

# Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Villages: part of expansion plans since the colonial era

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

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

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

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

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



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Photo 4

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

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

The question of the status of villages in colonial town planning, avoided during the construction of the squared-off quarter, rapidly came to a head when the city spread out into its outskirts<sup>3</sup>. Accordingly, Ernest Hébrard's 'master plan for Hà Nội', drawn up in 1924 (Plate 10), shows a certain amount of attention given to surrounding villages considered as existing structures to be taken into account in the project. This map, although it possesses undoubted qualities, remains a formal composition with its limits: on one hand, the villages integrated into the city lose

their agricultural component, which throws into question the future of the rural society that lives there, on the other, when he devises 'industrial neighbourhoods', he advocates 'giving priority to modern needs by reserving plenty of space for future expansions' (HÉBRARD, 1928). In his project, this took the shape of radical elimination of villages and of their agricultural land.

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



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

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

### • The 'Renewal' and the future of urban villages

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

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

However, the fate of villages was not always clear in the expansion plans of this period. For example, interest for the existing structures in the Master Plan to 1992, drawn up with the help of the IAURIF<sup>6</sup>, was explicit and advocated by

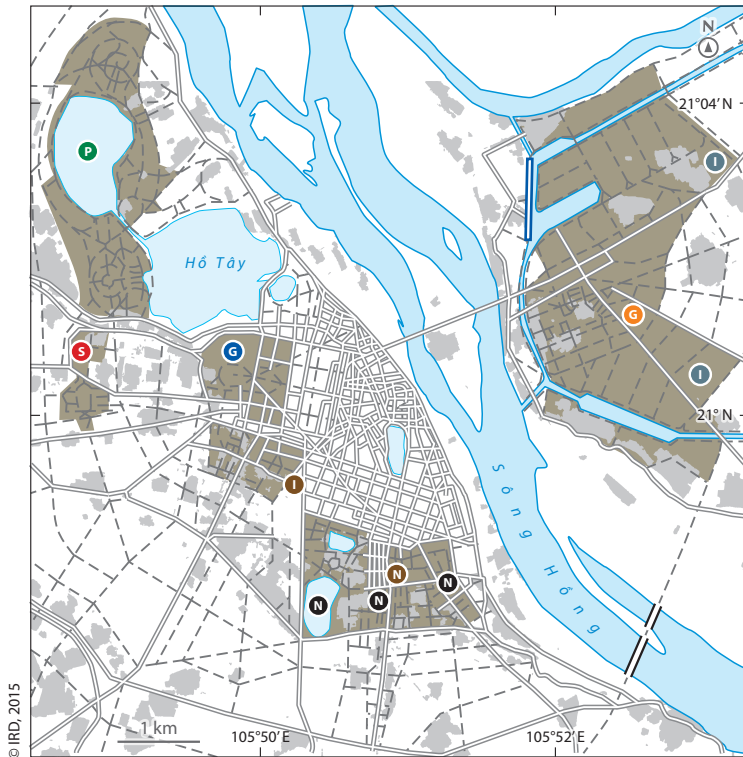
the authors (ETTEINGER & PALISSE, 1993), but it concentrates mainly on the historic sector of the centre of Hà Nội. For urban development and expansion of the city, the proposition was organised around means of communication. In this zone of urban growth, villages were drawn, but played no part in the project. The same applied in the following master plan, approved in 1998.

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

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

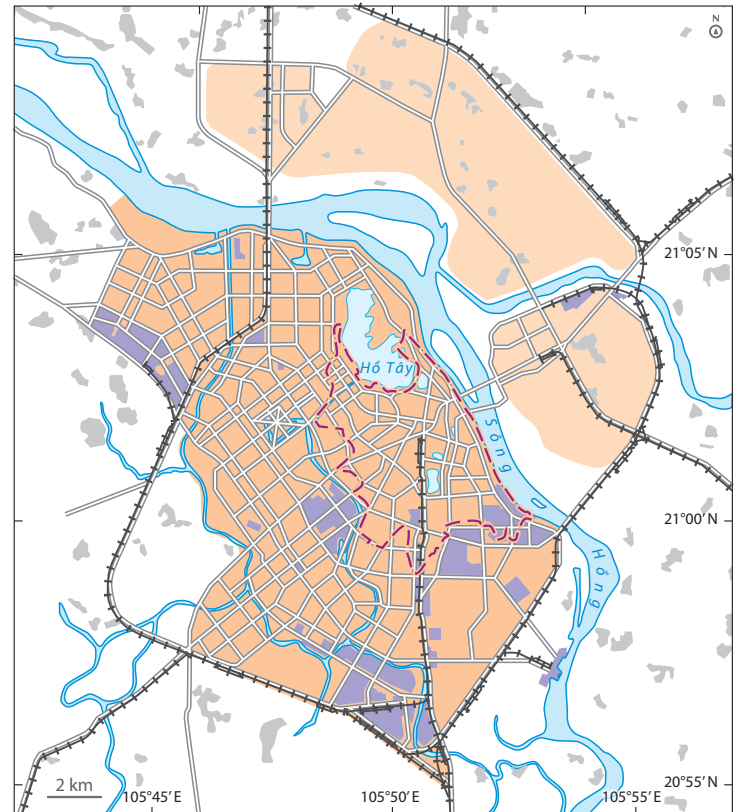
Villages near Hà Nội, beyond the second ring road, are currently confronted with the same transformations as those located in the zone already urbanised: they are rapidly losing all agricultural component. The difference in the second zone is the rapidity of the process of urbanisation and the expropriation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

### Hébrard map 1925 (colonial era) with mention of villages



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

### General plan of Hà Nội for 2000 drawn in 1981



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### • Wider and more diversified settlement than in the first ring

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





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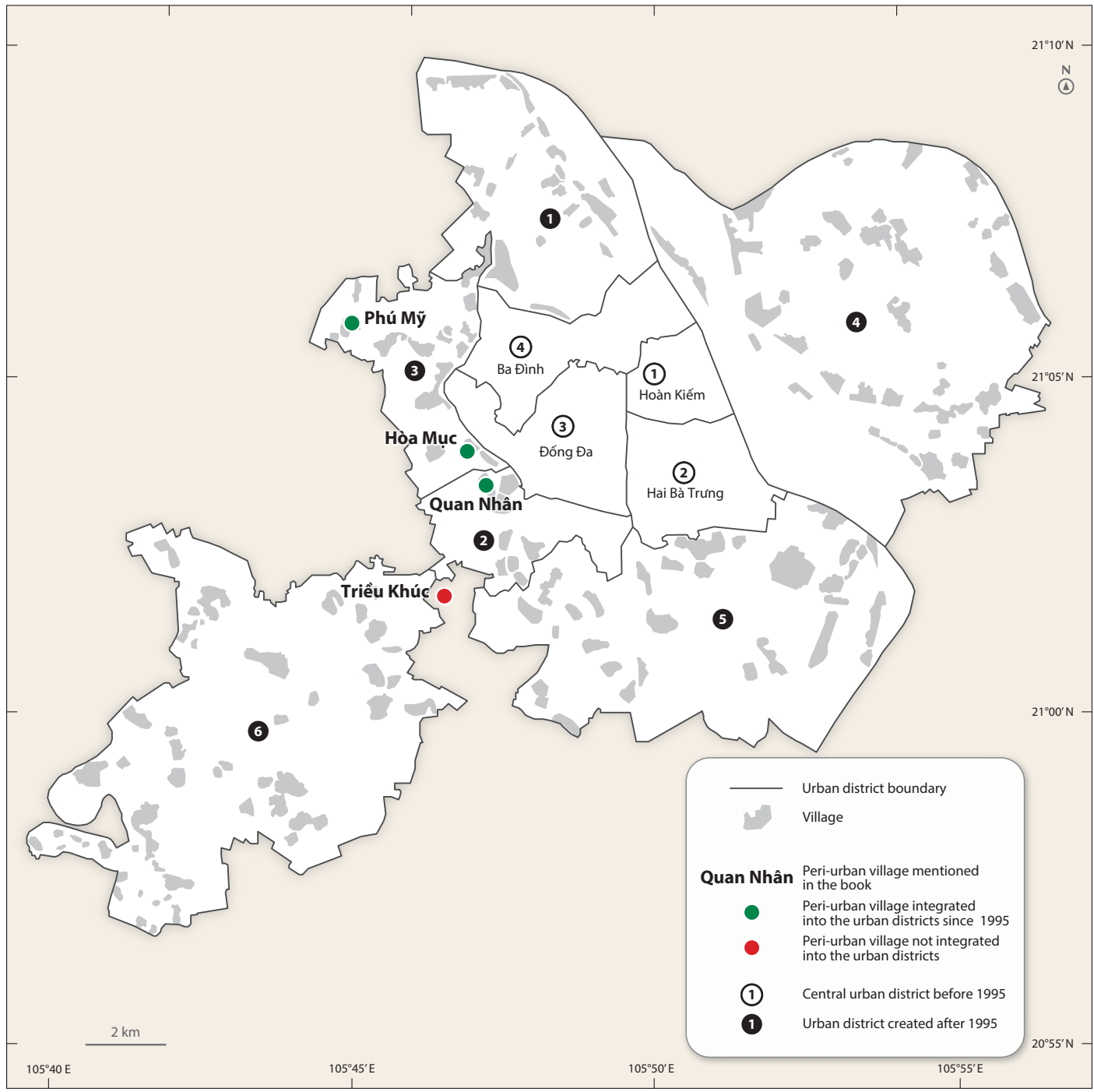
Photo 5  
**A village communal house integrated in the urban fabric: Ngọc Hà**

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

On the other hand, during the 2000s, the area of land to be built on in the first ring of urbanisation (the zone inside the urban districts) was smaller, because

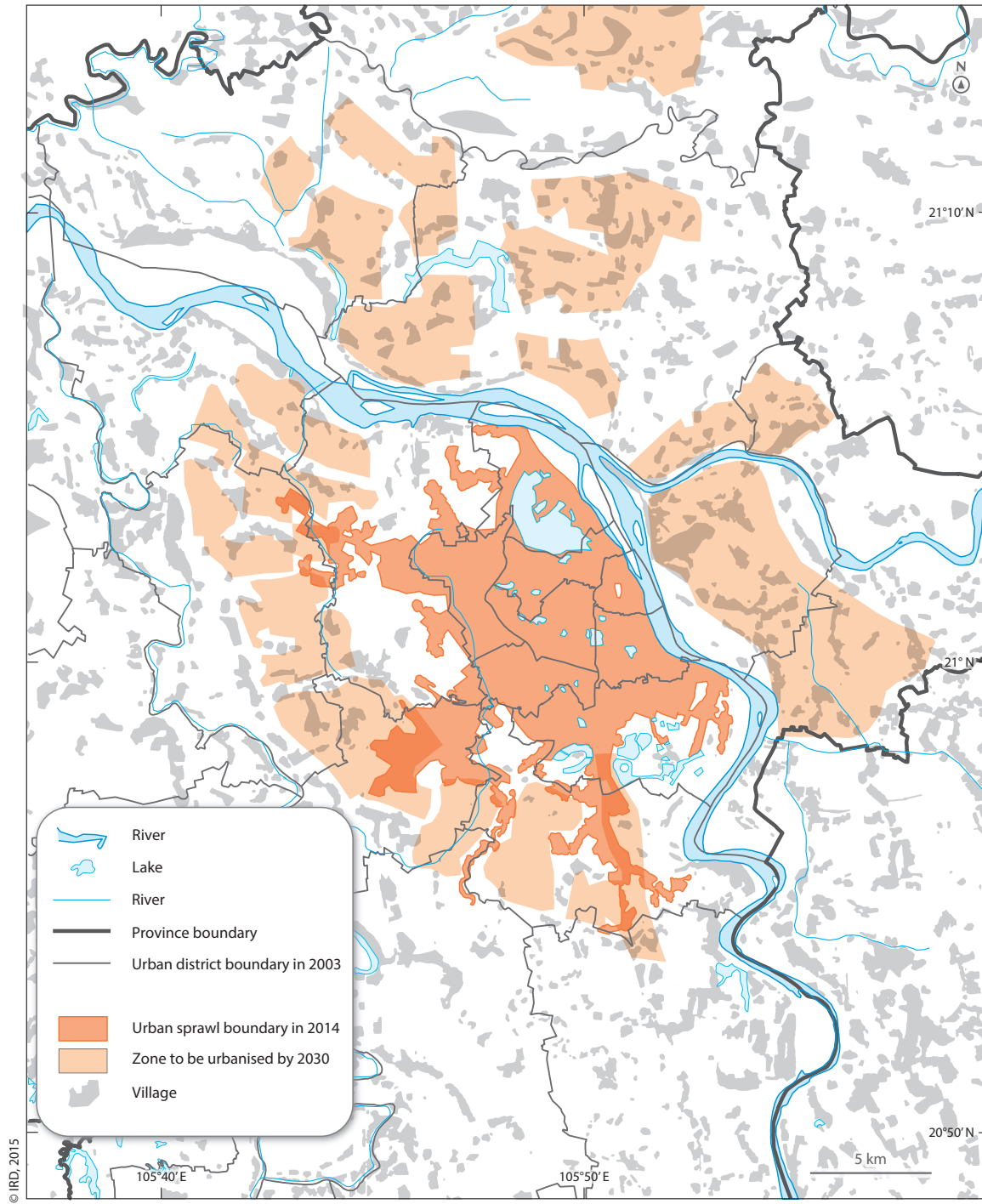
the settlement of villages was denser, but also because the developers were not such big players. This density is explained in part by a process of very pronounced *in situ* urbanisation of these villages at the city gates, which have adopted multi-activity ways of life, received migrants very early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

**Villages integrated into the urban space since *Đổi mới***





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



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

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

The province of Hà Nội's expansion over its western province and a few other communes has allowed it to triple its territory, rising from 900 km<sup>2</sup> to 3,300 km<sup>2</sup>. This annexed land, most of it rural, is all land reserved for urban projects, apart from the sector prone to flooding located in the green corridor.

According to the Master Plan to 2030 (PPJ, Ministry of Construction & the Hanoi People's Committee, 2011), the municipal authorities anticipated that the urban population would rise from 2.680 million inhabitants in 2009 to 6.6 million in 2030. In 2009, the urban population of the province amounted to about a quarter of the population and was divided among the 9 urban districts (2.217 million) on a territory representing 5% of the provincial total, or 179.45 km<sup>2</sup>. The remaining 463,000 inhabitants live in the administrative centres of districts and small towns. By 2030, the urban population will make up 66% of the total population and will live in a territory representing 32% of the province, or 1,056 km<sup>2</sup>.

According to the Master Plan to 2030, a vast territory of 860 km<sup>2</sup> will be urbanised. This space will be made up of various kinds of neighbourhoods with differing densities and building heights (see Chapter 6). The dense urban core, made up of current urban districts, and the expansion located between the Nhuệ River and ring road 3 (125.29 km<sup>2</sup>) is in the process of filling up.

The zone most affected by urbanisation and major projects is the expansion between ring roads 3 and 4, corresponding to the districts of Hoài Đức (see Chapter 7), Đan Phượng and to the urban district of Hà Đông. 182 km<sup>2</sup> will be urbanised in high-rise to make a second ring of built-up city. 1.4 million inhabitants are expected there by 2030. The entirety of agricultural land will disappear. The districts of Mê Linh, Đông Anh and Gia Lâm, already very urbanised, will become denser and will house new projects, especially industrial zones to take advantage of their location along roads leading to Nội Bài Airport and to the port of Hải Phòng.

Five satellite towns, with an area of 290.85 km<sup>2</sup>, will be built in a radius of 20 km around the city centre and will house 1.7 million people in the medium term. At the edges of the zone prone to flooding, they cannot be built with too

dense a level of construction. As for 'ecological' towns situated in the green corridor, they will cover 38 km<sup>2</sup>, alternating low-level neighbourhoods with stretches of water and parks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### • The breakdown in hydraulic and communication networks

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

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

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

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

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

## Integration into the city: between myths and realities

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

With economic liberalisation, crafts could not survive the economic competition. High quality traditional papers were no longer prized and this artisanal

activity, completely manual, was abandoned in the villages on the shores of West Lake at the beginning of the 1980s. Consuming large quantities of both water and firewood, for the ovens, the craft fell victim to competition from industrial paper mills and competition for land in this rapidly urbanising zone.

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

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

### • Hòa Mực: a new residential zone in village territory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These small fields nonetheless ensured households' food security. They provided a foundation upon which villagers diversified their economy. With their self-sufficiency assured, households sent some of their members to try their luck in the city, where new jobs were being created, especially in construction. Others widened and intensified market gardening and husbandry activities that they already practised at home during the collectivist era. Still others opened small

businesses or companies run from home, including offering accommodation for students and seasonal migrants in small buildings called *nhà trọ*, built on village residential land.

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

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

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

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

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

## Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

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

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

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

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

A new socio-economic insecurity has also appeared among households who have used up in a few years all of the compensation money received after expropriation. Poorly prepared to manage such large sums of money, some less-educated families favoured 'ostentatious' purchases, choosing to rebuild their houses or buy the latest model of scooter rather than investing in a small business, in learning a trade or in the education of their children. TÔ XUÂN PHÚC & DRUMMOND (2009) report similar situations all around the Red River Delta, where 'several

former farmers now have villas several stories high and scooters for each member of their families, but are incapable of meeting their daily needs for food'

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

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

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

### • **Triều Khúc: social impacts of integration**

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



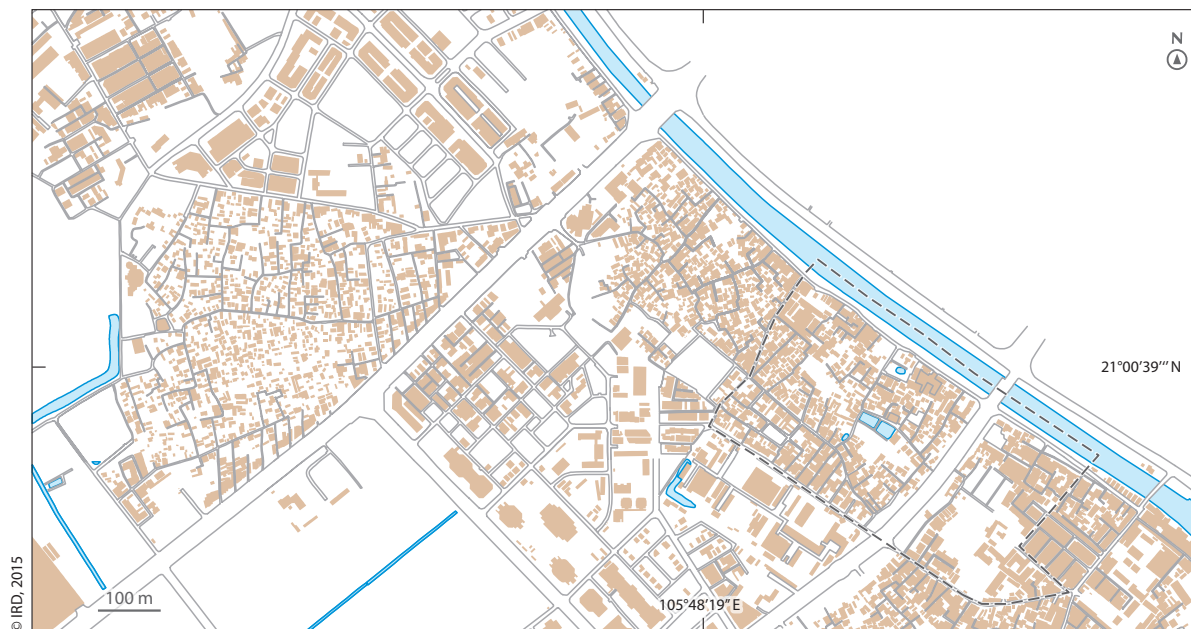
### The densification of urban development in the village of Hòa Mực since the 1990s

1992



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

2003



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## Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

local administration, about a hundred village pupils pass university entrance examinations, which is gradually changing the socio-economic structure<sup>7</sup>.

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

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

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

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

## Box 1

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

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

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

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

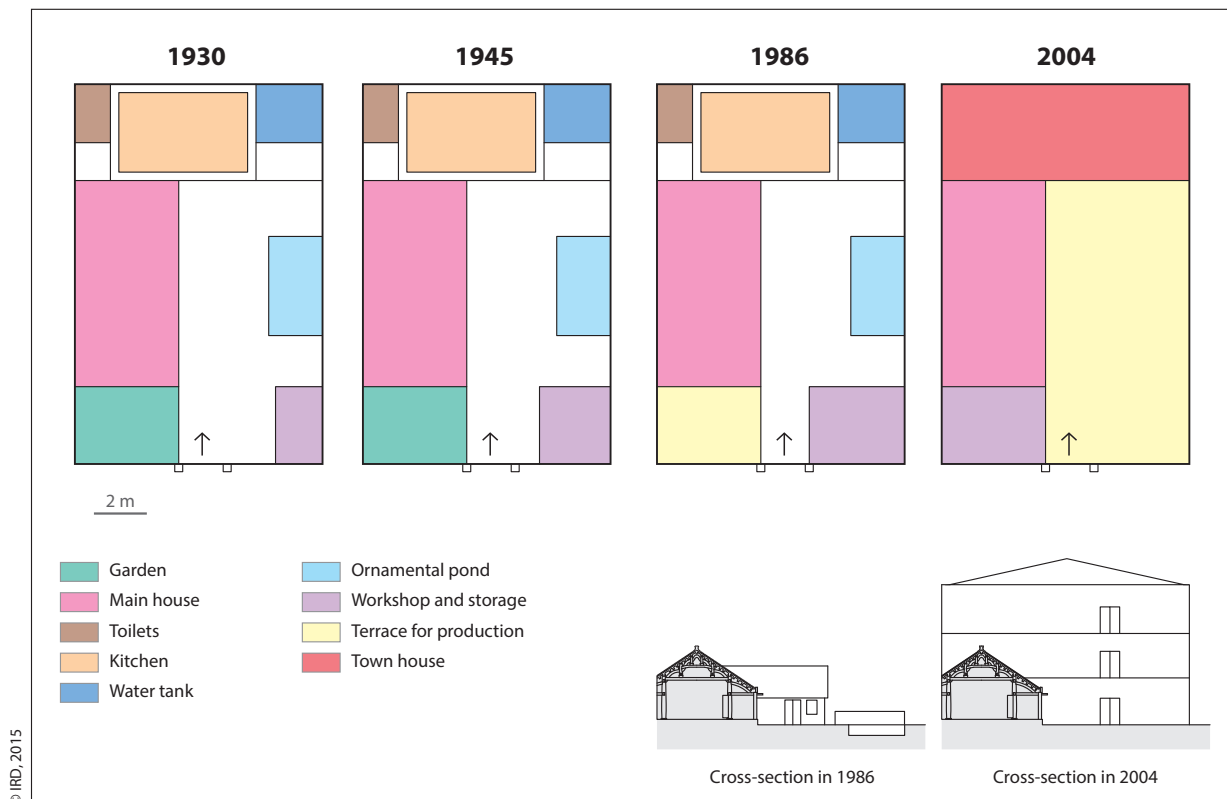
This explains why many piles of plastic can be observed in the village awaiting recycling, along with small processing plants right in residential areas. Figure 8 shows how this activity fits into the village landscape and occupies an ever-greater place in residential space. Since the 1980s, market liberalisation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

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

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

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

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





## Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

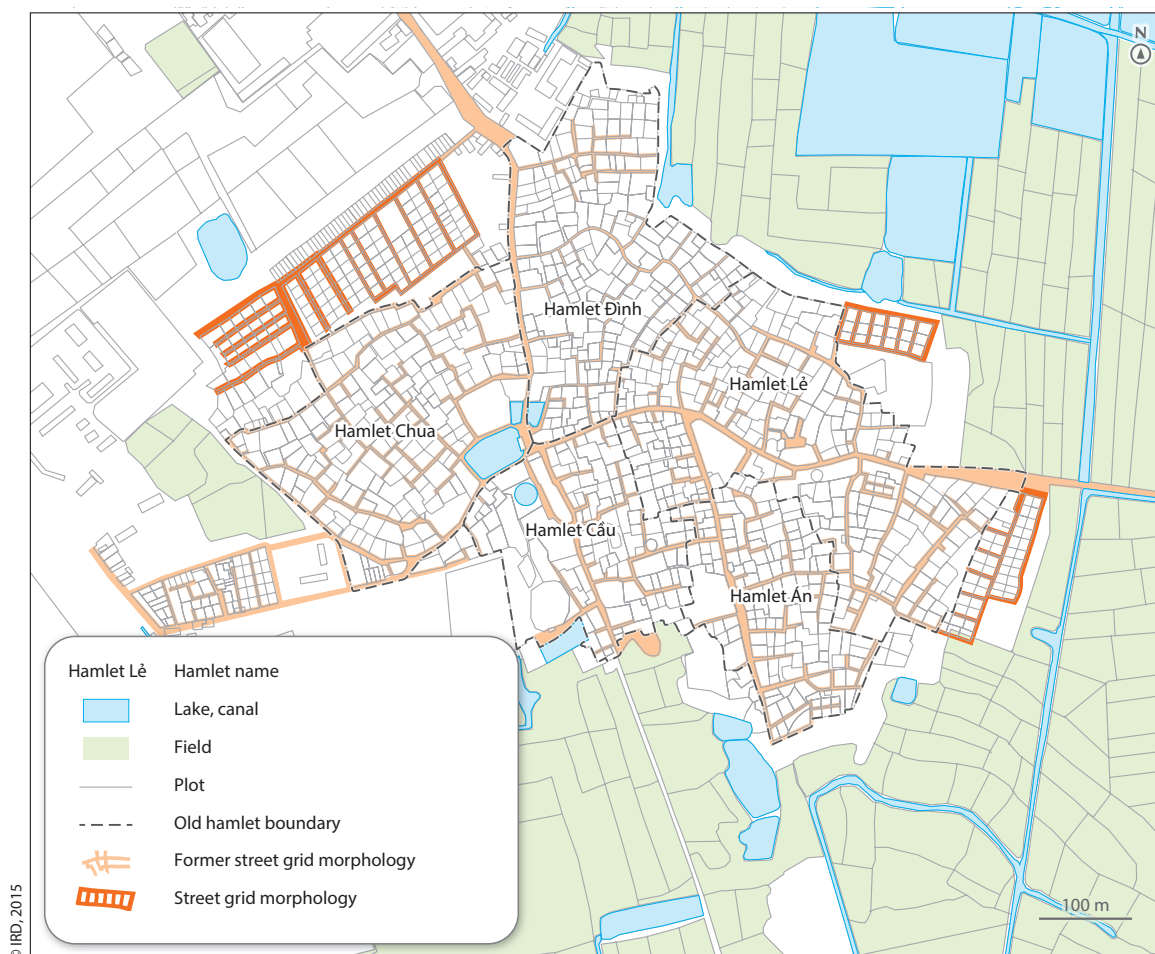
By observing a map of the village of Triều Khúc, one can distinguish two very different morphological types: the old urban morphology in the centre and another on the outskirts of villages. In the old hamlets, the thoroughfares are sinuous and describe complex routes: they follow the lie of the land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

thoroughfares are laid out in the urban gridiron style, but devoid of footpaths (Figure 9).

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

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

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



Source: TRẦN NHẬT KIẾN, 2010

## Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sometimes in special villages called scholar villages, for example Quan Nhân or Chương, people build a temple for Confucius (*văn chi*) for the worship of the founder of Confucianism, for successful candidates of the quadrennial

competitive exams from the mandarin era, and for the activities of village scholars. In the hamlets, there are small monuments such as the little temples (*miếu*) that are built by inhabitants to appease malevolent spirits.

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

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

## Conclusion

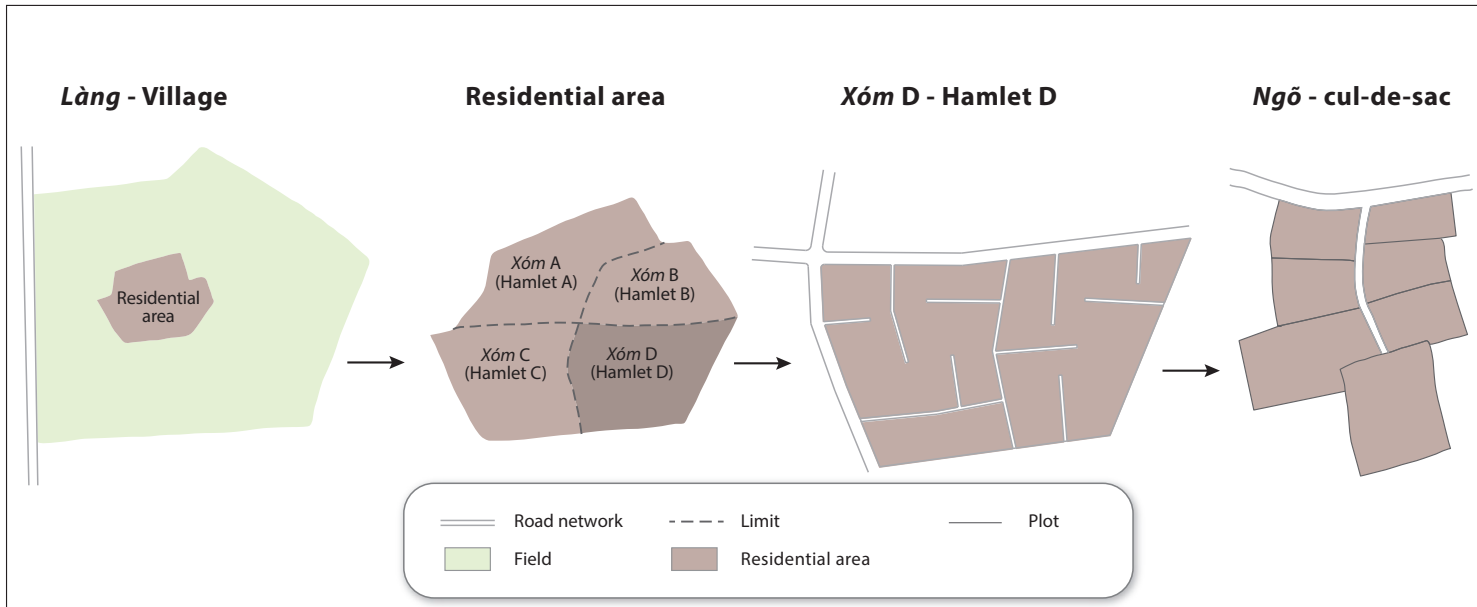
The conditions of village integration into the city of Hà Nội have fluctuated according to periods with different versions depending on spatial, socio-cultural, economic and administrative variables. Cultural heritage of village origin, spread out over various neighbourhoods in the city, is evidence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

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

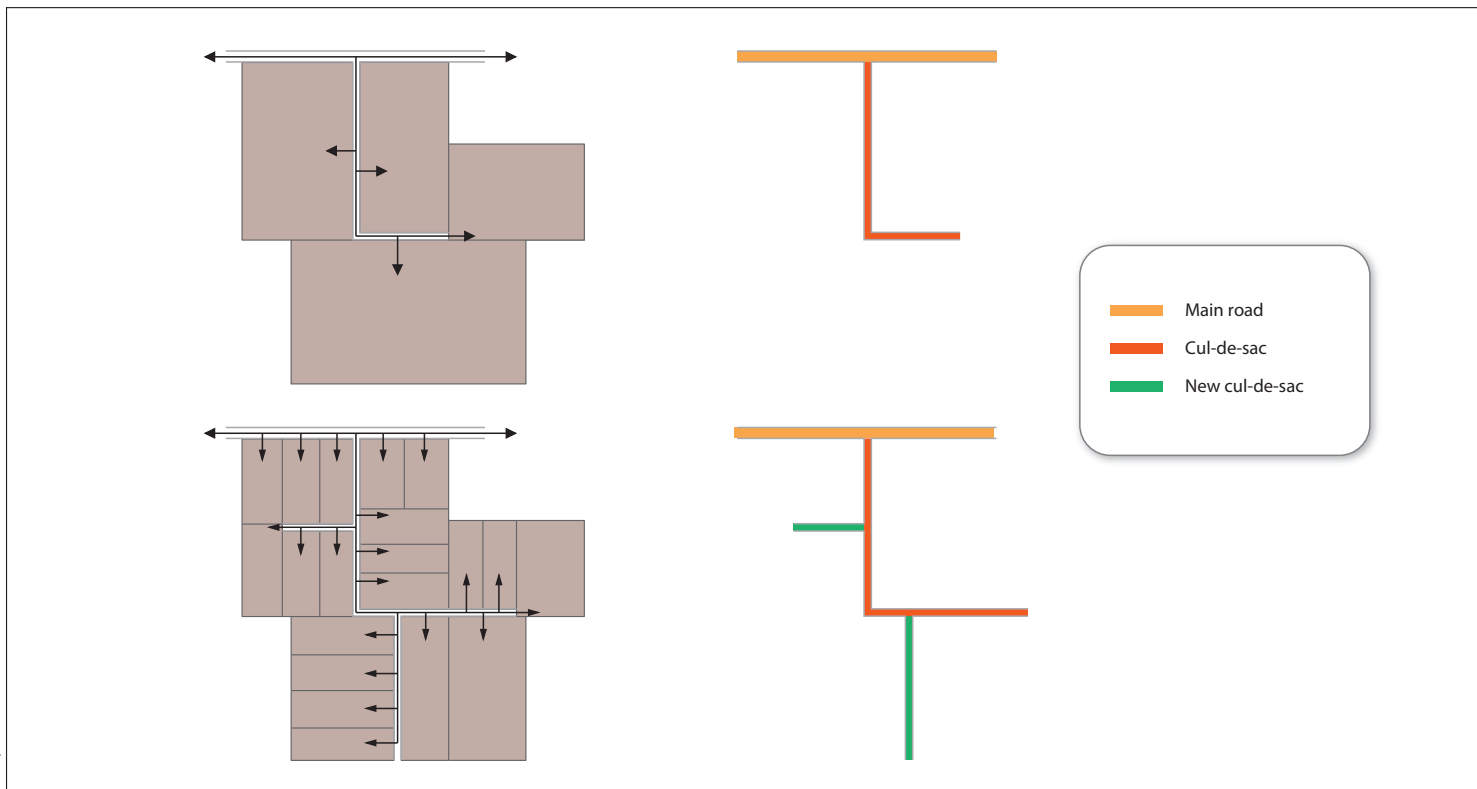
The acceleration of the process of metropolisation, the influx of migrant workers into urban villages, the change in scale of the magnitude of the city, but above all the very high price of land no longer allow economic and social adaptations made up of negotiations with the administrative authorities,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

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

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



Source: TRẦN NHẬT KIẾN, 2010



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## Expansion of the city through integration of urban villages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Petit atlas urbain*

Edited by Sylvie Fanchette

# Hà Nội, a Metropolis in the Making

The Breakdown in Urban  
Integration of Villages



Collection « Petit atlas urbain »

Edited by Sylvie Fanchette

# Hà Nội, a Metropolis in the Making

The Breakdown in Urban Integration of Villages

Foreword by Rodolphe De Koninck

Atlas edited by the Cartography Department

Direction de l'information et de la culture scientifiques pour le Sud (DIC, IRD), IRD France-Nord (Bondy)

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*A Vietnamese woman holds branch of peach tree in blossom in a street of Hà Nôi*

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