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

Nguyen Huy Dan*1 and Yoshimitsu Shiozaki2

1 Ph.D. Candidate, Graduate School of Engineering, Kobe University, Japan
2 Professor, Dr. Eng., Graduate School of Engineering, Kobe University, Japan

Abstract
Since the end of the 1990s, Hanoi City has instituted a program of urban upgrading. This program aims at improving the living conditions of residents who are living in dilapidated public housing areas (PHAs) which were constructed forty years ago. However, the upgrading implementations are very slow and are challenged by various obstacles, difficulties, and problems. This study is expected to provide opinions to help policy makers in reviewing upgrading mechanisms and policies in connection with upgrading plans and designs. Through findings from interviews with a total of 120 households in the Kim Lien and Giang Vo PHAs, the authors found that: (i) the majority of residents are positive in support of upgrading projects; (ii) most residents want to have resettlement flats at the same location; (iii) most residents prefer to buy flats rather than to rent them when the upgrading project is completed; (iv) a relatively high percentage of residents continue to lack official information about upgrading projects. Discussion on upgrading projects, measures and solutions should be made transparent to the public and related residents should be informed about the process. Successful upgrading projects require a high level of consensus by the residents.

Keywords: urban upgrading; public housing areas (PHAs); housing policy; low-income; Hanoi

1. Introduction
1.1 Background
Public housing areas (PHAs) are common phenomena in many countries in the World. In Europe, the majority of PHAs were built after World War II to meet the great housing demand at that time. In many countries in Asia and Africa, a large number of housing areas were built during the 1960s and 1970s. Among studies on housing and urbanization, there are many works in which the impact and consequences of upgrading/redevelopment are discussed. Many works concentrate on the link between housing upgrading and social justice. Some studies discuss whether upgrading benefits the original residents, and whether upgrading leads to the exclusion of certain categories of residents.

A literature review of past studies on housing upgrading shows that most studies are concerned with the upgrading of poor housing conditions, particularly the upgrading of slums in developing countries. Although the context of these studies is different from that of PHAs in Vietnam, the kind and level of impact of upgrading are nevertheless similar and are therefore worth noting.

From the economic perspective, Gilbert and Varley (1991) recognized that property values may increase significantly as a result of slum upgrading.

In confirming the importance of careful planning and implementation of an upgrading program, both Ha (2001) and Keating (2000) show similar problems and implications of housing upgrading in Korea and the USA respectively. Ha's studies on the impact of the housing renewal program in low-income residential communities in Korea reveal that homeowners and renters have a conflict of interest and become enemies as a result of upgrading which destroys many poor communities in the process. On the other hand, Keating (2000) comments that in the case of US public housing redevelopment, the programs frequently and forcibly displace poor minority people who are not allowed to participate in redevelopment planning, and to receive adequate compensation, or sufficient replacement housing and the possibility of returning to the redeveloped area. The implementations of these projects have destroyed indigenous social communities as they replaced the area with much higher income households and lead to the ‘gentrification’ phenomena in many developed countries.

Another issue relates to resettlement of upgrading projects, Ha (2004) comments that a housing renewal project is successful if many original residents remain in the redeveloped area even after the completion of the project. But in fact, the resettlement ratio of original residents is very low and most of them move...
out to other areas where housing costs are lower.

Although not exhaustive, the experiences of foreign countries have shown that housing upgrading has both a positive and negative impact on residents. These experiences in general and the lessons from planning and implementation of housing upgrading in particular can be applied universally.

1.2 Problem statement

This study deals with the upgrading projects of dilapidated PHAs: the multi-family apartment blocks, called 'nha tap the' in Vietnamese, also meaning collective housing. Hanoi City has 450 such buildings of four to five stories each and concentrated in 23 PHAs (total 450 ha) that provide a total living area of one million m$^2$ 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 (Source: DONRE$^1$). (Fig.1.1 & Fig.1.2)

Since the late 1990s, with an effort to improve living conditions for the residents, Hanoi City now concentrates on upgrading dilapidated PHAs. Hanoi is the first city in Vietnam that is implementing a housing development program for the period of 2000-2010. In the five-year period from 2000 to 2005, over 6 million m$^2$ of new housing was constructed, which was higher than the planned target. However, the target of upgrading and rebuilding dilapidated PHAs has not achieved the expected goal. During 2001-2010, the city government spent VND 183 billion to upgrade 19,000 m$^2$ of apartments and to build nearly 1,000 new flats, while millions of m$^2$ of public housing and 27,500 apartments need to be upgraded and rebuilt. (Source: DONRE$^1$). Therefore, it is urgent to accelerate the upgrading project of PHAs to ensure the safety of property and life for the people. And the target of 'basically completing' the upgrading of 23 PHAs in 2015 seems to be an 'impossible mission' if the city does not speed up the upgrading projects.

This paper is organized into four sections as follows. Following the introduction in Section 1, Section 2 describes in detail the current implementation process on upgrading projects of PHAs in Hanoi and points out some of the main pending problems. Section 3 exploits results from a survey of inhabitants to find the residential conditions and dwellers characteristics and their attitude concerning PHAs before implementation upgrading that are possibly related to the pending problems stated in Section 2. Some concluding remarks are discussed in the final section, Section 4.

1.3 Research objective

In this paper, the authors examine residents' perceptions, opinions and consensus on upgrading projects prior to upgrading implementation in Kim Lien and Giang Vo PHAs. This helps in understanding inhabitants' characteristics; attitudes; reactions and consensus among residents concerning the upgrading projects, and the impacts of the redevelopment on soon-to-be displaced residents; and raises 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. This study is expected to provide opinions to help policy makers in reviewing upgrading mechanisms and policies that have an interactive relationship with upgrading plans and designs. This paper also urges attention to benefits for
low-income, elderly households, as well as some other vulnerable social groups who's weak voices might not easily to be heard. The issue of housing insecurity and inequality arises most acutely in the case of urban upgrading projects in low-income residential areas. The following questions are raised here: How to reduce population density in the PHAs, while the majority of inhabitants want to be resettled in the same location? What should the city do to avoid increasing the population in upgraded projects but still ensure profits for investors? And what role has the government played in the housing upgrading process? The findings are discussed in terms of the implications regarding the upgrading paradigm and policy framework of public housing in Vietnam.

1.4 Methodology
This research is based on two case studies of PHAs in Hanoi. The research methodology uses a combination of methods including qualitative descriptive information, and quantitative data from face to face interviews with residents by questionnaires regarding primary data. Also, institution surveys concerning secondary data such as housing site plans, detailed upgrading design and current management systems are taken. The sampling unit is a flat (or apartment). Flats and occupants were taken as examples and were determined with purposive random sampling. Kim Lien and Giang Vo PHAs were selected as cases studies. In each PHA the authors conducted the survey in three local communities (A2; C5; D6 apartment blocks in Giang Vo and B20; C4; C10 apartment blocks in Kim Lien), and then in each community interviewed 20 households on different floors. Thus, in total there are 120 samples (Fig.1.1 & Fig.1.3).

2. An Insight of Upgrading Programs of PHAs in Hanoi
The upgrading and reconstruction program of dilapidated PHAs in Hanoi City was initiated a long time ago but the implementation of this program has been confronted with many obstacles and difficulties. The upgrading progress is very slow. The main reason is attributed to various views and opinions concerning the planning solutions and upgrading policies applicable to various stakeholders' benefits in the implementation process. In this section, the authors would like to summarize some key issues that will be further examined in the following sections.

2.1 Paradigms for PHA upgrading projects
PHA upgrading projects are divided into three categories: extension upgrading, partial upgrading, and complete upgrading. "Extension upgrading" involves enlarging flats by newly built extensions partly connected to the existing building structure which was applied to the Trung Tu pilot project; The project "Partial upgrading" involves demolishing at risk and dangerous apartment blocks, then replacing them with modern high-rise apartment blocks, as was applied to the Giang Vo pilot project; while "Complete upgrading" involves demolishing the whole PHA and rebuilding new modern urban areas with comprehensive technical infrastructures and social facilities, which has been applied to Zone B (total over 5 ha) in the Kim Lien pilot upgrading project.

The problem faced by Hanoi City is to upgrade these PHAs within the recently limited budget. The central government no longer subsidizes public housing, and most of the residents living in PHAs have low incomes. Most of the PHAs are located in the center of Hanoi City where 'high density' population development is limited under the Master Plan of the City Up to Year 2020, which was approved by the Prime Minister.

2.2 Upgrading program and City's guidelines
The upgrading and redevelopment program of the PHAs in Hanoi City is one of the key issues that were mentioned in the Program No. 12/Ctr-TU regulating housing development in Hanoi in the 2000–2010 phases; Resolution No. 15/NQ-TW of the Politics Bureau regarding socioeconomic development. Hanoi City also recognized the demand for balance and harmonization between rehabilitation, upgrading and new development in the urban development process. Since the late 1990s, the city has upgraded and reconstructed old and dilapidated apartment blocks using various approaches:

- First, using the state budget to finance improvement and shore up the foundations of some apartment blocks by piling and strengthening joints in some PHAs such as: A8 in Nghia Do; B7, E3, E4, E6, E7, K7 in Thanh Cong; B6 Giang Vo, B2 Van Chuong; A2 Ngoc Khanh; E6, E7Quynh Mai.
- Second, co-financing with the state budget and financial contribution of the people to build onto existing structures in order to upgrade and increase living space for 8 apartment blocks in the Trung Tu PHA (extension upgrading paradigm). Currently, this upgrading paradigm has stopped.
- And third, demolishing endangered apartment blocks to rebuild new ones in some PHAs: B7, B10 Kim Lien, A3 & A6 Giang Vo, B7 Thanh Cong (partial upgrading paradigm).

Unfortunately, these upgrading solutions only deal with individual works and small-scale projects rather than improving substantially the living conditions, technical infrastructure and social facilities. Moreover, the implementation progress is very slow because of the lack of a capital budget.

To deal with the situation, on August 5th 2005, the People's Council of Hanoi City promulgated Resolution No. 07/2005/NQ-HD regulating the improvement and reconstruction of old and degraded PHAs in Hanoi City. The Resolution of the People's Council confirms the guideline on undertaking the improvement and/or reconstruction of old PHAs and considers this as "a mission that should be given special attention in 2006 – 2015". The Resolution of the People's Council identifies clearly that the objectives of the upgrading and reconstruction of old PHAs are to "improve living conditions of the inhabitants", "contribute in improving
Three viewpoints mentioned in Resolution No. 07 of the People's Council are:

1) These are important and difficult issues that have directly impacts on the lives of a majority of the city's inhabitants. Therefore it is essential to have a focused, active instruction, a systematic, firm and sound approach, and appropriate procedures. The priority is to upgrade and/or reconstruct endangered apartment blocks and degraded apartment blocks that are no longer safe.

2) It is essential to confirm that these urban upgrading projects benefit society. The upgrading and reconstruction of old PHAs should be consistent with general planning, combined with the rearrangement of population in the locality and the construction of new urban areas, and it is not necessary that they be enclosed in individual areas, etc. Simultaneously, the upgrading and new construction should integrate with the renovation of management models in PHAs in order to match modern living conditions.

3) This task should be carried out by the city, at all government levels and the people who are living in the PHAs. The performance of this task should harmonize with the benefits for society, the government, the residents and the investors of which the most important is the benefits to the social community and the majority of inhabitants.

The Resolution of the People's Council also defines 4 basic principles:

1) This project should be based on a master plan in accordance with the approved planning of the entire region; the implementation plan must be publicly disseminated and achieve the consensus of at least 2/3 of inhabitants living in the PHA.

2) This project is specified to be carried out by both the Government and the People, in the 'socialization' investment trend; the state budget only finances the planning, investment preparation, and investment in essential social and technical infrastructure items.

3) The upgrading and reconstruction of the PHAs must be pursuant to the systematic planning, and upgrading of the technical and social infrastructures suited to the locality in a modern and civilized style; the structure and apartments must be qualified and comply with the prevailing construction standards and norms. The planning, arrangement and rearrangement of inhabitants must be secured by the principle of "not attracting people to live in the inner city"; "not using the ground floor of the apartment buildings for living but for public purpose or service"; "The upgraded area of housing is mainly for local resident resettlement". The surplus area is prioritized for the resettlement of people from other projects in the inner city. It is necessary to reserve an area for public needs, to build up a commercial center and offices for lease, etc.

4) In cases of high-risk apartment blocks, a special solution should be applied that reveals policies and social welfare. Local government must evacuate inhabitants to ensure the safety of life and property and should not wait to achieve agreement on compensation for people.

Acknowledging that this is a very important and complicated task which should be carried out in the long-term with appropriate procedures and stages, the solution adopted by the City People's Council assigned the Hanoi City People's Committee to build up a special mechanism and to select 1 or 2 PHAs for the pilot projects in phase 2006 – 2010. The policy of the Hanoi People's Council facilitates the application of special mechanisms in selecting qualified bidders to prepare the plan and implement construction of the upgrading projects.

Hanoi City selected three PHAs to set up pilot projects under the "complete upgrading" model that is a combination of modern technical infrastructure and comprehensive social infrastructure. Specifically, these are PHA upgrading projects in the Nguyen Cong Tru, Kim Lien and Van Chuong areas. However, these projects are challenged by many difficulties and problems as discussed in the next section.

2.3 Upgrading projects implementation

The city's guideline is clear but the problem is attributed to the policy mechanism, organization and implementation solutions. In fact, when the guideline was adopted by the city, many developers and investors wanted to register or were already registered to participate in building and implementing upgrading projects of old and dilapidated PHAs. However, the implementation of those projects in practice was slow; the city authority also was puzzled in selecting the project's owners. A feasibility study concerning upgrading projects of Nguyen Cong Tru, Giang Vo and Van Chuong PHAs was carried out 5 years ago. However, so far, those projects are still in the process of assessing and reviewing project documents.

The typical characteristic of the upgrading projects of PHAs in the spirit of the Resolution of the City People's Council (the projects have to be implemented in line with an overall plan and in accordance with the approved planning for the entire region) is that they are in a comprehensive, multi-purposed and intensively socialized project. This is not only an investment project in housing upgrading but also a technical infrastructure and social welfare development project, or urban redevelopment, and the investment funds can be mobilized from various sources related to the responsibilities and benefits of various stakeholders.

2.4 Planning problems

The Master Plan of Hanoi City up to the year 2020 is based on preconditions to control the orientation of urban redevelopment and is closely tied to approval of the upgrading projects of PHAs. In some cases the Master Plan becomes the biggest obstacle when implementing the upgrading project because most of PHAs in Hanoi are located in the city centre where high-rise buildings and population development will be limited.
In order to achieve the objective of urban redevelopment, each PHA upgrading and reconstruction project should be placed in the Master Plan of Hanoi urban city in general, and each project must be consistent with the approved planning of the entire region. Therefore, it should not deal with single projects, structures, or patchwork plans separately. However, so far, the planning only focuses on individual projects and does not have a comprehensive perspective.

On the other hand, this is a 'socialization' investment project. The main motivation of investors is to obtain profit from implementing the requirements of the city such as resettlement of the original households with better apartments (new flats 1.3 times larger than the previous apartment without payment), and improving and upgrading the infrastructures and urban redevelopment. However, it will be impossible if the city does not remove obstacles to planning as mentioned above. In order to balance the upgrading cost, the profits of such projects mainly rely on the increase of land-use efficiency, i.e. the revenue derives from the effective exploitation of land-use to compensate the cost of upgrading the PHAs.

However, the first difficulty that PHA upgrading projects are confronted with, is the conflict between compliance with urban planning requirements in accordance with modern norms in terms of construction density, land-use ratio and the guideline "not to attract inhabitants to move into the city centre" with the need to increase the height of buildings and increase construction density on the part of developers and investors in order to seek profit and balance the economic benefits.

The Resolution of the People's Council already took this into account and even though it did not stipulate it specifically, it clearly stated the overall instruction as "the upgrading and reconstruction of dilapidated PHAs must be consistent with the Master Plan, in combination with the arrangement and structure of the population in the locality and the construction of new urban areas; it is not necessary to be enclosed in each region" (Article 3) and "approval for the master plan and population arrangement of each region must ensure the principle of not attracting inhabitants to the city centre", accordingly, "the housing construction area is mainly for local resettlement, and the surplus housing area is prioritized for the resettlement of households in other projects in the city centre. A necessary area is reserved for public services, commercial centers, and offices for lease..." However, how to deal with specific upgrading projects is very difficult, especially when they must carried out simultaneously both guidelines "mainly for local resettlement" and "not attract inhabitants to the city centre".

In order to solve these problems, the Resolution No. 03/2006/NQ-HD of the City People's Council permits the implementation of some specific mechanisms in the pilot projects (for pilot projects only) in order to learn lessons.

To eliminate the above-mentioned conflict of interest, there is a proposal that investors be permitted to implement projects for upgrading and reconstruction of PHAs in the city center (very difficult projects) and other projects that are more profitable in order to compensate investors via projects in suburban areas. The City People's Committee has already taken this option into account but in fact so far, none of the projects for upgrading of old PHAs has ever been applied.

2.5 Upgrading policies and mechanisms
2.5.1 Privatization policy and consequences

In Vietnam, the sale of state owned public housing stock started in 1994 (privatization policy), following Decree No. 61/CP. The aims were to terminate the state housing monopoly, to encourage people's investment and engagement in housing renovation and maintenance, by the latter, to improve the physical condition of existing housing stock. Money obtained from the sale of state owned housing is to be reinvested to construct new housing (to be sold to the people), and in the renovation and upgrading of existing public housing (Source: P.C.2-1999). However, there is no indication that privatization brought about better housing quality. (H. A Tran-2005)

In order to upgrade and reconstruct the PHA, it is necessary to have financial support from the Government, firstly for the essential technical infrastructures. Resolution No. 07 of the City People's Council stated clearly: "The state budget is only for supporting the planning, investment preparation, and investment in essential social and technical infrastructures. Support from the state budget is determined for each project based on the overall support mechanism". However, the scope, quality, status and characteristics of the social and technical infrastructures vary for each PHA. So far, no general stipulation has been made for the support of the state budget in such type of projects. Neither a definition of 'essential' technical infrastructures and social infrastructures has been given. Therefore, each project is still being reviewed and processed on the basis of a 'bargaining', agreement between the investors and the approval authorities.

2.5.2 Land acquisition and compensation problems

Land acquisition and compensation also encounters numerous problems. The Resolution of the City People's Council has a requirement in principle that the implementation and upgrading of the PHA must be publicly disseminated, the local people in the project area must be consulted and 'the project can only be carried out when at least 2/3 of the population living in the project area agree'. The biggest difficulty of the investor is to get the consensus of the ground floor households. According to the city guidelines, after the upgrading, the ground floor cannot be used for living but is reserved for public services and businesses in order to create an income source to compensate the investors for the upgrading cost. Therefore, most
households on the ground floor want to be granted a lease for a shop on the ground floor for business, and want to know clearly how many years they can rent, the binding conditions concerning the rent, and time to adjust the rental price, etc. in order to ensure their benefits.

On the other hand, the compensation for acquired land is often lower than the actual market price (usually one third compared to the market price). Therefore, it is really difficult for developers when they negotiate directly with residents because many households demand to be compensated at market prices.

The upgrading projects of dilapidated PHAs in Hanoi City seem to be deadlocked as the measures and solutions have still not been resolved satisfactorily and comprehensively. Therefore, a residential survey is needed to address and more precisely clarify these problems, and then to provide opinions and feedback for policy makers in order that they may review and formulate upgrading policies, and to aid developers and investors when they consider upgrading planning solutions and architectural design proposals.

3. Case Studies in Kim Lien and Giang Vo

Kim Lien (KL) and Giang Vo (GV) PHAs were selected as cases studies. The GV PHA was built during the 1970s and 1980s and is located about 5 km southwest from the city center. Giang Vo has a total area of 27 ha and consists of 23 apartment blocks. The apartment blocks, with four or five stories each, are I-shaped and situated parallel to one another. There are more than 2000 households with a population of over eleven thousand people. (Source: Thuan L.B. 3). Most of the flats of Giang Vo consist of two or three rooms (from 24 m² to 36 m²) with separate kitchen, bathroom and toilet; living areas were often designed based on about six m² per capita (Fig.1.1 & Fig.1.3).

KL PHA was built during the 1960s and 1970s and is located about 6 km southeast from the city center. Kim Lien has a total area of 40 ha and consists of 43 pre-fabricated apartment blocks. The apartment blocks are also I-shaped of four or five stories each and situated parallel to one another. There are more than 4000 households with a population of approximately 20,000 people. Many of the flats consist of one or two rooms (from 16 m² to 24 m²) and three or four households have to share a common kitchen, bathroom and toilet; the living area was often set at about four- square meters per capita (Fig.1.1 & Fig.1.3). (Source: P.C)

3.1 Residents survey

The survey was carried out in November 2007 in Hanoi. The PHAs in KL and GV were selected in different neighborhoods to allow for differences of residential profile. Stratified random sampling is adopted to ensure representation of inhabitants who are living in PHAs in Hanoi City. A total of 120 households were interviewed using a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire has three main sections, covering the physical conditions, economic-social conditions of households, perception and opinions and consensus of the residents concerning the upgrading project. In most questions, the selected households are asked to rank their responses to the statements given.

3.2 Findings from survey

3.2.1 Gender group of the respondents

Among the 60 respondents of the questionnaire for KL PHA, 60% of heads of household are female and the remaining male. In the case of the GV PHA, out of the 60 respondents, 53% are female and 47% male (Fig.3.1).

3.2.2 Age group of the respondents

The survey shows that the respondents in KL and GV are in two main groups: middle-age respondents (33% and 45% respectively) and senior respondents 60 years old or more; for KL 52% and GV 39% are 60 and 70 years old and above. Younger adults between 30 and 40 years old make up only 7% and 12% for KL and GV respectively. Younger adults below 30 years old make up only 8% and 5%, such as "student households" for KL and GV respectively (Fig.3.2).

3.2.3 Household’s size

Regarding household size, the survey indicated that most households consist of 3-4 persons. The percentage of households consisting of 3-4 persons in KL is 65% and in GV 85%. The percentage of households consisting of 5-6 persons in KL and GV is 17% and 5% respectively. Some households with 7-8 persons make up 12% of the total surveyed households in KL and 3% in GV. A very small number of households with more than 8 persons are found in KL and GV, with 5% and 3% respectively. Therefore, the apartment designs for households with 3-4 persons make up the largest proportion. (Fig.3.3)

![Fig.3.1 Gender of the Respondents](image1)

![Fig.3.2 The Age Groups of Respondents](image2)
households with a below average income (3-5 million VND/month) in KL and GV, which are 28% and 27% respectively. Households with an average income (5-7 million VND per month) are 20% in KL and 30% in GV. While households with an above average income (7-10 million VND per month) in GV is higher than that in KL, at 17% and 12% respectively. However, some households have a high-income level (over 10 million VND per month) at 13% in KL and 8% in GV. (Fig.3.4)

3.2.5 Living space standard

The results show that 37% of households in KL and 42% of households in GV have a living space per capita of 6-10 m² on average. About 33% of the households in KL and 27% in GV have a living space per capita of 10-15 m² on average. In particular, 18% of the households in KL and 22% of households in GV have a living space per capita of over 15 m² on average. Therefore, this level is much higher than the initial criteria and average living space per capita of Hanoi City (an average 9.4 m²/capita in 2005). This result is due to common space illegally occupied by residents. Households with an average living space of less than 6 m² per capita in KL and GV are 12% and 10% respectively. (Fig.3.5)

3.2.6 Ownership status

Most households living in PHAs in Hanoi became the owners of their apartments. The survey indicated a very high percentage of owners; more than 86% and 98% for KL and GV respectively. Currently in KL about 13% of apartment owners bought use-rights from another private owner; this type of home ownership was not found in the GV housing area. The survey shows that a small number of households in GV (2%) are still renting city flats. It can be said that ownership in the PHA is very complicated (Fig.3.6).

3.3 Actual public housing conditions in KL and GV

As mentioned above, most PHAs were built in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s with simple design, poor construction techniques and materials of very low quality. On the other hand, there were no provisions regarding investment to maintain apartment blocks. Especially since 1994, the government has implemented privatization policies concerning housing owned by the state. Thus, housing management agencies have virtually no interest in maintaining and upgrading the apartment blocks for the long term. Many households in KL and GV chiseled walls and installed steel beams in order to expand their apartments, carved out windows and built ‘tiger cages’, called ‘Chuong Cop' in Vietnamese, or built cisterns on the roofs. These illegal and spontaneous upgrading activities directly damage the structure of apartment buildings. (Fig.1.2)

3.4 Residents’ opinions and consensus on upgrading

3.4.1 Residents' perception on upgrading projects

The survey results show that a large number of residents did not have specific information about upgrading projects. The survey indicated that 18% of households in KL and 40% of households in GV answered that they did not have specific information about upgrading projects of the PHAs where they are living. Many households said that they had not received any information about the upgrading or redevelopment plans from the local government at the ward level. (Fig.3.7)

3.4.2 Attitude of residents concerning upgrading projects

The survey results indicated that residents expressed a desire to have the upgrading project implemented as soon as possible in order to improve their houses and their living conditions. The households that agreed
to support upgrading projects in KL and GV PHA represented more than 67% and 55% respectively.

Some households on the ‘ground floor' protested against the upgrading project (15% and 7% in KL and GV PHA respectively) because they do not want to lose income from their grocery shops or motorcycle guard services. The remaining households did not express an opinion because they did not have any detailed information about the upgrading projects from the local government at the ward level (Fig.3.8).

Until now, communication with residents has been unclear enough. Until now, communication with residents has been very much neglected. The city wants the support of residents; but on the other hand it equivocal withholds important information concerning the benefits of 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 consistent viewpoint concerning the paradigm of government upgrading projects does not appear to be clear enough.

### Notes

1. Hanoi Department of Natural Resources, Environment, Land and Housing.
2. PC: People's Committee of Hanoi.
3. Dr. Le Bich Thuan is head of planning schemes of the Giang Vo upgrading project.

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