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Reconceptualizing the Public Spaces of New Urban Areas in Hanoi: The End or the New of Public-Making?

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Abstract: Public spaces are designed and managed in many different ways. In Hanoi, after the Doi moi policy in 1986, the transfer of the public spaces creation at the neighborhood-level to the private sector has prospered na-ture of public and added a large amount of public space for the city, directly impacting on citizen's daily life, creating a new trend, new concept of public spaces. This article looks forward to understanding the public spaces-making and operating in KDTMs (Khu Do Thi Moi - new urban areas) in Hanoi to answer the question of whether 'socialization'/privatization of these public spaces will put an end to the urban public or the new means of public-making trend. Based on the comparison and literature review of studies in the world on public spaces privatization with domestic studies to see the differences in the Vietnamese context leading to differences in definitions and roles and the concept of public spaces in KDTMs of Hanoi. Through adducing and analyzing practical cases, the article also mentions the trends, the issues, the ways and the technologies of public-making and public-spaces-making in KDTMs of Hanoi. Win/loss and the relationship of the three most important influential actors in this process (municipality, KDTM owners, inhabitants/citizens) is also considered to reconceptualize the public spaces of KDTMs in Hanoi.

Keywords: Hanoi, public space, socialization, KDTM (Khu Do Thi Moi - new urban area), public-making

1. Introduction

1.1 Situation and Background

Pubic space is the concept referring to all public areas, that are publicly owned by democratically elected bodies, well connected in the surrounding urban grid and designed according to principles that foster activity and social interaction, used by a large and diverse public in a variety of ways, controlled in a non-oppressive manner and characterized by an inviting and tidy atmosphere (Varna & Cerrone, 2013).

Public spaces have become fragile in the face of current trends of privatization. The developments and influences from the outside reveal that many places are losing their public and local character. Modernization, globalization and commercialization are to blame (Verheul, 2017). Public space is often seen as a problem space in the modern city (Goheen, 1998). Vietnam's modern cities are not excluded from these issues, especially after the Doi Moi policy in 1986, they were 'revived', develop freely according to market demand after a long period under the state-planned, state-subsidized economy.

Before 1986, the creation of public spaces was undertaken by the state and followed the urban spatial development plans in a manner that "urban constructions are concretizations of an urban ideology of élites" (Evers & Korff, 2003).

The administrative structure of the government also allows the state to intrude into public spaces. The State decides the location and supervises the design of official public spaces embedded with political ideologies (Kurfurst, 2012). After 1986, with the acceleration of urban growth and the expansion of urban spaces through new housing projects in the form of KDTM (Khu Do Thi Moi - new urban area) managed by the private sector, the process of creating and operating public spaces at the KDTM is controversial but very interesting for studying. The state and society are not the only ones creating and shaping space, however. As Vietnam finds itself in a state of transition towards a market economy, business interests play an important role as well (Kürten, 2008). The transfer of the creation of the public spaces at the neighborhood-level to the private sector has enriched publicity and added a large number of public spaces to the city, directly impacting the daily life of the people, creating a new trend, changing the notion of public spaces. Furthermore, the increasing use of official spaces for recreation and leisure activities has been observed in recent years (Kürten, 2008). All of these commercialized spaces and leisure pursuits now operate as private spaces, restricting access on financial criteria, not on Party or employment affiliation, as some leisure spaces did before. Moreover, these commercialized leisure spaces are coming to dominate recreational options (Drummond, 2000). However, due to entrepreneurialization, which essentially is privatization, it seems that these types of (new) public spaces attempt to 'private interests' rather than a 'carefree' space for 'everyone'.

This paper aims to understand the nature of creating and operating public spaces in KDTMs in Hanoi to answer the research questions:

• Firstly, whether privatization (/entrepreneurialization) of these public spaces is the end of urban publicity or the start of a new trend of public creation?

• Secondly, more specifically, how has the transfer of tectonic roles affected the characteristics, quality and target users of public spaces in KDTMs?

• Finally, how did the relationship between actors directly related to public space - government, project owner, and people - evolve in this transfer?

1.2 Materials and Methods

The premise of this article is a survey in 2018 on the attractiveness and livability that was conducted on four important KDTMs of Hanoi with 213 'insiders' interviewees - they are randomly selected denizens (Table 1) and 50 'outsiders' interviewees - they are experts from universities, research institutes, enterprises, design offices operating in architecture, planning and construction. Interestingly, there are 29 experts currently living in different KDTMs in Hanoi. The survey aims to assess the attractiveness and livability of KDTMs, as well as the importance of different constituent elements, including public spaces. From analyzing the results of this survey, some other specific KDTMs of Hanoi are also additionally surveyed in the form of a short interview to have a comprehensive view of different ways of creating public spaces in different KDTMs, thereby forming research questions and hypotheses about public spaces in KDTMs in Hanoi.

Table 1 - Brief information on the surveyed KDTMs

KĐTM	Linh Dam	Viet Hung	Van Quan	Ecopark
Panorama				
Year of commencement	1997	2003	2004	2009
Distance to the city centre	10 km	10 km	11 km	17 km
Area size	200 ha	210 ha	61 ha	500 ha
Population scale (ppl)	25.000	26.000	14.000	40.000
Number of surveyors (ppl)	47	46	56	64

To approach public spaces in the KDTMs, we create a framework of publicness and consider the nature of urban public spaces based on four different conclusions about the value and role of public space in the modern city: (1) The role of politics - the very different importance given the political arena in understanding the public sphere; (2) Everyday practices - the treatment of everyday life in conceptualizing the public; (3) Public and private spheres - the reconceptualization of the public and private; and (4) The significance of public space - the significance attributed to the changing character and use of public space in the modern city (Goheen, 1998). Besides, we also consider public spaces in the three influential discourses (Verheul, 2017):

• *Public space as a free meeting space* - it is a place by and for everyone. The public space is a communal (civil society) gathering space (agora). These days, the local policy aims to use public space in neighborhoods to get people out of their private domain and in touch with other people. City makers' plans also frequently focus on the quality of the public space as a place to spend time and meet other people.

• *Public space as a frictionless transition space* - this discourse is about management and control, efficiency and safety. The aim of modernist urban development is mainly to create tidier cities by building straight streets, dividing the functions of living, working and recreation, and providing much space for cars. And all that preferably in a build environment with a great deal of uniformity and predictability.

• *Public space as a theme-driven consumption space* - it is the place where users are mainly consumers that need to be entertained and from whom investor must make a profit. As a result of globalization, retail chains and hospitality formulas appear in the same form everywhere.

To answer the research questions, this article is based on the following methods: (1) *Literature review*: this paper is based on desk study aiming at comparing studies on the privatization of public spaces in the world with domestic studies to see the difference in definitions, roles and notions of public spaces in KDTMs in Hanoi; (2) *Qualitative methods*: we observation the behavior of the KDTM' owners and the production of public spaces in a corresponding differentiation of them according to the will of the project owners and the target consumer-resident; (3) *Quantitative methods*: survey in KDTMs for rating the level of resident's satisfaction on the necessity of public services and facilities in KDTMs; (4) *Syntheses and comparison*: review the survey results to answer the research questions by comparing the results with the hypotheses, the information of different KDTMs. We also refer to the various studies of Vietnamese scholars to find the differences and issues of publicity and public space of Hanoi and Vietnamese cities, public spaces of KDTMs and other types of residential areas.

2. Sphere and Space of the Public in Hanoi

2.1 Urban Public = (Outdoor) Public Space + (Indoor) Public Building

Firstly, we refer to some Western scholars' definitions of public space. There is general agreement on the concept of the public: for one the public is "not only a region of social life located apart from the realm of family and close friends, but also ...[the] realm of acquaintances and strangers" (Sennett, 1992), and for another, the "defining characteristics of urban public space [are] proximity, diversity, and accessibility" (Zukin, 1993). Therefore, public spaces can be understood as those spaces that are open and accessible to the public (Daniel, 2016). The public spaces called civic spaces, and these sites are fundamental to the flourishing of civil society for itself and also for political association seeking to make claims on in the public sphere (Lefebvre, 1991; Daniere & Douglass, 2008).

According to experts, there is a difference in the concept of public space between Western and non-Western countries, including Vietnam (Kürten, 2008; Lim, 2014). To clarify this point, we also list some definitions of public spaces given by Vietnamese researchers:

• (1) Public space is defined as the empty parts of an urban landscape that people can access freely and directly or indirectly provide, or have the potential to provide environmental, social and/or economic benefits for the community (Ly, 2004).

• (2) Public spaces are large-scale spaces that are freely used but under management such as roads, yards, parks. Public space is, at the same time, very public and very private. In that space, there is always a community living, working and changing, codeveloping, or gradually minimizing and disappearing, affecting the process of forming and developing public spaces (Nguyen A. B., 2005).

• (3) Urban public space is understood as a community communication space where social activities take place in an open and accessible manner, including indoor and outdoor public spaces. In these locations, people can freely enjoy the feeling of freedom and use the space to serve their own needs regardless of whether it is state-owned or private (Tran T. V., 2016).

These examples show that public spaces in Vietnamese cities are being seen from different angles, and the most mentioned keywords are 'free' (access, use, feeling), 'common' (benefits, activities), 'community' (impacts, affects). Although there is no direct, clear and specific definition of public space in Vietnam's legal framework system, if comprehensively synthesize individual regulations, physically, there are two types of space:

• Outdoor public spaces, artificial or natural, are often referred to as 'public spaces' or 'open spaces', such as streets, squares, parks, playgrounds, greeneries, water surfaces, etc.;

• Indoor public spaces, commonly referred to as 'public buildings', are classified according to their functions such as education, health, sports, culture, religion, trade and services, office building, transport hub, etc. (Gorvenment of Vietnam, 2015).

With the philosophy that KDTMs are built based on two fundamentals 'urban technical infrastructure' and 'urban social infrastructure', public spaces mostly belong to the group of 'social infrastructure' (Ministry of Construction of Vietnam, 2008). A typical example is that the street spaces (roadbeds and sidewalks) on the one hand are considered by Vietnamese cultural researchers to be a specific kind of public space showing the communicative lifestyle of Vietnamese people (Nguyen M. A., 2017), but on the other hand, the Ministry of Construction considers them as an 'urban technical infrastructure'. Thus, it can be seen that the 'orthodox' views consider public space functions in terms of properties and constructive ways rather than the nature of ownership, operation and exploitation of those spaces. The user of these spaces is implied as 'the masses' and divided into 3 groups: 'open masses' (everyone), 'closed masses' (restricting certain people) and 'mixture' (part open and part closed masses) (Nguyen D. T., 2006).

2.2 Gradient of the Publicness in Public Spaces

"Vietnam has little history of a public sphere or of public spaces, a social vacuum which has always been filled by the authority of the emperor/state with little place for Western-style public discussion or expression" (Drummond, 2000). Public space is treated as a collective consumer good, which everyone can use. It forms the basis of people's subsistence production (Kürten, 2008). The use of public spaces is mainly based on community agreements and conventions, sometimes obscuring legal provisions. For example, the sidewalk space in front of a house is used by the owner of the house as an extension (trading, cooking, playing, drying) while everyone can still walk through it, making the 'publicity' of this space difficult to define clearly as in Western countries. Moreover, the change of ideologies, economic mechanisms, and management methods has changed the production of public space. The nature of public space is changing obviously in Vietnam as the market economy develops (Drummond, 2000). This change has led to the emergence of additional public variations on the range of variables, including two extremes, the publicity and privacy of a space based on the way it was established, operated and exploited.

• *Different types of management - public/semi-public/semi-non-public/non-public spaces*: The recent evolutions of the forms of urban settlement and the growing number and variety of semi-public spaces managed by private-public or entirely private partnerships questions this notion inherited from a legal perspective (Tonnelat, 2010). Private companies take over control and maintenance of public spaces and create new, socalled 'semi-public' spaces like shopping malls (Kürten, 2008). New form of privatized space is taking over the city: public spaces are gradually being transformed into private spaces - if the public sphere dimension is thus excluded from these environments, the space is non-public. The semi-public space is also a transitional area that extends from the edge of the building to the public sidewalk, includes all the 'civic spaces' surrounding a private building, serving the public, managed by the building manager or their service provider. In this case, such spaces can be called 'semi-non-public space' or 'semi-private' space. Thus, the scale of public/semi-public/semi-non-public/non-public space relates to the operation of 'public spaces' based on the private-public coordination between owners, operators and managers or user.

• *Different users - public/common/private spaces*: Private space is the domestic space where social reproduction occurs more or less free from outright control by outside forces such as the state. Public space is the space 'out there' which belongs to the whole community, although regulated by prevailing social and legal norms (Drummond, 2000). In recent years in Vietnam, a 'new' concept of 'community space' is noticed, although it has existed for a long time, associated with the organization of residential space as traditional village community. As well as public spaces, the research on this type of space is 'vague'. However, we still find a definition: "community space is a space that contains community activities - a group of certain people with high internal cohesion, consensus on will, affection, beliefs and consciousness created by similarities in geography, culture, social organization, etc." (Pham, 2015). Space is public (être-au-monde/being-to-everyone) when it is no longer common (être-en-commun/being-in-common), when it is no longer given in a community tendentially proximal (Tassin, 1992). Another way, if public spaces are the realm of unfocussed interactions between anonymous strangers (Goffman, 1971), then the community space is for 'named people', i.e. (allowed) users have had a specific relationship before. Thus, in the simplest terms, in the range of variables with two extremes are public space (for everyone) and private space (only for the owner of 'that space'), the 'community space' stays in the middle with the user is a group of people defined through a certain social relationship. In Hanoi's new housing projects, these community spaces mean 'public spaces (only) for residents'. Thus, the range of public/community/private spatial scales seems to correspond to the effect of three basic spatial levels of urban areas: urban/residential area/building (Birch, 2007).

• *Different ways of creating - public/pseudo-public/counter-public spaces*: As more and more private or semi-private organizations manage what was previously publicly owned urban spaces, they blur the limit of the supposed public domain and enact exclusive regulations (Terzi, 2016). As in Western societies, public space is becoming consumption space (Zukin, 1993). The commodification of public space in Western societies through its replacement with pseudo-public spaces serves to depoliticize those spaces: they serve corporate interests, not democratic ones (Mitchell, 1995). Meanwhile, counter-public indicates the spaces and refers to a variety of spaces that are seen as empty and meaningless by authoritarian figures as a result of their 'temporary absence of attributed function' (Tonnelat, 2008). These spaces have been used but are currently not being used or abandoned, and thus represent an authoritarian view, unacceptable abandonment and socioeconomic omission (Shaw & Hudson, 2009). The market economy has turned Hanoi's public spaces into a 'commodity', in other words, public spaces have been 'commercialized', which can generate profits (material) for the investor but on behalf of (non-material) benefits for the community. On the other hand, Hanoi is tending to convert old public spaces in inner-city into new housing projects due to the increase in material value (land), creating the controversial phenomenon of counter-public.

3. From Socialization to Symbolization of Public Spaces in KDTM

3.1 Why model of KDTM?

Since 1986, after Doi Moi, entering an economic reform period, globalization, urbanization, Vietnam has launched a new strategy: project-based housing development, differences in the economic value of land and the sharing of housing

stock with the private sector (World Bank, 2011). After the first seven pilots KTDMs in 1997-1998 (Pandolfi, 2001) (Fig. 1), this model was widely spread in suburban areas of Hanoi: agricultural areas were filled quickly by residential and became newly living areas of the city (Tran M. T., 2016; Tran M. T., 2018). In recent decades, hundreds of master-planned KDTMs were developed on the urban fringes of the Vietnamese's cities, garnered a great deal of attention lately on the post-Doi Moi era (Labbé & Boudreau, 2011), promoted as a new urban planning concept in the post-reform policies (Tran H. A., 2015).

Entering the 1990s, the governments created favorable conditions to develop housing and public spaces in the form of investment 'packages' instead of countless individual projects before. These packages cover three important factors KDTMs = Technical infrastructures + Social facilities + Housing (Government of Vietnam, 2006; National Assembly of Vietnam, 2009). Public spaces and facilities will be created as the components of KDTMs, either undertaken by the project owner (the primary project owner) or transferred to the other project owner (the secondary project owner). In order to be self-contained, project owners must be responsible for setting up public spaces within the scope of their projects corresponding to the residential size and the area of the new urban area. With inter-KDTMs or city-level public spaces, the government encourages and possibly support project owners to implement.

Fig. 1 - Image of Linh Dam KDTM in 2000 - one of seven pilots KTDMs in Hanoi
(http://www.hud.com.vn/content/khu-do-thi-kieu-mau-linh-dam-hoang-mai-ha-noi)

Through the KDTMs model, the state has shifted from subsidizing accommodation to creating conditions for people to be self-sufficiency according to their needs and abilities. Therefore, KDTMs mainly provide commercial housing for the upper classes of the city - those who can afford to pay for their own homes as well as monthly expenses at KDTMs. Due to the rising demand for luxurious housing and cultural consumption on the part of the urban middle classes, the economic sector's position in urban development is enforced (Kürten, 2008). The state 'relies on' project owners, private sectors, in establishing adequate public spaces in KDTMs. That transfer of responsibility is often called 'socialization' in Vietnam (that is, the society 'helps' the state to perform some tasks that the government should implement). This term has come to imply the individualization of responsibilities and the privatization of public goods (Nguyen M. T., 2018), has shown a noticeable change in the ideology of creating public spaces, in order to increase the attractiveness in a fiercely competing real estate market which has started to be stabilized after the (re)forming and professionalized.

3.2 'Symbolizating' KDTMs and Their Public Spaces

In Vietnam, KDTMs become new 'symbols' of urban development in the post-Doi Moi period, a desirable representative image of each (icon of the city). In real estate advertisements, happy images of 2-generation families in green and open spaces or near an immense water surface, or shopping, eating, meeting friends and experiencing services in the public spaces of KDTMs are broadcasted as a new lifestyle (the avatar of new life) in the KDTMs - a 'liberal' life emphasizing comfort and enjoyment after a long period of hardship because of the war and state-planned/subsidized economy. Through this, the government also implicitly asserted the seriousness and guarantee in the space production under the form of projects (housing and public) which are controlled by the increasingly updated and improved legal framework, the professionalism and prestige of the project owner, and the elevated 'level' of residents (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 - The image promoting the new life of Ciputra KDTM - a successful foreign investment project in Hanoi in the 1990s (http://ciputrahanoi.com.vn/vi/thu-vien/thu-vien-anh/)

The concept of 'urban symbolism' (Nas, 2011) is instrumental in analyzing the power structures of public space. The term 'symbolic economy' (Zukin, 1995) helps to assess the power of the economic sector in shaping the urban landscape by introducing new patterns of cultural consumption and living to urban Vietnam. A city's 'symbolic economy' consists of two production systems: firstly, the production of space and secondly the production of symbols (Kürten, 2008). The production of space, with its synergy of capital investment and cultural meanings, and the production of symbols, constructs both a currency of commercial exchange and a language of social identity (Zukin, 1995). Everyone is seduced by spectacles in the shape of extravagant icon architecture (the land marketing of the city).
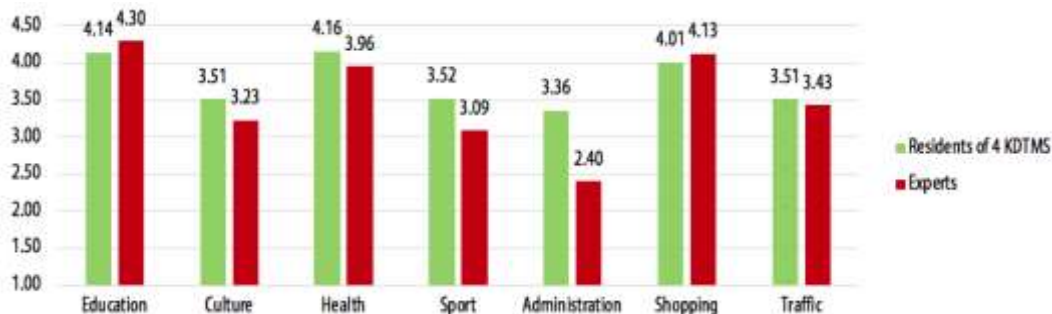

Fig. 3 - Comparing the assesment of 2 subjects on the necessity of 7 common types of public services and facilities in KDTMs (Likert scale: 1 - very unimportant, 2 - unimportant, 3 - neuter, 4 - important, 5 - very important)

Today, most KDTMs are struggling to create an image of 'friendliness', 'smartness' and 'quality of life' to attract flows of capital and new residents, and to prevent the loss of inhabitants and businesses. Public spaces, through their multiple functions (Fig. 3), have become crucial in achieving these two purposes. For public spaces in KDTMs, besides open spaces (greeneries) and transportation networks, four other types of public buildings that are required to be included: (1) education - kindergarten, elementary school, secondary school; (2) health care - clinics; (3) sports - sports ground, (4) trade - market (Ministry of Construction of Vietnam, 2008). These are public services that the government, instead of providing directly to the people, has socialized and transferred to the project owner, and other public facilities are encouraged. So, we have the formula: Public space in KDTMs = Required public space (institutionalized) + Value-added public space (economicalized).

Therefore, KDTMs often add many appurtenances to diversify public spaces, increase the attractiveness and livability. The policy 'Doimoi' made possible and encouraged the commercialization of leisure space and the commodification of leisure itself. The state is now allowing and encouraging the creation of commercialized leisure spaces where the primary activity within these spaces and indeed their primary purpose, is consumption (Drummond, 2000). In this context, there are two main trends. The first is to turn (value-added) public spaces into event venues, spurring shopping and consumption. The second is to take advantage of public space to build recreation areas to separate people from reality by a 'different world' (such as Disney Land). The public space, instead of promoting diversity, freedom and opening to everyone, was gradually becoming a limited and controlled space (Ta & Manfredini, 2017). This tendency also shows the 'rationality' with the world trend: two regimes of public space management occurring today - the over control of public places which they called 'secured public space' and the general trend of Disneyfication of space, which they labeled 'themed public space' (Melik, Aalst, & Weesep, 2007).

4. Problematizing Peculiar Nature of Public Spaces in KDTMs of Hanoi

4.1 Who Decides How to Design Public Spaces in KDTMs?

Each project is a private 'territory' of the project owner, where they take fully responsible to the city authority for all activities within it. The design process of a KDTM, including three stages:

• *Masterplan level*: Before 1986, urban planning was a state-monopoly field. After the Doi Moi policy in 1986, especially after the new Land Law in 1993, the state began to partly share urban planning to private enterprises (urban, regional and territorial planning still monopolized by the state). This transfer is a 'revolution' in city-making to 'pave the way' for the projects, creating conditions to attract foreign and domestic investment. In order to control the land use targets in the detailed planning proposed by the project owners, in 1996, the Ministry of Construction, for the first time, developed a National Construction Code for planning, which specifies the criteria of the land use in urban areas. In this regulation, there are three types of non-residential land, which is considered as land for public functions, accounting for about 1/4 for big urban areas and 1/5 for small urban areas (Ministry of Construction of Vietnam, 1996). This difference ratio is due to the land norms for the transportation network, while other types of public land are the same for different urban scales (Table 2). However, it seems that this provision is a bit 'vague' when it is unfounded, inflexible and difficult to update, so in 2008, the Ministry of Construction removed it. Since then, the area of public space is based on an agreement between the project owner and the municipality.

Table 2 - Regulations of Vietnam Building Code 1996 on urban land use in 1996 (Ministry of Construction of Vietnam, 1996)

Category of city	Land use criteria (m2/person)				
	Residential land	Traffic land	Public land	Green land	Total
I - II	19 - 21	2 - 2.5	1.5 - 2	3 - 4	25 - 28
III - IV	28 - 35	2.5 - 3	1.5 - 2	3 - 4	35 - 45
V	37 - 47	3	1.5	3 - 4	45 - 55

• *Construction works level*: After the master plan is approved, the land plots are either invested by the project owner or transferred to the secondary investor. For public spaces, two cases can be observed:

- *Mandatory public spaces*: These spaces provide public services, so the price is strictly regulated by the government to ensure access to everyone. Therefore, it is not very easy for the project owner to get a quick return to make up for the initial investment. Many coping scenarios are implemented depending on the project context, such as delaying the implementation, appeal to secondary project owners, 'return' to the city by linking these public spaces to the existent local system, asking for 'privatizing' public services, building more value-added public spaces to make up for the investment in compulsory public spaces.

- *Value-added public spaces*: are those that can generate a return. Thus, the project owners always try to maximize these spaces depending on KDTM size as well as the project owner's ability. The complex of shopping - recreation - eating space in KDTMs is becoming a trend. Therefore, although not a mandatory public space, they paradoxically appear in most KDTMs, even being prioritized to build first.

• *Furniture and architectural facilities level - the final level before launching*: The public spaces in KDTMs are always highlighted by the labels 'modern', 'comfortable', 'high-class', 'international' to enhance the level of users through the presence of well-known domestic or international brands in the supply of goods, services and management, creating trust about the quality of space and service it creates. Therefore, the furniture and equipment are also relatively comfortable, attractive, even luxurious to attract not only residents of the KDTMs but also neighborhoods. Among them, air conditioning is always considered an indispensable device that attracts users in the summer 'for cooling' and in the winter 'for warming'. The 'expansion' of shopping - recreation - eating spaces under the control of the land use criteria in the KDTMs has led project owners to 'bury' these spaces underground. Due to the lack of a legal framework for underground construction, the project owners are given a free hand, depending on their needs and operational capacity. Then, the interior decoration is paid more and more attention.

As such, the public spaces in KDTMs will be wholly marked by the project owner and serve their interests by maximizing commercialization. The city authorities only control the mandatory public spaces, while the value-added public spaces are almost left open.

4.2 Who are users of Public Spaces in KDTMs?

Through practical observations, we found that there are two types of users in the KDTMs' public spaces: (1) 'insiders' - are the residents of the KDTMs, and (2) 'outsiders' - not residents of the KDTMs. Depending on the commercialization orientation of the project owner, these two components proportion is changed to create the 'spirit' of that KDTM. We distinguish:

• (1) *'Open' KDTMs*: almost do not distinguish between insiders and outsiders (except some private spaces reserved for residents located around and inside apartments). These KDTMs can be called 'popular', which are always 'crowded and happy' by the abundance of activities and popular services in the form of traditional retail, reasonable prices, unspecified distinctive customers. It is interesting to note that the majority of these 'popular' KDTMs are established by state-owned enterprises, investing in a 'rolling-way', accumulating the population gradually according to the progress of space development. One of the successful 'open' KDTMs is Linh Dam KDTM - awarded by the Ministry of Construction as a 'KDTM model' in 2009.

• (2) *'Closed' KDTMs*: restrict outsiders in accessing and using public spaces by a security system (guards, fences, security gates) in order to ensure comfort, isolation and priority for the insiders. These KDTMs are usually high-class, eco-friendly urban areas - only for middle and upper class, whose income is enough to afford the house price and monthly service costs. Owners of these KDTMs are often large private enterprises with sufficient financial resources to 'define' the spirit of their KDTMs. A survey of the KDTMs in Hanoi showed that there are different 'closed' levels as follows:

- *Fully closed*: characterized by fences, gates with security guards 24h/7 days. The outsiders are required to prove the purpose before entering. The internal public spaces are often quiet, losing the bustle spirit of an Asian city. In some cases, commercial spaces are separated alongside the KDTM to ensure revenue and attract outsiders. That means the insiders have to 'get out' of the KDTM to shop. The typical case is Ciputra KDTM - whose project owner is a foreign enterprise (Leaf, 2015), was commenced in 2003, aimed at customers who are also foreigners or rich people in Vietnam with westernized and internationalized public services, fenced around 301ha, 4 control gates with security staff continuously go on patrol (Geertman & Tran, 2010).

- *Partly closed*: that means partly opened and partly closed. The forms are relatively diverse: either outsiders can access public spaces 'freely' under the supervision of security system to limit and prevent some activities; or to clearly demarcate public spaces for insiders and outsiders through physical measures such as signs or security personnel; or controlling cards (resident card, customer card, preferential card, etc.) at the entrance; or charging payment in the form of preferential treatment for different groups of users. Most high-end KDTMs are following this strategy to ensure the rights of both residents and project owners, such as Ecopark (Fig. 4). Due to its relatively remote location, in order to attract city residents, this KDTM regularly organizes events in three outdoor parks and indoor entertainment - culinary area. Outsiders can access under the supervision of security guards but cannot penetrate residential areas. This strategy has made highly appreciated for the attraction of this KDTMs' public spaces.

Fig. 4 - The restriction of 'outsiders' on public spaces at Ecopark KDTMs helps 'insiders' feel more secure (http://www.ecopark.com.vn/a/tang-cuong-an-ninh-toan-dien-tai-ecopark-374)

For KDTMs in Hanoi, one of the public spaces that most clearly shows the 'rules of the game' of the project owners is the shopping - recreation - eating complex in the form of shopping centers (mall). Just like all the others, surveillance and technologies of control in commercial centers sort the population and force them to behave in a way that is all oriented toward consumerism not conducive to encounters and debate (Lofland, 1998). Despite control by private guards, access is usually granted to everybody, with the notable exception of homeless, drunken persons and beggars. The exclusion of 'undesirables' from commercial centers is the limit to their complete status of public space. If the interaction diversity is controlled, 'sanitized' and devoid of any risk of unsettling encounters, the knowledge and civility that is produced is necessarily contained within a restricted definition of specific society members. More and more, commercial centers cater to specific income brackets, which means that a class selection operates seamlessly to separate the population and reproduce in the commercial realm the divisions already observed in the residential one (Tonnelat, 2010). The former premise that public space is accessible to anyone then becomes obsolete (Kürten, 2008). In the same situation in Hanoi, almost commercial spaces inside KDTMs have professional security personnel guarding and patrolling. They are seen as the 'embodiment' of security and safety, which can solve the trouble on the spot in time. So, their presence increases the feeling of safety for the users. On the other hand, the number of security personnel also identify the level of that KDTM.

If in the 'popular' KDTM, security guards only appear in commercial space, then in the 'high-class' KDTM, they are present everywhere, including the indoor and outdoor public spaces.

5. Conclusion: When Public Spaces of KDTM in Three Influential Actors

Thus, with three initial research questions, we have come up with interesting and practical findings that could open up the next indepth studies of the public spaces in KDTM.

Firstly, public space in the KDTM - a 'private domain' associated with the diversity and creativity of the private enterprise under the influence of the market economy and consumerism in Vietnam during the post-Doi Moi period. Perhaps after a long period of the subsidized economy with low quality 'state-own' public spaces due to limited budget, the transfer of public spaces-making responsibility in KDTMs for project owners has been somewhat successful when the quality and amenities have been improved, creating a new development trend for the city. Since then, the city's appearance has been improved, at least in terms of material aspects, which has brought about positive social effects.

Secondly, different public spaces, in different ways make by different KDTM project owners, have shown different variations, with different levels of openness to users, creating different gradient of publicness. Thus initiatives in public space are required to be checked and balanced in the tripartite relationship between the municipality, the KDTM owners and inhabitants/citizens as a triangle. It is important to be aware of the best way to incorporate each public space initiative into this triangle to ensure the KDTMs' public spaces have real publicness and can operate sustainably.

Thirdly, a triangular relationship has been established in the production of KDTM' public spaces. The first actor - the municipality can establish rules and maintain order through its traditional (constitutional/institutional) position, and it can also support parties by providing process supervision. The second actor - the KDTM owners are mainly familiar with market stimuli: they know how to satisfy consumers and develop healthy business models. The third actor - involved inhabitants/citizens are part of civil society. They aim to set up activities with each other based on trust and enthusiasm, which is not always feasible in an anonymous relationship with the government or the business relationship with the market.

Through the public spaces in KDTMs, we see that the win-win-win method among three parties is being considered as a common way and currently promoted in Hanoi:

- (1) The city has more high quality and convenience public spaces, reducing the burden on the budget for maintenance;
- (2) Project owners have direct and indirect profits from the exploitation of public spaces, which is a driving force in creating and improving the quality of space;
- (3) Public spaces in KDTMs become regular destinations of people to help them meet their daily needs.

However, the privatization of public spaces has also shown the inadequacies when the interests of one party may cause disadvantages for the other:

- (1) It is difficult for the city authorities to thoroughly solve the problems arising because, in essence, these 'common' spaces are the 'private' property of the project owner, the different ways of 'space-making' and the arising publicity variations have contributed to complicating the institutionalization of these spaces;
- (2) Project owners in some cases will not be 'comfortable' because of the constraints and legal obligations, that forces them to find both legal and illegal ways to reconcile the government's bureaucratic demands of public space and their desire for commercialization;
- (3) Users are 'chosen', either openly or cleverly, in accessing public spaces that lead to the risk of promoting social segregation by consumption class.

If public space is considered as free and democratic space, it seems that in the KDTMs, these characteristics among the parties have been somewhat limited by the mechanism of space production.

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