

## The Urban Future of Vietnam Reconsidered

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### I. Introduction

There is a rich tradition of geographical research on Southeast Asia by geographers from outside the region which accelerated in the post-1945 period. Earlier pioneer studies carried out by geographers such as Goureau<sup>1)</sup> are now recognised as classical geographical study within the broader tradition of regional geography. In the post-war period, this research has deepened with strong tradition of geographical research in North America, Australasia and Europe<sup>2)</sup>. This research was responsible for defining the major dimensions of geographical research and influencing many of the textbooks. Until recently, Japanese geographical research on Southeast Asia has been very small but as Japanese economic involvement in the region has increased, particularly since the 1980s, research has grown, with a recent focus upon the emergence of NIES and the role of urbanization in the development process<sup>3)</sup>. More recently researchers from within the

region have begun to assert themselves as spokespersons for the indigenous view of the region as seems entirely appropriate<sup>4)</sup>.

However until recently, the focus of most of these studies have been concentrated on rural areas. But as Southeast Asia has become increasingly incorporated into the global economy in a new wave of globalization, it is becoming more urbanized. Between 1960 and 1998, the level of urbanization in the entire region increased from 15 to 33 per cent but as this Table 1 indicates, there are sharp difference in the level of urbanization between the inner core of Southeast Asian countries represented by Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines and Brunei which have experienced rapid urbanization over the last twenty years and the formerly socialised economies of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar (Burma) which are peripheral to the ASEAN core. Hardly surprisingly, this had led to an increasing focus on the trends, features and problems of the urbanization in the ASEAN core in which my own research has recently focused upon challenges posed by this rapid urbanization, particularly the growth of mega-urban regions<sup>5)</sup>. This focus

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**Table 1.** Southeast Asia; Basic Social and Economic Indicators in the Mid-1990s

Indicator	Indonesia	Philippines	Thailand	Malaysia	Singapore	Vietnam	Cambodia	Laos	Burma
GNP per capita (USD), 1995	980	1,050	2,740	3,890	26,790	240	270	350	—
Percent growth (1985–95)	6.0	1.5	8.4	5.7	6.2	—	—	2.7	—
Average annual growth in GDP									
1970–80	7.2	6.0	7.1	7.9	8.3	—	—	—	—
1980–90	6.1	1.2	7.6	5.2	6.7	—	—	—	—
1990–95	7.6	6.0	7.1	8.7	10.5	8.3	6.4	6.5	—
Percent labour force in agriculture									
1960	75	61	84	63	8	—	82	83	—
1980	59	52	71	41	2	73	76	80	—
1990	57	45	64	27	0	72	74	78	—
Percent urban, 1997	31	47	19	51	100	20	13	19	25
Adult illiteracy, percent, 1995	16	5	6	17	9	6	35	43	19

Source: World Bank: *World Development Report*, 1994 and 1997.

is not matched by research on urbanization of the Southeast Asian peripheral economies now engaged in the attempt to create more open market-based economies. These countries are now frequently referred to as transitional economies. One of the more intriguing questions which to be pursued is whether or not the these transitional economies of Southeast Asia will move towards similar patterns of urbanization to that of the Southeast Asian market economies which form the core of the Southeast Asian region?

Through a rather fortunate set of circumstances, I have managed to explore these questions over the last 10 years in Vietnam. The initial results were published in an arti-

cle in the *Third World Planning Review* in which essentially incorporating the results of the 1989 census, updated by several field trips and government reports<sup>6</sup>). Another more detailed study carried out with Vietnamese colleagues who studied the behaviour of urban households coping with rapid urban change in Vietnam was published in the late 1990s. Essentially I have used these results to argue that as the market economy advanced and Vietnam became more incorporated into the global economy so its patterns of urbanization would develop features similar to that of the ASEAN core. Four main hypotheses were put forward, (1) that the rate of Vietnamese urbanization would accelerate in the 1990s, (2) that the

urban population would continue to concentrate in the two largest mega-urban regions of Hanoi - Haiphong and the Ho Chi Minh - Vung-Tau - Bien-Hoa areas, (3) that this concentration of population in the largest urban centres would involve outward movement of population and settlement into what have been labelled Extended Metropolitan Regions, and (4) that there would be continuing migration from lowland Vietnamese areas to the central plateau and mountain regions which would relieve some pressure in the densely crowded delta regions.

With the publication of the preliminary results of the 1999 Census of Vietnam, it is now possible to test the accuracy of the predictions that is the major focus of this paper. However it is necessary to outline some of the distinctive geographic and historical features of Vietnam which underlie the current urbanization process (see II). This discussion is followed by a section that deals with issue of urban definition in Vietnam that influences all conclusions about the urbanization process (see III). Part IV analyses the most processes of urbanization in Vietnam in the decade of the 1990s and the conclusion investigates the policy implications of these urbanization developments (see V).

## **II. The Geographical and Historical Context of Urbanization in Vietnam**

In order to understand present develop-

ments in urbanization in Vietnam, it is necessary to briefly outline the processes of historical, economic, social and technological change that have influenced and are likely to shape the urbanization process in Vietnam. While even until the present Vietnam remains primarily a rural society historically, the influence of the Chinese in the period between 200 BC and 939 AD left their impact on education, the civil service, architecture and city plans of towns such as Hanoi and Hue<sup>7</sup>). After this period a series of indigenous dynasties developed, culminating in the Nguyen dynasty formed at the beginning of the 19th century. In the South and central parts of Vietnam a series of trading ports developed<sup>8</sup>).

The French colonial period from the early 19th century resulted in the development of an urban system created to serve the needs of administration and trade. Thus Hanoi became the administrative centre of French Indo-China while Saigon grew into a major trading town in the south. A series of province were established in which provincial capitals were developed. Basically the French established an urban and transportation system which is still the main part of the contemporary urban system in Vietnam<sup>9</sup>).

In the twentieth century, resistance against colonial rule increased and the Vietnamese communist party was installed in 1949 leaving the French in control in the south. Efforts to unify and independent Vietnam continued until 1954 when an

international settlement split Vietnam at the 17th parallel. In the north socialist Vietnam continued under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh while in the south, a new regime was established under the leadership of a number of Vietnamese backed by the Americans. This period exacerbated by an escalation of the war of unification was characterized by a sharp difference between these two parts of Vietnam which have continued until today. In the north, the socialist government followed policies similar to other socialist societies such as USSR. This involved a strong effort to reduce the size of large cities, decentralize industry and relocate population away from the large towns in smaller towns and scarcely - populated regions of the country. This was also necessary to avoid the effects of the bombing of the northern cities as the Vietnam War accelerated. In the south, on the other hand a combination of war and a growing market and the failure of the South Vietnamese government and the Americans to keep control of the countryside led to a rapid growth of large cities such as Saigon and Da-Nang. By the end of the

1960s Saigon was estimated to have grown to a population of over 5 million in a process of "hyperurbanization"<sup>10</sup>.

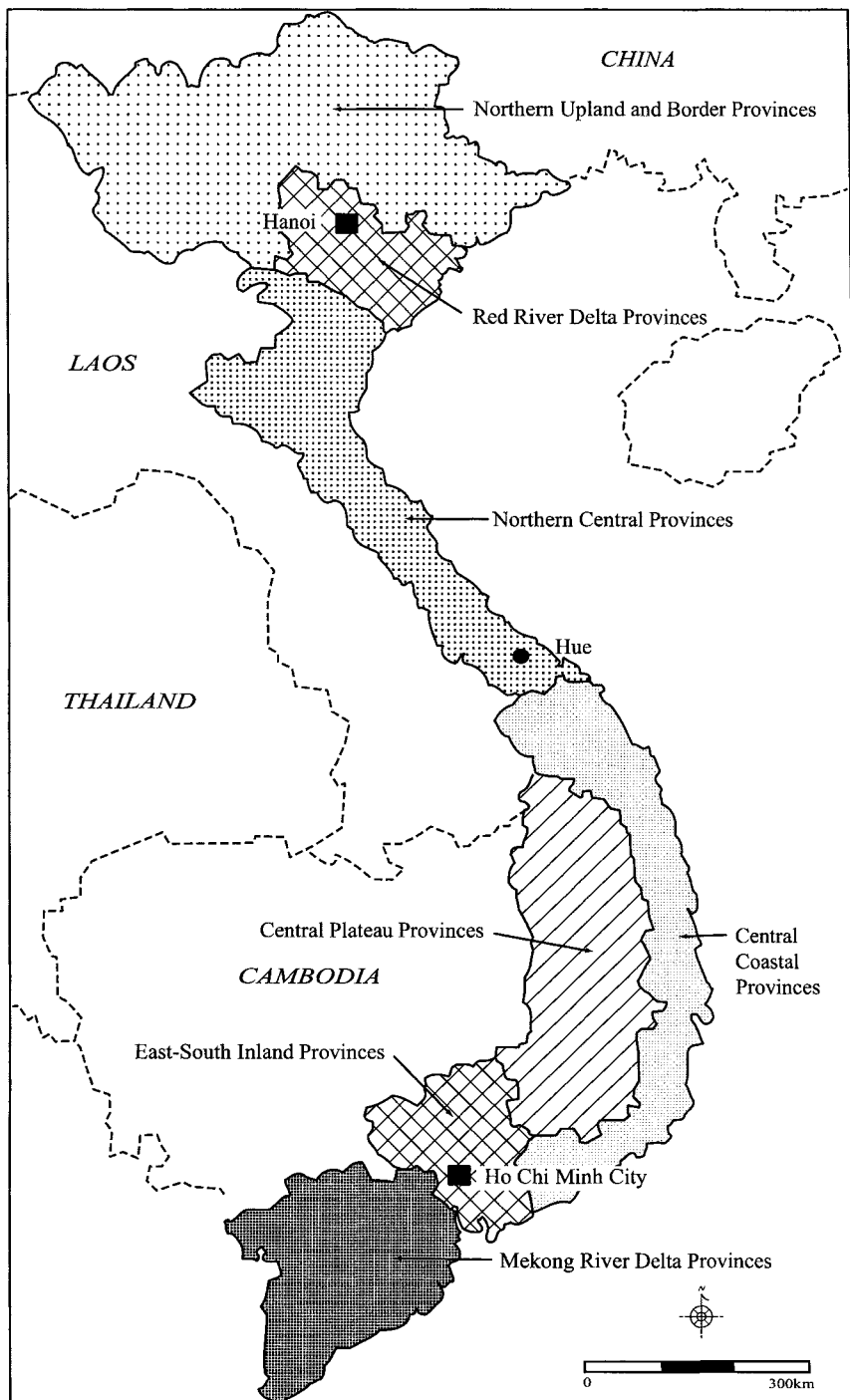
The end of the Vietnam War in 1976 led to a period of socialist development in the next decade that involved a four-pronged strategy of: (i) de-urbanizing the large urban centres of the south and moving surplus populations to rural areas and small towns, (ii) trying to slow urban growth through the issuing of residential permits and other measures, (iii) attempting to develop small towns and, (iv) engaging in large scale population resettlement in the New Economic Zones. It also involved the Vietnamese government in reestablishing administrative control of the country (Figure 1). Until the earlier part of the 1980s this policy was generally successful and urbanization levels actually dropped in the period between 1976 and 1984 (Table 2) despite an increase in the urban population from 10.1 to 11.1 million. The migration of an estimated 2 million Vietnamese abroad also contributed to these trends<sup>11</sup>.

Since 1986 the Vietnamese government has embarked upon a number of policies

**Table 2.** Vietnam Population Growth, Proportion Urban and Rural 1976–1999

Year	Total Pop. (000s)	Urban Pop. (000s)	% Urban	Rural Pop. (000s)
1976	49,160	10,127	20.6	39,033
1979 (census)	52,742	10,094	19.2	42,648
1984	58,653	11,102	18.9	47,551
1989 (census)	64,376	12,740	19.8	51,363
1999 (census)	76,324	17,916	23.4	58,408

Source: Ministry of Construction: *National Urban Databook*, 1992, p. 18  
Vietnam General Statistical Office: *Statistical Yearbook 1999*.



**Figure 1.** The Administrative Regions of Vietnam  
Source: Adapted from Central Census Steering Committee: *Atlas Vietnam Population*, 1991.

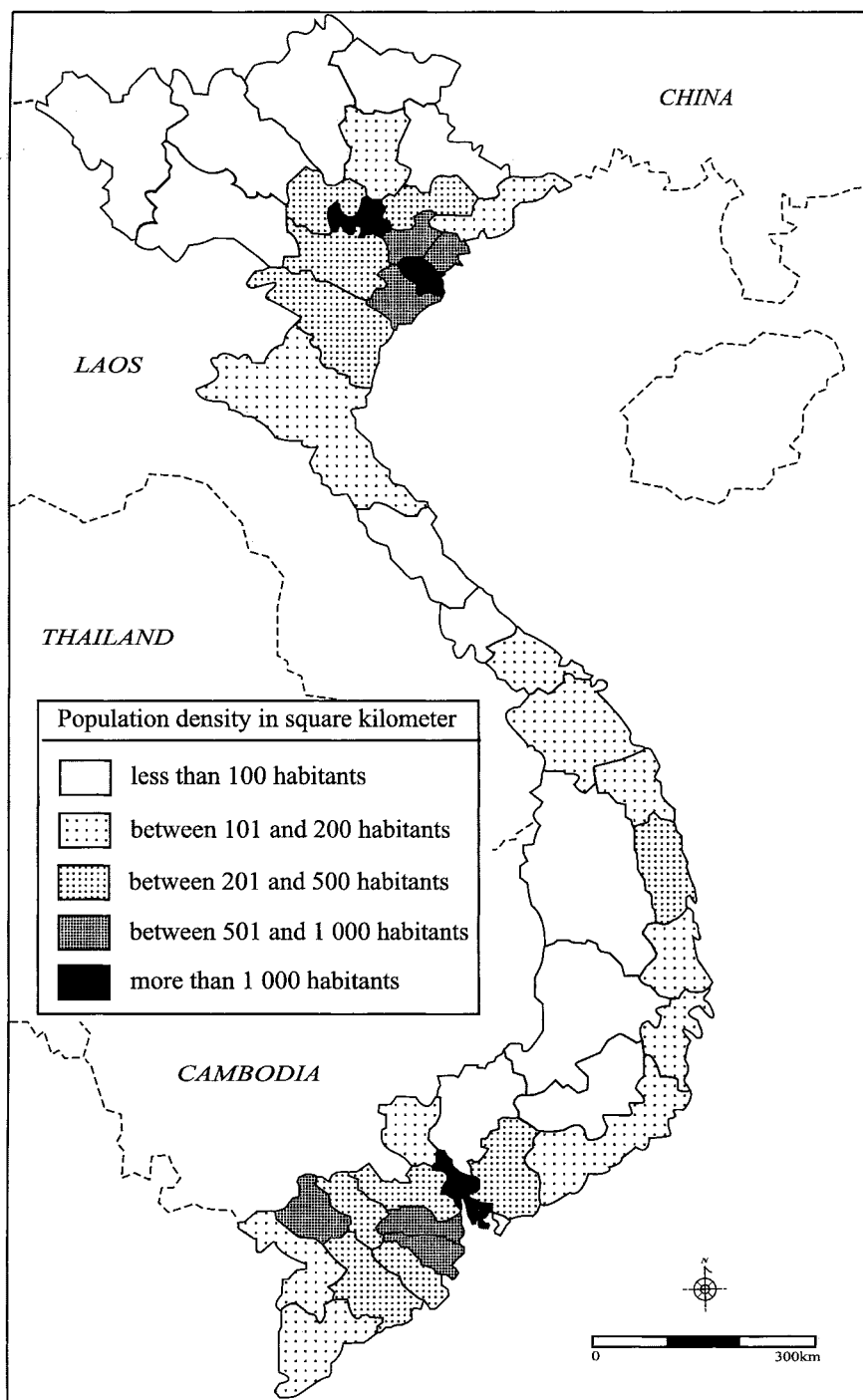
which are designed to permit the growth of the market economy in the country, including the leasing of land, the abolition of price subsidies, the encouragement of private investment and permission for the 'individual economy' to grow outside the state sector<sup>12</sup>. At first these changes were fastest in the south but then began to accelerate in the north. Generally these policy changes are permitting freer movement of population and the growth of more economic activity in the cities. But their major impact has been in the rural areas where peasants free to retain their agricultural production (particularly rice and cash crops such as coffee and tea) have begun to increase their productivity and incomes. This together with the considerable increase in manufacturing and foreign investment have begun to push the annual rates of G. D. P above to as high as 8 per cent in the 1990-1995 period (Table 1).

By the mid-nineties the end product of these developments was to create a spatial order in Vietnam which only slightly modified the spatial system of the French colonial era. Despite the considerable efforts to relocate the population in the new economic zones almost 50 per cent of the population was concentrated in the two major rice bowls centred on the Hanoi - Haiphong axis in the north (20 per cent of total population 1989) and the Ho Chi Minh - Bien Hoa - Vung Tao triangle in the Mekong delta in the south with some of the highest rural densities in Southeast Asia (see Figure 2). This

also led to very high rates of urban primacy. There were also continuing increases in population in the Central Highlands the major focus of the New Economic Zones. It might be argued that at this stage the opening-up of the economy to outside forces was still building strength and therefore the forces of globalization, including increased trade, foreign direct investment and a growing GDP would continue to accelerate urbanization processes in the decade of the 1990s. However, this argument needs to be based on the understanding of how the Vietnamese define urban and the various spatial units that are used for statistical collection systems. This aspect is discussed in the next section.

### **III. Defining Urbanization in Vietnam**

Any analysis of urbanization trends rests upon an understanding of the definition of urban that is used<sup>13</sup>. Most authorities agree that most urban definitions consist of at least four components. The first component is the territorial or spatial definition of urban areas. Secondly, the growth or decline of population in these urban areas consists of three demographic processes, namely net migration, natural increase and boundary expansion. Thirdly, it is universally accepted that urbanization involves an increase in the proportion of people engaged in non-agricultural occupations. Finally, most urban areas have a well-established and dominant



**Figure 2.** Population Density of Vietnam's Provinces in 1989  
Source: Adapted from Central Census Steering Committee: *Atlas Vietnam Population*, 1991.

physical infrastructure of roads, buildings and servicing networks.

From a practical point of view, however, the analysis of urbanization depends upon the definitions of individual countries. Vietnam has undergone several changes in urban definition since 1954<sup>14</sup>. For the purposes of this paper the definition of urban places used in 1970–89 was as follows:

Places are defined as urban if they have at least 2,000 people with most of the inhabitants engaging in non-agricultural activities and a major part of them working in industrial branches while others work in such fields as finance, health, leisure, education, commerce and tourism, etc. The population densities in urban places are much higher than the population densities of rural places. In urban places there must be an adequate infrastructure such as transportation, water, electricity supply and other essential urban facilities to respond to the requirements of industrialization<sup>15</sup>.

In 1990 a more comprehensive definition was adopted by the Council of Ministers which raised the threshold size of urban places to 4,000 and introduced a new hierarchy of urban places in which cities above 350,000 would be under central government management and the remainder under provincial or district management. Thus the major thrust of definition in Vietnam is

administrative. Whether a place is urban or rural does not take sufficient account of the tendency for urban places particularly the larger urban places to flow outwards over urban boundaries. For example Tolba estimates that between 1980 and 2000 urban areas in developing countries will double in area from 8 million to more than 17 million hectares<sup>16</sup>. Vietnam appears to be experiencing some similar tendencies; in 1989 it was reported the total urban area was 130,000 hectares which it was estimated will increase to 300,000 hectares by 2005<sup>17</sup>.

This process of urban expansion is dealt with in developed countries such as the USA by the use of wider statistical definitions such as Standard Metropolitan Areas (SMAs) and in Southeast Asia by the use of the term Extended Metropolitan Regions (EMRs) which has later been expanded to the term Mega-Urban Regions (MURs)<sup>18</sup>. In Vietnam this process of urban expansion often results in the administrative reclassification of territorial units such as provinces surrounding the urban areas as they assume more urban characteristics. This involves subdivision of provinces that in the inter-census period between 1989–1999 increased in number from 53 to 64. Most of these changes were in areas adjacent to Hanoi and Ho Chi Min, which makes inter-census comparison of the Extended Metropolitan Regions of these two urban areas very difficult. However the more general urbanization trends of this period are capable of



being analysed. We turn to this topic in the next section.

#### **IV. Urbanization Trends 1989–1999<sup>19)</sup>**

During the decade between 1989 and 1999, the Vietnamese population grew by 11.9 million to reach a population of 76.3 million. This increase involved an increase in the level of urbanization from 19.8 per cent to 23.4 per cent. This meant that urban areas absorbed 43 per cent of the population increase in this decade despite being the location of only 23 per cent of the Vietnamese population (Table 2). This increase of the numbers living in urban areas reflected the accelerating rate of urban growth which almost doubled in the decade 1989–1999 while the rural rate declined from 1.80 to 1.30 per annum (Table 3). Given that the natural increase of population for all of Vietnam for the decade of the 1990s had an annual increase of 1.6 per cent<sup>20)</sup> and assuming that the urban rates of natural increase were even lower this suggests that there must

have been a substantial movement of population from rural to urban areas of Vietnam which is supported by press reports and the growth in squatter housing. If this pattern of this decade were to occur over the next decade, then the cities of Vietnam will develop major infrastructure, social and economic problems that are already beginning to emerge as the Vietnamese economy has slowed down over the last two years. It would therefore seem that the first hypothesis that urbanization would accelerate as the economy becomes more open to global markets is supported in the Vietnamese case.

The second assertion that the urban population would become more concentrated in large urban areas is also supported by data from the nineties decade. Table 4 shows that the three largest cities of Ho Chi Min, Hanoi and Haiphong have all increased their population above the national annual per cent change. It also must be indicated that these statistics except in the case of Haiphong almost certainly represent under-enumeration of the population because city

**Table 3.** Vietnam Total Urban-Rural Population Growth Rates 1976–1999 (% per annum)

Year	Total Pop.	Urban	Rural
1976–79	2.19	–0.11	2.77
1979–82	2.30	0.88	2.64
1982–85	2.15	3.11	1.93
1985–89	2.13	2.33	1.80
1989–99	1.35	4.06	1.31

Source: Ministry of Construction: op. cit., 1992 and Vietnam General Statistical Office: *Statistical Yearbook 1999*.

**Table 4.** Population of Largest Cities in Vietnam 1979–1999

	Population 1979 (000s)	% change annual	Population 1989 (000s)	% change annual	Population 1999 (000s)
Ho Chi Minh	2,700	1.6	3,169	5.8	5,037
Hanoi	879	2.0	1,089	14.5	2,672
Haiphong	386	1.7	456	26.6	1,672
Total Urban	10,019	2.6	12,787	4.0	17,916

Source: Vietnam General Statistical Office: *Statistical Yearbook 1999*.

boundaries do not coincide with the true urban functional area. In addition, there has been reclassification of city and adjacent provincial boundaries particularly in the case of Hanoi that further complicates the task of measurement. It also appears that despite these classification problems the Vietnamese urban population has continued to concentrate in these three largest cities of which Ho Chi Minh City has increased its proportion of the urban population from 25.0 per cent to 29.0 per cent of the total urban population (Table 4 and 5). This represents the fact that most of the non-agricultural economic

growth has been focused on this area.

The third assertion that globalization will lead to the growth of mega-urban areas in a similar manner to other Southeast Asian countries is less clearly supported. Table 6 shows the growth of the Ho Chi Minh Extended Metropolitan Region using a classification developed by McGee (1995a) which has occurred primarily in the core of the Extended Metropolitan Region (equivalent to Ho Chi Minh City) and that the adjacent provinces which form part of the functional EMR of Ho Chi Minh have experienced little increase in population. The explanation of this pattern is difficult and will involve further analysis of the census data to see if the pattern is explained by boundary changes or does indeed represent an alternative pattern of urban development to that proposed in the model of the Extended Metropolitan Region.

It may also be suggested that rural-urban

**Table 5.** Vietnam Percent of Urban Population in Three Largest Cities 1979–1999

1979	1989	1999
39.0	37.0	52.0

Source: Vietnam General Statistical Office: *Statistical Yearbook 2000*.**Table 6.** Growth of Ho Chi Minh EMR 1989–1999

	1989	% EMR	% Annual Change	1999	% EMR
Ho Chi Minh	3,169	18.0	5.8	5,037	27.0
Adjacent Prov's	4,825	26.0	0.4	5,060	26.0
Outer Prov's	10,226	56.0	-0.7	9,018	47.0
Population	18,220	100.0	4.9	19,115	100.0

Source: Vietnam General Statistical Office: *Statistical Yearbook 2000*.

**Table 7.** Lam Dong Province Population Change 1979–1999

	1979	% Annual Change	1989	% Annual Change	1999
Lam Dong Province	388,244	6.50	639,224	3.50	996,219
Vietnam	52,742,000	1.35	64,376,000	1.35	76,324,753

Source: Vietnam General Statistical Office: *Statistical Yearbook 2000*.

migration has been less than has been hypothesised. It does appear that the migration of Kinh people from rural areas of lowland to the upland areas of Vietnam, particularly to the Central Plateau provinces such as Lam Dong has continued. Fieldwork carried out by the author in January 2000 in Lam Dong Province suggested that there has been a very rapid in-migration of Kinh people which is supported by the 1999 census that shows the population of the province increased by 5.5 per cent per annum well above the national figure of 1.35 per cent (Table 7). What is even more surprising is that in this primarily agricultural province the urban percentage of the population grew from 22 to 38 per cent which is well above the national level (Table 8). Field observation suggests that much of this increase in urban population is occurring in the secondary centres that line the main road from Ho Chi Minh City to Dalat (the administrative headquarters of the Province). This urban growth appears to have been stimulated by the rapid growth of cash cropping in the province particularly coffee and tea. While the Lam Dong example is not typical of all of Vietnam, it certainly may be suggested that increasing rural incomes in

**Table 8.** Lam Dong Province % Urban 1979–1999

	1979	1989	1999
Lam Dong	11%	22%	38%

Source: Vietnam General Statistical Office: *Statistical Yearbook 2000*.

the rice-growing areas of the Vietnam have also led to a growth of secondary services and has absorbed some population that otherwise would be going to the larger urban areas.

In general, it would seem that the analysis of the census data for the decade of the 1990s supports the hypothesis on the relationship between globalization and urbanization put forward in the Introduction. If this is the case then, these conclusions have important policy implication for Vietnam over the next decade. These will be discussed in the next section.

## V. Conclusion: Policy Implications of Urbanization Trends 1989–1999

Projecting the future urban system of Vietnam is hazardous task. Given the problems of the urban statistics and the unpredictable nature of the international economy most obviously evidenced by the so

called 'Asian Crisis' of 1997–1999, there is no guarantee that any scenario of future urbanization in Vietnam will be valid. However given the fact that national planning policies need long term goals, it is legitimate to consider future scenarios. Two possible future trajectories are suggested. The first scenario is based upon a continuation of the trends in the earlier part of the nineties during which rapid growth and the opening-up of Vietnam to foreign investment and trade led to an acceleration of urbanization, growing concentration of the population in large urban centres and the growth of Extended Metropolitan Regions based on Ho Chi Minh city in the south and Hanoi in the north. This would be primarily caused by rural-urban migration. This would be accompanied by growing employment in the non-agricultural occupations and a increase in environmental and physical infrastructure problems in the urban areas. The second scenario suggests a much slower economic growth rate brought about by a slow recovery of the Asian countries from the Asian crisis, and a cautious acceptance of globalization by the Vietnamese government (which is supported by the slow negotiations on the U. S. Vietnam Trade Treaty) has been driven by political goals. In such conditions, it is still likely that urbanization would continue to grow leading to increased unemployment in the urban centres and a growth of the urban informal economy. This suggests a growth in urban poverty and

would make Vietnam's urban centres much more like Bangladesh.

It is obvious that the Vietnamese government does not want the second scenario to occur but at the same time as one Vietnamese writer puts it; 'The final goal is to efficaciously promote a socialist type of market economy, open to the international division of labour'<sup>21</sup>). The planning challenge will be to manage the interrelationship between these two goals as they effect the economy and spatial structure of Vietnam. In the early 1990s, the Vietnamese developed a National Urban Development Strategy that attempted to recognise these forces by concentrating on the growth of small and medium cities with national distribution of them and environmental protection, to avoid concentration of a crowded population in big cities in the future. It predicted a growth of urban population to 25.5 million by 2005 which had almost been reached by 1999. Thus the rate of urbanization was seriously under-estimated as was the growth rate of the largest urban centres. Thus the opening up to the market economy appears to have created rapid urban growth. Thus within these large centres serious problems of congestion, inadequate drainage, water supply, power and communications are emerging<sup>22</sup>). Urban expansion particularly along the main roads that radiate out from the city centre is largely uncontrolled resulting in serious land-use conflicts. In

both Ho Chi Minh and Hanoi there is a serious deterioration of urban infrastructure that is being aggravated by increasing populations. This raises serious questions concerning the sustainability of these cities.

Vietnamese planners are only too aware of these problems as well as the very important issue of increasing rural-urban inequality. They therefore proposed a National Development Strategy that is designed to focus on three main development poles centred on (see Figure 3):

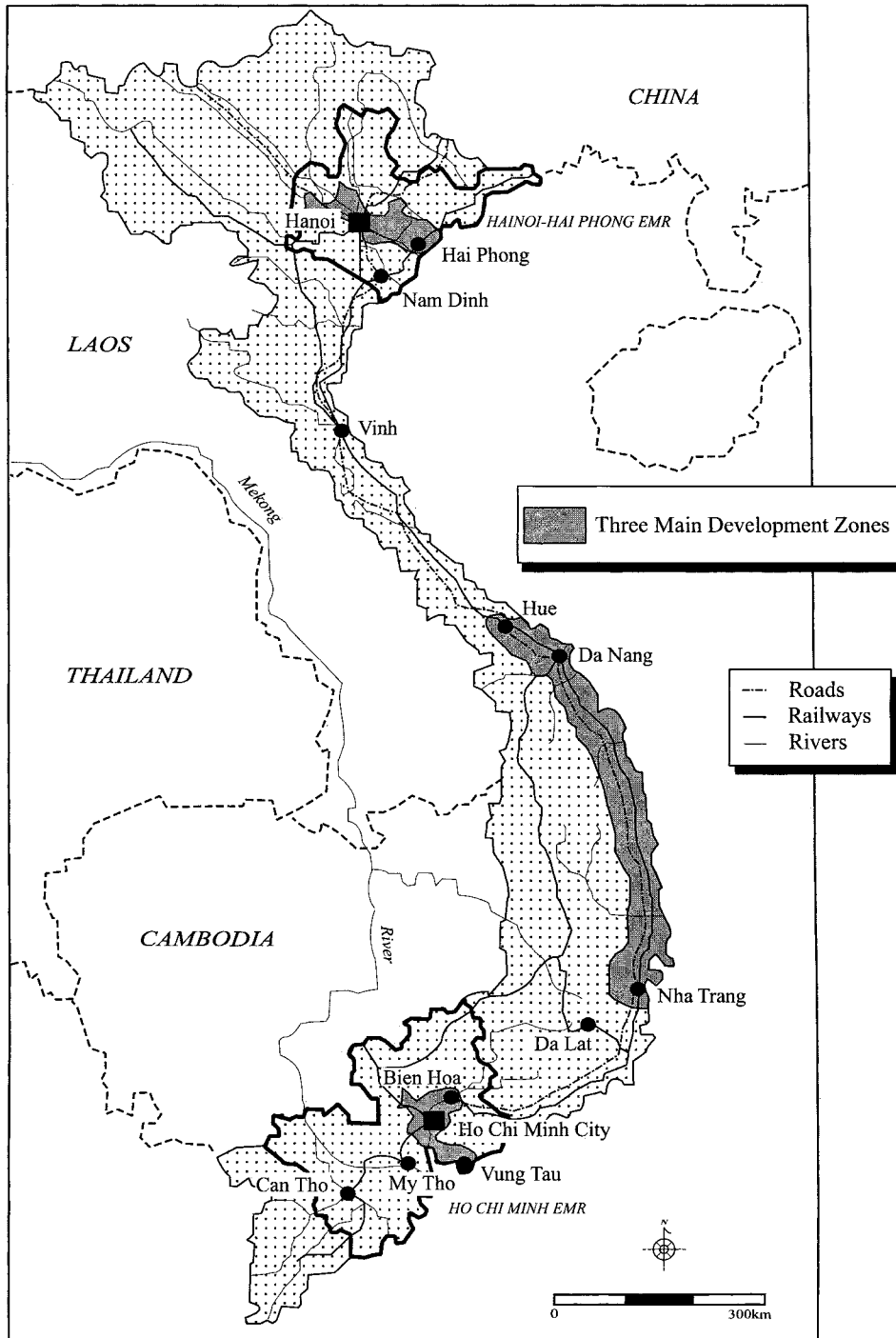
- (1) Hanoi-Haiphong
- (2) Ho Chi Minh - Bien Hoa and Vung Tau triangle, and
- (3) Nha Trang-Danang and Hue Cities'

With secondary development poles in:

- (1) The North Central region focused on Vinh City; and
- (2) The Central Plateau region centred on Dalat. A tourist and administrative market centre.

In fact, particularly with respect to the two main development poles of Ho Chi Minh and Hanoi centred in the highly crowded rural deltas of the Mekong and Red River they appear to be implicitly accepting the concept of Extended Metropolitan Regions used by the author in his previous work. In the earlier 1995 paper, the author attempted to measure the spatial dimensions of the regions which he estimated to include some 60 per cent of Vietnam's population on some 33 percent of the land area. It must be em-

phasized that these EMRs include portions of the major rice growing regions of a very high density. Physically these two deltas are reliant upon river systems of which the two largest, the red River in the North and the Mekong in the South, are the main sources of a complex system of water delivery for the dominant crop rice. The development that produced this hydraulic system together with the constant application of human labour has produced one of the typically humanized landscapes of Asia<sup>23</sup>. While these two deltas have many features in common they also have major differences. The Red River delta has one of the highest densities of population per square kilometre of cultivated land in Asia with some districts exceeding 800 persons per square kilometre of cultivated land<sup>24</sup>. Compared to these figures the Mekong Delta has much lower densities but higher productivity of rice. This means that particularly in the northern delta, there is immense population pressure on available resources. Despite the fact that many farmers grow two crops a year, this still may mean that they are out of work for up to 100 days a year and alternative sources of employment, for example, in small industry are hard to find. This creates a situation where rural migrants seek employment in the construction industry in Hanoi or remain in the countryside as under-employed rural workers. During the nineties while there has been more diversification of cropping with the production of cash crops such as



**Figure 3.** Main Development Zones of Vietnam  
Source: Adapted from Central Census Steering Committee: *Atlas Vietnam Population*, 1991.

vegetables and fruit for urban and rural markets, there is a serious shortage of employment which can only fuel the growth of rural urban migration in the coming decade.

The key to the development of these regions in which the transportation infrastructure is generally poorly developed is to create a more facilitative transactional environment which can facilitate rural-urban linkages. With exception of Highway one linking Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh that in places has a dual highway most of the rural roads are without shoulders and pavement and have badly deteriorated surfaces. The increased use of buses, trucks, motor bikes and bicycles creates further congestion. In addition there has been some decline in the irrigation systems particularly in the Red River Delta where a complex system of dykes and pumping stations involves constant upkeep. The major point to emphasize here is that the successful urban development needs careful development in the surrounding regions as part of an overall regional plan.

While there was some realisation of this fact in Vietnam in two Master Plans for development of the regions put forward by UNO, they have only been implemented in a very preliminary way. Thus the two largest urban regions of Hanoi - Haiphong and Ho Chi Minh - Vung Tao - Bien-Hoa are developing many of the features of other Extended Metropolitan Regions in Southeast Asia such as Greater Metropolitan Bangkok

and Jabotabek. It seems clear that the same forces of globalization are operating in these areas of Vietnam (markedly so in Ho Chi Minh) and presenting major problems of conflict over landuse, water appropriation, environmental pollution, administrative duplication, energy demand and traffic congestion which threaten the environmental and economic sustainability of these 'ecologically fragile' regions.

A review of the policy options available to the Vietnamese government suggest they are attempting to use policies that are designed to slow down the growth of their mega-urban regions through population control, population relocation, small and intermediate town development, industrial decentralization and rural development. While these policies will undoubtedly help, there is a great deal of evidence from other Southeast Asian countries that it is immensely difficult to divert the forces that are creating mega-urbanization. Thus it may be that the Vietnamese government would be better to adopt some type of 'middle-road' bundle of policies which would more effectively resolve the problems. Among these would be (a) the need to integrate national, regional and local strategic planning to accomplish development goals particularly with respect to rural-urban linkages, (b) the need to evaluate agricultural policy very carefully particularly the capacity of agriculture to absorb labour, (c) the need to try and create employment in rural areas in small

industry in a similar manner to China. If the two giant labour pools in these deltaic regions were to disgorge their population into the urban cores over a fairly short period, the pressure on the infrastructure of the urban cores would be overwhelming. In all probability, it would accelerate a growth of non-serviced illegal housing and place great pressure on existing infrastructure, (d) the Vietnamese government will need to recognize the importance of the transactional environment and accelerate improvements to the communications networks in these areas, and (e) there will be a need to develop more efficient systems of data collection at the mega-urban region level which can monitor the features of growth in the region.

Vietnam is fortunate in that it is still at an early stage of the urbanization transition. It therefore has an opportunity to learn and benefit from the other countries in Southeast Asia and the new paradigms of urban and rural development that are emerging in the late 1990s<sup>25</sup>.

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## ベトナムにおける都市の将来再考

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本稿では、1976年の独立以降のベトナムにおける都市化パターンの歴史的発展を論述する。しかしながら、焦点を当てているのは1989年から1999までの最近の10年間である。これには1989年から1999年までについてのセンサスデータの分析を含んでいる。本稿の主たる目的は、1995年に公表した著者の研究で示した1989年以前のベトナムにおける都市化に関する4つの仮説を検証することである。4つの仮説とは、(1) ベトナムの都市化比率は1990年代に加速されるであろう、(2) 都市人口はハノイとホーチミンという2大メガ都市地域に集中するであろう、(3) こうした大都市への人口集中は「拡大都市圏」という地域への人口の外延的移動を伴うであろう、(4) 中央高原や山岳部への低地ベトナムからの人口移動は継続するであろう、というものである。仮説(1)(2)(4)は分析によって確かめることができたが、仮説(3)についての証拠は説得力あるものではない。このような都市化の展開が政策に対して持つ意味を最終章では検討した。今後10年間で4.0%という現在の都市化比率が続くのであれば、ベトナムは適切な都市インフラストラクチャーの供給と都市での十分な雇用機会の提供という深刻な課題に直面することになるであろう。それゆえ、ベトナムは既存の都市インフラストラクチャーの改良や拡大とともに農村地域における雇用機会の増加を目指す政策を展開しなければならない。

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