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The Impact of Migrant Peasants on the Urban Space (Ho Chi Minh City — Ganh Dau)

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Abstract: The term "way of living" is used in this article in its connection with "place identity" to analyze the impact of new urban residents (migrant peasants) on the urban space transformation. The urban environment of Ho Chi Minh City is considered in the context of the similarity of its development to the transformation of the space of Ukrainian cities (in the context of migrant processes). The case study analyzes the configuration of the impact of key actors (state and community) on the space of the city center. The aim of the study is to prove or disprove the impact of the "rural way of life" (introduced by migrants) on the urban environment. Observation of everyday "spatial practices" of the citizens is used to characterize the processes changing the space. The daily deconstruction of the historic part of the city is viewed in the context of the influence of "formal" planning practices applied by the city authorities and "informal" practices of space used by the local community. Turning to the hypothesis of the influence of the new residents' "way of life", which is different from the one of the urban residents, the study was complemented by the analysis of the spatial organization and neighborhood of the fishing village of Ganh Dau in the province of Kien Giang. The study of the space-community interactions of this sustainable rural settlement determines the similarity of the "rural identity" of local residents with the "urban identity" (autochthonous urban population of Ho Chi Minh City) in terms of perception and use of the common space. Therefore, differences in lifestyle (urban/rural) are not the main source of influence on the gradual changes in urban morphology and the loss of authentic buildings. In the current context, the impact of "consumer identity" as a manifestation of a "fluid society" that is constantly changing is more noticeable. It is important to emphasize that the influence of the local community (with any type of identity) on the transformation of the urban space occurs only through the informal spatial practices. Thus, it is not the only or determining factor. To a greater extent, the transformation of urban space is determined by the planning strategy of the city government in compliance with global standards.

Keywords: Urban Environment, Urban Way of Life, Rural Way of Life

1. Introduction

Changes in the architectural environment of Ukrainian cities can be better and more clearly understood if we compare them with similar transformations in the world. In the domestic architectural theory, European cities are traditionally involved in comparative analysis, taking the urban development of the European Union as a kind of standard. However, it seems more correct to compare the like with the like, regardless of the conditions of regional tradition. At the same time, it is inexpedient to reduce the analysis to purely post-socialist or post-colonial discourses, as Wiest [1] points out.

She says: "The general problem of similarity-difference, which is formulated by comparative research, is always reflected in the tension between universalization (search for general rules) and individualization (comparative approaches that emphasize differences)" [1].

However, Wiest [1] emphasizes, the spatial analysis of Central and Eastern European cities usually contains explicit or implicit comparisons with Western models of urban spatial organization or with ideal models, as Beauregard [2] puts it. Therefore, a more remote comparison of cities with similar development conditions is more objective.

The architectural environment of the Vietnamese Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) was chosen for a more detailed

analysis because its development (more precisely, the consequences of development - gradual changes in urban morphology and loss of authentic buildings) is very similar to several Ukrainian cities. The study was prompted by a debate on Facebook over changes in Lviv's architectural and historical environment between opposition groups, where conventional "traditionalists" advocated preserving the authentic substance of the city center as opposed to conventional "modernizers" seeking European-style transformation. (Such polar positions on urban change do not seem to be uncommon everywhere.) In this debate, it is the changes in Saigon that have been cited as a negative example of the city's non-indigenous influence on its historic environment. The excellent way of life (Lefebvre's spatial practice [3]) of newcomers and the lack of skills in "using" the city were occasionally mentioned. Given the significant replacement of the local population described by House [4], the impact of market relations on the development of the city, as indicated by Waibel [5], and a mixture of "formal" and "informal" in Ho Chi Minh City urban practices (Waibel [6]), the city seemed quite suitable for comparative analysis with the cities of Ukraine. Thus, it was necessary to closely analyze the "intervention" of the replaced community - one that has nothing to do with the long, hereditary creation of the city and leaves it in their own, different practices. The "difference" of spatial practices means that it is necessary to study such a community in its natural conditions, to study the "norm" of its everyday practices and the spatial organization of its customary settlements. Thus, if the study of Ho Chi Minh City began with the assumption of replacing the "urban" population with "rural" one, then to understand the "norms" of the latter, its traditional spatial structures and the nature of everyday life we had to conduct additional field research - analysis of fishermen's village Ganh Dau.

This work assumes that urban space is transformed not only through the plans of its architects (Lefebvre's "representations of space" [3]) and urban theories, but also through the interaction of power that "produces space" and the citizens who "live" it. The everyday "spatial practices" of the local community can affect the urban space in different ways, and this influence is manifested physically - through objects or artifacts. Since the characteristic manifestations of such influence are studied, but not its evolution, the study admits - and to some extent requires – "pure" examples, such as when there is a radical change in the local community. Against the background of historical substitutions of urban communities in Ukraine, the proposed consideration of the spatial transformations of Ho Chi Minh City reveals common features with Ukrainian cases both in terms of dynamics and migration processes.

2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Analysis of Recent Research and Publications

Outlining the influence of cultural traditions on the architectural form, Rapoport [7] used the concept of "lifestyle" (in French "Genre de vie") of Sorre [8] to describe the cultural matrix that limits the choice of form. The shape of the house is determined by more than one reason, it is the result of several socio-cultural factors. It is noteworthy that Rapoport considers these factors to be "primary" ones, and climatic conditions, construction methods, available materials and technologies to be "secondary" or "modifying". Architecture is thus a cultural expression of the identity of specific communities. But before studying the impact of rural life on the city and to avoid unnecessary ambiguity, it is necessary to specify the concept of identity, because it is applied differently to the place and to the community, as well as to lifestyle and experience, such as "urban identity", "rural identity". Note that "urban identity" in the works of Lalli [9], Harvey [10], Uzzell [11], Zukin [12], Belanche [13] and "rural identity" in the interpretations of Ching [14], Alkon [15] and Fitchen [16] are defined by "place identification", which in turn links "self-identity" with "place-identity" according to Proshansky [17]. Therefore, hereinafter we will apply the category of identity only to the place, and for group identity (community) we will use the concepts of "cultural pattern of identity" and "ethnic / national pattern of identity" and their derivatives, as formulated by Golubović [18]. Contemplating the identity crisis, she sees its common cause in the reduction of values through global approaches. Therefore, in her opinion, societies or local communities can "either preserve their traditional cultural identities or assimilate their way of life according to a single pattern" [18]. When it comes to adjusting to a single pattern, the working category can be a collective identity based on a culture of consumption. And since it is impractical to apply abstract or general definitions to the identity, let us turn to the formulations proposed by Niinimäki [19] – "consumer identity" and Ahuvia [20] – "consumers' identity", as those that describe the influence of consumer culture (which is discussed by Lefebvre [3], and de Certeau [21], and Golubović [18]). This working concept is also based on culture, as well as "cultural identity", only in this case on the culture of consumption, as interpreted by Slater [22] and Arnold [23]. In the context of our study, it is also important to emphasize the connection between "consumer identity" and Bauman's [24] "liquid society", which is in a process of constant change, and which is characterized by instability and uncertainty.

2.2. The Purpose of the Article and Research Questions

In the case when the local community changes, is replaced in the urban space (the community living in the city can be called replaced due to the spatial practices introduced from outside and different from the ones previously created here), the research question sounds like this:

How exactly does the lifestyle of the replaced community affect the urban environment?

It should be noted that a local community can be heterogeneous and consist of two or more group identities (like an urban space can be characterized by two or more morphological structures) as a result of the coexistence of

different cultures or subcultures. Therefore, it is important to understand the specific framework common to the community as a whole, which leads to two clarifying questions:

1. What is the significant difference between the bearers of the rural way of life that makes it impossible to share the use of space?
2. How does such a difference affect the transformation of urban space?

These questions, together with the intention to reveal the connection between socio-cultural processes and physical objects (artifacts), allow us to resort to both ethnographic and interpretive techniques. Since quantitative (statistical) methods apprehend the nature and extent of urban environment transformations rather than the cause of the latter, attempts to understand the interaction (community - environment) require direct observation. Therefore, the purpose of this work is to determine the degree of influence of the "rural" way of life of new residents on the urban space. Therefore, the purpose of this work is to determine the degree of influence of the "rural" way of life of new residents on the urban space.

3. Results

A study of changes in the architectural environment of Ho Chi Minh City in January 2020 focused on the city center. Several historical quarters in the Nguyen Thai Binh district of the First District of the city are thoroughly researched. In addition, observations were made in the districts of Ben Thanh and Ben Nghe of the First District with the adjacent Sixth District of the Third District and the Twelfth District of the Fourth District. The study consisted of two stages. At the stage of "acquaintance" the general impression of the city environment and understanding of scale of its changes were formed. After analyzing the spatial structure of the fishing village of Kien Giang, the stage of "detailing" came into stage - data collection for a "dense description". The time of observation coincided with the New Year holidays (according to the lunar calendar), so it was possible to observe the "use" of urban space in everyday life and during the holiday.

This part of Ho Chi Minh City was formed in the colonial era and has a planning structure similar to most European cities. The building is characterized by a varied mixture of classical architecture of the 19th century with interwar architecture and examples of postwar modernism. As a result of numerous infrastructure projects (the construction of the first line of the metro is currently being completed), the city center gives the impression of an endless construction site. Campaign stands with party slogans remind that you are in a communist country. Chaotic traffic and a huge number of scooters (there is even a taxi-scooter service) on the city streets are reflected in posters and paintings as a symbol of the city. As well as the former name - Saigon, which is used more often than a current one. A peculiar appeal to the times of the Republic of Vietnam, expressed in the photos of the Saigon streets of 1950-70, is striking - street photos fill not only numerous hotels, but also any premises - from hairdressers and cafes to museums. This presence of archival photos from everyday life is reminiscent of the rediscovery of the pre-socialist "golden age", as described by Wiest [1]. The oversaturation of advertising and the flickering of dynamic lighting on the facades of new buildings make the streets of the city center similar to Kharkiv or Dnipro. Similar are the neglect of historic buildings, and the fragmentation of the whole picture of the city, narrow, and in some places absent sidewalks. Ho Chi Minh City is not very convenient for walking around. The approach to the preservation of architectural heritage shows attention to certain buildings-"icons" rather than to ordinary buildings. If the historical body of the city is still perceived as quite integral in the movement along the street, then the observation from the roofs shows endless superstructures, a kind of urban "pixelization", where life seems to wander on several spatial levels (Figure 1). The movement of cars and to a greater extent scooters is very active and chaotic. The latter move without taking into account a lane allocated for transport, but just go to sidewalks or pedestrian crossings. The sidewalks of the city center and main streets resemble endless private scooter parking and "free space" for cooking and consuming street food or for trade. Public transport seems to exist, there is a modern bus terminal (municipal) on Ham Nghi Street, which does not seem too crowded compared to similar stops in Ukrainian cities. Most bus stops in the city center are integrated into the first floors of the building (for example, the private VIP bus station Hoa Mai) and do not immediately catch the eye. In the morning the city is actively cleaned, but one can't call it too clean. Large areas of the city center are separated from the general body by fences. These are usually either government or educational buildings. City parks are well-groomed only if they are part of a museum or institution. In other cases, it is quite abandoned deserted spaces. In the morning one can see few people running, surprisingly not so many bicycles and they are used mostly by elderly people. The noise of city traffic in the evening is accompanied by the singing of street karaoke and the sounds of the city become louder. Ut is relatively quiet only in the morning.

Features of the transformation of urban space can be reduced to two processes. The first one is the growth of the city and can be traced in the changes in the silhouette of the city center. The city does not just grow on a certain number of floors. The increase in height is accompanied by the absorption of the historical network of streets and changes in the morphological basis of space. Each high-rise building absorbs one or more blocks of the old town. Skyscrapers create nodes of concentration of traffic, making the network of streets of the 19th century inexpedient decoration (Figure 2). But this is a perception from the point of view of a pedestrian. Observations from the roofs give the impression that there are two layers of buildings, where the first or second floors create some visibility of the "historic", but do not dominate the space.

Figure 1. Urban "pixelization".

Figure 2. Skyscrapers create nodes of concentration of traffic.

The second process is the intervention of new functions in the physical body of the city, where the form is no longer significant, but only becomes a "circumstance" and a kind of resource. The intervention is illustrated by the well-restored building of the Central Post Office from 1891, where the purely postal function is almost invisible. The souvenir trade is gradually taking over the building. A clear manifestation of the intervention is also the house 42 on Nguyen Hue Street. The apartment building in the style of post-war modernism, which once housed high-ranking officials and the US military after the fall of Saigon, received new residents (part of the apartments were given to shipyard workers). Over time, the house became a tourist center, where next to the apartments appeared more than 30 unlicensed cafes and shops (Figure 3). And although there are constant reports of their eviction, the number of businesses here is not decreasing. Over time, the house became a tourist attraction, it is even called a hipster den. However, the commercial function is rather natural given the displacement of citizens from the city center. Weibel [25] notes that:

"in the inner districts of Ho Chi Minh City there was a significant decrease in population density between 1989 and 2005 due to the growing demand for the conversion of residential premises into business space..." [25, p. 62].

These changes, in his opinion, are similar to those taking place in Chinese cities. The compaction of the city center can be explained by insufficient control or weakness of local government or accumulation of capital in the city center, and

this seems to better explain the circumstances under which modern life invades the historic environment. What this invasion means is not so obvious.

The categories of "visible" and "invisible" in the urban space will be helpful here, which suggest that all this is caused by some need. Campos [26] speaks of "exhibited" as:

"something that is objectified from the moment it becomes visible. To make something visible means to give it an objective existence (to make it an "object")" [26, p. 55].

Visibility, in his opinion, is always a position of attitude, where someone shows something (about themselves) to others. Visible and invisible in urban space is related to what in the practice of spatial planning is called formal and informal. Ho Chi Minh City's urban space clearly reflects this. Formal planning is based on land management and is enshrined in the regulatory framework, a set of laws and government regulations. According to Michael Weibel, this is a field of official influence for the implementation of development projects. However, current formal planning practices are not the only circumstance of change in the urban environment.

Figure 3. House 42 on Nguyen Hue Street.

The changes are especially noticeable in the city center. Spatial growth and a kind of construction race, who will build the tallest building in Ho Chi Minh City, demonstrates the skyscraper of the financial tower "Bitexco in the district of Ben Nghe of the First District (Figure 4). Completed in 2010, this 68-storey building remained the tallest until the construction in 2018 of the 81-storey skyscraper "Landmark 81" in the 22nd district of Binh Thanh. The Bitexco Tower is an important example in the consideration of formal practices, as the construction of such a large facility required compliance with the regulatory framework. From a technical point of view, building a skyscraper in the city center is much more difficult than in a free area. Since there are few rational grounds here

(and the costs must be higher), another logical reason must work. What will explain such intrusiveness? Why the city center? It seems to be about "visibility" and the assertion of new players in the urban space. The same applies to the infrastructure project of the first line of the city metro, which also runs through the city center. This "visibility" obviously has its own symbolism. Joining the club of "cities with subways" is not only a motivator, but also obviously symbolizes the modern development of the city and the country: on the one hand, construction meets all international recommendations, and on the other, the subway should make this noisy and pedestrian-not so friendly space harmonious.

It is important that here we are not talking about the need to develop urban transport as such, but about the local implementation of global trends. "Formal" in spatial development is focused on global processes, and "visibility" is aimed at demonstrating compliance (to be in the circle of successful cities). Modernity and change are considered unconditional values. The city center must change according to world models.

Figure 4. Financial tower "Bitexco".

Visible and formal in the center of Ho Chi Minh City speaks of one of the most powerful social agents, which, according to Campos [26], form and occupy the urban landscape (urban space). The emphasized inconsistency of the Bitexco tower with its surroundings, i.e. with the colonial buildings of the city center, suggests grandiosity and ostentation as visible manifestations of power (according to Balandier [27]). This is a manifestation of the power of economic institutions, a clear demonstration of the growth of Vietnam's economy. Political institutions in the city center can be identified by closed (removed from the general urban space) territory and security. These are mostly buildings of the colonial period. Non-aggressive to the environment, they show rather the heredity of power: municipal departments, military units, commissariats and banks are located in the buildings of former colonizers (kind of magic of power places). In this context, the fate of the former residence of the President of the Republic of Vietnam, now the Palace of Independence (Dinh Độc Lập), completed in 1966 by architect Ngô Viết Thụ, is interesting. Although the halls of the Palace are occasionally used for party and state receptions as well as major city events, it is a relatively accessible place, possibly because it has become a tourist attraction. But the park in which it is located is also

removed from the city space (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Palace of Independence.

If the general feature of the space of power in the city center is the closedness, which is manifested in limited access, then in projects that are implemented through joint or exclusively foreign investment, the separation from the city takes a different form. Douglass and Huang [28], describing how international developers are implementing ambitious projects in new areas of Ho Chi Minh City, describe these neighborhoods as closed and built exclusively for the affluent middle class. The largest of these, Phú Mỹ Hưng and Thủ Thiêm, are being built as a city within a city, separating and appropriating public space. Researchers relate this appropriation to the processes of globalization. This is an important factor, indeed, but not the only one. Here we should move on to informal in spatial planning practices and to its manifestations in the city center.

Informal planning practice, according to Weibel, occurs when the city administration is unwilling to act properly or because of its self-exclusion from planning processes. Van Assche [29] singles out potentially formal settings in spatial planning: plans, policies, laws (we say, "regulatory field", "building codes") and unwritten rules that follow from tradition or coordination of interests. However, he notes, they can all become informal (or dead in case of non-functioning norms). Written regulations (planning norms) become "dead" when they are unable to adapt alternative (usually informal) norms. A detailed analysis of the development of several blocks of downtown of Ho Chi Minh City allows us to see these manifestations of the informal in space. In addition to the uncontrolled and chaotic growth of storeys, one should note the consolidation of the internal space of residential areas and the appropriation of public space. These manifestations are difficult (or impossible) to attribute to the activities of international developers or to the influence of municipal bodies or international organizations. The city is continuously (daily) deconstructed mostly by its inhabitants. The changes could be linked to migration and the replacement of indigenous people. If this is how the city changes under the influence of new inhabitants (as hypothesized above, people from the villages), then we should notice the manifestations of the appropriate way of life and comparative similarity to the spatial organization of traditional settlements. To prove or disprove the assumption, therefore, it was necessary to

analyze which spatial features correspond to the "rural" identity.

The comparison example had to meet several criteria. First, it had to be a permanent settlement with a long history. Secondly, the morphological basis of the settlement had to correspond to its natural development (not to have the regular planning characteristic of the colonial period and new enclaves of the "globalized world"). Third, the neighborhood of the local community had to be expressed spatially. Such a settlement was found in the northern part of the island Phu Quoc, the province of Kien Giang, where the spatial organization of the rural community of Ganh Dau was analyzed.

The sustainability of this settlement is marked by the unchanged for several centuries craft – fishing as most of the inhabitants here are fishermen. A hint of its origin is the temple of Nguyen Trung Truc in Phu Quoc, named after the anti-colonial military commander (Nguyen Trung Truc, 1837-1868) and built in 1882 on the site of his last battle. Thus, the village emerged no later than the first half of the 19th century. Buildings, as in Ukrainian villages, are unfolding along roads and above the bay. There is a street ring around the temple, which also includes a small airfield and a stele dedicated to the martyrs of the anti-colonial resistance. Attention is drawn to the street along the bay, which has the characteristics of the village center, because here, unlike on other streets, life is bustling, regardless of whether it is day or night This is a section of about 650 meters with limited traffic (only for scooters) and is in fact pedestrian. It is connected to the main road network through an elongated square. Visually, this is the densest place, where the second line of construction is unlikely to emerge. The street is formed by houses from different periods of the last century (from interwar to modern). Regular planning appears to be only in the southern part of the village and, judging by the lack of buildings, is intended for new areas for future development. In the north-eastern part there are also signs of new construction - a hotel complex, but in general the urban landscape corresponds to a permanent historic settlement. There are sidewalks only on the ring road, but even there they are arranged rather sporadically (near the stops). Places of power and memory are not removed from the common space, but rather articulated by gates (Figure 6). Street lighting and Christmas garlands appear only in some places. A notable feature of the village and homesteads is the lack of fences: they can be seen only near hotels. Market trade is along the roads and has the appearance of clusters. An indispensable attribute of every residential building is an altar, usually located at the entrance, but it also can be found in the buffer space of the "living room" or in a free area across the road. The place has a feeling of common (undivided) space, most noticeable on a pedestrian street along the bay. One hardly notices the bay itself behind the first line of houses, which are also berths and hangars for fishing boats. It can be seen either through the shops on the first floor, or in the only free passage that leads across the bridge to the restaurant on stilts. Housing is variegated by trade booths and workshops. The space of the street also pulsates, either narrowing to three or four meters, or expanding by the courts of honor, where you can see the second and third lines of construction (Figure 7). An unusual feature of an ordinary residential building is the lack of a wall in the living room, which is visually (and physically) combined with the common space of the street. In modern houses, this is no longer the case, there are sliding doors, but the houses themselves are slightly shifted away from the street front, leaving a small space for the altar. In the heat, the street is covered on all sides with awnings, which are folded every night. Something is going on here all the time. If in the morning and in the afternoon, it is trade and constant movement, meetings (with obligatory conversation) of locals and the school kids who cheerfully shout "Hello!", then the evening life is different, but just as busy. In the evening, locals gather in common areas or in the living rooms for games (Figure 8). Something like a lotto. The love for karaoke, which you notice in Ho Chi Minh City, is expressed purely in personal singing. Due to the narrow front of the site, the singers compete in volume, because sometimes they are very close. At the same time, almost no female singing is heard. It seems that while the men are pouring out their hearts, the women are preparing dinner.

Figure 6. *Temple of Nguyen Trung Truc in Phu Quoc.*

Figure 7. *Space of the street.*

Figure 8. Space of the street (common areas).

4. Discussion

The integrity of the common space seems to have a basis in the peculiarities of the local community. Tao [30], exploring the importance of folk beliefs in the lives of island fishermen, draws attention to the close connection of the latter with the community. He says:

"They are close to the community, not dividing each other into the first and the second, but there is always a rule: "Those who come first choose the next ones". This tradition is based on the original crop, which fishermen exported to new lands. In everyday life, especially during fishing at sea, the affection of people working in the same profession, standing in the same boat, worshiping God... is a very necessary need [30, p. 70-71].

If we are to define this community between oppositional identities - ethnic and cultural, then at first glance it is more about the ethnic one. Although some findings from the study and descriptions of the place also indicate the emergence of cultural identity. First, the community is not entirely ethnically homogeneous. According to statistics from the Phu Quoc People's Committee in 2010, most of the population is Vietnamese (95%), but there are about two percent of Chinese, one percent of Khmers and two percent of other ethnic groups [30]. Secondly, it is a kind of syncretism of local beliefs. People worship: the fish Ong (whale), the Mother and Goddess, the god-ruler of the sacred kingdom of the village, who has a common nature as the patriarch of the nation, the Spirit/uncle who was related to the sea and nature, the national heroes of the island (such as the above-mentioned Nguyen Trung Truc) and the martyrs of the anti-colonial resistance, the famous general of the late Han dynasty and the general of the three kingdoms in China Guan Gong, Guan Yu, a disciple of the Buddha, ancestor Emperor Hue Quang. This versatile mix of gods, spirits, and heroes seems to demonstrate an openness to "reconceptualization" that characterizes cultural identity, as Golubović [18] describes. According to Tao [30]:

"The folk beliefs of Fukuoka fishermen are determined by the worship of Tui Long Thanh Mau, Kim Zhao Tan Nu, Ba Kau, Ko Sau... are the result of intercultural exchange of many classes of Vietnamese, Cham, Khmer and Chinese

inhabitants" [30, p. 71].

And the third manifestation of cultural identity can be the way local community cares about the environment, for example, fights plastic waste.

If we look at this place through binary oppositions of space, community, and process, in the first case it is rather a "differentiated space" (according to Lefebvre [3]) supported by the local community - a space that is friendly to differences and not prone to unification; a space where nature is an integral part and common history is the basis of development; space friendly to residents. In relation to the community, it is rather a "neighborhood" built around collective values, beliefs and needs for changing a particular place (according to Martin [31]). We should not be misled by the absence of a protest movement (a characteristic feature of the neighborhood in its relations with government structures). If there is no struggle for space, then activism is not necessary. And in terms of processes, this place is characterized rather by "collective tactics" associated with places of general action and creativity of residents, where space is understood as a common resource of development (according to Gielen [32]).

Here we must admit that the hypothesis of the influence of rural residents on the urban space of Ho Chi Minh City, when they become citizens due to migration processes, is not confirmed. People who, according to Tao [30], "rely on equal and voluntary relations, not competing for their titles or interests", are aware of the importance of common space and joint responsibility for it, so they cannot be the cause or reason of "deconstruction" of the city center. Something else must be such a driving force. In the commune of Gan-Dau, we find some clues about the existence of this force, which treats space differently than the local community. From the south to the borders of the village are approaching the first, second and third stages of the mega-hotel "Vin pearl Discovery", which in its homogeneous building and reproduced within its artificial nature is fully consistent with Lefebvre's "abstract space" [3]. In the "differentiated space" of the commune there are not yet dominant, but already quite noticeable manifestations of otherness (excellent attitude to space). These are new residential buildings that clearly separate their own space from the common and delineate private physical boundaries - estates that are appropriate to the public space. So, one can assume that there is a kind of [anti] community of "space consumers" (according to de Certeau [21]) with a "consumer identity". And how this [anti] community is changing space is more like the changes taking place in Ho Chi Minh City.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the scientific literature and practical experience on the research topic showed that in the case of population replacement, the space is reformatted in accordance with the spatial practices and way of life of the new community. Space can be changed and redefined in whole or in part. In answering the research questions, we must note that neither the urban nor the rural way of life excludes the understanding of the value of the common space. However,

this understanding is built in the process of interaction of the neighborhood, as well as a sense of shared responsibility. Differences in lifestyle (urban/rural) are not the main source of influence on the transformation of historic urban development. It is also important to emphasize that the impact of rural lifestyles on changes in the urban environment occurs only through informal spatial practices, and this impact is not unique. In modern conditions, the influence of "consumer identity", which is characteristic of modern "liquid society", which, together with the spatial strategies of the city government determines the transformation of urban space, is much stronger. And the understanding of the driving forces of changes in the urban environment of Ho Chi Minh City (in similar manifestations) provides important comparative material for the analysis of the spatial development of Ukrainian cities.

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