



A Study on Upgrading Projects of Public Housing in Hanoi, Vietnam

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要 旨			
<p>本論文は、ベトナム・ハノイにおける公的集合住宅の改善事業を対象として、居住者の居住条件や意識を通して評価したものである。</p> <p>ハノイには、1960年代から80年代にかけて建設された公的集合住宅（4～5階建て）が450棟存在し、約14万人が居住している。その主要なものは23箇所の団地に存在しているが、いずれも物的老朽化、社会的陳腐化が進行しており、その改善が大きな課題となっている。こうした状況は、旧社会主義国である、東欧やアジア諸国に共通したものであり、ベトナムもその一面をなしているが、これらの老朽住宅に対する改善事業は緒に就いたばかりであり、経済全体の開放（資本主義化）とあいまって、今後、こうした問題にどのように対応していくかが、問われている。</p> <p>本論文はこうした背景の下で、ベトナムでいち早く進行しているハノイの住宅改善事業（Upgrading Project）を取り上げ、その実態を踏まえて評価を行い、今後の施策に対する知見を得ようとしたものである。</p> <p>本論文は全体で7章より構成されている。</p> <p>第1章は序言として、研究の背景、研究の意義・目的、用語の定義などを行っている。</p> <p>第2章では研究の方法に関して、調査の方法、調査対象団地の選定、調査対象(居住者)の選定などについて述べている。</p> <p>第3章ではベトナムにおける住宅政策と都市開発政策を概観している。</p> <p>第4章ではベトナムにおける公的集合住宅の特性について明らかにしている。</p> <p>第5章は、本論文の中心的内容のひとつであり、改善事業に関するケーススタディ（実態調査）の結果を述べている。</p> <p>ここでは、2007年に2つの団地を対象として改善事業が行われる前の段階の住宅についてアンケート調査（回答者120件）をおこない、居住者の居住実態や意識を分析している。</p> <p>改善事業に対して居住者の過半数（55～67%）が賛同し、その主な理由が居住条件の改善が期待できることをあげている。その背景には現在の住宅が狭く、老朽化しており、設備も不十分であることがある。改善事業が行われた場合、80%の住民は元の場所に住むことを希望し、また78～92%が、新しい住宅を購入したいと回答している。居住者の中には中低所得者が多いが、そういった人々は分割払いによる買取を希望している。</p> <p>改善事業は市政府が主体となり、実際の事業は投資者（開発業者）が担当する。居住者は行政に対して、従前の権利の保障、従前地区での再居住を認めること、事業の早期実施、モダンで文化的なデザイン、インフラや公益施設の充実、事業・工事の厳正な監督などを求めている。また、購入価格については、低所得者や、革命の犠牲者、退職者、単身世帯などに分割払いや低利融資を求めている。</p> <p>他方、開発業者に対しては、価格やデザインのこともあるが、住宅の質に対する関心が最も高く、品質の向上を求めている。</p> <p>第6章も本論文の主要な内容であり、改善事業が行われた後の2009年に、事業タイプの異なる3つの団地を対象として調査研究を行い、事業の実態、居住者意識について、分析を行っている。3つの事業タイプとは、部分改善型事業、増築型事業、全体建て替え事業で、調査件数は175件である。それぞれの特徴は、部分改善型では建物密度が増加し、人口も若干増加する、全体建て替え型は建物密度の増加、人口増加ももっとも大きい。増築型は個々の建物が増床するが、人口は増加しない。</p> <p>3地区での調査の結果、事業に対する評価は全体で9割が賛成しており、満足度は65%に達し、各団地のばらつきも少ない。しかし、住宅に対する評価では、全体建替えの団地で、満足度が37%と低い。</p>			

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<p>その原因は、建て替え後の住宅の劣化が著しく、住宅の質の低さにある。また、建て替え後の住宅の面積が狭くベトナムで一般的な3世代家族の住要求に応え切れていないことが明らかとなっている。</p> <p>改善事業後の床面積は31～45㎡の規模のものが全体で35%存在するが、その半数は、不満の大きかった団地に集中している。</p> <p>また、改善事業後、入居者が自前で、トイレ、台所、リビングなどを改善したことも明らかとなっている。</p> <p>他方、改善事業後の新住宅を購入した居住者が、これを又貸しするケースもあり、事業前後の持家率に変化がもたらされている。すなわち、2007年の段階で、居住者の81%が持家であったが2009年では、57%に低下し、その差は、所有者による転貸であると見られる。また、所有者の29.7%は新住宅を、事業直後の所有者から購入したとしている。結局、事業によって、建物は新しくなったが、その住宅が必ずしも従前居住者の要求を満たせず、入居者の入れ代わりが起こっていることが明らかとなっている。</p> <p>また、こうした改善事業(特に全体建て替え型の事業)が都心における人口増を招いており、市の基本的な政策に反する結果となっていることを指摘している。</p> <p>第7章では、6章までの内容を要約し、結論としている。</p>	
<p>以上、本論文はハノイにおける公共住宅団地の改善事業の実態を、物的側面と居住者の意識の側面から明らかにし、今後のベトナムの住宅政策に有用な知見を得ている。よって、学位申請者の NGUYEN HUY DAN は、博士（学術）の学位を得る資格があると認める。</p>	

Summary

1. Introduction

This study is concerned with the upgrading projects of dilapidated public housing areas (PHAs): multi-family apartment blocks, called '*nha tap the*' in Vietnamese, also meaning collective housing. Hanoi City owns 750 such buildings of four to five storeys each. These are concentrated in 23 PHAs (total 450 ha) that provide a total living area of one million m² for a population of approximately 140, 000. This housing was built in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and reportedly affords very poor and unsafe living conditions (DONRE¹). Since the end of the 1990s, Hanoi City has instituted an upgrading program of old and dilapidated public housing. This program aims at improving the living conditions of residents living in PHAs constructed thirty years ago. However, the upgrading implementations are very slow and are challenged by various obstacles.

2. Research purpose

The aims of this study are to examine residents' perceptions, needs and attitudes on the upgrading projects of PHAs in Hanoi. This will help us to understand inhabitants' characteristics and reactions, as well as the consensus about the upgrading projects. Additionally it will help us to understand the impacts of the upgrading projects on residents; to raise the question of whether the policy intentions and implementation of upgrading of PHAs adequately address the diversity of inhabitants and the implications of compensation and resettlement demands and housing management. This study gives opinions to help policy makers in reviewing upgrading mechanisms and policies that have an interactive relationship with upgrading plans and designs. This study also urges attention to the benefits for low-income, elderly households, as well as other vulnerable social groups who have weak voices that might not easily be heard. The issue of housing insecurity and inequality arises most acutely in the case of urban housing upgrading projects in low-income residential areas. The following questions are raised here: How to control the urban planning of the city center? How to reduce population density in the PHAs, when the majority of inhabitants want to be resettled in the same location? What shall the city do not to increase population in the upgrading projects but still ensure profits for investors? And what role has the government played in the housing upgrading process? Findings are discussed in terms of the implications for the upgrading paradigm and the policy framework of public housing in Vietnam.

3. Methodology

The research methodology uses a combination of methods including qualitative descriptive information, and quantitative data from face to face interviews with residents by questionnaire for primary data. Besides this, an institutional survey for secondary data such as housing site plans, detailed upgrading design and current management systems were taken. The sampling unit is a flat (or apartment). Flats and occupants taken for samples were determined with random sampling.

This research is based on two surveys as case studies of PHAs in Hanoi. The first survey

carried out in November 2007, focusing on two case studies of dilapidated PHAs before upgrading. Kim Lien and Giang Vo PHAs (a total of 120 samples) were selected as case studies of the first survey. The second survey carried out in August 2009, focused on case studies of three typical pilot upgrading projects that have been carried out in Hanoi. Kim Lien, Giang Vo and Trung Tu PHAs (totaling 175 samples) were selected as case studies of the second survey.

4. Findings

The main findings from the first survey in November 2007, regarding the resident's perception, needs and attitudes on upgrading projects before upgrading can be summarized as follows:

The majority of residents are in support of upgrading projects as they see it as a chance to improve their living condition. However, some residents want to make sure that the city will resolve all the troubles they have to undergo when the area will be upgraded.

Most of the households want to be resettled in flats in the same location (over 80%) instead of receiving compensation money or housing alternatives elsewhere. In fact, the population living in the PHAs⁷ already has exceeded the standards of the initial planning by 1.5 to 2 times. Therefore, it raises some questions to the city: How to reduce population density in the PHAs, when the majority of inhabitants want to be resettled on the same location? What shall the city do to not increase population in the upgrading projects but still ensure profits for investors?

Most households prefer to buy flats rather than to rent them (92% and 78% for Kim Lien and Giang Vo respectively), and if they do not have enough money, they wish to buy the flats by installment.

If low-income, elderly and poorer households should also benefit from upgrading, we consider it necessary to have upgrading proposals in which a range of flats from small to big sizes are provided. This would require a careful investigation of the needs and wishes of the households of different categories before making an upgrading plan and architectural design proposal.

The study also suggests that the local government at all levels in Hanoi city should carry out the marketing, as well as persuade and provide the residents with sufficient and transparent information about the upgrading plans. The residents should be informed about the upgrading process: it would be feasible to achieve a rate of two-thirds of households agree and support for new projects. Successful upgrading projects require a high level of consensus and the participation of the residents.

At present, communication with the residents has been very much neglected. The city wants to get support from residents; but on the other hand it withholds important benefits information on the upgrading projects. This has lead to questioning and doubts from even the most supportive residents. In the first place, the city should have a consistent stance and clear vision of what kind of living standards and social and physical environment they wish to achieve through upgrading projects. At present, a clear vision and a consistent viewpoint about the paradigm of the upgrading projects of the government seems to be lacking.

The main findings from the second survey in August 2009 cover the resident's perceptions, needs and attitudes on upgrading projects after upgrading. With the results obtained from three

pilot model upgrading projects, the author can draw some concluding remarks as following:

The economic conditions of households after upgrading are better than before. The reason is that many young families with high education and high income move in as newcomers. Survey results also showed that approximately 30% of households (mostly large families of three generations living together) had to move out after project completion because the new apartment does not meet the need of their families but instead of young families with higher educational level and higher income. Thus the outcome of upgrading PHA in Vietnam is similar to what developed countries have faced, in which upgrading resulted in the gentrification, displacing original residents.

Survey results showed that the ratio of small apartments (45m² or less) of only one or two bedrooms, accounted for 56% at the Giang Vo and 51.5% in Kim Lien, while in Trung Tu they accounted for only 17.4%. These apartments are not suitable for crowded families. So the risk of displacement in Kim Lien and Vo is higher than Trung Tu. This is the reason that a good proportion of residents are satisfied with their apartments after upgrading in Kim Lien (37.1%) and Giang Vo (45%) but less than those satisfied by upgrading in Trung Tu (69.9%). This explains the counterintuitive rate of satisfaction in Trung Tu, where the overall housing conditions are not as good as in Kim Lien and Giang Vo. In order to avoid negative impacts of gentrification and resident's displacement problems, the city government should provide enough long-term loans (with low interest) to the low income and crowded families (three generations) that ensure they can resettlement stable on site when upgrading projects completed.

All three case studies of pilot upgrading projects have been implementing in Trung Tu (EUM), Giang Vo (PUM) and Kim Lien (CUM) that are not matching with 3 viewpoints and 4 principles of Hanoi City regarding to upgrading program of 23 old PHAs which were set out in Resolution 07/2005/NQ-HD such as:

- 1) **Extension Upgrading model (EUM)** in Trung Tu: does not increase population density, but also does not achieve 'modern and civilized' living standard (no parking spaces). Moreover, this model increases construction density. This model did not clearly specify the obligations and responsibilities of stakeholders in housing management and maintenance after completion of upgrading works. Therefore, the residents continue to encroach upon public space and spontaneously upgrade by themselves.
- 2) **Partial Upgrading model (PUM)** in Giang Vo: does not achieve modern and civilized living standard (does not provide enough parking space). This model also did not clearly specify the obligations and responsibilities of stakeholders in housing management and maintenance after the completion of upgrading works (A3). This model also increases population density, but not as much as the comprehensive model.
- 3) **Comprehensive Upgrading model (CUM)** in Kim Lien: achieves modern and civilized living standard but will increase population density. The trend of population growth in Kim Lien will continue when this housing zone is renovated into a modern urban area. This is contrary to the principles of the city that upgrading projects 'do not attract people to move into the inner city'. This conflict could be the crux of the upgrading issues of PHAs in Hanoi today. It raises questions for the city: 'Why is it that the city wants to upgrade the PHAs into a modern and civilized urban residential area but do not want the people move to live there? What is the main purpose of upgrading dilapidated public housing in

Hanoi? To improve living conditions or to reduce population density? If the point is only to improve the living conditions for local residents, as many of them are low-income, who will pay for the cost of modernization? While the city wants to follow the mechanism of 'socialization investment,' the upgrading cost should be shared by the stakeholders involved. In that case, the investors do not want to participate because upgrading projects are less profitable. This has become an objective reality: the investor of Van Chuong pilot upgrading project 'gave up' when they did not achieve detailed planning agreements after five years of pursuing this project.

After over 10 years of Hanoi City's efforts to implement the upgrading program of dilapidated public housing areas, the Hanoi City has not yet found an effective solution to accelerate the pilot project, although the city has organized several scientific workshops to discuss the problems involved. On May 20, 2011, the Hanoi's mayor reaffirmed the direction of reducing population density in the city center. So the upgrading project will continue at an impasse in the future. In fact, the three pilot upgrading projects follow the model of 'comprehensive upgrading'. Kim Lien project is being constructed the fastest but only 50% is completed of the workload of the second phase. The pilot upgrading project of Nguyen Cong Tru has still not completed the site clearance for phase 1 (A1 and A2 apartment block). With the Van Chuong upgrading project, the investor has had to give up because they did not reach detail planning. Therefore, the target of 'basically completing' the upgrading of 23 PHAs by 2015 seems nearly impossible, even for the three pilot upgrading projects that were mentioned above.

5. Conclusion

The master planning of urban redevelopment must anticipate the upgrading of PHAs with standards appropriate to the aspirations and solvency of the residents. The government should only orient planners, it should not impose itself subjectively. Participation of the community and developers in the planning is very important. In terms of government management, it is necessary to connect the planning of public housing with the planning of population distribution, the planning of socio-economic development in every region and locality. This forms the base to re-arrange and make planning of land, traffic planning and layout of social infrastructure such as schools, parks and hospitals.

The experience in urban housing upgrading of other the countries in the world shows that it is really difficult to achieve a 'perfect' upgrading project which meets all the conditions of the local government. Policy is not just drawn up and implemented, but it is continually adapted through a negotiating process (Barrett & Fudge, 1981). Most of them have to sacrifice a certain criteria that are less important and acceptable based on the 'trade-off' mechanism. With the dilemma of dilapidated public housing upgrading program that Hanoi City is facing now, Hanoi City can only choose one of the scenarios as following:

- 1) **Scenario 1:** Upgraded PHAs become new modern urban and civilized (following comprehensive upgrading model) under the 'socialization investment' mechanism that is required to accept population growth in inner city (within acceptable density). Because the newcomers are potential customers who will pay for the upgrading cost for local people and balance the economic interests of investors and developers.
- 2) **Scenario 2:** In the short term, the city should focus on upgrading dangerous housing to ensure the safety of people (Partial upgrading model) also under the 'socialization of

investment " mechanism that shall also have to endure the local population growth (but population growth will lower than scenario 1).

3) Scenario 3: Modernize the PHAs and reduce population density, leaving the city government to bear the entire cost of upgrading. In this case, private investors will not participate in the upgrading project because of low profit. This scenario is hardly feasible because the city budget cannot sustain it. The city's infrastructure budget is compromised by development projects and massive public transport such as subways or mono-rail (estimated 90 billions USD).

Although the program was initially intended to maintain significant portions of original residents on site and to redevelop the city in a manner which is consistent with its historic context; an analysis of three case studies shows that these goals are in practice being undermined by the exigencies of the growing real estate industry. Through the activities of the real estate industry, the market economy is now the principal driving force behind the rebuilding of the city and the restructuring of urban space, a situation which raises important questions for the future direction of urban planning and upgrading projects of PHAs in Hanoi.

6. Discussion

Currently, Hanoi still maintains the policy limiting high-rise buildings in urban cores to avoid an overload of technical infrastructure such as traffic congestion and lack of energy supply etc. However, this is probably an incorrect viewpoint of the city government that should be removed soon if they want to carry out the upgrading projects of old PHAs under the 'socialization of investment' theory due to the following reasons:

- The first, rehabilitation program of 23 old PHAs cannot be completed 'in one night.' Rather, it must be done over a long period, at least from 15 to 20 years. During this time, the old PHAs will be renovated into modern and civilised urban housing with comprehensive technical and social infrastructure placed in the context of overall planning development of the Hanoi City. Therefore, the city must completely control and regulate the population growth consistent with the capacity of the infrastructure system. The city should not continue to 'overload infrastructure' in order to delay the upgrading program. This 'overload' is the basis for promoting the upgrading projects of old PHAs that meet modern requirements for life in the future.

- The second, in order to address traffic congestion today, the city must increase investment and development of massive public transportation systems such as mono-rail or subways and combine these with the current bus system rather than limiting focus to high-rise buildings in the downtown.

- The third, in order to reduce the population density in the downtown area, the city must build new housing on the outskirts with comprehensive technical and social infrastructure systems such as child care and schools. The city government must adopt policies to encourage and attract people to move there with the appropriate policies. These may include lower prices; the exchange of location for more space; or long-term loans (with low interest).

Even if population growth in the urban core reaches negative impacts, but this is more acceptable than the existence of the dangerous deterioration of public housing that threatens the safety of the people. To ensure the safety of people is more importance than to prevent negative

impacts from population growth in the city centre. It may be lead to unintended consequences for the entire political system of Vietnam if preventable accidents occur.