Suburban Housing Planning History for Hanoi Capital Region 1980s-2020s

Market Economy Adaptation and High-Density Environment.

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Abstract

Suburbs, defined as the areas bordering cities, play a crucial role in providing greenbelt spaces for agricultural production, cultural-recreational activities, and environmental protection. Over the past 40 years, urban planning in Ha Noi has focused on developing housing outside the city center to alleviate pressure on urban areas. Initially, there was a push for "building by people and the state," but this approach faced challenges due to limited resources. Subsequently, the state experimented with supply planning and housing management for employees, gradually integrating market economic mechanisms. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the state continued to play a dominant role in providing housing for priority groups. However, the early 21st century saw increased participation from various economic entities, leading to positive shifts in both quantity and quality of housing projects. Ha Noi is now committed to constructing modern, sustainable housing models with integrated social infrastructure and synchronized technological development, while preserving cultural heritage and historical sites. This approach aims to stimulate economic development, promote the knowledge economy, and ensure environmental protection and national security, while fostering regional, national, and international linkages. Through fieldwork and comparative assessment methods, this article explores and proposes policies for suburban housing development that integrate green spaces and technology, with the goal of creating an attractive and sustainable model for the future capital - Ha Noi.

Keywords

Suburban Housing, Planning History, Hanoi Capital, Region planning, Suburbanization.

How to cite

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INTRODUCTION

After more than three decades of reform, Vietnam has made significant strides in various areas, particularly in economic development. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe led to the cessation of economic aid to Vietnam, while the US blockade and embargo further disrupted the economy. In response, the Vietnamese government shifted towards consensus policies to reconcile differing viewpoints between pragmatists and traditional communists. This shift facilitated the transformation from a centrally planned economy to a multi-sector economy, and ultimately to the current socialist-oriented market economy.

The period from 1980 to 1986 saw the continuation of old economic policies with support from Eastern European socialist countries, promoting the development of collective housing in suburban areas. The subsequent period from the 1986s-2000s marked a turning point, as the state gradually opened the market to attract foreign investment and encouraged state-owned enterprises to participate in infrastructure development and housing construction in new urban areas.

From 2000 onwards, deep international integration significantly influenced urban development in Hanoi, leading to urban expansion and adjustments in housing development policies to align with the market economy. This study delves into the context of transitioning to a market economy in developing suburban housing areas in Hanoi, examining changes in planning and the roles of public and private actors. It also provides insights on regional planning and population density adaptation during Vietnam's rapid and complex transition period.

HISTORY OF HANOI'S GENERAL PLANNING FROM 1960-2020.

THE 1960S ONWARDS

Since 1960, starting the first 5-year plan for economic development, Hanoi has built several industrial clusters, and some large architectural works such as office buildings, schools, and hospitals, addressing the need for suitable housing. Many poor working areas and villages such as An Duong, Tuong Mai, Phuc Tan have been improved living environments or new construction. Especially some dormitories such as Kim Lien, Nguyen Cong Tru ... built with the model of a socialist housing subdivision.¹

Right at this stage, the City has affirmed the need to build according to the plan and soon have the Capital General Plan to guide the construction. The Politburo has considered and issued Resolution 18/NQ-TW on the development of the Capital.

In 1961, the General Plan of the Capital with the help of Soviet experts was approved with a population size of 1 million inhabitants with about 20,000ha of construction land². The direction of spatial development of Ho Chi Minh City mainly to the South and West has a part of the Northeast (Gia Lam area).

In this context, it is clear that it is necessary to reconsider the direction of development of the Capital established in the master plan approved in 1961³. Many options for the development of the Capital have been studied, and finally, the planning project was approved (1974) to orient the old Hanoi with a population of 400,000, developing the Capital in Vinh Yen with a population of 600,000. The concept of the Hanoi urban cluster has been implemented to connect Hanoi with surrounding areas such as Xuan Mai and Son Tay.

The victorious war against America has opened a new stage of development for the entire country and the Capital. The new requirement demands a reevaluation and adjustment of the planning⁴. Soviet experts collaborated with foreign experts to conduct a comprehensive planning study. The Government Council issued Decision No. 163/CP on July 17, 1976, approving the General Plan for Hanoi Capital until 2000, with a population scale of 1.5 million people.

The suburbs of Hanoi are green belts providing food, arranging cultural activities for rest, traffic hubs and environmental protection belts, satellite cities around Hanoi as functions of industry, agriculture and tourism services, Resort: Xuan Mai - Son Tay - Ba Vi - Vinh Yen - Tam Dao - Bac Ninh. With this orientation, in 12/1978, the Government decided to expand the boundaries of Hanoi, merging Ba Vi, Phu Tho, Thach That, Dan Phuong, Hoai Duc, Son Tay town, Ha Dong and 1 number of communes of Ha Son Binh province...⁵ Hanoi has a natural land area of 2,136 km2 with a population of 3.5 million people.

During the implementation of The Second 5-year plan (1976-1980) and The Third 5-year plan (1981-1985), the Vietnamese people achieved significant accomplishments in economic and social development. They gradually overcome the severe consequences of the war, restored a large portion of the transportation, industrial, and agricultural infrastructure in the North, and rebuilt the rural areas that were devastated by the war⁶. The urban planning also underwent changes to adapt to the context of this period.

The boundary of Hanoi was adjusted and expanded for the second time during the period of 1978-1980, with a significant development and expansion towards the West. This expansion included four old inner districts (Ba Dinh, Hoan Kiem, Dong Da, Hai Ba Trung) and 11 outer suburban districts (Me Linh, Soc Son, Dong Anh, Gia Lam, Thanh Tri, Tu Liem, Hoai Duc, Dan Phuong, Thach That, Phuc Tho, Ba Vi). In which, 7 towns: Sai Dong, Duc Giang, Dong Anh, Cau Giay, Nghia Do, Cau Dien, Mai Dich, of the districts adjacent to the city were established?. The urban area developed towards the main road axis with new towns. By 1981, the Hanoi City Master Plan and the surrounding area plan had been approved according to Decision No. 100/TTg dated January 24, 1981, with the following main contents regarding housing issues as follows:

- Forming the central system: Hoan Kiem, Ba Dinh, West Lake and opening a large spatial axis to the suburbs, which is Hoa Lac.
- Newly constructed residential areas with the form of sub-residential areas such as Khuong Thuong, Trung Tu, Thanh Cong, Van Chuong, Vinh Ho have a height of 4-5 floors. Low-rise areas such as Yen Lang A-B, Truong Dinh have a height of 2 floors. The majority of buildings are large panel prefabricated houses⁸. A fairly large construction block has been created to promptly meet s portion of the urgent housing needs of urban residents. Large public works were also constructed, such as: Government Guest House, Hanoi Post Office, Children's Cultural House, Institute of Natural Science Research, Thang Loi Hotel,...⁹

Rural areas at this stage implemented the Resolutions of the IV and V Central Party Congresses, enhancing the construction of rural areas with the district as the foundation. The district level is reorganized for production, labor reallocation, the development of agricultural, forestry, fishery, and cottage industries. The system of public works and production-serving facilities is distributed in 3 levels: The entire district, sub-regions, economic and technical clusters and cooperatives ¹⁰.

The suburban districts were planned according to the 3-level system that created a network of district centers, sub-regional centers, and commune centers (each district has 3-5 sub-regions, each sub-region has 4-5 communes) based on the principle of subsidized central planning¹¹.

In Hanoi, since 1982, the approved city master plan has been implemented, along with the establishment of additional district townships and industrial towns. The planning of urban and suburban areas has been implemented in townships and district townships of Dong Anh, Sai Dong, Duc Giang, Nghia Do, Cau Giay, Cau Dien, and Trau Quy.

At this stage, the construction is planned in suburban districts with a public works system, supporting production at 3 levels: district-wide, sub-region and commune-cooperative¹². The villages in the inner and suburban areas are planned as "green areas" and have the responsibility of serving as the food and agricultural belt of the city.

In general, during this period, there had been many changes in the master planning of the central and inner-city areas. However, there are still some shortcomings and difficulties that need to be addressed and adjusted.

In order to overcome the difficulties and address the weaknesses of the previous era, Vietnam undertook an economic campaign in 1986 to transform its economy based on central planning to a market-oriented economy. The changes in economic policy have brought certain changing effects on urban planning:

- The (former) production facilities have been downsized and converted for residential use for workers.
- Many central and local agencies in the city have simultaneously requested land allocation for the construction of housing for officials and employees in areas with vacant land that has not been synchronously invested in technical infrastructure or requested legitimate conversion of land use purposes for the construction of housing at any available and convenient location within the city (especially in collective areas, industrial production facilities, cooperatives, universities, etc...).
- Infrastructure and social infrastructure renovation and construction works are not synchronized.

Therefore, the period from 1986 to 1992 is considered the "boom" period of urban construction. In 1991, the National Assembly decided to adjust the boundaries of the suburbs of Hanoi, including 4 inner urban districts (Ba Dinh, Hoan Kiem, Dong Da,

Hai Ba Trung) and 5 suburban districts (Thanh Tri, Tu Liem, Dong Anh, Gia Lam, Soc Son)¹³.

The surrounding areas of the inner suburbs have seen a transformation in land use, with agricultural fields, ponds, and lakes being converted into new residential clusters of the urban

area, such as villages like Kim Lien, Trung Tu, Khuong Thuong, Quynh Loi, Giang Vo, Thanh Cong, Nghia Do,... Traditional craft villages like Ngoc Ha, Lieu Giai, Nghi Tam, Quang Ba... have gradually declined. However, there are emerging "new villages" such as S.O.S. Children's Village, Birla Children's Village,

Vietnamese-Japanese Architecture Village, Phuong Dong Hotel (tourist village). The boundaries of the towns: Mai Dich, Cau Dien, and Nghia Do were established in 1989. In the market mechanism, agricultural land has thrived economically as well as in architectural space with a boom in construction taking place everywhere.

After the period considered as the boom of urban construction with the change of economic mechanism, the period 1993-2000 is the period of urban embellishment. After a period considered as the urban construction boom, characterized by the changes in the economic mechanism from 1993 to 2000, the urban construction restructuring phase took place. After a period of rapid development characterized by disorder, spontaneous growth, and patchwork solutions, which resulted in negative consequences for the economic, cultural, social, housing, and urban infrastructure environments. The 8th Party Congress outlined the strategy for the country's socio-economic development until 2010, focusing on industrialization and modernization¹⁴. National strategies such as: housing strategy, master plan for industrial development, national infrastructure, Vietnam urban master plan...

The 1998 master plan includes a central city 4.4 times the size of the existing inner city, developed on both sides of the North and South banks of the Red River. In the southern part of the Red River, there are 3 newly established districts: Tay Ho, Cau Giay, Thanh Xuan, as well as a portion of land from Thanh Tri and Tu Liem districts within the belt, which are part of the urban development belt. In the northern part, 2/3 of Dong Anh district and 1/2 of Gia Lam district will be located in the new urban area in the North of Red River. Soc Son district belongs to Xuan Hoa-Soc Son-Vinh Yen urban clusters with a population of 500,000 people, 4,500 hectares of industrial land, an expanded 815-hectare Noi Bai International Airport and various tourism, entertainment, and urban development projects to covering ½ to ½ of the total district area 15.

During the period of renovation to a market economy, besides the inadequacies and influences in the planning sector, there were groundbreaking steps taken that were crucial for economic development during the era of deep international integration after the 2000s. Accompanying this was a transformation in administrative territorial boundaries and the construction of urban development in the capital city.

At the 6th Meeting of the Xth Party Central Committee, in 01/2008, after hearing the Politburo's report on the Proposal and Project on expanding the administrative boundaries of Hanoi Capital, the Central Committee discussed and issued a Resolution and concluded: Agree on the policy of expanding the administrative boundaries of Hanoi Capital on the basis of total consolidation natural area and population of Ha Tay province; adjust the entire natural area and population of Me Linh district, Vinh Phuc province; the entire natural area and population of 4 communes: Dong Xuan, Tien Xuan, Yen Binh, Yen Trung belong to Luong Son district, Hoa

Binh province into Hanoi capital.

It can be said that during the 10-year period (2000-2010), Hanoi was one of the cities with rapid development and urbanization. Many new urban areas have been and are being formed, which have changed the appearance of the Capital, contributed to economic growth, job creation, labor structure transformation, and the establishment of an urban environment with modern living conditions...

After expanding the boundaries, on 26/7/2011, the Prime Minister approved the general plan to build the Capital until 2030, with a vision to 2050. The planning has created an urban cluster model including: central urban, 5 satellite cities, 3 ecological cities, 10 towns with fixed functions... Identify spatial axes with outstanding functions such as the Red River as the central landscape axis of Hanoi City; My Dinh - Huong Son - Ba Vi economic space axis. Besides, there is the axis of traditional cultural space West Lake - Ba Vi (linking Thang Long - Dai culture); landscape spatial axis Ha Dong - Chuong My - Xuan Mai; the axis of scientific space connecting the central city with Hoa Lac; West Lake - Co Loa spiritual space axis.

During this period, there have also been studies on urban planning in Hanoi, addressing typical issues such as population density, economic efficiency, housing, and new urban areas...

Through the general as well as specific periods of Hanoi's planning history from the 1960s to the modern period of 2020, it is possible to see the clear transformations of the capital through each historical period. To enhance the development of the capital's position to adapt to the social environment in terms of population and economy, step by step formulate policies and visions on the development of the capital through stages. The biggest change probably stems from the change in economic policy from a centralized subsidized economy to a market economy, since then there have been certain innovations, especially in Hanoi construction planning with specific goals and long-term vision to meet the needs of the people, adapt to the innovation economy, thereby creating momentum for future development and integration. Thereby, it is possible to divide the history of Hanoi capital planning from the 1960s to 2020 into 3 stages through the change in the economic mechanism of the state: the period of centralized economic subsidy (1960s-1986s), the period of renovation to a market economy (1986s-2000s) and finally the period of integration and development after the 2000s.

DEMAND MATTERS, LEVELS OF SUPPLY AND LOCATION OF SUPPLY OVER PERIODS

The expansion of infrastructure projects such as highways, flyovers, and new industrial parks has led to the clearance and resettlement of a large number of people from the central area to the suburbs. This creates an urgent need for housing in resettlement areas such as Gia Lam, East England, and Hoai Duc. High urbanization and rapid population growth have led to strong migration from rural areas into Hanoi¹⁷. Suburban areas with lower housing prices have become ideal destinations for people looking for new housing, especially young fam-

ilies and middle-income workers. In addition, industrial parks and factories in the suburbs attract a large number of workers from other provinces, creating a large demand for affordable housing, social housing, and hostels for workers ¹⁸. Housing developments for workers in areas such as North Tu Liem, Nam Tu Liem, and Dong Anh are being strongly implemented. Particularly for the type of social housing, it is necessary to determine the goal of building concentrated social housing areas in the direction of modernity and synchronous infrastructure to avoid the phenomenon of not attracting people and arbitrary transfer. For housing for workers in industrial parks, it is necessary to determine the right of the city to adjust the planning. Regarding resettlement housing, it is necessary to add a facilitation mechanism for displaced people in the inner city.

Developing into the suburbs gives developers access to lower-priced land, which in turn can develop more affordable housing, due to lower land costs. This is most clearly seen with urban development models linked to public transport (TODs) such as metro systems, which facilitate large-scale development and high population density along the route, making travel from suburban areas more efficient.

Connecting suburban areas to the city center, providing infrastructure and utilities to residents in a more efficient way. Affordable housing is available in other satellite areas and as infrastructure improves, the distance from these areas to the city center will be "pulled closer." The target of residential floor area in Hanoi is currently set by the city's master plans, usually ranging from 20-25 m² / person¹9. However, in suburban areas, this target may be higher due to the abundant land fund and lower construction density. Specifically: according to the Hanoi master plan for construction to 2030, and vision to 2050, the target floor area in urban areas is about 26-30 m² / person, while the suburban area is expected to reach about 30-35 m² / person. The level of land fund supply and housing floor area targets for the suburbs of Hanoi are being boosted to meet the increasing demand for housing²0. With the planning and development of new urban areas, along with diverse housing projects, the suburbs of Hanoi promise to control and meet the housing needs of the city in the future.

The location of land supply in the suburbs of Hanoi in the period 1900-2000 has changed to meet the increasing housing needs of the people. The inner city area is planned and developed in the direction of expanding to the South and Southwest, while the suburban area is used for agricultural activities, handicrafts, new residential areas, industrial parks, export processing zones, and satellite urban areas. From 1900 to 1954, the downtown area including the old town and surrounding areas was planned and developed in the direction of expansion to the south and southwest. The location of residential land is mainly for households, administrative agencies, commercial areas, and public works. Meanwhile, the Northern, Northwestern, Northeastern, and Southern areas of the inner city are used for agricultural activities, handicrafts, and some new residential areas. In the period 1954 - 1975, due to the effects of the war, the pace of urban development slowed down. Residential land is mainly used to rebuild houses, schools, hospitals, and other essential structures. Meanwhile, in the suburbs, several new residential areas were built to relocate residents from the inner city to the suburbs. Residential land is mainly for households of workers, officials, and small production establishments. After the reunification of the country, from 1975 to 1986, Hanoi began to enter a

period of recovery and development. Residential land is used to build dormitories, houses for officials and employees, and some new urban areas. In the suburbs, the area of agricultural land is gradually shrinking to make way for new industrial parks, export processing zones, and urban areas. Residential land is mainly for households migrating from rural to cities and workers in industrial zones.

In the later stage, this time marked a strong urbanization process leading to an increasing demand for residential land. Residential land is used to build new urban areas, high-rise apartment buildings, and commercial and service areas. In the suburbs, the area of agricultural land continues to shrink to expand industrial parks, satellite urban areas, and ecotourism areas. Residential land is mainly for households migrating from rural areas to cities and workers in industrial parks and export processing zones. In the period 2000 - now, due to high land prices, it has become difficult to buy land in the inner city. Residential land is mainly used to build high-end projects, high-rise apartments, and modern commercial and service areas. Since then, satellite cities have developed and attracted strong interest. A large number of people have come to live. Residential land is mainly for low- and middle-income households, workers working in industrial parks, and export processing zones.

THE PROBLEM OF DEVELOPMENT MODEL (TYPE ENCOURAGE-MENT) ACCORDING TO INFRASTRUCTURE SUPPLY OPTIONS (OIL SPILL, TOD, NEW TOWN) THROUGH DIFFERENT PERIODS.

The model of spatial organization of the TOD system in the central city of Hanoi consists of 3 levels of organization:

- TOD zone: defined within an urban system, where specific TODs are identified as urban center TODs.
- TOD corridor chain: defined as a sequence of TODs along an urban rail line.
- The TODs along this corridor serve as central hubs for the area.
- TOD point: defined as railway stations or important public transportation stops such as MRT and LRT stations.

3 levels of organization:

- TOD Zone:
- Integrated development: Central transfer stations have the characteristics of diverse passenger composition, coming from various regions with different travel purposes. Central stations not only create development momentum for neighboring areas but also have a positive impact on the surrounding urban areas of the station complexes.
- Urban sprawl development: In expanded areas of urban development, the structure of the sprawl model prioritizes mixed land use, focusing on various commercial and urban service activities. It serves as a secondary center that attracts pedestrians from different locations within the region.
- Hanoi-wide urban TOD system: The central city of Hanoi is developed according to the model of belt and radial routes, which includes urban railways and roads, so it is appropriate to develop the TOD system (zone) according to this model.

- The TOD area in the expanded inner city region: Based on the Hanoi public transportation network consisting of 9 routes, the expanded inner city region has a relatively dense public transportation system, which can support the development of a TOD system in this area as a TOD zone.
- TOD Urban Chain:
- The development of TOD points along the urban rail line forms the urban chain.
- The urban area develops along the extended urban railway line. This urban form mostly belongs to new urban areas, serving as a foundation for future urban cores. Here, new units will be formed around the railway station. The three basic types of TOD connecting corridors are: destination connecting corridor, commuting corridor, and intra-core movement corridor.
- TOD point: TOD point is classified into 3 categories by level:
- Type A: Urban TOD.
- Type B: Regional TOD.
- Type C: Unit TOD.

Development orientation of Hanoi TOD system.

- TOD restricted development areas, historic inner cities: Restricting high-rise development in order to protect typical landscapes, prioritize the development and exploitation of underground space; Do not develop TODs of a
- housing-oriented nature; Limiting the development of large TOD points to limit the increase in construction floors; Develop office TOD to a limited extent to reduce pressure on commuting traffic, focusing on developing TOD with commercial nature; Organize small TOD points according to the criteria of reconstruction to improve landscape, spatial and environmental conditions, increase pedestrian accessibility. Areas with potential for TOD development: Hanoi railway station, some reconstruction collective areas.
- TOD in the expanded urban area: An area that has grown to high density, with an integrated development nature, TOD is at the regional level. MRT lines: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 facilitate the development of the TOD network at the regional level. For some radial and ring routes will form TOD chains. Properties: development of large urban TODs, with high densities and floors depending on location and nature. Make the most of public transport capacity. The type of TOD is considered on the basis of regional function, population control and distribution, and social infrastructure responsiveness. Modern TOD space organization, sustainable development.
- TOD new urban development: East of Ring 4. North of Red River: As a new development area under construction, the population density and construction density are not high. Newly formed centers and urban areas have a spillover impact on TOD development at the regional level. There is potential that the land bank can be developed with synchronous modern goals. It is an area with
- conditions for the development of the TOD system at the urban, regional level and TOD residential units.

Capable of forming large TOD centers to create strategic attraction, sparking new development. There are conditions for strong development of the residential unit TOD system, associated with the development of new urban areas.

Orientation of layout of TOD development areas: Based on the evaluation of criteria, scoring for each proposed location of the TOD network system of Hanoi central urban including urban TOD, regional TOD, and TOD residential units. For expanded urban areas and new development, the land fund for construction can be built close to the theoretical model, in which the road network is organized in the form of flag boxes.

The mobile phone station is located in the center, adjacent to the station square, bus station, taxi, transfer point, trees, and parking lot. Create spatial accent axes.

According to the radius from the station core area onwards, there will be commercial, office, mixed, residential, and social infrastructure functions, with a gradually decreasing density. The underground mobile phone station will make the most of the underground space for parking and commerce, the space on the ground as a square bus station. Organize the entrances up and down connecting the underground space.²¹

PROBLEMS OF URBAN CULTURE AND PEOPLE'S MARKET WEAKNESS

Hanoi is one of the major cultural centers of the country, therefore, urban culture is a core factor in the construction and planning of the capital region. Urban areas are not only places of residence, but also places to express and create cultural values. Urban planning needs to integrate cultural values to create a friendly and livable living environment and public space, as this can generate a sense of happiness for the people and contribute to the sustainable development of the city.²²

With its unique urban characteristics, Hanoi carries a wealth of historical, cultural, and architectural features... values; therefore, the development of urban areas in Hanoi is of significant importance, not only to the capital city but also to the overall development of the country. In general, the social structure of urban Hanoi exhibits diverse populations in terms of ethnicity, religion, education, and professions. This diversity has created a multicultural environment. However, maintaining and promoting traditional cultural values in the context of modern urbanization also presents numerous challenges.²³

The expansion of Hanoi's inner city has brought about many changes in urban culture. The rapid urban development has put pressure on traditional culture and customs of the people. Urban culture in Hanoi is often referred to as an elegant way of life.

However, the transition to a market economy and the promotion of industrialization and modernization have transformed the lifestyle of the capital city.²⁴

The civic consciousness in the expanded inner city of Hanoi encompasses various aspects. Housing is one of the major challenges for people in the expanded inner city of Hanoi. Population growth and urban development have created a significant demand for housing. During the expansion of the inner city of Hanoi, some residents have had to relocate from their homes. This has led to a shortage of housing and infrastructure for some residents, especially low-income workers. The issue of civic consciousness of the people also includes the lack of basic services such as education, healthcare, culture, and entertainment. Some newly expanded areas lack the infrastructure and services to meet the needs of the people. Citizens demand a quality educational environment, convenient healthcare services, and a variety of entertainment and cultural activities. Furthermore, there are also issues related to transpor-

tation. The rapid growth of personal vehicles has put significant pressure on Hanoi's transportation system, leading to congestion and traffic jams. The public welcomes the government of Hanoi's forward-looking planning efforts. However, alongside high-impact projects, there are still low-efficiency projects such as the elevated railway line Cat Linh - Ha Dong.²⁵

In order to adapt to the changing needs of residents in the expanded suburban areas of Hanoi, it is necessary to invest in infrastructure and basic public services, including the construction and improvement of housing systems, transportation, schools, hospitals, cultural facilities, and entertainment venues. Furthermore, it is essential to ensure sustainable development and balance between economic, social, and environmental factors. At the same time, it is important to protect and enhance the living environment, guarantee social welfare, and promote the health of the population.²⁶

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