on offenders and oblige them to destroy their constructions. Being unable to resort to the armed force, the Commune People's Committees must call for the district government when the recalcitrants do not comply. Drastic actions with the army support for the destruction of illegal constructions on agricultural lands multiply in the city surroundings to pave the way for future residential or road projects. Police launch raids on workshops in craft villages which do not meet hygiene norms and fines are issued. The launching of a census on illegally built land is part of a move by Hanoi authorities to regulate land use, however, it is expected that as long as the prerogatives of communal authorities are not enhanced and that they are not better equipped in terms of technical staff and financial facilities, these operations organized by the Province will be of limited effectiveness.

Corruption of certain urban services, and financial and technical inability of managers in charge of small enterprises to make sure they comply with environmental social and sanitary norms imposed by the City make the visits by city authorities ineffective.

The facilities enjoyed by urban communes should also be made available to the management of these industrialized villages, in particular the assignment of a larger number of civil servants and engineers specialized in legal, environmental and cultural issues as well as a scrutiny of public spaces by the police. An application for licenses must be filed for any construction, which should limit abusive constructions in public space.

In *Đông Ky*, large village of 12,000 inhabitants which had become a *phường*, (urban ward) of the district's chief town, in 2008, a better control of the use of public spaces by relevant force was in place resulting in a less abusive use of backstreets for materials storing and craft activities: fines of up to 20 million VND are applied as compared to 5 million imposed in rural communities.

III. URBANIZATION PROCESS IMPACT ON CRAFT VILLAGES

The new Hanoi now with a doubled population and a ambitious metropolitan project on space expansion, seeks to act in a more authoritative way with regard to the lower administrative levels. The scale and colossal financial stakes of the projects to be set up, in particular the extremely land-consuming motorway network seem to give the capital a greater room for maneuver. The opacity of the projects, their duration of implementation and the lack of communication towards the lower levels and towards population became increasingly frequent. In the communes still under the collectivization

period influence, the population seems more passive after those spent years working in co-operatives (such as the village of gold-sheet makers of Kiêu Ky in Gia Lâm) where the individual initiative has always been bypassed. The villagers became spectators of a large theatre play of which they would be the main losers (Dubiez B. & Hamel C., 2009). In addition, the end of the government subsidizing period of craft zones and the liberalization of land hamper the access to land by craftsmen.

1. Competition on the non-agricultural production land: conflicts with the liberalization of development planning

The craftsmen in craft villages need land to build workshops or to scale up their production, to mechanize, to build dormitories for workers and to move away from the residential zones the most polluting workshops. The unequal access to land by craftsmen and the slow formulation of craft projects prompted a race to acquire land and the spread of illegal constructions on agricultural land.

a. The liberalization of construction on productive land in the villages or the stop to promotion of rural industrialization

Since the mid 2000s, the industrial sites foundation policy in craft villages has changed its procedures. The project management is assigned to building firms which are given the responsibility to acquire farmers' land at compensation rates proposed by the Province and to lease in the long run the land plots with priority given to the villagers, but at the free market price. The land can be given to outsiders if the villagers cannot afford to lease. Previously, the Province was in charge of the industrial sites construction and leased land for 50 years to the craftsmen at subsidized prices, much lower than the free market prices.

This liberalization of urban and industrial development planning, providing to the provinces a land intermediary role between population and building firms, called into question the commitment by rural small sized enterprises. By then, the latter were founded thanks to a privileged access to land by villagers, training of craftsmen, a facilitated access to bank credit as well as favourable fiscal policies. The land bubble in periurban zones has prompted a fast land price hike on the private market, whereas the rates of compensation of the land expropriated from farmers remained very low until Decree 69 of October 2009. It is not rare that land is resold hundred times more expensive than the price of compensation after basic infrastructures being installed.

This new industrial development policy creates tension in rural areas because the villagers do not agree to be have their land expropriated, to lose their property as agricultural capital to the hands of property developers, whereas they cannot afford to lease land in the new industrial parks. This policy of land liberalization does not allow entrepreneurs to get access to land plots without government subsidies, as it was

the case in the first generations of craft zones, and thus caused considerable injustices against villagers considering the huge profits reaped by property developers.

Acts of civil disobedience and land-related conflicts (illegal construction on agricultural land, refusal to be expropriated, repeated complaints and petition, sit-in in the capital, etc.) multiply, in particular as the inflation of unfinished projects in the absence of sufficient funds of the property developers. The unequal access to land prompted a rising anger in the villages most affected by urban expansion, in particular by the most active ones, which claim their right to land for their enterprises.

Serious conflicts with the intervention of the police supported by the District People's Committees took place in villages such as La Phù or Son Đông where farmers refused to have their land expropriated and continued to cultivate on their land. In Son Dong village, a number of villagers were imprisoned. What the villagers do not accept is the absence of communication, and of briefings by the authorities, whereas according to the law, any development project must be carried out after consultation with the population. They agree to have their land acquired for projects of public utility, conscious that the expansion of the capital is necessary for the country, given the fact that land belongs to the State, therefore to the people. On the other hand, they refuse that the main recipients of the land profits are private property developers.

In Bắc Ninh Province, to the East of the capital, and more precisely in the craft village of Đồng Kỵ, having recently become an urban ward or *phường*, tensions between the populations, supported by the new team of the local People's Committee, and the Province are increasing. A project to widen the craft production zone to 29.5 ha was approved in 2007 by the Province, following the request of the most dynamic entrepreneurs. A third of the agricultural land, pertaining to the *phường* (ward) neighbouring of Trang Liêt, was already expropriated. The authorities of Bắc Ninh applied a minimal threshold compensation rate for rice fields: 79,000 VND per m², or a third less than that of Hanoi. The land was planned by a construction firm chosen by the Province which, resold them, once developed, in auction to bidders with highest offer. Best located land plots in the first section of the craft making zone sell like hot cakes at 50 million VND per m², because it has become urban land. The price is inaccessible to the majority of the small craft enterprises. The two other thirds are on the territory of Đồng Kỵ. The inhabitants of this commune refuse, except for some members of the Communist party, to give up their land at such a low price and threaten to lodge petitions and to appeal to higher authorities, which, a few months before the local elections, is likely to create problems. They want a craft production zone because they are in lack of premises but wish to take charge themselves with construction firms, in order to be sure to benefit from land conversion and above all to have access to land.

b. The answer of villagers: growth of illegal constructions on agricultural land

In La Phù, a large village of more than 9,000 inhabitants, specialized in woolen and confectionery products, the need for production land is pronounced. In 1999, a

project of several small craft production zones was approved by the Commune People's Committee on the site of the "5%" land after conversion of its use. A construction firm was to acquire land from the existing users, to build inner roads, drainage and water supply facilities and an industrial park to rent out land plots on a long-term basis at free market price to craftsmen wishing to settle in this area. Local people refused to have their land expropriated as they believe that the "5%" land are their "property" and that they are able to develop it into a craft production zone without resorting to construction firms that they don't trust and which will resell the land to bidders with highest offer.

The villagers having land in the first zone (Zone A), covering 11 ha, ended up profiting from it after several years. In 2006, they had the approval to change their land status and developed it themselves. But these land plots along the road, very small in size (narrower than 500 m²), and not mechanization-suited, are used mainly for trade of confectioneries and do not facilitate the relocation of many workshops in the village centre. Most craftsmen in this zone had to buy several plots from their neighbours to widen their workshops because each family does not hold, in general, more than 100 m² of this type of land.

Land belonging to the residents of other villages still did not have the authorization to change its status as local authorities prefer first of all to evaluate the first results of the A craft zone. The land beneficiaries impatient to use their land for mechanized production ended up proceeding to construction without authorization. More than 150 dwellings and workshops illegally built since 2006 without adequate infrastructure for industrial activity have been recorded. In spite of attempts by local authorities to clear them, most of these constructions have been maintained. Rice fields in the surroundings of informal craft production zones, which are normally controlled by the local authorities, were sold illegally for construction of workshop and housing. These craftsmen will have their land expropriated as soon as housing projects are implemented on that land.

In a context where it is expected that all the agricultural land of this commune will be developed into residential areas and an "expanded" craft production zone will be formed, the rush for land with rising price (reaching 30 million a m² along the roads in the industrial zone) has become ever stressful.

To have a larger area for craft production, and even for residential purpose, is key for the villagers in this very populated area. The communal authorities apply the official policies of widening residential space to accommodate several households living in houses shared at least by three couples. New areas are thus set up in the village surroundings and encroach on the agricultural land. However, little is made to widen the space of industrial production, and especially the procedures are very slow as they are related to land speculation. In La Phù and Bát Trảng, several large enterprises have to resettle tens of kilometres away for an area of thousands of m², whereas their agricultural land are sold by auction to property developers!

2. Multi-activities pattern, the functions of craft villages questioned

a. Agriculture: an asset for households with multi-activities in craft villages

Most of the villages in the Red River Delta are self-reliant regarding rice. Their agricultural land, though limited in size (1/8 ha on average in the surveyed villages in Hanoi periurban area, as compared with 1/3 ha on average in the delta in 2002), provide them all or part of family cereals supply. The trading represents a tiny share in this process.

In craft villages, craftsmen function with a system of subcontracting of many villagers who are also involved in agriculture. This system of production relies on a wise marriage of convenience among craft industry, petty trade, intensive gardening, livestock keeping and agriculture of subsistence. The small employers in craft villages count on these income sources to offer wages lower than those in downtown. According to Mr. Digregorio (2009), the families most affected by agricultural land expropriation are the young couples who do not have sufficient family labour to multiply income opportunities. This is likely to challenge the financial balance of multi-activities households and to jeopardize families who do not have many income sources apart from agriculture. The land is also used as collateral for bank loans to invest in the craft industry as a considerable capital.

Two types of craft villages are thus distinguished:

- Villages which live mainly on craft industry.

The mechanization and development of craft production have caused villagers to give up agriculture. In order to keep their land, they rent it out to farmers from neighbouring villages. It could be suggested that the agricultural land diminution does not affect them. Even if these villages are very industrialized and a majority of the population live on craft industry, they still depend on a sub-contracted labour force working at home. Once the labour force is unable to ensure its rice self-reliance, it could cause all the system of production based on the subcontracting of local labour force and seasonal employment, an extremely flexible and informal employment to collapse. Along the production chain - from the beginning, the suppliers of recycled raw materials, such as metal or paper collectors, paper sorters, spinners, garment dyers to paper benders, votive paper printers, etc. - a host of family households are involved seasonally, depending on the orders and market fluctuations. These thousands of households, clients of large enterprises from the beginning to the end, take part in the system and make a great product diversification. These full-time enterprises while working with sub-contractors on a seasonal pattern also depend on agriculture.

- Villages where craft industry provides a supplement beside agriculture.

The agricultural land, mainly rice-growing land, ensures that family is self-

reliant regarding cereal consumption. Rice is sold in limited volume as surplus is hardly available. It ensures food security in the event of a sales slump or temporary unemployment of subcontracted small craftsmen. If agricultural land provides only an additional income to the villagers, it helps keep population on the site, together with craft industry and limit migration to the cities. As soon as agriculture disappears, secondary craft activities such as basket making, embroidery or produce processing would not be able to keep the villagers in their village.

Little is mentioned in the first versions of Master Plan 2010 about the conditions in which the area between Ring Roads 3 and 4 will be urbanized. This currently periurban and densely populated area is home to many craft villages, notably in Hoài Đức and Hà Đông districts, the place of famous ancient silk production cluster.

According to a JICA/MARD survey conducted in 2003 on craft villages, about twenty villages existed in these two districts. Organized in clusters and specialized in food processing, carving and textile, they employed more than 40,000 full-time people. Very dynamic and geared to both domestic market and exports at the same time, these highly populated villages suffer from land shortage to expand their production. Up to 2030, they will have lost all the agricultural land and will have to reorganize their production space and to find ways to address the lack of agricultural land.

b. The destruction of connection among cluster villages

The cluster villages maintain close bonds founded on recruitment of labour force or subcontracting of work, sales of materials and finished or semi-finished products, exchange of know-how, technical, trade or transport services and land rental. These bonds occur within a connection network made of roads of various size such as inter-village roads and dike roads hardly accessible to cars on which all types of vehicles can be seen running.

The on-going urban projects on agricultural land of these villages are not part of an overall planning developed in consultation with relevant property developers and services, and even less with the the population approval. They are individual projects, approved case by case by the provincial authorities, without any rationale other than that for property developers which is the proximity of the main roads and a quick return on investment. In this way, motorways, residential quarters and industrial parks cross village surroundings, isolating them and breaking irrigation and drainage network and destroying the inter-village connection arteries. The press has run headlines on many problems encountered by residents of such as villages isolated by a golf course, and villagers must travel several kilometres to get to neighbouring villages, or can no longer easily access their fields located on the other side of the motorway or there are such problems as a funeral going at its own risks and dangers to the cemetery burying a grandparent! The enlarged Hanoi project is laden with numerous space-consuming roads and large motorways. Some of them do have their *raison d'être* of creating a

metropolis to join in the globalized world while most are likely to disrupt all the existing local development dynamics of the villages which were until then quite dynamic.

c. Irrigation network failures and floods

Large urban projects affect irrigation and drainage networks. Several problems emerge: impact of constructions on embankments, the closing of certain canals, the construction of large motorways which, due to lack of sufficient pipes, limit the natural drainage and the dispersion of the agricultural land stuck in between various projects. These problems affect residents' daily life and their agricultural land and the village surroundings are more easily flooded during rainy season, thus limiting the agricultural output.

Residential and industrial areas are built on embankments to protect from the risks of flood. However, these platforms are raised with one metre higher than the village's ground. When it rains, the villages below these large urban platforms suffer even more of the floods. Normally, it is stipulated in the protocols governing the construction of these communities and other industrial projects that the property developers are supposed to develop a system of drainage around the villages to protect them. According to an official in charge of agriculture of one of the districts most affected by urban development, such network is not yet made available. The only activity performed to limit the damage is temporary pumping, using large machines to reduce water logging.

Some officials in charge of the agriculture claim that as long as their district will not become completely urban, the management of agricultural land will be difficult and the protection of the villages incomplete. It is up to relevant services to proceed to an overhaul of the water resources management, especially the drainage; while waiting, it is expected that the participation of the private property developers will be minimal. The privatization of urban planning will have serious consequences on the maintenance of public services because the property developers seek the short-term return on their investments in property.

In addition, the dysfunctions of the irrigation network affect the cultivated area. Some irrigation canals are congested and water does not arrive any more to the fields, and those stuck between several projects no longer have access to irrigation water. Farmers are compelled to abandon them and do not receive the necessary compensations.

In Hoài Đức district which is highly tempting to urban and road developers, a petition has been signed by residents to complain about the situation. A tenth of the irrigated area has been affected. In Kiều Ky, a project of craft production area was approved in 2001. In 2007, the ground clearance was performed, but in 2008 the project was halted. A canal which irrigated the area was to be cut by the project development, thus affecting the irrigated agricultural land. A village head had to fight so that the canal is maintained as long as the industrial project has not been implemented and that cultivation is maintained on agricultural land (Dubiez B. & Hamel C., 2009).

3. Discrimination against newcomers: risks and assets

a. Areas prone to social division risks

The mixture in these rural areas, where intensive agriculture (vegetable production), craft industry or manufacturing and urban style housing intermingle, makes the management more difficult as stakeholders outside the village intervene with financial facilities and a political support by far superior to those of local population. The land disputes are ruled to the disadvantage of the people, the least involved in the political system, which challenges the village cohesion. After the collectivist period, social differentiation accelerates in the most dynamic villages. The agricultural land redistribution to village families which took place every 20 years now do not take any more into account the young people born after 1993.

The influx of a temporary labour force in the largest villages creates many problems. Living far from the village centre in over-populated dormitories or makeshift dwellings and poorly integrated in daily life (the non-residents cannot join voluntary associations), the workers, often young and unmarried, are stigmatized. In Lai Xá, a village of the photographers, recently merged into the chief town of Hoài Đức district, 10 kilometres away of Hanoi, 2,000 migrants have settled. The majority of them are students and workers of the new industrial park. As many as 76 families have changed their occupation to running rental rooms and dormitories. Meetings were organized to explain to these renters and the young people of the villages how to behave with the newcomers who henceforth make up half of this local population (Museum of Ethnology of Vietnam, 2008).

In the villages close to the capital, which have lost the whole of their agricultural land to residential, road and industrial projects, the spectre of unemployment starts to loom and threaten a dark future to people aged more than 35-40. The land compensation spent on construction, children schooling or purchase of a motorbike does not enable them to be change their career. And yet, the government had announced large vocational training projects to ensure that villagers can land another occupation. Most studies carried out in the first generation of villages merged into the capital showed little impact of these projects of occupation shift for they're badly targeted and without financial means of support (Nguyen Van Suu).

b. Industrial parks and the announced death of subcontracting in a number of sectors

With the creation of industrial parks, a number of the clients have managed to scale up their production and seek to control a greater part of the production chain. For some managers of basket making industry, this system of subcontracting harbours many disadvantages, in particular the difficulty in controlling the quality of work, of raw materials used and of production deadline. Rather than sub-contracting the whole manual part of a product, they recruit young poorly trained and underpaid workers from remote provinces to carry out the entire production process under their control. This

phenomenon has spread since 2008, in the neighbourhoods of Phú Nghĩa and Đông Phương Yên and in the lacquer village of Hạ Thái. In 2004, there were still just a few large enterprises along the national road 6. By then, most of the production process took place at village households.

The large sized enterprises recruit hundreds of workers who weave, rub, varnish, carve out and put the final touches before packing. It is the beginning of “modern” industrialization in search of standardization and the first manifestations of the end of a system of subcontracting which employed thousands of villagers in this province for centuries.

Once the craft making zone operational in 2001 gathering the ten large enterprises of the village, it is expected that the bag makers of Kiều Kỳ village will lose their occupation to poorly paid workers from remote provinces, who work full-time in these new factories. The craftsmen are hesitant in landing a full-time job at the factory because that does not enable them to ensure in parallel the agricultural and house work and also because the wages are low. In addition, the owners of these companies give priority to recruiting a young labour force, trained on the job and who are not ready to claim their rights. Hardly is villager aged more than 35 recruited.

In fact, the whole principle of cluster is affected, and in particular the transfer of know-how within the families, the use of most qualified craftsmen and the flexibility of a system adapted to the seasonal variations of orders.

Conclusion

In the densely populated peripheral areas of Hanoi, fast changes in land use have been occurring since its recent extension. The integration of Hà Tây Province, the implementation of Master Plan for the development of the capital up to 2030, the large urban and industrial projects and the construction of a modern motorway network connecting Northern Vietnam to China and Hải Phòng harbour, demonstrate the government will to secure the means to put Hanoi on a par with Asian metropolises and to enhance urbanization amid the globalization.

However, the existing production system in villages of these over-populated peripheral areas is based on multiple uses of spaces and multi-activities patterns associated with irrigated rice growing, the mainstay of the Red River Delta. That production system which can nourish the population is at the origin of a process of an extremely active *in situ* urbanization which is characterized by rising concentration of residents and an activity diversification in rural townships. The improvement of living conditions in peripheral villages can be seen in the development of self-construction by villagers in every which way, sometimes illegally on the agricultural land, in the absence of the authorities’ approval to change land status.

Two logics clash in an unequal way: the large urban projects of private and semi-public property developers, set up with government support, are based on a zoning of areas (residential, industrial and entertainment areas) connected by a dense road network and the privatization of the various entities, a symptom of the government deficiency in managing them. This future “modern” capital eager to attract foreign investors and to meet the demand of the middle class by offering them living conditions of international standards barely fits its rural and densely populated environment.

Thus, new ‘global spaces’ exist side by side with ‘local spaces’ (McGee, T., 2009)

On the opposite side, a series of village initiatives, badly coordinated, not recognized by the authorities - the rural areas being labeled as passive and undoubtedly for that they have local government with extremely weak powers – seek to make up for the lack of attention to the rural population and to meet the increasing need for residential and productive space and for facilities provided by the provincial government. Unplanned and very individualized, this urbanization at “low price” (Denis E., 2006), or “invisible” (DiGregorio Mr., 2003) suffers from many management dysfunctions and deficiencies. The environmental issues caused by concentration of badly equipped, badly managed craft and industrial enterprises have been raised.

The diminution of agricultural area will not only cause employment problems and but also increase the food cost of villagers. The concreting of ground and the disappearance of agricultural land will exacerbate floods and this occurs in spite of the expectations of the Master Plan to maintain many green areas, which can hardly be fulfilled. The clearance of agricultural land in the villages where large development projects will be established is likely, in the short run, to create considerable social and spatial gap in this new patchwork, the result of the city being split into several centres, if local people do not manage to change their careers and to benefit from part of land rent.

The liberalization of land use thus rings the knell of the promotion of rural industrialization policy as initiated in the craft villages clusters, in spite of its employment and production capacity. Are the withdrawal of government from rural development and the sale of land at low prices to private property developers - the majority of them being foreigners, the price to be paid so that Hanoi can rise to be on a par with the world’s capitals?

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INFLUENCE OF URBANIZATION ON THE LIFESTYLE OF ETHNIC GIAY IN HOP THANH, LAO CAI CITY

Lê Thành Nam*

The urbanization in the Southeast of the mountainous Lao Cai city is not as massive as it is the case in other plain cities. Still, there are complicated and pressing issues that arise, especially after the establishment of Lao Cai city pursuant to Decree 195/2004/ND-CP of November, 30th 2004 by the Government. In 1960, Lao Cai had 1 “thi xa”-borough (under the Vietnamese administration, province was split in districts and towns or boroughs) and 2 “thi tran” - district towns (district was further divided in district town and communes) and now it has 2 boroughs and 10 district towns. The urban population percentage has increased from 3% to 17% in this period. The most typical change is the influence of urbanization on the ethnic Giay community in Hop Thanh Commune.

Each community has its distinctive geographical, social and cultural characteristics, which form their typical response to the influence of urbanization. There have been some research work and articles on the influence of urbanization on the lifestyle of urban people in Lao Cai, however, most of them did not go down profoundly and specifically to communities. The article “A Look at folk life in some northern mountainous cities” written by Ph.D. Tran Huu Son, Director of Culture and Information Department of Lao Cai is an example. In this paper, the author would consult representatives of the ethnic Giay in Hop Thanh to find out the changes in their life under the influence of urbanization. It is possible that urbanization penetrating their villages has been making specific changes as follows:

- Breaking the community cohesion;
- Changing individual behaviours towards family, community and society in a more pragmatic way;
- + Reducing the authority of prestigious people in the village such as village patriarch, head of the family and family superiors on other family members.

I. OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH AREA

Lao Cai City is a city of Grade 3, which was established pursuant to Decree No.195/2004/ND-CP by the Government in 2004 on the basis of merging the two

¹Lao Cai Culture, Sports and Tourism Department.

districts, Lao Cai and Cam Duong, with 17 administrative units (12 urban communes and 5 rural communes). The total area of the city is 221.5 km² with a population of 100,225. Lao Cai has the Lao Cai - Hekou International Border Crossing, which is an important trading place between North Vietnam and South China. The Lao Cai city on the utmost border is an important gateway of Vietnam's market to the Southwestern and other inland provinces of China.

Hop Thanh commune is located 18 kilometres to the south of Lao Cai City, with hilly terrain and an average elevation of 980 metres above sea level. It has an area of 2,703 hectares with 766 households and 4120 residents¹. It is the habitat of four ethnic groups including Xa Pho, Tay, Giay and Kinh.

Giay people in Hop Thanh live in 4 villages: Kip Tuoc 1, Kip Tuoc 2, Kip Tuoc 3 and Coc Cai with 181 households and 982 residents, making up 24.21% of the total population of the whole commune. As farmers of wet rice cultivation, they often choose flat and near-water source places to set up the village. Each village of Giay people, normally, includes 40 to 50 households living together and independently, without mixing with other ethnic groups. Before 2000, Giay people here lived mainly on rice, cassava and corn cultivation. The traditional culture that they preserved was imbued with their ethnic identity. Their behaviours towards the family and community were straightforward, and towards nature friendly and harmonious. However, since being merged into Lao Cai, their life style has been influenced by urbanization which is not massive but very complicated.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF URBANIZATION ON THE LIFESTYLE OF GIAY PEOPLE IN HOP THANH

1. In family relationship

1.1. The role of head of the family

Traditionally, like other ethnic minorities in Lao Cai, the head of Giay family is male. The head has an important role as a bread-winner of the family and decides such major things in the family as agriculture; weddings; new house building; funerals; etc. A Giay people proverb has it that: “Ba ghi bỏ tý đấ sị nả”, which means “Ten big masses of upland rice field are not as good as one piece of wet rice field”. There are two ways of understanding. The first one gives prominence to the value of the wet rice field because its productivity is higher than that of upland rice field²; the second one is the

¹Survey statistics by Hop Thanh People's Committee in 2007.

²According to “Some practices and customs of the Giay people in Lao Cai”, author San Chang, Ethnic Culture Publisher, 2003, page 89.

implicit comparison, which enhances the role of men. Here, men are considered a piece of wet rice field, while women are regarded as a mass of upland rice field. All the things are decided by the head of the family and no one can do differently.

In production activities, men are main workers undertaking heavy work like plowing, pulling timbers to build houses, doing the slash-and-burn to prepare rice field and starting a rice-growing season.

Currently, the man husband remains in the position of the head of the family, but his role and influence on other members has changed. The right to decide major issues in the family is not only of the head of the family but also other members. Statistics from Kip Tuoc 1 and 2 clearly indicate the situation:

The right to make major decisions in the family

No	Person to decide major issues in the family	No. of households	Percentage (%)
	Husband	10	50
	Wife	7	35
	Other members	3	15
	Total	20	100

Source: A survey in Hop Thanh Commune – Lao Cai City

The figures clearly show that today, the right to make decisions is not purely practiced by the husband but it is shared among the wife and other members of the family. As many as 10 out of the 20 interviewed households said that the husband makes decisions (50%), while 7 said that the wife re-decides (35%) and for the rest (15%), the decision is made by other members. This is the dramatic change in the family; the roles of men and women have changed for the better. This is confirmed when 10 households were deeply interviewed, 90% of them agreed that inequality between men and women reduces significantly.

1.2. The wife in the family

Formerly, the wives held finances in Giay families; they balanced and regulated spending. They managed wealth that their husband and family made. In the traditional extended family, women worked hard all year around. They had to get up at 4 a.m. to cook rice, feed livestock, and prepare water for parents-in-law washing their faces.

After having breakfast, they went to do farming, or went to the forest to pick vegetables. In the evening, before going to bed, they had to bring water for their parents-in-law to wash their legs. When the family had guests, they were not allowed to go to bed early. They might have to wait until her husband or father-in-law got drunk and went to bed. They would not go to bed after they did the clean-up.

Today, the position of Giay women has changed, particularly after their villages were merged into Lao Cai city. They do not have to take charge of all chores themselves as they used to, but with the help of other family members. Of the 10 with whom in-depth interview was conducted, 8 said that “men also do the housework such as laundry, child care and cooking to help women”. The work that Giay people used to consider for women only is now readily undertaken by men. When being asked: “*Are you willing to help your wife do the housework?*”, 90% of the interviewees respond, “*if my wife is busy doing other work or something else, I’m willing to do the housework, because if I wait for my wife to come back to do, I will not have dinner to eat till the evening ...*”. Apparently, men are fully aware that they should share the housework with women so that women have time to do other things. Statistics of the survey also show that 100% of the households said that women can do men’s work such as plowing and chopping wood, etc., except for too heavy work like pulling timbers from the forest to build houses.

The number of nuclear families increased dramatically, before the year of 2000, it was 7%. It jumped to 41% in 2008; 70% of the surveyed families do not have third child so care conditions for the children are better. The relationship among family members is closer and more democratic. All the of the families interviewed said, “*Today, the economy is not too tight, so parents can take better care of the children ...*”. Thanks to access to the various channels of mass media, there is a change in the way of addressing between children and parents in school and society. Formerly, when talking with parents, children call themselves “cu” which means “I”. At present, they change into “luc” which means “child”. Communication and information work by relevant agencies has help raise the number of births at commune clinics to 78% of the total births in the commune.

2. Relationship in clans and communities

2.1. The role of prestigious people in the clan

Families of the same clan, though, do not live together like other ethnic groups, the clan cohesion and the role of prestigious people in the clan has great influence on every family. Giay people have no concept of “the head of the clan”; only respected people with fairness, good business and morality are considered a reliable person like the head of the clan in other ethnic groups.

In case of a couple in loves, after informing the family and having their consent, the girl’s parents have to throw a meal and invite a respected person in the clan to the party and ask him to allow the young couple to get married. During the meal, the prestigious man does not decide the couple’s marriage, he only gives advice. However, his opinion is always appreciated by families and considered the standard. When the wedding is celebrated, the role of the prestigious person is shown clearly. He directs and supervises all steps in the wedding, inventorying wedding offerings. If he does not

agree on something, he will stand up to go home and then everyone in the clan will follow him, the wedding will be cancelled.

During funerals, the role of the prestigious person in the clan is extremely important. He decides how to organize the funeral, which wizard to invite, “Tao” or “Mo”, and for how long to pray.

When building a new house, the landlord takes initiatives to invite prestigious people among whom the first person has to be the prestigious person in the clan. He will decide how to do well. Others will contribute their ideas but most of them will support his decision.

From 2000 up to now, the role of the prestigious person in the clan has not been as important as before. All of the 20 households in the villages of Kip Tuoc 1 and 2 affirmed: *“Now, the head of the family still asks the prestigious people for their opinions on major issues in the family, however, it only for the sake of formality...”*.

2.2. The role of the council of village elders and community cohesion

Giay people have a tradition of respecting the elderly who are called for and involved when the family, clan or village has big issues. However, if it is the issue of the family, their opinions are not decisive ones. The prestigious person of the clan has the greatest authority for the whole clan. The council of village elders only decides major issues of the village community such as: forming new villages, building new roads, organizing festivals, etc.

Today, under the influence of urbanization, villagers are too busy to participate in the festivities of the village. The number of people who can't participate is increasing. As of 2003, the festival “Long Tong” (Starting the field work) of Giay people in Hop Thanh was no longer held. Meanwhile, in other places which are not affected by urbanization such as Giay people in Muong Hum and Ban Vuoc in Bat Xat district still celebrate this event annually and it has great response from residents. Due to the absence of the village's festive activities, the community cohesion is not as close as it used to be. Formerly, if any family has problems, other families and the entire village community come to visit and provide both physical and mental help. Today, 9 out of the 10 households interviewed said, *“Helping families with problems is not as voluntary as before, it will not be the case unless the village head and commune authorities make a call to the community. Only siblings are willing to help...”*. The way of thinking of juveniles and adults aged from 15 to 30, once again, confirms this. When being asked about the criteria to choose friends, 18 out of 24, which accounts for 75% of interviewees said, *“We make friends when getting along with each other, even in the same village, if we do not like each other, we will not make friends”*.

Obviously, after becoming city citizens having wider access to the outside world, villagers find their relationship changed and the community cohesion fading away

and prone to be broken. The social relationship, which formerly was the relationship among the members of the community, now becomes the relationship between people in society.

3. Influence of urbanization on Giay people's behaviours at work

Giay people live mainly on wet rice and corn cultivation. Wet rice is treasured by Giay people because it meets the basic needs of food for humans. Rice cultivation techniques of Giay people include such steps as seed sowing, soil preparing, young rice planting, tending and harvesting. Giay people choose flat fields, near water sources. Though local rice and corn varieties are resistant to natural extremes and pests, the yield is low. With the traditional methods of cultivation, the average yield of rice is 70-80 kilos per "sao" (a North Vietnam measurement unit equal to 360 square metres), and corn is 140-150 kilos.

When Hop Thanh commune was merged with Lao Cai city, Giay people had chance to access and apply science and technologies in agriculture, rice yield increased to 200 kilos per "sao", and corn 250-300 kilos. The growth of population (in 2006, the population was 4120; by the end of December 2007, 4270) and the dwindled cultivation area have resulted in people leaving for new employment. From 2006 to the end of September 2008, the whole commune had 70 people working in two enterprises, Lan Anh Co., Ltd. and the 304 Company of the military located in the commune. Their average salary of VND 1.2 million to 1.5 million per month per person brings an income four times¹ larger than that from farming. Households with people in these companies are better-off and rich, there are no poor ones. This also contributes to reducing the number of poor households in the whole commune in 2008 to 204, compared to 334 households in 2007. It is important that there was a change in the awareness of employment of Giay people. All of the 20 people who were interviewed said, *"any occupation that brings high income will do, it's not necessary to do the farming as our ancestors did in the past. However, doing other jobs such as workers requires qualifications..."*.

There are plenty of people at working age, which accounts for 65% of the total population of the commune. Enterprises located in the commune only meets about 14.5% of employment demand of the inhabitants. The remaining 85.5% of people at working age are unemployed. The biggest difficulty of these people is that they do not have professional qualifications. However, if they attend training courses, they will get trouble in understanding the knowledge². Giay people in Hop Thanh have not adapted to these changes brought about by the urbanization.

¹Results of the economic survey on 20 households in Kip Tuoc 1 and Kip Tuoc 2 villages in August 2008 show that the average per-capita income is VND 400,000/month.

²A survey of 50 people at working age in Hop Thanh shows that 40 people or 80% have primary education.

4. Influence of urbanization on Giay people's behaviour towards the environment

As Giay people live near sources of water, which brings life to humans and development of rice, water is highly appreciated. This is also a reason why Giay people worship animism rather than theism. Giay people in Hop Thanh, as well as in other villages in Lao Cai worship two kinds of deities, which are “thu ty” (God of the soil) and “Sru puong” (the God of the land) or “dong xia” (God of the forest)¹. Every year, the Giay hold regular and solemn ceremonies dedicated to these gods. Similar to the Ha Nhi ethnic group, Giay people also have the forbidden forest (dong cam) and the divine forest (dong xia). They select a big stump or a big rock in the forbidden forest to place an incense-burner. Within these areas, villagers are not allowed to do anything impure or to do the farming. Those who violate this regulation will be punished by the God and severely fined by the village. On the day of offering service to the God of Forest, a prestigious person of the village (village elder) will reiterate those regulations, taboos and the work to be done in the coming time such as building roads, digging ditches, protecting the forest and grazing animals, etc., among which forest and water protection and such taboos as deforestation and forest burning are always strictly observed. Thus, it is traditional for Giay people in Hop Thanh to be friendly with the environment. In their living area, forests and water resources are very well protected; deforestation and water pollution are nowhere to be found.

However, in recent years, urbanization has adversely affected the environment of Giay people in Hop Thanh. Every day, smoke and dust of trucks carrying raw materials for factories located in the area and industrial waste substances make the environment more and more polluted. The sense of environmental protection of Giay people is being disregarded. Villages still hold annual services in honor of forest and soil gods, however, the belief has faded away. There are 8 out of the 20 interviewees (40%) replying that, “*we have not participated in the village's god services for 2 years because of being preoccupied with business far away*”. This has never happened before in tradition of Giay community in general and Giay people in Hop Thanh in particular. Agricultural land is contaminated by the high concentration of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. The area of forest land and forest cover is reducing dramatically. In 2006 the agricultural land area was 1476.04 ha; in 2007 it fell to 1453 ha only. In recent years, flash and tube floods have continuously occurred with ever-greater damage. Destroying forests for house-building timber and firewood has gone unabated. The taboos that should be honored upon going into the forest have gradually faded away.

¹“Some practices and customs of the ethnic Giay in Lao Cai”, author San Chang, Ethnic Culture Publisher, 2003, page 313.

5. Influence of Urbanization on Awareness and Customs of Giay People

Since Hop Thanh Commune was merged into Lao Cai city, Giay people have had wider access to different information channels. Of the 826 households in the commune, 650 which accounts for 78.6% have a television set. However, information from watching television is not enough for residents to change their awareness to eliminate backward customs and update new information. As many as 26 out of 30 households interviewed that makes up 86.7% of total respondents said, *“The main aim of watching TV is watching films, after films finish, we go to bed”*.

There are chances to access information; however, low education makes it difficult for Giay people to acquire advances of science and technologies to apply in life and production.

Urban life has positive influences on backward traditional customs and practices. For example, such customs as not putting the dead into coffins and not burying them after 48 hours, high requirements for wedding offerings and making sumptuous worship offerings when people in the family are sick have ceased to exist. Child marriages account for 5% of the total, though there have been no consanguineous marriages in the commune since 2005. Most of male and young female do not wear traditional clothes any more, while only 30% of its population which are old and middle-aged females wear them.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Through this article, it's easy to see the influence of urbanization on the life of Giay community. The cohesion of community, village and family has become loose, which results in the diminishing role of prestigious people in the community. Instead, the relationship among family members is consolidated; they have more chance to take care of one another. Behaviours of members of the Giay community in Hop Thanh become more pragmatic. The awareness of employment changes into a way that more attention is paid to profits. However, low education level is the main barrier that prevents Giay people from acquiring advances of science and technologies and adapt to new society. From these theoretical points, recommendations are made as follows:

- Enhancing poverty reduction and hunger elimination to improve the living standards of Giay people and narrowing the rich-poor gap with people of the original Lao Cai city
- Opening vocational training courses and job orientation courses to young people of Giay community in Hop Thanh
- Exploring and promoting the local knowledge on forest and water preservation of Giay community to awaken their tradition of environmental protection
- Restoring and preserving community festivals in order to conserve cultural identity as well as promoting community cohesion to the most

- Opening training courses on health care, family building to a new lifestyle, and improving traditional customs.

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CULTURAL ASPECTS

PERIURBANIZATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON SOCIETY AND CULTURE

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In recent years, the industrialization and urbanization in Southeast Asian countries have been brought to new heights by both subjective and objective factors. In the region, Vietnam is thought to achieve fast development. In Vietnam, many industrial zones have been established, not only in long-time developed cities and provinces such as Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh, Binh Duong, Dong Nai and Hai Phong, but also in others such as Vinh Phuc, Quang Ngai, Ca Mau, Binh Dinh, etc. The establishment of industrial zones and export processing zones and urban restructuring has fastened the urbanization in Southeast Asia. Intensified urbanization on global scale has exemplified the mankind's advancement but also challenged international sustainable development.

Urbanization is a historical trend common to almost every nations and states in the world. However, due to different exterior and inherent causes, urbanization varies from nation to another and reflexes the uneven development as the law of mankind historical progress. In the pre-capitalist class-divided society, the production forces for the subsistence of society as a whole are farmers, of whom, as far as we are concerned, the majority were living in rural areas. This major labour force was the impetus for the development of society while the other classes almost made no contribution to the wealth of society. At that time, cities were established but served just as the gathering place of administrative agencies, the accommodation of the class and armed forces. In those cities, there was little trade. Handicraft workers mainly served the demand of the ruling class and, to some extent, religious needs. Cities did not play the role of economic centres facilitating inter-regional exchanges. Its share was extremely small comparing to agricultural production which was the major industry in pre-capitalist society¹.

However, along with the advancement of capitalism and the development of mechanical engineering, the social production focus was moved to the cities, total social product value soared continuously, and finally, total industrial production prevails over agricultural production. Meanwhile, urban population progressively increased and new classes were born. City population grew steadily to equal and exceeded those in the countryside.

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¹Pho Hien could be an example in this period. See: "Pho Hien City" – Scientific Seminar Proceedings, Hai Hung Department of Culture, Information and Sport, 1994.

Urbanization took place for long and flourished from the late 19th century until the end of 20th century. The following figures illustrated that progress. In the 1800s, cities with population of over 20,000 people just accounted for 2.4% of the world population but in 1850, this number was 4.3%. Within 50 years, urban population doubled. Nevertheless, it was not the common indicator of every area but mostly true to Europe and North America, where the top growth rates of the world were registered while elsewhere, people mainly inhabited rural areas. In 1900, urban population reached 9.2% of the global population. In 1950, after the world's two devastating wars destroying many cities (for example: in the former Soviet nations, Poland, Germany, France etc.) and in tandem with the development of capitalism and post-war recovery of economies, urban population constantly grew, making up 20% of the world population¹.

Urbanization happened not only in industrialized, developed countries but also vigorously in newly independent nations which were in the process of recovery and restoration. Urban population then made up 33% of the global population. To date, urbanization is happening in almost every country in the world due to the impact of economic factors and social policy. Urbanization, previously, took place in Europe and North America mainly, at present it is spreading in Asia, America, and even Africa. In Asia, South Korea, an industrialized developed country, experienced accelerated urbanization. In 1950, its urbanization rate was 18.4%. But 35 years later, in 1985, the figure reached 48.4% and in 2000 topped 86.22%, which made South Korea a good example for other Asian countries².

According to a World Bank's research, currently 37% of Africans live in the cities and this number will be over 50% in 20 years³. With the high growth rate of urban population, Africa is thought to have witnessed the fastest urbanization ever. Also in this research study, in 2003, 48% of the world population (approximately 3 billion people) lived in urban areas, 33% higher than 1990's figure. Until 2020 (about 17 years after 2003) 4.1 billion people (55% of the world population) will inhabit cities, in which 94% of this growth concentrates in developing countries⁴. In Vietnam, by Asian standards, urbanization is still at low level. In the early 90s of the 20th century, urban population made up just 20% of the national population. However, due to different local historical conditions, urbanization in Vietnam differs remarkably from area to another.

When urban population accounted for 20% of the national one, this figure in the Mekong Delta was over 17%, in Southeast provinces, including Ho Chi Minh City, 46%, which doubled the national ratio⁵. Until 2001, Vietnam urban population made up

¹Ngô Văn Lê, *Urbanization and raised issues* (typing version).

²Socio-cultural issues and Korean language, National University Publisher – Ho Chi Minh City, 2002, p. 144.

³World Bank, *Cities in the urbanizing world*, National Political Publishing House, 2006, p. 17.

⁴World Bank, *IBID*, p. 15.

⁵Nguyễn Công Bình and other authors, the Mekong Delta, *Development Research*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1995, p. 135.

25%, this figure in China was 37% and in Indonesia 42%¹. In 2003, Vietnamese urban population was estimated at 23 million and forecasted to increase by 1 million each year. At that growth rate, in 2020, it will be twice as much as the current figure². Under Asian criteria, Vietnamese urbanization remains at low level. In the early 1990s of the 20th century, urban population represented more than 20% national one. However, the urbanization differed from region to region due to historical conditions. Still, at that time, rural population made up nearly 60% of the Vietnamese population³. A United Nation's forecast on Southeast Asian urban and rural populations between 1994 and 2025 produced rather similar results. Accordingly, until 2025, 39.1% of the Vietnamese population will be city residents⁴. The United Nation's forecast might be incorrect. But it, along with our own anticipation, helps to work it out that urbanization in Vietnam can be slower than that in Southeast Asia, regardless urbanization quality. In light of economic growth, Southeast Asian countries have achieved remarkable breakthrough as compared to other regions. So how about urbanization process in our region?

The following table illustrates urbanization in Southeast Asia⁵

Year \ Region	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2025
The world	29.3	34.2	36.66	39.4	43.1	45.2	47.6	61.2
Africa	5.3	18.3	22.9	27.3	32.0	34.7	37.6	54.1
Europe	56.2	60.9	66.6	70.4	73.4	75.0	76.6	54.1
Asia	16.4	21.6	22.9	26.2	31.2	34.0	37.1	54.4
Southeast Asia	14.5	14.7	20.2	24.0	28.8	31.7	34.8	52.9
Singapore	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Brunei	26.8	34.4	61.7	59.9	57.7	58.8	59.0	72.5
Malaysia	20.4	25.2	27.0	34.6	43.0	47.2	51.2	67.7
Philippines	27.1	30.3	33.0	37.4	42.7	45.7	48.9	65.5
Indonesia	12.4	14.6	17.1	22.3	28.8	32.5	36.5	55.9
Thailand	10.5	12.5	13.3	17.1	22.2	25.4	28.9	48.6
Myanmar	16.3	19.2	22.8	24.0	24.8	26.2	28.4	47.3
Laos	7.2	7.9	9.66	13.4	18.6	21.7	25.1	34.5
Vietnam	11.6	17.6	18.3	19.2	19.9	20.8	22.3	39.0
East Timor	9.9	10.1	10.3	10.9	13.1	15.1	17.9	35.6
Cambodia	10.2	10.3	11.7	10.3	11.6	12.9	14.5	30.2

¹World Bank in Vietnam, *Urban Development Strategy*, issued by the World Bank, 2005, p. 5.

²World Bank, IBID, p 5.

³*Education and Times Newspaper*, Edition No 54, issued on 7/7/1998, in the article "Numbers on Vietnam population", there is a table forecasting Vietnam population until 2020 providing a detailed timeline: In 2005 urban population made up 27.017% of the national one, the figure will be 33.597% in 2010; 40.590% in 2015; and 47.817% in 2020.

⁴UN forecast on rural and urban populations for the period 1994 - 2025, recited from *Open migration in Binh Phuoc – Facts and solutions* (handed over in 2004), p.12.

⁵World Urbanization Prospects (The 1992 Revision). Quoting Phan Huy Xu, Nguyễn Kim Hồng, "Some issues on urbanization in Vietnam and Southeast Asia" from *Urbanization in Vietnam and Southeast Asia*, Ho Chi Minh City, p. 65.

The above table provides us with an overview of urbanization in Southeast Asia. Regarding the urban population indicator until 2005, Vietnam's urbanization level was low, just higher than those of countries such as Laos, Cambodia, and East Timor. This was one of the challenges to Vietnamese development. The 20th century witnessed aggressive urbanization and change in urban areas. While, from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, the majority of global population inhabited rural areas, in 2000 over 50% lived in the cities. The expansion of mega-cities beyond the political border has put the lives of the urban dwellers and millions of people in the vicinity in danger due to air and water pollution. Urban population surged tremendously. While it took London population 130 years to grow from 1 million to 8 million, Lagos (Nigeria's capital, Africa) population was forecasted to increase from 290,000 in 1950 to 24.4 million in 2015.

Urban population growth in developing countries mainly resulted from natural increase, high birth rate and migration from rural to urban areas¹.

While metropolises concentrated in the developed countries, formerly considered the symbol of civilization and advancement, from the 1980s and the 1990s of 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century, possibly in following years, metropolises have been emerging in developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The urban areas in the developing countries, due to various reasons (such as poor management, rich-poor gap between rural and urban areas, and consequences of colonialism etc.) have experienced all types of social issues (such as population overload, high unemployment rate, concentration of social and petty crimes etc.). However, all national resources (i.e. intellectuals, skilled workers) and wealth converge in cities (for example, in Vietnam, they are concentrated in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City), therefore, cities' potential equal or even exceed a nation's production capacity². Big cities, especially in developing countries, teaming with factories, are suffering population overload, insufficient and poor infrastructure with a large amount of slums and polluted environment which is damaging local life due to limited managerial capacity and investors' irresponsibility. Warnings against this are given in the mass media every day³ but not much substantial change has been seen. While it makes up just 10% of national population, Bangkok contributes 80% of Thailand's gross domestic product; Seoul production capacity equals that of Turkey as a whole; Sao Paulo even surpasses Poland in term of production.

Rapid foundation of urban areas has led to the emergence of various socio-economic and cultural issues (including employment, health care and education). In such developed countries as Japan, South Korea or the USA, the urban centres are

¹Nguyễn Văn Tài et al, *Rural-urban migration in Ho Chi Minh City*, Agricultural Publishing House, 1998, p. 84.

²Small and big cities in Vietnam contribute 70% of GDP. Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh devote 27.3% GDP though their population just accounts for 9% national one. World Bank, IBID, p. 5

³Mass media have covered news on waste situation in Venice (Italy), pollution in export processing zones, and industrial parks in Bình Dương, Đồng Nai, Bà Rịa - Vũng Tàu, and Long An provinces, at Lê Minh Xuân, in the Ba Bò canal. See *Tuoi tre Newspaper*, issues on 15th, 16th August 2008. Illegal discharge by Vedan company captured the headlines during a long period.

where living costs are often high, since real estate costs as well as service charges for people's daily life have been constantly rising, pushing middle-income earners to the countryside where service are more affordable.

However, there is an obvious fact that spacious, airy and well-equipped periurban areas are for the high-class while poorly-equipped areas are left for the poor¹. Taking into consideration the urbanization in Southeast Asian, East Asian and South Asian countries, particularly in Viet Nam, the process seems to make no difference. When the new modern towns are established in the periurban area, the population structure is changed consequently. Wealthy people would move from the centres to the countryside where airy and well-equipped towns are located, while poor people with low budget remain at the stuffy and crowded centres where the air is seriously polluted by the noise and the high density of travelers.

Urbanization mirrors national and regional economic development. When a country's urban population indicator is higher than the rural one, it should be considered to be at the more-developed stage, not less developed. Not any country in the world with the urban population indicator higher than the rural one could have low economic development. Low urban population percentage means that the agricultural sector remains to account for a large proportion of the national economy. A country with a dominant share of agriculture in national economy cannot be seen as a country with high economic development. Countries where farmers take up 70%-80% of the total population are considered as developing countries. Reality and forecasts show that by the middle of the 20th century, the percentage of people living in the rural area of Vietnam will remain at 60%. To fulfill the aim for Vietnam by the year of 2020 to become a substantially developed industrialized country, there remains a lot to be done, including the promotion of sustainable urban development. Among the cities of Viet Nam, Ho Chi Minh City has the fastest urbanization pace. In the 1990s of the 20th century, there was only 46% of the Southeast (including Ho Chi Minh City) total population living in the urban areas. The number was 63% for the Southeast and 83.5% for the city of Ho Chi Minh during the first years of the 21st century. Ho Chi Minh City represents 6% of the country's total population, yet accounts for 19.3% of the total national GDP and the city also has the highest GDP per capita in Vietnam (approximately 2,200 USD/capita/year). In this city, the percentage of rural population is low as compared to that of urban population (16.5% and 83.5% respectively), which is a lively portrait of local economic development. The rapid and sustainable urbanization process has contributed to the economic development and, vice versa, the dynamic economic development has led to rapid urbanization. Within more than 10 years (from the beginning of the 1990s – the 20th century to the first years of the 21st century), while the urbanization process in other regions remained slow, the urbanization pace in Ho Chi Minh City has accelerated to reflect the economic development of the city and also, obviously of the

¹For example in Atlanta, 20% of the population, mainly the white people, have moved to the suburban area I, which is more spacious and airy, while 65% of them, mainly the black live in the centre, of whom 50% live in poor condition. Refer to *Xira & Nay (Past & Present)* magazine Issue 29 published on 29th July, 1996

region. Dynamic and efficient economic growth takes place where rapid and sustainable urbanization occurs. By contrary, nowhere robust economic growth is recorded, having positive impacts on every life aspect of its people could urbanization be slow. The urbanization process of a country is directly proportional to its economic development and there is a reciprocal relationship between them.

Urbanization could be seen as an indicator for economic development and also an imperative trend towards modernization and civilization. In the common development trend of human history, urbanization is a direct result from social and production development. The establishment of cities, together with the modernization of urban areas has led to a strong development of production, bringing about tremendous, comprehensive and profound changes to national, regional and international development. What is noteworthy is that the faster production forces and socialization develop, the higher the urbanization rate, the faster establishment of new cities, the larger cities are and the higher the position of national economy is. However, when the socio-economic development and urban governance has failed to catch up with the rapid urbanization, various problems arise requiring solutions so that the urbanization process is relevant to the socio-economic development of a country, and the urban areas are a real momentum for the national economic growth. Also, it is this development that has made the economy better resist and recover more quickly from the outside contagious impacts of global economy (such as the financial crisis in 1997 with its huge impacts on the global economic development, causing uncertainties in a variety of Asian countries). Consequently, no country in the world wants to be the outsider of the mainstream – the urbanization process. However, the urbanization speed depends on the cultural tradition of each nation and state, so does the mitigation of negative effects of this process on the national development. There is no single pathway for any country in its urbanization process. Therefore, urbanization does not necessarily go side by side with industrialization (although industrialization is the motivation and the important element of urbanization), since it can be associated with commerce, trade and services. The reason is that most countries and regions on the eve of urbanization started from agricultural economic activities and with a rural population. During the evolvement process, each country and nation are controlled by different diachronic and synchronic impacts (endogenous and exogenous factors), hence their difference in the starting point and in the outcome of urbanization. As an irresistible trend of mankind historical process, most countries and territories are drawn into the urbanization process.

The urbanization process has a profound impact on every aspect of a country and a community. Its diversified impacts on the development of the world modern history have led to a variety of published research and studies into different issues¹.

¹Nguyễn Văn Tài et al, Free rural-urban migration in *Ho Chi Minh City*, Agriculture Publisher, 1998. Vietnam – Canada project, *Gender and poverty reduction*, Sociology Publisher, 2003. Vietnam – Canada project, *Collaboration in research and urban poverty reduction*, Sociology Publisher, 2003. *Urban poverty – lessons from international experiences*, National University Publisher – Ho Chi Minh, 2003. Many authors, *Flood and accommodation in Asian cities- experiences for HCM City*, Ho Chi Minh City General Publisher, 2006. Department of Rural Development of Ho Chi Minh City, *The integration itinerary of free migration into HCMC from the socio-economic viewpoint*, HCMC, 2005. Phan Xuan Bien (Chief author), *Building up urban culture in the process of urbanization in HCMC*, HCMC General Publisher, 2007. HCMC Institute of Sociology and the Urban People Magazine, workshop proceedings, *Urbanization in Saigon-HCMC from the historical and cultural viewpoints*, April - 2008. Other research works publicized recently related to the urbanization process in Vietnam and other countries.

Obviously, urbanization in the current context captures great concern of scientists and administrators. However, there remain issues which cannot be solved overnight but require long-term and careful research to find out relevant solutions to Vietnam conditions. Given the limits of a technical report in a workshop discussing various issues relating to the urbanization process, we hereby provide some issues as the initial thoughts on a vital issue of a process towards the future for the country's development. However, before raising issues relating to the urbanization process, it is necessary to give a definition on the term "periurban area". In the Vietnamese language, this term is used to refer to the peripheral area of a city centre. During the anti-American Resistance War, the battle fields around big cities were generally called the periurban areas to distinguish from the inner-city where sits the Saigon Government and the vast rural areas which were the active areas of the Revolutionary Force. This geographical naming was maintained by the Revolutionary force during war time. When the country was at peace, the term "periurban area" among the development strategies of Ho Chi Minh City, was also used to refer to the adjacent areas of the inner-city and the agricultural area where industry is still lesser in the economic growth. Some districts were seen as inner-city districts by the criteria that the inner city includes sub-province administrative units with a name of urban district or urban commune and the suburbs, rural districts and communes¹ (such as District 8, Tan Binh district, Go Vap district, Binh Thanh district, Districts 12, 2, 9, Thu Duc district). It is obvious that this naming was merely of administrative nature to define the direction for development of Ho Chi Minh City in the future. In terms of geographical and socio-economic development level criteria, these districts could be seen as periurban districts in its full meaning. These districts are located around the city centre and are the gateways to the city centre. They identify themselves as periurban, for example, upon introducing they say: "District 8 is a periurban district to the southwest of the city, bordering District 7 to the East, Districts 4, 5, 6 to the North, Binh Chanh rural district to the West and South. District 8 is the gateway to Ho Chi Minh City connecting the Mekong Delta via the rural districts of Can Giuoc, Can Duoc (Long An province) and Go Cong (Tien Giang province²)", or "Tan Binh is a periurban district located to the northwest of the city, sharing the North border with Hoc Mon (currently District 12), the South border with Phu Nhuan district, the West border with Binh Chanh rural district and District 12"³. And "Go Vap is located in the North and Northwest of Ho Chi Minh City, sharing the North border with Hoc Mon (currently District 12), the South border with Phu Nhuan district, the East border with district 12 and Tan Binh district, and the East border with Binh Thanh district"⁴". The periurban districts of Ho Chi Minh city as well as their counterparts in other cities of Viet Nam used to have a dominant share of agriculture within the economic structure. They are in a transitional process where agriculture is transformed to industrial production and services, and farmers to urban citizens. The urbanization process in these districts recorded the most impressive expansion and this

¹Nguyễn Thế Ba, *Urban construction and Development Planning*, Construction Publisher, 1997, p.6.

²*Ho Chi Minh City Self-introduction, Urban and Rural Districts in the Doi Moi process*, HCMC Publisher 1998, p.228.

³*Ho Chi Minh City Self-introduction, Urban and Rural Districts in the Doi Moi Process ...*, ibid, p.486.

⁴HCMC *Ho Chi Minh City Self-introduction, Urban and Rural Districts in the Doi Moi Process*, ibid, p.397.

is where “the village-type traditional culture and the urban civilization intertwine¹”. The identification of “periurban areas” only carries a relative meaning. Urbanization is currently the common trend of every developing country where the process occurred at a very slow pace in the previous centuries. However, the urbanization process has not only positive impacts but also negative ones on every aspect of society. So what are the problems arising during the process of periurbanization? There have been numerous thorough studies on this issue, providing warnings against problems at the macro level but also the micro level down to specific details. We suppose there are several issues which need to be addressed during the rapid urbanization process now taking place all over the country. In this paper, we focus on to two key issues.

The first issue which has influence on the steady and sustainable development of the urbanization process is food security. Urbanization is associated with the establishment of industrial zones and export processing zones and the population growth in big cities, and as a result, the decline in the farmland area, while food demand is on the rise. According to a study, during the 1975-1996 period, most of the districts in the countryside had seen farmland dwindle (the 1986-1996 period saw the annual cultivable area dwindle and agricultural production shrink)².

Between 1995 and 2005, annually Ho Chi Minh City lost 1,150 ha of farmland, which was converted into industrial parks, new towns and other service facilities such as parks, schools, entertainment centres, golf courses, etc. The *Sai Gon Giai Phong* (Liberated Saigon) newspaper run a series of feature stories, entitled: “How many golf courses will there be in Ho Chi Minh City?” published on the 6th, 7th and 8th of October, 2008, disclosing information about the building of golf courses in the city in recent years, accordingly, by the year of 2007, a total of 13 golf courses were planned to be built in the city. In District 2, District 9, Tan Binh district, Binh Chanh district and Cu Chi district, there were by early August, 2008 6 golf course projects approved with a total area of 1,262 ha³. Thanh Nien newspaper recently reported that there are 144 golf course projects (not to mention the licensed ones). According to the Ministry of Planning and Investment, there are 13 projects that have been licensed, 8 that have been initially approved, and 113 projects that are part of new town or tourism resort projects. The total land area used for these projects is 26,170 ha, 8,000 ha of which is designated for golf courses. The area of farmland used for the construction of golf courses is nearly 6,000 ha, in which over 1,630 ha is rice-growing land⁴. Also according to Thanh Nien newspaper, similar change to farmland happens in other localities, in the process of economic restructuring. Annually, the country loses an average 50,000ha of high-quality farmland for various purposes and this explains the ever-dwindling area

¹Tôn Nữ Quỳnh Trân, *Village Culture Faced to Urbanization Challenges in Ho Chi Minh City*, Tuoi Tre Publisher, 1999, p.12.

²Nguyễn Thị Thủy, *The regional urbanization process in Hồ Chí Minh city from 1975 to 1996* (Cases of Districts 8, Bình Thạnh, Tân Bình, Gò Vấp), Ph.D historical thesis, 2004, p.76.

³*Sai Gon Giai Phong* newspaper, Thursday, 21st August, 2008.

⁴*Sai Gon Giai Phong* newspaper of the 6th, 7th and 8th October 2008.

of farmland¹. In a technical report presented at a workshop entitled: “Human security in the Southeast Asia”, mentioning food security and social security observed from the Mekong River Delta, the author has provided noteworthy data. Accordingly, “since the year 2000, over 40 industrial zones have been established in the Mekong River Delta occupying a total area of 10,500ha, and within the next 4 years, at least 40,000ha of farmland would be used for this purpose. The whole delta is planned to have 123 golf courses with a total area of 15,200 ha converted from farmland. Long An province particularly has 3 golf courses, taking up 720 ha of farmland. In Hau Giang, there is a golf course project with an area of 232 ha. An Giang also plan to transfer 17,740ha of farmland into non-farm land (industrial and urban land) by the year of 2020. By 2020, Long An is projected to transform 30,000 ha of farmland into industrial land”. Also according to the report, in addition to farmland being converted into industrial and urban land, a large area of rice-growing land would be transformed into aquaculture¹. However, the point is that, facing difficulties in finding market for fish and shrimps, farmers would want to transform aquaculture area back to rice-growing acreage, which is not simple at all, since the land has been contaminated with salt and it is hard to recover.

The situation of agricultural production in the Mekong Delta provinces in recent years partly reflects the overall picture. The above data may not reflect the situation of agricultural land conversion in the whole country but at least the trend is that farmland is seen dwindle not only in big cities, where the urbanization process accelerates, but also in other areas. The dwindled area of farmland may be offset by high crop yield through the application of high scientific advances but all have limits. If this situation goes on, can we assure that in the future we have enough food to feed over 100 million people, a likely benchmark in the near future while remaining a rice exporter? As we have quoted the predictions by international organizations on the situation of urbanization in Southeast Asia, urbanization here is slower than in other regions in the world. Up to 2025, there will remain 6 out of 11 countries in Southeast Asia, where people still live in rural areas. Given the natural hazards (such as Nargis storm in Myanmar), food security can become a crucial issue for any country. In world history, and also in Vietnam history there are many lessons for us to think over the conversion of agricultural land, causing serious social and economic implications. For example, the focus on the wool industry in England, in the sixteenth century, resulted in the huge flock of sheep, leading to many cultivating areas shrinking and farmers having no arable land. A terrible famine took place as a result. Or in Vietnam, at the time of Japanese fascist’s occupation, the policy of replacing rice with jute led to the reduction of agricultural land and a terrible famine with millions of farmers starving in the Northern Delta. In the 90s of the twentieth century, during the economic crisis, though localized, the world witnessed the serious impacts over people in areas hit by the crisis. The July 1997 financial crisis made people and governments in Southeast Asia understand the truth, which is different from other philosophies existing in consumer societies that people may lack many things

¹*Thanh Nien* newspaper of the 7th and 10th September, 2008.

such as television sets, refrigerators, cars, high-rises, and luxury facilities but must not be in lack of food – a basic need of everyday life like air and water. Shortage of food has caused social turmoil. People illegally broke into Chinese stores to loot food. Or in the early months of 2008, the hiking of food price in many countries around the world became a “tsunami” threatening the stability of the world. The food crisis has caused riots in the Philippines, Haiti, Cameroon, Indonesia and Egypt. The great social upheaval in Haiti made the government which could not satisfy the demands of its people collapsed and replaced by another. The fast rising food prices in Vietnam in a short period of time beginning in late April and early May 2008 caused panic in society. Fortunately, due to our food reserves and Government in-time intervention, turmoil has been avoided but the price hike’s implications still be seen in the subsequent months. Once the output of food (rice, corn, etc.) decreases, government of producer country can impose food export restrictions, this will result in uncertainty for the other importing countries which are in need of food, but have difficulty in food production. Uncertainty of a country or a region may affect others and make the situation more complicated. Reducing the area of agricultural land not only impacts on food security but also causes other social upheaval. Dwindled agricultural land will affect farmers, who are closely associated with their village life and agricultural land for generations. When there is no agricultural land and they are not prepared to adapt to a new life without arable land, they become unemployed on their own land. They are not able to switch their careers. To make the matter worse, technical infrastructure which is built to meet the demand of an agricultural society is not geared to the new situation. In the countryside, the challenges in daily life of landless farmer families will not only be food or clothes but also illiterateness, poverty and other social evils. Increasing rural exodus causes the number of day labourers in precarious situation in cities to rise. Social problems typical to rural areas will also move to urban areas, putting more pressure on cities already in trouble with their own problems.

Previous analysis shows that food has crucial role in all communities. Food security is an important issue not only for a single country, but also for the whole region, and the world at large. That’s why attention should be paid to food security, together with other priorities for development. Once agricultural land has reduced, in the absence of a policy to promote agricultural production and increase yields of crops and livestock, food output will fall. The seeds of social unrest are likely to grow if food security is not guaranteed to meet basic needs.

The second issue, in our perspective, which should receive attention in relation to periurbanization and its impact, is the changing of culture of suburban villages in the process of urbanization. As mentioned above, the creation of industrial parks, export processing zones and urbanization has resulted in dwindled land for agricultural production in different localities, including the suburban Ho Chi Minh City (even traditional craft villages). The process of urbanization has led to the transformation of rural areas and suburban areas into urban areas unfamiliar to rural areas. The transformation takes place in every aspect of residential life, which can be observed. Economically, this is a transformation from agricultural economy into that of industry,

handicraft, commerce and services; in term of landscape and the environment this is the transformation from rural landscape into urban one; culturally this is the transformation of rural culture - the traditional craft village culture – into urban culture, etc.

Changes in the fields of economy, environment, culture, etc. have already been mentioned in a number of works published over recent years¹. Urbanization is a long process, dictated by different factors. It is impossible to create changes overnight in accordance with a certain model. Observing the process of urbanization in the world, in Southeast Asia and particularly in Vietnam where the limitations of technical infrastructure (possibly social infrastructure) are a problem, and are yet to be resolved, gives us a more objective perspective. The historical legacy and the inconsistent development of urbanization is everywhere to be seen as a problem which shall not be resolved as soon as desired. To urbanize suburban areas, under the cultural perspective, is a process of cultural transformation from village culture into urban one. The culture has its own rules, time rules (diachronic) and space rules (synchronic)². The transformation of traditional village cultures in suburban areas also complies with such rules. For a resident (an individual), it can be easy to quickly adapt to the new cultural environment. But in relation to a community, the process of transformation may occur in various dimensions (thus various scenarios). A propensity, born out of fears that urban culture will overwhelm rural lifestyle, which has been established as a norm and ingrained in rural people's mind, makes them allergic to urban culture and lifestyle. They reject and don't want to adopt urban culture and lifestyle. If they find that they are unable to resist, they will do what they can to limit the impacts or slow down the process. The elderly, who were born into a traditional culture environment and who have been used to the tranquility of the village, are likely to disapprove of new lifestyles and become the major force in the community to impede the accession of urban culture and lifestyle. The areas where changes are slow to be embraced are normally far from the urban centres or remote areas, where the impacts of market economy are not obvious. The second propensity is the adoption of urban lifestyle and culture at a "quicken pace". These cases usually occur in areas adjacent to the centre, due to the expansion of the centre leading to the rapid formation of industrial parks, export processing zones and new towns (for example Tan Binh district, Go Vap district, Binh Thanh district, District 12, etc.).

The appearance of industrial zones, export processing zones and new towns has broken the habitat of villagers, even forcing them to move to new areas (as is the case of Binh Duong), prompting a radical change in their life.

Urban culture and lifestyle pour in when residents are unprepared (or not well prepared) to acquire and this creates confusion, causing instability in their cultural life. Land disputes, unemployment (failures to change career), living-fast practice, social

¹Many authors, *Flood and housing in Asian cities – Lessons for Ho Chi Minh City*, Universal Publisher. HCMC, 2006.

²Dang Nghiem Van, *Multi-ethnic Vietnamese culture*, Education Publishers, 2007, p. 19.

evils, environmental pollution, etc. arise as reported by newspapers as illustrative examples. The third propensity is the neutralization of these two tendencies we have discussed. In this way, the transformation of rural culture and lifestyle to urban culture and lifestyle is neither at a slow pace due to stagnation and conservatism as in the first trend, nor “too fast” as in the second one. This is a process of transformation from rural culture and lifestyle into urban culture and lifestyle at a moderate pace (under control), closely associated with the process of economic and social transformation triggered by urbanization. The urbanization process makes the village (rural) culture as a systematic structure devoid of its economic and social base. Therefore, it fades to make way for a new culture and lifestyle - urban culture and lifestyle. However, as part of the law of evolution, urban culture and lifestyle was born not from scratch but inherit from previous cultural values and lifestyle. Although the structured rural lifestyle and culture (village culture) has been dissolved to establish a new lifestyle and culture, it remains as an ethnic cultural component and will not disappear completely. The positive factors of traditional culture will be retained and participate in the formation of new cultural values - urban lifestyle and culture in the new cultural environment. This process of development must comply with the rules of formation and development of ethnic culture for it always takes place in accordance with the time rules (diachronic) and the space rules (synchronic). Diachronically, the positive, suitable factors of urban lifestyle and culture must be the successor of Vietnam traditional culture - agricultural culture (civilization). Synchronically, this process must ensure the cultural transmission from generation to generation without causing cultural conflict between generations. This will facilitate the establishment of a lifestyle and culture which fit in the urban environment. In accordance with development trend, people tend to accept the inherited positive factors of ethnic culture while screening the new factors which fit in the new conditions and new habitats.

As a rule, urbanization is taking place with a greater scale and a greater intensity in the following years. No country which wants to escape poverty and backwardness is immune from this process. Each nation - state with its own historical, economic and social conditions will find its own way of development. Along with the urbanization there is a transformation from the village (rural) lifestyle and culture into the urban lifestyle and culture. For harmonious and balanced development, it is essential to identify an appropriate urbanization model. Urbanization in Vietnam tends to accelerate (as shown in the above table). But this process differs from one area to another. In the mid 90s of the 20th century, the urbanization indicator of the country was approximately 20%, and 17% in the Mekong delta, while in the Southeast, including Ho Chi Minh City it is up to 46% . The figure of 46% was equivalent to the average of Southeast Asia, such as in the Philippines and Malaysia. By the early twenty-first century, urbanization in the south eastern provinces keeps its quick pace, reaching 63% and 83.5% in Ho Chi Minh City¹. Meanwhile, the country’s overall index was just over the 20% (a very modest number). Many Red River Delta provinces such as Thai

¹Nguyen Cong Binh, *Ibid*, p.135.

Binh, Hung Yen and Ha Nam have the index of urbanization as low as below 10%. The process of urbanization in the Mekong delta provinces also took place slowly. Findings from our field trips to some provinces like An Giang, Can Tho and Soc Trang reveal that there remain a high proportion of people living in rural areas. For example, in Ben Tre province 8.95% of the population lived in urban areas in 2000, and 9.68% in 2003, whereas in Tra Vinh the figures were 13.17% and 13.90% respectively. By 2025 the urban population in our country is expected to reach 40% - a modest figure compared to other countries in the region. To some extent, the process of urbanization in our country is accelerating but is at its early stage. Being at the early stage of urbanization, the culturally dual characteristics are quite obvious. Village culture (agricultural culture) with the material culture and spiritual culture based on the agricultural economy which has major role in the community prevails in people's lives. But due to the changes to cultural space, along with its effects (for example villages become urban sub-district administrative units with the different resident structure and organization and different function from villages, with new residents bringing in new culture and lifestyles from outside, etc.) the village culture has transformed. Along with the changes to cultural space and structure, the urban culture has appeared and gradually taken root. This is a long process which takes place gradually without sudden mutation. Only when the urban cultural environment has completely replaced the village one, where high-rise buildings have replaced huts, the urban lifestyle completely replacing the rural lifestyle and farmers becoming urban citizens, can urbanization terminate. At the same time, we witness a process of new values adoption and cultural adaptation by the community. The process is very complicated. This is because what made up the traditional values of an ethnic culture is not easy to be replaced overnight and people have to go through a period of acceptance and adaptation, depending on specific circumstances². It is easily recognized that the embracing of new cultural values (lifestyle and culture) varies from generation to generation in a community.

The older generations who spent most of their life in the village cultural environment (agricultural culture) do not want to abandon the cultural values deeply ingrained in their mind. They are reluctant to give up traditions, but eager to preserve the village culture. Their resistance to change is so strong that they sometimes become radical and conservative. Many of them took part in the revolution, having their life on the verge. More than anyone else, they want changes to their life. However, facing the rapid urbanization trend, affecting not only the cultural space but also the village life, they develop a fear complex inside. They themselves want the true values of traditional culture back and influence others to do the same. They persuade people in their community to contribute to repairing and restoring local worshipping shrines such as communal houses and Buddhist temples, and to organizing festivals and setting up traditional music bands. In many clans, they play a key role in building and repairing village clan worshipping houses, writing family annals or teaching younger generations the cultural characteristics of the village. They also take part in many social activities,

joining trouble-shooting groups and many socio-political associations such as the Women Union, Elders Society, etc. to address complaints and settle disputes within the community or village, helping to promote the bonds among villagers. What the elderly people in the community do have no other purpose than trying to preserve the village cultural values. Meanwhile, the younger generations seem to welcome the new culture of urban life. Young people are those who receive education and have professional expertise, pursuing a better and self-reliant life. Furthermore, they are provided with information on lifestyles and cultures of different countries and territories through various means of media. They wish to integrate into the new urban life and catch up with the pace of urban life so that their ability can be recognized. The dream for a better life is the momentum for them to cultivate knowledge and professional expertise as well as acquire the new life and urban culture. The village culture and lifestyle, including its best values are no longer appealing to them. Under the current context of increasing pressure of housing, education issues, etc., young people in the countryside are encouraged to do stay in their homeland while taking other occupations than farming. However, a majority of countryside young people, once getting a job in big cities, do not want to come back to their homeland. Urban life with worries about employment, accommodation and family life restructuring to adapt to the new environment is certainly different from the rural life. Young people cannot preserve the village lifestyle if they want to successfully integrate into the urban life in big cities. They, especially the newly-wed couples, have to adapt to the new environment. Consequently, there is an increasing tendency among them to stay away from the traditional culture. Ethnically, culture is not an unchanged component. During the course of history, every ethnic group needs to be creative and able to absorb cultural values of other in the process of co-existence. This should be noted and emphasized otherwise rapid change can lead to cultural disruption.

Periurbanization influences the transformation in cultural life of communities. But this is not a homogenous transformation. There are some elements disappearing, others remaining or changing to adapt to the new environment. In Vietnam, cities have been founded long time ago but the size, number and role of these cities are limited. Urbanization in Vietnam, in its full meaning, has actually taken place during recent decades, especially since 1975. When urbanization is a must in the socio-economic and cultural development of any region or any nation, the urban area loses its limits and so does its space. Urbanization requires urban space to expand in line with city's function in integration and economic development. Therefore, periurban and suburban areas, so far the place of agricultural production are also engaged in this process. The most noticeable effect of urbanization on these areas is the changing landscape. Before urbanization taking place during the post-war years to the 1990s of the 20th century, districts like Binh Thanh, Go Vap, Tan Binh, etc were an area where agriculture plays an important role in all socio-economic activities of the people despite a contraction in the arable area"¹. At that time, "besides rice, people in the suburbs also cultivate

¹Le Hong Liem, Socio-economic development in some Ho Chi Minh City's surrounding districts from 1975 to 1993- Viewed from Go Vap district, Thesis of Philosophy.

other food crops like maize, cassava, vegetables and bean. Some families combined agricultural production with small handicraft and service activities. Animal husbandry saw development to some extent. Among livestock keeping districts of Binh Thanh, Tan Binh, District 8 and Go Vap, the latter was more successful with its blessed conditions¹. However, the farmland dwindled some years later due to rapid urbanization, so did the area of vegetables growing. In 1986, the vegetables plantation area of Go Vap was 2,184 ha, Tan Binh 1,686 ha and Binh Thanh 132 ha. In 1996, the number were 1,424 ha, 351 ha and 2 ha respectively².

The landscape has been changed with the dwindled farmland and the birth of new factories, high-rise buildings and more residential areas. Landscape underwent a radical change as the result of quickened pace of urbanization over the past few years. Landscape changes in Districts 2, 7 and 9, Go Vap, Binh Thanh, Tan Binh and Binh Tan give us an overview. Modified ecology and landscape is accompanied by other changes such as the establishment of new residential areas, whose settlement and population structure are different from what had been. Local population will include the indigenous people and migrants. Together with changes to ecology and landscape are those to cultural life. Research by Le Hong Liem on the socio-economic developments of Ho Chi Minh City's periurban districts from 1975 to 1993 and that by Nguyen Thi Thuy on Ho Chi Minh City's urbanization from 1975 to 1996 (cases of District 8, Binh Thanh district, Tan Binh district, and Go Vap district) have provided a clear picture of changes in periurban districts during the process of urbanization³. Physical changes such as those in accommodation, food, clothes, etc can be easily spotted. In terms of accommodation, in addition to the new private built houses on the rise, new apartment buildings like Mieu Noi, the Thanh Nien new town, Dinh Bo Linh residential area (Binh Thanh district), An Phu and An Khanh new towns (District 2) and Phu My Hung new town (District 7), which all are well furnished, not only help solve the housing issue but also bring a facelift to the city. The slums of the past have been replaced by high-rise buildings. Over the past few years, all districts of the city, especially the periurban ones, have had efforts to build more new towns carefully planned with functional sections, giving a new and elegant look to the city. Moving produce wholesale markets, and the policy to move universities, research institutes and hospitals to the suburban areas is likely to bring more change to the city landscape. However, parallel to the achievements, shortcomings and limitations has been seen. For example, the increasing inflow of migrants into the city has sparked social order and security issues and the sight of poorly furnished slums (8 people per square metre as reported by the media), resulting in environmental pollution and spoiling the urban civilization. Urbanization also affects the culinary and dressing cultures. The traditional dishes, associated to the lifestyle of people living in the city's suburban areas, have been changed over time. These suburban dwellers, formerly farmers, were attached to the fields and their economy is of self-sufficient nature as it is the case in

¹Le Hong Liem, *Ibid*, p. 59.

²Nguyen Thi Thuy, *Ibid*, p. 78.

³Lê Hồng Liêm, *IBID*, p.42-64; Nguyễn Thị Thủy, *IBID*, p. 120-146.

any other Vietnamese rural area. The products they made were destined to cater to the demand of their family or community. Now that farmland dwindles, they can no longer grow vegetables, raise fish or poultry by themselves. All the daily necessities are supplied by the market. Ready-to-eat foods which save them time and come handy become popular. The celebrations events in the family such as birthday, baby one-year anniversary or even death anniversary are now organized in restaurants with unfamiliar Western dishes. Dressing is diversified, with traditional dress losing its popularity in the community. The image of an elder in the traditional clothes in a festive or wedding event in the periurban area is a scarcity. Young people do not fancy traditional dress. Clothes come in greater variety of colours and designs to suit different ages, gender, and occupation or education level. A glance at a wedding anniversary can give us the overview of this mixture. Guests at the wedding party wear clothes with various designs and colours. Foods and drinks are no longer traditional and there is a common wedding menu at restaurants. Services are also different. The cultural hot pot seen at a wedding party speaks for the effects of urbanization on periurban people. Another change is the reduction of extended families while nuclear families are increasingly popular. Urbanization and the conversion of agricultural land into industrial parks have resulted in a reduction of farming households. Findings of a research conducted between 1986 and 1996 show a sharp drop in farming households in periurban districts. The number of farming households plunged by 1.7 fold in Binh Thanh district and 4.7 fold in Tan Binh district respectively. In the mean time, labour working in the agricultural sector also fell by 1.52 fold over the 1986-1996 period¹. With agriculture no longer playing the vital role in the area's economy and the demand for labour declining, family structure changes as a result. The extended families are taken place by the popularizing nuclear ones as a trend of urbanization which also means loosened family bonds. Each nuclear family becomes more and more independent economically and socially. Nevertheless, the traditional family relationship is not lost completely. The community spirits and thoughts among people remain and have new life in the new environment. Family members are still responsible for one another, helping others in troubled times or sharing happiness on festive events or sorrow at death anniversary. When people have the chance, they often pay cordial visits to family relatives to maintain familial bonds. The voice of elders, especially those of high social status is still respected. However, some traditional village rules are lost. The social role of the elder to some extent is no longer influential and their voice not always respected as previously. The emerging relationships in the urban life such as those in office, school, factory or company gradually replace the old ones (like the village bonds) once considered important in the community life. Although the relationship among people in the community is not the same as it was in the past, many campaigns to build up "civilized residential units" in the city and many social activities to help alleviate poverty, share the hardship with the vulnerable in the disaster-hit regions and to build houses for disadvantaged have helped create new relationships.

¹Nguyễn Thị Thủy, IBID, tr.117.

Elder people, especially veterans play an active role in settling conflicts among people, creating peaceful and friendly atmosphere for the community. Periurbanization also affects the community's traditional customs. A recently released study on the folklore beliefs in Ho Chi Minh City provides an overview of such changes¹. Under the current context, urbanization has contributed to simplifying traditional rituals, however, "the folklore beliefs remain popular, established and entrenched in people of different gender, ages, profession and ethnicity"². In Ho Chi Minh City, especially in the peripheral districts, worship shrines, temples and churches have been restored. The increasing number of worshippers and pilgrims to those places proves that urbanization does not result in the so-called "religion drying" or "religion fading". By contrast, the spiritual demand of the majority has been increasingly met. The State recognizing the legal status of some religions has helped to make people's religious life more vivid than in the past few years.

Urbanization has been exerting a considerable impact on the lifestyle and culture of peripheral citizens. Lifestyles and cultures, as other cultural components, are influenced by the synchronic and diachronic factors. Under the current context, attention should also be paid to globalization and international integration as synchronic factors beside others like economic development and population structure. Due to the limits of the report, those factors' effects on urbanization as well as on the lifestyle and culture of urban citizens cannot be elaborated.

Urbanization as a historical phenomenon is seen in most peoples and nation-state in the world. However, under the influences of economic, social and cultural factors, the urbanization process varies considerably from place to place and from part to part of the same people. Urbanization is the measure for economic development and an inevitable trend on the way towards civilization and modernity. However, if economic, social and cultural developments cannot keep pace with the rapid and large-scale urbanization, a lot of issues will arise. Solutions to those issues should be worked out to keep urbanization in line with the level of economic, social and cultural development of every nation or ethnic group. A lot of scientific research has been done on the urbanization's impacts on all facets of population life. Within the scope of this paper, presented at the scientific workshop, we only discuss two among various impacts of urbanization on the periburban areas: food security and village acculturation of the periurban areas in the urbanization process. Food security, the vital factor for stability and development, is a big global issue which requires greater attention from all countries. Social stability for development cannot be ensured without food security, which cannot come without the development of the agricultural sector, of which the two most important are farmland and farmers - the main labour force producing food. Changes in the village culture in

¹Vo Thanh Bang (main author), *Folklore Beliefs in Ho Chi Minh City*, Ho Chi Minh National University Publishing House, 2008.

²Vo Thanh Bang, *Ibid*, p.30.

the peripheral areas are the direct result of urbanization. The village culture has a long tradition engrained in each resident. Urbanization has changed the cultural life in all respects. This process should be analysed scientifically and objectively for appropriate solutions to preserve and develop the traditional culture's values and to screen and absorb the new cultural components with careful consideration in the context of urbanization and international integration. Any conservative or extreme behaviour would not do.

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ACCULTURATION IN PERIURBAN AREA – THE CASE OF HO CHI MINH CITY

Tôn Nữ Quỳnh Trân*

In the context of a periurban area of an urbanizing metropolis like Ho Chi Minh City in the period from the late 20th and early 21st century, culture cannot help undergo change corresponding to economic, social and lifestyle evolution. Ho Chi Minh City is a hot spot of urbanization. The urbanized areas spring up around the inner city. The periurban area has a low starting point of urbanization with agriculture being the economic mainstay, together with other non-farm activities like handicraft making and petty trading. Urbanization in that area is characterized by its non-continuity and high acceleration.

In this area, all factors of urbanization manifest themselves clearly. Supported by heavy investment, industrial parks crop up, infrastructure improves, the use of land changes from agricultural production to urban uses, the economy switches from agricultural to non-agricultural, the opportunity of employment attracts the exodus of migrants from rural areas, the rural lifestyle turns into an urban one, etc.

Of all these changes, this paper will discuss the periurbanization from a cultural perspective. This acculturation is a result of the process of periurbanization and conversely, it will impact on the periurbanization, marking a process of rural areas turning into urban ones and villages turning into streets.

Being a buffer zone between the hustling and bustling city and the tranquil countryside, the fringe embodies the Vietnamese culture with the village culture being an integral part of it beside other cultures such as marine culture, imperial culture, highland culture, etc.

The Vietnamese-style village culture is the fruit of a unique Vietnamese society, stemming from the rice-growing agricultural community, where the interests of a villager are closely linked with others of the village. In a Vietnamese village exists the wide range of social strata from scholars to farmers, handicraft makers and traders. There are a communal house called *Dinh* and the common worshipping place *Chua* – Buddhist temple as well as a school. All daily activities physically and spiritually take place within the boundary of a village.

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In terms of cultural materials, a village is often linked with the charming yet rustic landscape of winding village roads, graceful bamboo groves, flute sound, aged banyan trees and old architectures of the communal house *Dinh* and Buddhist temple *Chua*.

Urbanization drives humans to keep up with its pace, meaning wherever urbanization occurs, wherever people are urged to follow a new lifestyle and behaviour which are strange to their traditional, rural lifestyle and culture. In urbanization, how would village culture with richly imbued traditions change?

Urbanization in Ho Chi Minh City with its implications such as dwindling farmland, rising migrant population and irregular income have led to a social segregation, changed lifestyle and adoption of westernized culture, which have changed the traditional culture of Saigon people.

A traditional village in Ho Chi Minh City does not have all the elements of a typical Red river delta village structure with a banyan tree, a communal well, brick-paved roads and bamboo groves but it does feature the *Dinh* communal house, Buddhist temple, traditional square-shaped houses, lotus and water lily ponds, rustic water coconut palms or tile roofs hidden from green trees, etc, which all are symbols of the traditional village culture. With urbanization coming, these embodiments of a traditional village are disappearing. The premises area of the *Dinh* communal houses, Buddhist temples and old – fashioned houses diminishes, especially in areas adjacent to the inner city.

Vegetation, which is indispensable in the countryside and the city, is different in the two. Vegetation in the countryside is orchards bringing income and rice fields for food. The vegetation in the countryside feed people while vegetation in the city as greening improves urban life. Despite its different functions, it is indispensable in both. Greening in Ho Chi Minh City under the impacts comes in different size and shape. In the inner districts where urbanization occurred in the French colonial period and has long ago accomplished, greening has experienced several touches. The tree lines along the roads in District 1 and District 3 give the soothing comfort of foliage and flowers to the city dwellers. Meanwhile, in the newly urbanized areas where people are in a rat race and too preoccupied with building roads, bridges and factories, the roads are naked and void of trees, the embodiment of hasty urbanization. This shortcoming has been addressed partially into the first years of the 21st century as more residential quarters have planted trees alongside the roads.

The concepts that only when a stable living place is secured can the career develop and that a person is with its house in life and with his tomb in the other world is engraved in the mind of each of the Vietnamese. The house is the cradle of life, place of family reunion, the place where they return to celebrate the death anniversaries of a family member and enjoy the traditional holidays and probably the place of business. In the past rural Saigon, a house is often made up of 3 compartments with opening doors.

A traditional house often has two wings, which are roofed with “yin-yang” scaly tiles, rock foundation and with at least 48 pillars, sometimes up to 100 pillars, which makes the house airy and cool. The opening doors are popular in Hoc Mon. A saying goes that “Binh Duong cua hong, Hoc Mon cua rong” (In Binh Duong people, people build houses with side doors while in Hoc Mon the doors have openings - cua means door). The opening doors are ancillary doors which are rectangular in shape and have an opening made up of horizontal bars. The opening makes the house airy and ventilated. The other types of houses are the house built in a shape of a T letter (also called the J – character house, and the house of two parts in parallel with the rear being narrower but longer than the front, the extensions of which serve as the doors for family members only.

The house is usually surrounded by vegetation. People grow palms in the front yard and banana trees in the back yard. The arrangement of the house and its surroundings shows a philosophy of living in harmony with nature.

The structure and landscaping of such naturally harmonious houses seem no longer appropriate to an urbanized area. The property market does not afford such a type of housing occupying so much space but accommodating few people. It sounds a luxury at a time when an inch of land is worth an inch of gold as a Vietnamese saying goes. The property market, housing projects and urban sprucing projects do not even tolerate the old – fashioned but highly aesthetic houses, the embodiment of the old times. They are doomed to vanish to yield space to mega projects, the projects of breakthroughs, such as hi – tech parks, Thu Thiem apartment buildings, etc.



A traditional house surviving in Nha Be (34/14 neighbourhood 5, Nha Be town)



A frame of a traditional house with 8 wooden pillars at 18/9,
Neighbourhood 7, Nha Be town

Due to the changed premises, the structure of traditional house is smashed up. The house landscape with front yard and rear garden has changed to yield land to building roads, building rudimental flats for rental and selling. The traditional houses stand lonely among the newly built houses of mixed architecture. Losing the accompanying landscape, these houses become out of tune and are diminishing only to be replaced with the new houses that fail to inherit their traditional beauties. There still lacks a model of house which can remind of the traditional architectural aesthetics and which is friendly to the environment to don the urban area with the look of Vietnamese-style architecture.

In that chaotic situation, one can find out some factors deemed compatible to the new conditions. New materials, which are strong and durable, are used to improve the dilapidated houses, thus raising living conditions. There are scattered villas roofed with tiles with a bonsai garden in the front yard and surrounded by orchards. Can such flamboyantly roofed houses adorning the surrounding greening can be durable in District 3 to embellish the city?

The premises of the *Dinh* communal house have been trespassed on in terms of both design and landscape. The concreting and changing the design through restorations and repairs, the diminishing area have made the communal house heterogeneous, inconsistent and devoid of the air of antiquity. The same is true to the Buddhist temple but at lesser degree.

The economic transition from agriculture to non – agriculture has robbed the *Dinh* communal house of its important role. The urban *Dinh* communal house is different from the former rural one. The former *Dinh* communal house used to be the product of an agricultural economy, the place of holding magistrate courts for disputes in the village and the place of representing social ranking. Present-day *Dinh* communal house has lost such meaning and been associated with religious beliefs more than daily communal activity. With the communal house losing its original meaning, members of the community are no longer close-knit to it as they used to be. In some places, the communal houses lie humble among the high-rises of the urbanization times. Such a structure does nothing to impress the today urban new generation.

The design of land use plans and the high population density require the removal of cemeteries, the resting places of the deceased and this collides with the tradition that celebrates the building of “beautiful, permanent” houses for the deceased.

The conversion of farmland into urban land, turning it a type of commodity. The plots of farmland, which is cropped for harvest to serve worship occasions and thus is the common asset of the whole family or clan, are sold as valuable commodities. The family and clan bonds become shaky through land disputes, marking a significant change caused by urbanization to the national tradition, a tradition built on the fundamentals of individual families and clans. This is more so at families with shallow tradition.

The rise in the land price has affected the local traditional occupations such as horticulture, tobacco making, sedge mat weaving. The flower growing areas in Go Vap and Binh Chanh are moving further away from the city centre. Go Vap flowers are famous with 218 species and among them are tagetes, chrysanthemum, ixoria, hibiscus apricot, cock’s comb, cosmos, lily, kalanchoe, dahlia, bougainvillea, poisetia, rose, camellia, etc. These flower villages have long served the city and met a elegant demand of city dwellers and those in neighbouring areas but they are vanishing one after another due to urbanization. Go Vap is also famous for its tobacco. Villagers are both tobacco growers and makers, hence the village’s old name “*Xom thuoc*” meaning the hamlet of tobacco. This place produces famous high quality tobacco which has gone into a folklore poetry as follows:

It takes just a half of a Saigon betel leaf (to get addicted)

It takes just a puff of Go Vap tobacco to savor

In the tobacco cutting season, the worker brings the tobacco cutter to a rendez-vous where they chat and flirt each other while doing the chopping at the same time. Urbanization has put to death the tobacco making trade in Go Vap as streets take place of tobacco fields. A lifestyle is now the past.

In spite of the conflicts on the development path, urbanization as a situation of modernity has brought many things progressive to Ho Chi Minh City residents in cultural area.

Culturally, the urban life is positive in some ways. Although some popular dishes (based on local creatures or species) have become scarce due to ecological change, the traditional culinary dishes remain preserved and thanks to the introduction of new eating practices and hygienic standards, the culinary art has become more diverse.

Urbanization helps ease the gap in rural and urban dressing, bringing about more comfort in daily life while still promoting the traditional costumes - the women's close fitting long dress of "ao dai" and the southern traditional shirt of "ba ba".

Technological advances and modern conveniences brought by urbanization have helped improve the living conditions. More accommodation amenities are available and transport also improves.

Urbanization made a good match to southerner's typical "openness". City dwellers find it easy to tolerate migrants (in the past, migrants were called derogatorily the "outlanders"). With a broadened interaction, they are ready to embrace new cultural values.

Urbanization has partially emancipated women. In an urbanized environment, females and males are treated more fairly and patriarchalism is less severe.

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Urbanization – an economic, social and cultural change in nature – necessitates a comprehensive strategy with a focus on how to improve the living conditions on all aspects, making the urban area the place worth of living, working and resting for urban dwellers.

POLICIES

EXPANDING URBAN AREAS OR BUILDING NEW TOWNS

Nguyễn Hữu Nguyễn*

The seminar discusses urbanization in general and urbanization of fringe areas in Southeast Asia, so this paper will cover only the “urbanization of fringe areas”, discussing the definition of an fringe area, models of fringe urbanization and the difference between these models.

I. DEFINITION OF “FRINGE AREAS” AND URBANIZATION OF FRINGE AREAS

Geographically, the urban fringe is interpreted as an area surrounding an administrative territory of a city. So, there is no administrative boundary for the urban fringe and no spatial limit.

Socially, it is the rural area having a close and mutually economic, cultural and social relations with the city.

Therefore, the urban fringe is not necessarily the suburb of the city but can be further in distance depending on the direction. For example, the urban fringe of Ho Chi Minh City to the north includes Trang Bang of Tay Ninh, to the west and south Duc Hoa, Ben Luc and Can Giuoc of Long An, to the east a part of Long Thanh of Dong Nai. Outside the district of Can Gio is the sea, so there is no urban fringe there.

The urban fringe of Ho Chi Minh City has a radius of 50 km. A smaller city would have a smaller urban fringe. In other words, the urban fringe is proportionate to the city.

Urbanization is interpreted as the formation of a concentrated residential area of non – farm people making a living by engaging in industrial, handicraft or trading activities (fishing villages without farming activity are not called urban area). The formation of such a residential area can be spontaneous or planned. In other words, it can be a result of industrialization or population boom, or both.

Given the above mentioned definitions, this paper raises an issue: To urbanize a fringe area, it is best to expand the city or build new towns within an independent distance to the city but still inside the urban fringe. These two approaches share similarities and differences in terms of theory, functions, planning and design. I will refer to them one by one.

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II. EXPANDING THE URBAN SPACE OF HO CHI MINH CITY

In this case, the expansion can be spontaneous as urban sprawl or planned.

1. Spontaneous urban sprawl

This situation is resulted from the natural population growth and the massive migration into the city. The fast growing demand for accommodation for workers of industrial parks and working migrants have turned farming land near the urban area into higher-valued property. The landlord sells the land to developers and uses the proceeds to own a small business, which can be more profitable than growing crops. In no time, these areas become makeshift shelters for migrant workers, low-rent accommodation for manual workers, small business premises, storage areas and also villas for the rich.

Such areas are plenty in the districts of Go Vap, Tan Binh, Hoc Mon, Binh Chanh, District 6, District 7, District 8 and District 9. They share the following similarities:

- There have no pre-made planning for marketplaces, schools, clinics, sport facilities, landscaping, greening, transport and infrastructure. Urban planning often comes afterwards, so they are usually the ugly and unreasonably planned built-up areas.
- Due to the lack of architecture regulations, demarcation, even building permits, these areas represent as the melting pots of architectures. The naming of streets and numbering of houses are also uncontrolled. It is extremely difficult to fix what has been done.
- Economically, because the population of the spontaneous urban sprawl is made up work low – wage factory workers, migrants and locals who have abandoned their farming land, the economic activity is of small scale with small cafes, “Pho” soup restaurants, “Hu Tieu” soup restaurants, low – budget restaurants, groceries and even spontaneous marketplaces spring up right on the pavement.
- Socially, residents in these areas have no permanent residential registration. Some have not even registered temporary residence, forms KT3 and KT4 and this makes it difficult for the demographic work and economic administration. This is a fertile ground for unhealthy business practices and together with them, social vices. In terms of urban environment, the lack of pre-made planning has led to the deficiency in water supply. Residents drill for groundwater no matter it is safe to use or not. The collection of waste is not organized well. There is no investment in tree growing.

Spontaneous urban sprawl has taken place for quite some time in all directions of Ho Chi Minh City and is still going on in some areas. This practice reflects the different aspects of urbanization in Vietnam in general and in Ho Chi Minh City in particular.

- It reflects the lack of a clear – cut strategy for urban development. The administrators at macro level in the city have not envisioned all the aspects of urban development.

They should have anticipated that more labour coming into the city would mean greater demand for their accommodation. Because of short vision, they had not made building plans to anticipate such an urban sprawl.

- The spontaneous urban sprawl also reflects the “overheated growth” of the metropolitan economy while other aspects of metropolitan life have failed to catch up with it. Specifically, urbanization has not kept with up industrialization.
- Spontaneous urban sprawl itself is part of the urban expansion exercise but it “deforms” the city and leaves a “black blotch” on urban planning and architecture picture, which is difficult to cover.

2. Planned expansion of Ho Chi Minh City

This process took place later than the spontaneous urban expansion in Ho Chi Minh City but has shown great results. The expanded area under planning is the southern area, starting from the Kenh Te River. This area is low – lying, acidic and not appropriate either for agriculture or for industrial installations, so the city decided to make it a residential quarter. The area has several projects completed or now underway. The project completed first of all was the Tan Thuan export processing zone located close to the Saigon river, followed by the the East – West road (Nguyen Van Linh Boulevard), and the Phu My Hung luxury apartment buildings. The Saigon – Hiep Phuoc road has just been completed and is expected to facilitate other projects such as the Hiep Phuoc industrial park and port and other apartment buildings. It can be said that the South City has seen a face-lift and the most outstanding of all is its planning of modernity, aesthetics and environmental friendliness.

The second area is the East City where the Thu Thiem New Town is being built and this project has benefited from the experience of building the South City in terms of urban planning and architecture.

To the East and North, urbanization has been associated with industrialization. However, there is no unified planning and clear-cut building policies for these areas. Most of the city’s industrial parks are located in these areas, including Tan Binh, Tan Tao, Pham Van Coi, Linh Trung, Northeast Cu Chi, etc. There has been no planning for any construction serving workers working in these industrial parks such as accommodation, marketplaces, clinics, recreational facilities, etc. That is why locals living near the industrial parks have built small houses for rental to workers, creating lousy, uncomfortable and unhygienic residential quarters. Near the industrial parks have cropped up spontaneous open – air market places which are very dirty and uncontrolled in terms of pricing and food safety (there are marketplaces at 12 out of the 14 industrial parks). This is the common scene of urbanization surrounding industrial parks in the urban fringe.

In the expansion of Ho Chi Minh City, spontaneous or planned, the following problems are spotted:

- There has been a “disparity” in the process of urbanization among the areas of different direction. In the East and South, the built – up areas are residential while in the West and East, the built – up areas are industrial parks but there is no planning for residential quarters, so the living standards are low on all aspects.
- The residential quarters built up in the East and South are the models and experiences for the planning, design and building of others in the future. However, they also reflect the rich – poor segregation due to the high price of apartments such as those in the Phu My Hung town, which is dubbed the habitat of businesspeople and public officials.
- The expansion can help reduce the population density of the inner city and improve its transport and environment. However, the over-expansion can lead to a conurbation, then there will be an overload in terms of infrastructure, healthcare, environment and security, a problem which remains unsolved in other metropolises in the world.

III. BUILDING NEW TOWNS IN THE URBAN FRINGE

As I mentioned earlier, we can build new towns in the urban fringe as satellite towns or independent towns 30-50 km away from the original city.

If an independent city is built, it is necessary to study some issues concerning an independent city in a scientific way.

- First of all, clarify what makes it independent from the original city. Will it become a high – technology, farm processing or motorative town? What is its boundary and population scale?
- Second, identify the roadmap of building, resources, framework legislation and regulations on architecture and the environment for the new town.
- Third, plan the town centre, functional sections, technical infrastructure, roads and landscaping.
- Fourth, detail the planning and design of functional sections.
- Fifth, select technology and investors and then license the construction under the endorsed design.

If the new town is a satellite town, the procedure is almost the same except for some disparities as follows:

- In the first step, identify the distance from the original city, boundary and maximum population.
- In the second step, there must be roads connecting the town with the original city.
- Other steps are the same as the independent town.

IV. SELECTION OF URBANIZATION MODES FOR THE FRINGE OF HO CHI MINH CITY

The expansion of Ho Chi Minh City have taken place in the form of spontaneous urban sprawl and planned expansion. There have no satellite or independent towns in the fringe. If urbanization in the fringe is irreversible, the city should select a form of urbanization. Still, we should have a preview of the forms already in place or yet to come before deciding.

- The spontaneous urban sprawl is infested with so many problems as mentioned above, so it should never be chosen as a way of urban expansion.
- The expansion in the form of building industrial parks without planning for residential quarters, causing the state of deformed urbanized areas, which are not complete and not sustainable and so, this form of urbanization should be scrapped.
- Expansion by building luxury buildings only to cause social segregation should be reconsidered.
- All in all, it is best not to expand the city into a conurbation or urban agglomeration.
- Expansion by building satellite towns is good in that it can help reduce population pressure for the inner core but can raise transport pressure and cause problems with administration.
- Urbanization of the fringe by building independent towns with the population of less than 1 million will help ease the overload for Ho Chi Minh City and bring better living conditions. This form of urbanization is feasible as against others.

In summary, the urbanization of the fringe of Ho Chi Minh City can take place in the form of expansion of the original city or building independent towns. However, to avoid the formation of conurbation, it is necessary to identify the boundary to prevent the sprawl. It is advisable not to build satellite towns too close to the original city as the urban sprawl is mostly likely to occur due to the practice of choosing to live by the road of the public. Building small towns can become feasible if their functions are clarified and if they are friendly to the environment.

LAND PRICE AFFECTS HOUSING PROGRAMS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

Nguyễn Thị Phương Châu*

Introduction

Urbanization and industrialization in developing countries are the main cause of population boom and urban housing problems (Sajor, 2003; Yap, 1992; Goldblum & Wong, 2000; Setchell, 1995; Vincent & Joseph, 2001) such as overloaded accommodation, slums, dilapidated housing, lack of housing and the overheated demand for housing. Despite national governments have had great efforts, they're yet able to address the lack of housing, especially for the poor and low-incomers (Huong, 2000; Katharine, 1998). Housing policies have enabled investment into housing projects from the public and business (Pugh, 1994; ADB, 2000; Yap, 1989, 1992; Robert & Jan, 1992).

Ho Chi Minh City is experiencing the problems of dilapidated infrastructure, polluted environment and a lack of housing (Katharine, 1998; Luan & Vinh, 2001; Ho Chi Minh City Department of Land and Housing, 2001; French Embassy, 2003; Thanh, 2005).

Among the impedances to the city's urban development are its limited stock of land and high price of urban land. The limited land means a limited supply of land for housing. The high price of land means the difficult access to land stock (Alan, 1997; Peer, 1997; Vincent, 1998; Wang & Alan, 2000; Paul, 2002; Sajor, 2003; Chau, 2006). The existing double pricing system is contributing to preventing the addition of housing in the city.

Methodology

The method of comparing the two prices of land is adopted through the secondary collection of land price set by the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City and the primary collection of market land prices posted in the media through years. The comparison price is the mean price of the years (from 1996-2007). The result of comparison shows that the mean price has a lot to do with the metropolitan housing programs and this is indicated by the data and statistics collected from research documents, reviews, newspapers, etc and through interviews with local housing experts and metropolitan government departments.

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I. RESEARCH DETAILS

1. Housing demand in Ho Chi Minh City in relation to metropolitan housing programs

The city has an area of 2,093.7 square kilometres and is subdivided into 24 urban and rural districts. The population of 2006 was 6.4 million with a population density of 3,067 per square kilometre. The city has a high natural population growth rate of 1% and overall growth rate of 1.9% in 2006 (Ho Chi Minh City City Statistical Office, 2007). The city is facing many problems with population growth, infrastructure, housing, natural resources and the environment (Chuyen & Tran, 1997; Katharine, 1998; World Bank, 2001; French Embassy, 2003; Thanh, 2005), of them, the problem with housing has been a constant headache.

Implementing Decree 71/2001/ND – CP by the central government¹, the city has upgraded its housing policy, giving incentives to investment in housing for the poor and low – incomers. Thereby, investors can invest in the land and become responsible for part of the building cost while the rest can be borrowed from banks and raised by customers (IUTD and NRI. 1999; ADB, 2001). However, the lack of coordination between the administration at all levels and metropolitan government departments in clearing paperwork for investors make life difficult for them². Meanwhile, a portion of population is living in slums and many families have to share a flat (Katherine, 1998; Luan and Vinh, 2001).

2. Housing programs in Ho Chi Minh City

In 1994, Ho Chi Minh City launched 4 housing programs: (1) program on building, relocation and clearance of slums and housing on the river; (2) program on upgrading of dilapidated housing and apartment buildings; (3) program for civil servants (public agency workers, physicians and teachers), workers and low-incomers; an (4) program on new residential quarters in outer districts (Ho Chi Minh City Department of Land and Housing, 2001). The first program has relocated 13,000 households, built 10,088 apartments and created 40 ha land stock for housing. The second program plans to build 10,000 apartments in the period 2001-2005. However, only 1,000 apartments were built in this period. Meanwhile, 3,000 apartments have been identified as dilapidated. 5,193 apartments have been built for the third program while a report issued in 2004 by the Ministry of Construction says that by the end of 2003, the city had 1,476,000 public employees in need of accommodation. The fourth program has brought new life to

¹Prime Minister Decree promulgated on October 1, 2001 on “Encouragement for investment into housing construction for sales and leasing”.

²Ho Chi Minh City Land and Housing Administration (2001). Housing development Programm 1991-2000 and direction towards 2010.

the urban fringe with many apartment buildings set up for people of medium and high income¹.

Between 2001-2005, some urban development projects removed a great number of households. They include the East – West road project removing 6,754 households²; the High-Tech Park project relocating 3,200 households³; and the new residential quarters in District 12 moving 6,571 households⁴. The 2004 report by the Ministry of Construction and the 2001 report by the Ho Chi Minh City Department of Land and Housing put the apartment need for public employees, white collar workers and blue workers at 225,000 apartments.

Needy and relocated people require 250,000 apartments. The Ho Chi Minh City Department of Natural Resources and the Environment report of 2004⁵ says that given such demand, the city would need to build at least 8,000 apartments a year. Meanwhile, the land stock for housing has seen little increase. As a result, it is likely that there will be hardly housing for the poor and low-incomers.

3. Corporate involvement in metropolitan housing programs

Public sector business, the state arm, have played an important role in metropolitan housing programs. One of the businesses, Saigon Real Estate Corporation (Resco), with its subsidiaries based in the districts, are responsible for the programs (IUTD and NRI. 1999). There are also local public sector builders and those coming from other provinces.

The private sector has been involved in housing since 1986 after the delegation of powers in housing in Ho Chi Minh City. The state has gradually reduced its direct involvement in building but focused on setting a statutory framework for developers (IUTD & NRI. 1999). At the early stage, the private sector only targeted buildings at medium and high incomers. However, following the issue of the following statutory instruments at central and local levels, they have engaged themselves fully into the city's housing programs.

*Decree 71/2001/ND – CP*⁶ calls on businesses of both public and private sectors to deliver housing to relocated people and low-incomers. The instrument requires

¹Property and housing projects such as: An Lạc (110 ha) and Binh Hung (100 ha) residential quarters in Binh Chánh; An Phú districts respectively and An Khánh (143 ha) residential quarter in District 2; Hiệp Bình Chánh residential quarter in Thủ Đức district; and a project covering an area of 160ha being built in District, called Đông Thăng Long, etc. And many other housing projects but only targeting the medium and high income groups.

²VN Express, February, 2005.

³VN Express, September, 2004.

⁴Thanh Nien daily, August, 2005.

⁵Source: Vietnam net website: <http://www.vnn.vn/xahoi/dothi/2004/10/283598>

⁶Source: Government website. Website: <http://www.gov.vn/>

developers to reserve up to 60% of the land for high-rise apartment buildings¹. Developers are exempted fully from the land use tax for the low-income apartment buildings and enjoy a 50% cut for the rest of the developed land. They are allowed a tax delay time of 5 years. The low-income apartments must be sold at flat price. The rest can be sold at market price. In Ho Chi Minh City (and Hanoi), businesses are subject to a corporate income tax rate of 25% and can delay tax payment for 3 years. The State will build infrastructure to the project site and if the business builds it, the State will pay for it.

Decision 7/2003/CT – UB² calls on businesses to build housing for low – incomers in Ho Chi Minh City in line with Order – of – Council 71/2001/ND – CP. In accordance with this Decision, the developer must reserve 10% of the developed land or 20% of the apartments for re – sales to the state at flat price (to be audited) to be added to the city’s relocation housing stock.

Decision 24/2004/CT – UB³ issued on 31 August, 2004 encourages investment in 30,000 relocation apartments. Accordingly, the developers will build only high – rise apartment buildings and sell back to the State at flat price and receives 6 – 2% of the total building cost. The percentage is raised to 10% in Decision 248/2005/QD – UBND (Paragraph 2, Section 3).

Amendment 7623/UBND – DT⁴ saves developers from giving 10% of the developed land or 20% of the apartments back to the State. Instead, they will participate in biddings open to developers on the cleared site. The sales prices of apartments follow Decision 24 and the developer is entitled to a 10% support to the building cost in accordance with Decision 248.

Decree 90/2006/ND – CP encourages investment in social housing.

It can be seen that developers have contributed to improving the city’s housing stock, especially housing stock for low – incomers through different housing programs.

4. The existence of dual land price system in the period of implementing housing programs in Ho Chi Minh City

Housing programs targeted the poor and low-incomers often meet roadblocks due to the low sales price. Thus, there need investment incentives and support from

¹ According to section 1, article 2 of Decree 71, building of five storeys in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City and of three storeys in others cities and provinces are considered high-rise building.

^{2,3,4}Source: Ho Chi Minh City People’s Committee website.
http://www.Hochiminhcity.gov.vn/home/left/van_ban_phap_quy/vb_ubnd

the central and local governments. An improper policy will not be able to attract investment (ADB, 2000; Sajor, 2003; Sukumar, 2001; Kumarasuriyar, 1990). Besides, other factors that can drive or impeded investment are land stock, urban land price, paperwork, etc. A small or hard access to land stock can discourage developers (Paul, 2002; Kumarasuriyar, 1990; Foo, 1992).

Land price is key to facilitating developers' access to land stock. A reasonable price also brings the buyer (the poor and low-incomer) and the seller (business or the state buying apartments from the business) closer to each other (Alan, 1997; Vincent, 1998; Paul, 2002; Sajor, 2003). A higher land price means higher sales price of apartment and the access will become narrower to the poor and low-incomers.

There exist a dual land price system in the city and it has impacts on developers' access to developed land stock in the following ways.

4.1. The land price set by the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City

In 1994, implementing Prime Minister Decree 87/1994/CP, the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City officially set the land price table for application in the city¹. The land user pays the land tax and (also) pays tax for sales and transfer of the land or property on this constant price, which was unchanged for 10 years from 1994 – 2004.

To pay compensation for site clearance under urban development projects, the state uses coefficient K^2 (ranging from 0.5 to 1.8 depending on the location) to narrow the disparity between the State-fixed land price and the market land price. The K coefficient was maintained between 1996 and 2005 when the state set the new land prices for the city.

In fact, the market land price has been many times as high as the state price. There have appeared undercover deals between traders and these have pushed the prices higher.

In 2004, the State revised the land price and the practice was reiterated in 2005 and 2007³. As compared to 1994 the land price has quintupled (refer to the chart in paragraph 3.4.3). Given the new price, the coefficient K is no longer used to adjust the price for calculating clearance compensation.

4.2. Market land price

The market land price stems from the true demand of members of the public for

¹Châu, L.T. (1994). *Regulations on land, housing and land tax*. Ho Chi Minh City Publishing House. HCMC.

²Source: Prime Minister's Decision 302/1996/TTg.

³Decision 316/2004/QĐ-UB dated December 24, 2004, Decision 227/2005/QĐ-UB dated December 27, 2005 and Decision 179/2006/QĐ-UB dated December 22, 2006 on promulgation of land prices regulation in Ho Chi Minh City.

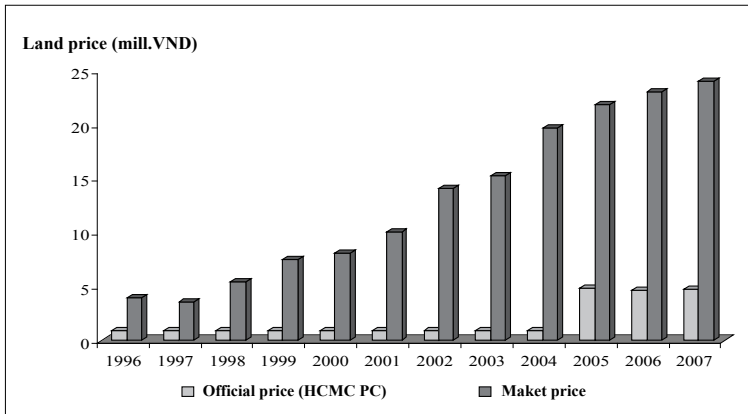
property when they change the place of living or working. The market land price constantly increased year after year between 1994 and 2007.

The chart at paragraph 3.4.3 shows that the market land price started to rise in 1999 when the city launched the housing programs. Developers began involvement in these programs in 2002 and the incentive policy has been revised over the years. As said at paragraph 3.2, greater demand than supply has led to real estate bubble and pushed the price up.

The existence of dual land price system

A comparison of the state and market land prices through the chart below shows that the state price was unchanged for 11 years between 1994 and 2004 while the market price constantly increased. The 2007 state price quintupled the 1994 state price. The 2007 market price quintupled the 2007 state price in 2007 and was 24 times as high as the 1994 state price.

Figure: Bar chart of comparison between the two land price systems in Ho Chi Minh City between 1996-2007



Source: Combination of Ho Chi Minh City government – set and market prices over the years (by the author)

The prices set by the metropolitan government were used to calculate land tax, clearance compensation, etc. However, the large disparity between the two prices has caused trouble to housing projects, compensation, settlement for housing projects, and land administration.

5. Implications of dual land price system on housing programs

5.1. On compensation and site clearance

In fact, the price used by the developer to calculate compensation is the market price, not the state price. This shows that the state price is improper, even after being multiplied with the coefficient K. In Decisions 7 and 24, the district government is supposed to assist the developer in negotiating the compensation price with the relocated. Normally, the price used for calculating compensation is not lower than the market price because if the relocated cannot buy a new house with the compensation, they would not accept relocation¹. Meanwhile, the developer is under pressure to make compensation soon so that they start the project as scheduled.

Besides the compensation, the developer is supposed to pay land tax and other fees. The sales tax can be exempted for the developer but the buyer will have to pay for it. In the end, the sales price offered by the developer is not lower than the market rate and this means hard access to the poor and low-incomers (Alpana et al., 2001).

5.2. On inspection and supervision of development projects

Given the problem with site clearance as said above, housing programs often meet roadblocks and are behind schedule. Meanwhile, the constant rise in the market land price will make site clearance increasingly a tough nut to crack. The challenge to implement housing projects is transmitted into the hard access to housing by members of the public, particularly low-incomers.

5.3. On land speculation

Normally, demand for land for development in areas with high pace of urbanization is the reason behind the fast rising price of land. New resettlements often crop up first of all in the periurban areas because of the abundant land stock and the lower price of land. Therefore, site clearance there is much easier than in the inner city. Still, some private sector developers cannot have access to land stock for their development projects because public sector developers are prioritized over them (Sajor, 2003; Paul, 2002)². In Ho Chi Minh City, the Saigon Real Estate Corporation (Resco) is the public sector developer with several subsidiaries located in different areas of the city (IUTD & NRI, 1999), which makes it easier for the company to access local land stock.

¹Interview with Him Lam Company Business Manager, Mr. Ngọc, on October, 2005. As just one person requests a higher compensation price, the whole community would follow suit. Enterprises would need to apply the same compensation scheme even to the households which are not eligible to be compensated to the state regulations.

²Interview with Nam Long Investment and Construction Company's Planning Division Manager, Mr. Lê Thanh Vinh on October 15, 2005. Private enterprises have hard time accessing the "appealing" piece of land, and most of them would end up with plots in periurban areas.

Meanwhile, a portion of the land stock now held by individuals and institutions is not developed. According to the Ho Chi Minh City Department of Natural Resources and the Environment¹, as of 2004, there were 4 million square metres of land not developed, used improperly or used outside the approved plan by the individuals and institutions allocated. The lack of inspection and supervision of land use by such individuals and institutions are deemed to be the causes of the lack of land stock for development. This also partially explains why the market land price has been on constant rise and higher than the land prices offered by the state in various increases (Sajor, 2003; Paul, 2002; Vincent, 1998).

In the past, the city experienced 2 land price bubbles, one in 1992-1993 and the other in 2001-2003 (illustrated by the above chart). According to Dr. Trần Du Lịch², the land price bubbles did not coincide with the local economic growth booms. The reasonable can be undercover land transactions which occurred against the big rift between the state and market price systems. As the price used to calculate land use tax is much lower than the market price, the transactions brought the investor huge profits. Undercover transactions as a form of tax fraud have contributed to the fast increase in the price of land, particularly after the land price bubbles (Sajor, 2003; Alan, 1997).

Conclusion

Land is the principal natural resource for urban planning and development and for programs to upgrade and improve urban areas. Land serving housing projects should be covered by the city's master plan and district's plans. Land outside the planned residential areas or areas covered by the suspended planning is not of land stock for development. In fact, the city has several areas covered by suspended and improperly devised plans. Several of the plans approved before 1998 have not been implemented due to their improperness, making them the suspended plans³. This is why the stock of land ready for development is so limited.

Comparing the difference between the two land price systems highlight the challenge faced by the city when it comes to housing development. The limited land stock and speculation are the identified causes of driving the market price to a level many times higher than the price set by the metropolitan government. In fact, the existence of the dual price system is impeding development and the failure to link this dual price system with governance and supervision will only widen the gap between the two prices.

¹Source: Vietnam net website: <http://www.vnn.vn/xahoi/dothi/2004/10/283598>.

²Remark by Dr. Trần Du Lịch, Director of HCMC Economics Institute on Vietnam Net review on September 20, 2003. Website: <http://www.vnn.vn/kinhte/toancanh/2003/9/29730/>

³Source: *Thanh Niên* daily, interview with HCMC Director of Planning and Architecture Department, Nguyễn Trọng Hòa, on September 6, 2005.

As a result, the limited land stock and high land price are the sizeable barriers to investors wanting to get involved in the city's housing programs (Alan, 1997; Alpana et al; An, 1996).

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**ADDRESSING THE SPACIAL AND SOCIAL SEGREGATIONS
IN NEW TOWNS OF METROPOLISES
(The case study of Thu Thiem New Town in Ho Chi Minh City)**

Nguyễn Quang Vinh*

I. EARLY OR LATE?

Is it too early to talk about the communal life and operation of such a new town as Thu Thiem at a time when the first bricks have just been put in place? No, it is not. In modern days, ‘*social planning*’ for a new town, comes in the early stage, if not first, of the building process beside land use, architecture and construction plans. Life reality shows that when it comes to building a new town, there should exist a reasonable ‘philosophy’ that an urban area is a harmonious and mutually supplementary combination of physical and social components with a highly active economy, balanced structure of population, cultural values imbued with traditions of Saigon, and a society innovative and open to contemporary values.

This is triggered both by the innate needs of development of Ho Chi Minh City¹ and the desire not to avoid the trap that predecessors countries had fall in and struggled to escape from. The issue will become more illustrative if put on the *background* of Asian urbanization boom which has seen great achievements as well as killer mistakes. *The boom has taken place under the impacts of strong economic globalization*, where the flow of capital all over the world, according to the New Freedom theory, is resistible.

The Chinese have an interesting say about the forecast and planning of the well-known Pudong new town: “*Getting out of Pudong to look at Pudong*”. So, isn’t it reasonable to “get out of Thu Thiem to have an insight into Thu Thiem?”.

II. LESSONS LEARNT FROM ASIAN NEW TOWNS

Examining the dangers faced by new towns in Asia is easy to make one feel that the planning of Thu Thiem on social and cultural aspects is such a thorny issue as such dangers-which will be mentioned below-are likely to dampen the goals set for Thu Thiem.

*Senior Sociologist.

¹ The new town of Thu Thiem is under construction now on an area of 657 ha in an undeveloped area on the other side of the Saigon river, opposite District 1 of the current city. The new town is designed to accommodate 120,000 residents and expected to become a high - class financial, trade and service estate of Ho Chi Minh City.

Admitted or not, the global capital inflow is exerting its power by controlling the development of new towns in Asia, among them is Thu Thiem. In fact, it is a rule that *globalization and urbanization intertwine*, mutually affecting to make each other more powerful. The new towns, especially those built between the 70s of the 20th century and now, *are related to the global cycling of capital*. The expanded cycling of global capital requires *a new building environment*, which is necessary to create national and international urban networks and which needs decision - making on global scale. (According to S.Sassen, *Cities in the world economy*, 1994).

According to the New-Freedom theory, the common approach to the development of new urban centres is to abandon the public sector's holdings, privatize their planning and administration and adopt the operation styles of trans-national building groups. In summary, *there seems to be a connection between neo-freedomism and new urban landscaping across continents*.

1. Spatial and social segregations in some Asian new towns

The *spatial segregation* in the arrangements of new towns dictates the residential population makeup in a way that only groups of certain privileged can access. By popular definitions among international researchers, "spatial segregation" is manifested in the residential separation of a group from the majority population. This segregation is often associated with income, ethnicity and religion.

Research surveys in Asia find that many new towns exist as separate settlements. Some are even enclosed by walls and create a so-called "confined community".

The "voluntary segregation of space" by rich communities gives rise to social dualism and highlights the rich - poor gap between luxury new towns and surrounding slums. Contributing to this segregation are foreign urban planners and builders who have little knowledge of local features. So, the new towns developed by them are by no means different from those in America, emerging as "*cultural and social contrasts to the rest of the city*".

In response to this situation, there have been proposed attempts at a "balanced" residential structure in new towns of Asia but they met great challenges despite new town builders showing to be determined and radical at the beginning. This reminds us of the need to show *firm political determination and strong, complete solutions* if we are to secure a rather balanced, lively residential structure for the new town of Thu Thiem as part of expanded Ho Chi Minh City urban sprawl.

For example, take the developing of the Mumbai new town in India in the 70s of the 20th century. Though planners had made careful plans of cultural and social development for the new Mumbai, after many years of implementing, the development plan failed as all plans for socio - economic recovery and integration of village residents into the new

town remained on the paper. The target to build a “city for all” was missed and a survey of the new Mumbai’s residential structure found that four - fifth of the households in the new town are high – incomers. The housing area earmarked for low - incomers and land lots with infrastructure designed for the poor *changed hands*.

One can only interpret such a failure by justifying the fierce regulation of the “spatial segregation” trend of the new town building boom in the era of globalization. This trend is associated with the “social polarization” embodied *in the competition for living space among social urban groups*. From its feature, it can be seen that “letting the market regulate itself” will only result in a situation where the rich, privileged people rule the life of new towns.

Urbanist Dr. Michael Leaf from Canada says that “the trend has spread across Asia, where privileges tend to prevail by the creation of luxury new towns which set high limits for all but the people who can afford to live in there” (discussions with a research team in 1/2005).

Interestingly, some specialists and intellectuals in Ho Chi Minh City have had a feeling that such new towns as Phu My Hung and Thu Thiem are revealing the problems of social polarization and spatial segregation though they did not clearly say so and their way of expression is also delicate. However, such is just enough to serve as “a prelude” to a burning social and cultural issue when it comes to building new towns.

After reviewing the performance of the South Saigon new town, the former city mayor Nguyen Vinh Nghiep said: “As to the Phu My Hung new town, I suggest building more blocks of flats and housing for civil servants. Besides luxury housing, we should think of housing that are civilized and affordable for the general public but still ensure investment returns *so that people of different strata can live here* (emphasized by the author Nguyen Quang Vinh - NQV) to enjoy its living environment and to make it busier and more comprehensive. (*A city moving towards the Easter Sea* (The South China Sea), 2003, page 72).

When it comes to the residential structure of the future Thu Thiem New Town, architect Vo Thanh Lam with the VTL Architecture - Construction Consulting Co., Ltd., says: “A foreign planner asks me *why he did not see the factor of local residents among the indicators for planning Thu Thiem?* (emphasis by the author NQV). The recent past has seen several urban planning projects be vocal about improving the living standards of local residents but in fact, they have put them into difficulty. The State should not forget the interests of people whatever planning they produces” (*Weekend Youth*, Issue 20, 2006).

Of the 20 scientists and entrepreneurs we approached for input on the building of Thu Thiem, some have called our attention to the issue of including low incomer and people who have resided for a long time there into the resident structure of Thu Thiem New Town.

- The future Thu Thiem should have ‘cheap housing for the poor’ (a university lecturer at the age of 50).
- What we should strive is for as more of the residents of Thu Thiem now can work and live in the new town as possible.
- Parts of the new towns should be re-sold to the local residents even at high price and only by so doing will it be “sustainable” (a researcher aged 45).

2. Social polarization between new towns and existing cities

Another problem with new towns in Asia now is that they exacerbate the problems that have existed for decades in the city such as lack of accommodation, urban poverty, unemployment, ecological crisis, contraction of public space, etc.). *The social polarization co - exists with the posh new towns in the city.* Some researchers have found that the existing cities are at risk of having the most effective of their business and cultural institutions, employment opportunities and high - income residents attracted to the new town, “leaving behind the older parts with their thorny problems”. They complain: “None of the countries in question have resources, political will and planning tools necessary to cope with the processes caused by polarization and downgrading”. (Peter Gotsch and Michael Peterek).

The costly lessons listed above in Asia at least show that the *populating of new towns in Vietnam cannot be completely governed by the market rule.* By using the tools of planning (physical planning and social planning), diversified systems for investment and construction, policy of attracting talents, credit policy, etc., to achieve a diverse resident restructure in new towns, it is possible to avoid repeating the failures of the predecessor new towns in Asia.

III. CELEBRATING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VALUES WHILE FORMING SETTLEMENTS IN NEW TOWNS

1. What kind of urban area is Thu Thiem?

The nature of a new town is relevant to the management of its residents and population scenarios. There are four basic categories of new town, depending on their characteristics and distance to the old city.

a) If the new town is built far from the city centre, it is called “*alternative growing area*”. It is designed to divert the waves of residents. Such towns are to meet political requirements (such as building a new capital) or requirements of socio - economic and cultural development (extracting natural resources, potential energy, tour route expansions, etc. Thu Thiem belongs to this category.

b) “**Functionally independent new towns**” are the second category and designed to ease the overcrowd of mega-cities. They are often built as far 60-100 km as away from the temporarily - called “parent cities” will still retain the significant control culturally and administratively. This type has nothing to do with the new town of Thu Thiem in question.

c) To ease the pressure of population, major cities in Asia and Africa often build “**satellite cities**” nearby. Some can be found in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Cairo. In Shanghai, besides the new town of Pudong (which is not a satellite city), there are 11 satellite cities around Shanghai serving to ease the great residential pressure on the city with the population of 17 million on the banks of the Huangpu river. Given its economically strategic significance, Thu Thiem is not a satellite city with the function of easing population pressure.

d) In the 4th category, we are touching a type of urban areas close to Thu Thiem called “**parallel cities**” or “**twin cities**”. These cities are situated near the older cities and have interactions with them. Furthermore, they **feature a relationship of co-existence with them by focusing on business activities and internationally oriented services**.

2. Is Thu Thiem’s No1 priority contrary to the pursuit of a resident balance in social structure?

The new town of Thu Thiem is ambitiously designed to create an economic strength robust enough to change the economic structure of Ho Chi Minh City and make the city integrate deeper into the international labour market in times of globalization. Citizens of Thu Thiem should be qualified enough in order to be together with others of the original city to master and operate the new, modern economic and financial engine. The number one priority is to create the *optimal* conditions to attract entrepreneurs, technicians, culturists, etc. and give physical structures for them for residence and doing business. The Saigonese characterized by openness and tolerance will welcome and integrate new-comers quickly.

Thu Thiem is not the case where a farming or fishing community is upgraded into an urban area but where the long - established community on the peninsula of Thu Thiem is evicted to other areas for building *from scratch* a new town with a different resident structure. However, it should be a town of the elite as to living standards and social positions and alienating themselves from the remaining parts of the city. We suggest that the new town of Thu Thiem is built as a **twin city co-existing with the original city as an open, socially balanced and identities - imbued community**. This means that it is necessary to understand the natural rule of population in order to have intervention action to the polluting of the new town, not to let the market powers reign.

2.1. Populating from the angle of supply and demand

According to surveys and our speculation from other new towns in Asia and the new town of Phu My Hung, the people coming to settle in Thu Thiem will likely be of 2 categories:

- Entrepreneurs and specialists, national and international, including those from the original city coming for residence and doing business right in the area.
- People seeking luxury accommodation and not necessarily doing business in the area. They may live in Thu Thiem but work in the original city of Saigon. It is forest that portions of them will end up working in the new town after a while.

Both of these categories have high demand for luxury accommodation, high - class social services (healthcare, education and the environment) and security.

Our hypothesis that both Thu Thiem and Phu My Hung will welcome both of these groups of residents. While Phu My Hung may host more of the second group, Thu Thiem will welcome more of the first group at least in the first 10 years of populating the new town.

2.2. Populating from the angle of push and pull

It is easy to see that in the inner city of Ho Chi Minh City, the population density is so high that people are active to split and push members of their families to the new urban areas or new towns such as Phu My Hung. Meanwhile, the new towns are pulling greater numbers to come for living and doing business.

The new town of Thu Thiem is likely to attract families from the inner city of Ho Chi Minh City to it for residence and the accompanied start-up of a new business. The percentage of people seeking a higher-class living place in Thu Thiem will not as significant as in Phu My Hung but the diversity in types of accommodation and housing price will be higher in Thu Thiem.

The research team has met loads of business people and intellectuals in Ho Chi Minh City for qualitative information on the new town of Thu Thiem. It is interesting that 50% of the respondent expects Thu Thiem to be a new town providing luxury accommodation and beautiful landscaping to the original city nearby. One third of them are impressed by Thu Thiem in that it promises to be an ideal area for investment.

The biggest hindrance to the interviewed in access to Thu Thiem is the possible “high cost” of housing. Some businesses would like to move their facilities to Thu Thiem while others “hesitate” for “fears of losing long - time customers”. When ground was broken for the building of the Phu My Hung new town, many predicted “a new Cho Lon dominated by the majority Hoa ethnic to emerge”. However, up to 2006 when nearly 10,000 people had settled down at Phu My Hung, none of the business

ethnic Hoa families moved from the Cho Lon area to live there. In some recent talks with ethnic Hoa business people, we learnt that a few ethnic Hoa entrepreneurs were thinking of choosing Thu Thiem as a new area of residence and business. Whether this is a signal of a new trend or not would require a further in-depth study in the future.

2.3 Is it possible for a portion of the original Thu Thiem residents to come back in a new position?

The research team holds the view that for the sake of social resident balance, the new town of Thu Thiem's population should include a portion of the original residents returning for residing and working. There has been talk about building a museum in honour of the 5 civil parishes yielding their land for the new town, however, *nothing is better culturally and socially than the original residents of Thu Thiem will be part of the new town's population even though their share is insignificant.*

We suggest that the city's government work with District 2 to choose some 600 middle-age and young people from the former 5 parishes who have been evicted for the new town and launch a project to provide them with education and professional training at educational institutions or schools in the city so they each of them will secure an occupation which will be needed in the new town of Thu Thiem and only by so doing can they have chance to be hired there. It should be best for some of them to be able to rent or own a home at a preferential price so that they can live in the new town while others can shuttle between District 2 and Thu Thiem where they will work as sales-keepers, security guards, water taxi drivers, museum guide, maids, waiters and waitresses, etc. Even if this idea is realized, just 0.5% of the original residents of Thu Thiem can make their way back to their home land. Still, their return will *mark a cultural and socially balanced significance to the new town of Thu Thiem, which will become its peculiar feature* as compared to other new towns in Asia.

3. For a harmony between the sides of the river

A daily busy exchange of half a million residents between one side being the new town of Thu Thiem and the other being the original city (when Thu Thiem is fully grown) to some extent will likely help reduce a likely *self-made confinement* of the future new town's population and promote a cultural co-existence between the two entities of the metropolis of Ho Chi Minh City/Saigon. For this expectation to come true, we suggest that:

First, there should exist well-managed intense activity of public exchange in the area of Thu Thiem to bring about contact of the two sides (involving 500,000 travelers a day and night).

Second, *the cultural and living conditions of Thu Thiem should prove itself to be engaging to people coming from everywhere and Saigonese in particular*, who should find it culturally unique. The recommended drawing cards as to its cultural identity can be:

a) *A modern entrepreneurial culture*, which gives enterprises in the area an impressive, friendly and reliable look.

b) *An urban air of strict order and discipline but respect and openness*.

These are the basis for a two-way exchange and also a smooth and effective co-existence between the future new town of Thu Thiem and the original city of Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City), contributing to the emergence of new cultural properties of an ever-growing and evolving city.

Ho Chi Minh City, 8/2007-2/2008

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CONCLUSION

NGUYỄN QUANG VINH*

We have been through a busy two-day workshop on urbanization in general and the urbanization of the urban fringe in particular. After two plenary sessions and discussions at panels 1 and 2, we all admit that the workshop has come timely and is worth holding theoretically and practically when it comes to studying urbanization in Southeast Asia in general and in Vietnam in particular.

The information and facts mentioned below confirm this.

After sending invitations, the organizing board have received loads of email expressing concern about this issue – the emails coming from different countries and experts on different disciplines. Professor Terry Mc Gee, one of the leading international experts on urbanization have sent us a long email, contributing precious and practical input to identifying the targets, issues and topics of the Workshop.

During preparation, the organizing board have received 50 presentations from scientists and practitioners of urbanization, international and Vietnamese. There are 150 delegates to the workshop, including 32 international scientists. Among the participants are urban administrators at provincial and district levels.

Obviously, the topic of urbanization in Southeast Asia and Vietnam, especially the urbanization of the urban fringe in regional countries have captured our attention, inspiring us to deciphering the “black box” of this complicated process, a process characterized by globalization and the delicate treatment of ecological, native and cultural issues. Collisions have occurred and will occur. The values of national identity will be dictated by the nature of the new town.

It is difficult to summarize all that was discussed at the 2-day workshop. This reminds me of the Vietnamese saying that goes that “tie the elephant and put it in a basket” so I would not try to summarize the “elephant” details of the workshop and put it in the “basket” of this closing speech.

As a matter of fact, I just want to express some of my deep impressions about the Workshop, which will be expressed in the six *following points*:

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The first point is the Workshop has brought updated and powerful theoretical solutions to the resolution of issues related to urbanization in general and the urbanization of urban fringe in Southeast Asia in particular. After the introduction by Prof. Terry Mc Gee and discussions by Vietnamese and international scholars such as Dao The Tuan, Hoang Huu Phe, Nguyen Huu Thai, Nguyen Dang Son, Le Quang Ninh, Micheal Leaf, Patrick Gubry and Brigitte Bariol, it is clear that the urbanization of the urban fringe has been *put in the limelight* synchronically and diachronically. There is a need to surmount the mentality that separates urban and rural areas and adopt a more *flexible and mobile* view of the mixed urban and rural areas, which economically, socially and environmentally not typical of urban or rural areas. The workshop paid attention to cities within a conurbation. Some papers used the concept of *desakota* as a urban characteristic of the wet rice culture in Southeast Asia.

As a result, the area used to define and demarcate the urban fringe is much greater in size than just a certain town near the city centre even if such a town is very important and growing fast.

It is necessary to add that the presentation by Yves Chalas seeks to find out about the features of modern urbanization set in Europe but it is powerful in “awakening” scientists who are studying urbanization in Southeast Asia. It inspires us to envisioning how far the cities can expand and how mobile and flexible the grasp of city situations and their management should be.

The second point is that the process of “Doi Moi” or economic renewal has resulted in robust growth of the national economy and left positive impacts on the morphology of cities in Vietnam. There is no denying the fact that there has been great improvement in large cities such as Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Da Nang, Hue and Can Tho. There is visible connection between the evolution of the urban structure, living standards and lifestyle and the fast changing landscape in the large cities, and even in the urban fringe of these cities. Lisa Drummond’s reference to the ‘mid-class landscape’ in Hanoi is a source of inspiration for more comprehensive studies on this issue in the future.

The third point is that the urbanization process and the urbanization of the urban fringe in Southeast Asia and Vietnam are facing great challenges that need to be met and treated scientifically. It seems that social problems are always with each step of the urbanization process and the achievements of urbanization act as the preconditions for the resolution of these problems.

An interdisciplinary approach was taken to highlight the problems.

There is a *deep rift* in productivity, lifestyle, employment chance and investment between urban and rural areas. This situation is threatening the sustainability of the urbanization process and development as a whole.

Another problem is the spontaneousness of urban sprawl. The planning and the making of policy and legislation concerning land, construction, environmental protection and urbanization often come late and run after to fix the problems caused by the spontaneous sprawl. Ho Chi Minh City was originally planned to build a multi-centre city. However, the de facto planning has failed to identify the size, role and the relationship between the city centres that have formed and are expected to form. As a result, it ends up in a spontaneous urban sprawl, of which little control has been taken. It is not by chance that several prestigious scientists in Ho Chi Minh City talked much about the sustainable planning for the development of the urban fringe and proper residential quarters in the area. The question about whether urbanization will work as an engine of driving economic, social and cultural development or serve as a risk to sustainable development is also the question about this spontaneous expansion.

It is necessary to reiterate the threats of erosion and ignorance of *public space* and urban balances of social exchange caused by the building of new towns labeled “cosmopolitan” in the urban fringe (about which Mike Douglass made a warning). A discussion on this issue gave an insight into the administration of new towns such as Phu My Hung, Thu Thiem, Ciputra, etc. The spatial and social segregation and polarization are the setbacks of the new towns in Southeast Asia.

Other challenges are environmental pollution, unstable poverty reduction, conflicts of interests in land and property, disturbances of cultural transition in the urban fringe (including small northern mountainous city like Lao Cai) and other challenges concerning employment and social security of migrant labour.

Obviously, as to the complicated issue of urbanization in the urban fringe, the separate action from the public and private sectors cannot work and it is necessary to have a holistic planning and integrated solutions under a better vision.

The fourth point is that the Workshop has dealt with the role and the coordination between actors in the process of urbanization. Several participants stressed the need to create favourable conditions for communities to have their say in planning and addressing the above mentioned problems. The public and private sectors, communities and urbanism scientists should be considered the principal actors in the cooperation, dialogue, negotiation and joint action for the healthy growth of cities. It is necessary to stop the practice that local communities are marginalized from such a process.

The fifth point is that the presentations have put forwards recommendations on urban policy and legislation at different levels (which cannot be listed here). The consistency and anticipation are what the policy makers and law makers expect and public sector institutions can achieve in the near future.

The sixth point (last but not least) is that through this Workshop, the scientist community have shown their devotion to research and cooperation in research on both the theoretical and ground fronts, first of all in Vietnam for better insight into

the process of urbanization and the urbanization of the urban fringe in Vietnam and Southeast Asia in order to bring about an academic impetus to the most dynamic area of development – urbanization.

I would be grateful if my colleagues and you, ladies and gentlemen could share with me some of these findings of mine and pardon me if I miss anything that should be represented.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Concluding this workshop in this conference hall, let me on behalf of the organizing board express our acknowledgements to the Workshop Science Council, international and Vietnamese researchers, and local administrators who have contributed quality input to the Workshop over the past 2 days.

We are grateful to the donors who provided finance to make this international meaningful meeting possible.

Our acknowledgements are to the Workshop Presidium, facilitators of interesting panel discussions, commentators, summarists and analysts working on articles delivered at panels.

Our acknowledgements are also to the translators who have worked hard to make it possible for discussions to go smooth despite language barriers.

So, ladies and gentlemen, should we tell each other that the scientific workshop on ***“Urbanization patterns and the urbanization of the urban fringe in Southeast Asia”*** was a success!

Thank you very much
Ho Chi Minh City, 11 December 2008
Nguyen Quang Vinh

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"One of the most important components of urbanization growth in Southeast Asia in the last forty years has been the outward expansion of urban places into their rural hinterlands creating a "desakota" landscape in which urban activities such as manufacturing, suburban development and recreational spaces have been inserted into the rural hinterlands. All indications are that these areas will continue to grow and be responsible for absorbing some 80 per cent of the urban population increase over the next 30 years. In these urban places (particularly the large mega-urban regions) the creation of desakota regions pose ongoing planning challenges for agriculture, the environment and the urban societies of Southeast Asia."

Terry Mc Gee

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