

003

The Social and the Spatial, Urban Models as Morphologies for a ‘Lived’ Approach to Planning

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52–73

How and in what manner has the social been instrumental in formulating planning policies, and does Hong Kong ascribe to any social concept that facilitates its current spatial planning framework? The legacy of the social in planning originally came to fruition within the *Chicago School* of Social Sciences during the early 1920s. Since then, the understanding of the social and how planning responds to the social has been wide and varied. This paper examines the social’s application in spatial notions in addition to its context within Hong Kong. At its core this argument outlines the consequences of a social notion within planning and the spatial modes of recourse. Issues of scaling are brought into question when addressing planning as well as economic focus, in both the local as well as regional governance levels, which further emphasises the dynamic proxies of social and spatial factors for territorial planning. Having neither of these, the argument then highlights the realities of economic asymmetries in the disempowerment of a local populous through land speculation and housing shortages.

#Lived Morphology

#Social Futures

#Urban Models

#Monocentric vs Polycentric

#Spatial Planning

Social models and the link to the urban

A question that is still of significance in the contemporary urban discourse is, “How and in what manner have social issues been instrumental in formulating planning policies?” Additionally, “Does Hong Kong ascribe to any social concept that facilitates its current spatial planning framework?”

Since the turn of the twentieth century, sociology has played an active role in understanding the city structure and urban development through the work of sociologists, Ernest Burgess (1886-1966) and Louis Wirth (1897-1952), amongst others. As a guiding premise, their respective takes on the city as a social form – in its distribution, order, arrangements, and class system – has forever fused the social with the city, in either of their ecological understanding of the city and its analysis (Burgess 1928) or in a broader understanding of urbanisation as spatial-technical entity (Wirth 1938). Adapted by other disciplines, the socio-spatial perspective of the city resonates in discourses such as urban morphology, urban geography, and spatial planning in their respective attempts to align the social with urban form, geographic conditions, or planning instruments (Lin and Mele 2013; Fyfe and Kenny 2005).

Since Burgess’ original land use model, several variants have further investigated urban organisation through an understanding of the social, each of which produced distinct conceptual anchors for analysis. The models of Hoyt (1939), Mann (1965), Ulman and Harris (1965) have in each instance advanced the understanding of the social, as a technology of living, and extrapolated it to larger scale planning propositions. The side-by-side comparison of the socio-economic with that of the spatial, defines urban typologies and developmental trends that are shared between each of these methods.

Although these models advanced the understanding of urbanisation, the same models have since received blame for both their social and spatial misconceptions, and for inspiring flawed spatial ideologies (Fishmann 1977; Vanstiphout 2008; Watson 2009; Low 2012). To this effect, the rise of asymmetrical social landscapes (Kaminer 2010), the splintering of the city (Graham and Marvin 2001), and a misreading of social agency (Simone 2014) has, at the hand of *top-down* planning, established the misgivings of the *creative*, *organic*, and *sustainable* city paradigms. This forced many to take a counter stance against rigid forms of development in favour of emergent attitudes in planning (Pinilla-Castro 2010).¹

This paper focuses on the question of what happens when there is no definable link between the *social* and *spatial* of the city. What occurs when planning overlooks the *social*? To do so I wish to use Burgess’ *Concentric Model* as a point of departure to reflect on the understanding of how the social has been used to define a formal language of urban analysis. Secondly, to question the translation of these social models in contemporary terms. More specifically, in the Hong Kong context, to show how the idea of the ‘social’ is disembodied between social thinking and spatial planning.

Reading the social as form

Ernst Burgess proposed an empirical framework to industrialize cities of the 1920s. The initial model, and its variations dated 1924, 1925 and 1927, kept to a city that conformed within a concentric arrangement and radiated from the central point—or in contemporary terms the *Central Business District* (CBD)—outwards. As a faculty member of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, one of the leading sociology institutions at that time, Burgess aimed to articulate biological concepts, or social ecology, in urban terms. In this framework,

ecology and its application in the social sciences placed emphasis on communities in terms of the geographic interpretation of ethnicity, class, and social policy, a taxonomy of a social species of sorts (Harding and Blokland 2014, 44-45).

In a formal sense, Burgess's model consisted of five concentric rings. Each concentric ring formed a successive zone to the previous. Individual rings were allocated to a specific social class that related to economic dispersion and urban functions. As such, each zone was indicative of specific functions that included production, places for living, and places for commuting. Social distribution conformed to a similar hierarchy. In comparison, urban centres of preindustrial cities that preceded Burgess' model indicated places that were dedicated exclusively to noblemen or the social elite. In the industrial urban form to which Burgess' model ascribes, the most exterior ring of the model was claimed by those who had the means to commute between their dwellings and the city centre. Wealthy social classes migrated daily between the city centre and residences far beyond the original boundaries of the old city, due to inner urban squalor, neglect, and conditions of overcrowding. The CBD, at the heart of the circular form, remained the centre of the economic, cultural, and political life. The CBD itself contained an inner core surrounded by zones of industry that were adjacent to working-class neighbourhoods.

Credited as a normative model (Haggett and Chorley 1967), Burgess' proposals simplified urban complexity for the American city. The concentric notion highlighted an unavoidable condition of the industrial landscape, in its methods of growth, and its steady consumption of the landscape through extensive suburbanisation. Each zone is clarified under its own cultural traits and behavioural attitudes, and highlights the existence of types of communities.

Burgess' model is negatively critiqued for its ideological intent (Lin and Mele 2013, 3). First, the model is geographically critiqued for its formulation on isotopic planes, ignorant of the actual geographic landscape in which cities emerge. Industrial areas that contain mixed functions or dwellings were incorporated with the predominant function of that zone. Secondly, the model demonstrated clear differences between the social complexity of industrial cities, in comparison to the prevalent social hierarchy in pre-industrial settlements. With the social elite's abandonment of the inner-city areas, and the subsequent inversion of social hierarchy, the model failed to fuse specific conditions with a broad and generic model. Thirdly, the lack of insight into the forms of engagement between individual and various groups, highlight the blind-sidedness of jointly interpreting the social as a product of urban economies (ibid) or their clustering effect. Fourthly, the emphasis placed on the complexity of suburbanisation, and the impact it had on the urban hinterland, avoided the interrogation of spatial development; spatial patterns of use or developmental tendencies, either morphologically or in terms of typologies of use. And finally, criticism on the model highlights its obsession with biological ideology. The omission of political manipulation, choice structures, and other urban processes overlooked additional influences that may or may not impact social clustering, including land use, gentrification processes, or the way negotiations occur between parties (Ruiz-Tagle 2013). To this effect, Burgess' approach to the social as an ecology saw inequality, urban poverty, crime, and segregation as necessities for the longevity of urban areas.

Subsequent to Burgess' model, the proposal put forward in the form of the *Sectoral model* of Homer Hoyt (1939), *Sectoral and Concentric Model* of Peter Mann (1965) and *Multiple Nuclei Model* by Chauncy Ulman and Edward Harris (1945) extends Burgess' thinking through revised social-spatial

propositions. Overall, in each case the formulation of the alternatives demonstrate the influence that the economic and social conditions of the city had in the various attempts to define the core essence of urbanisation.

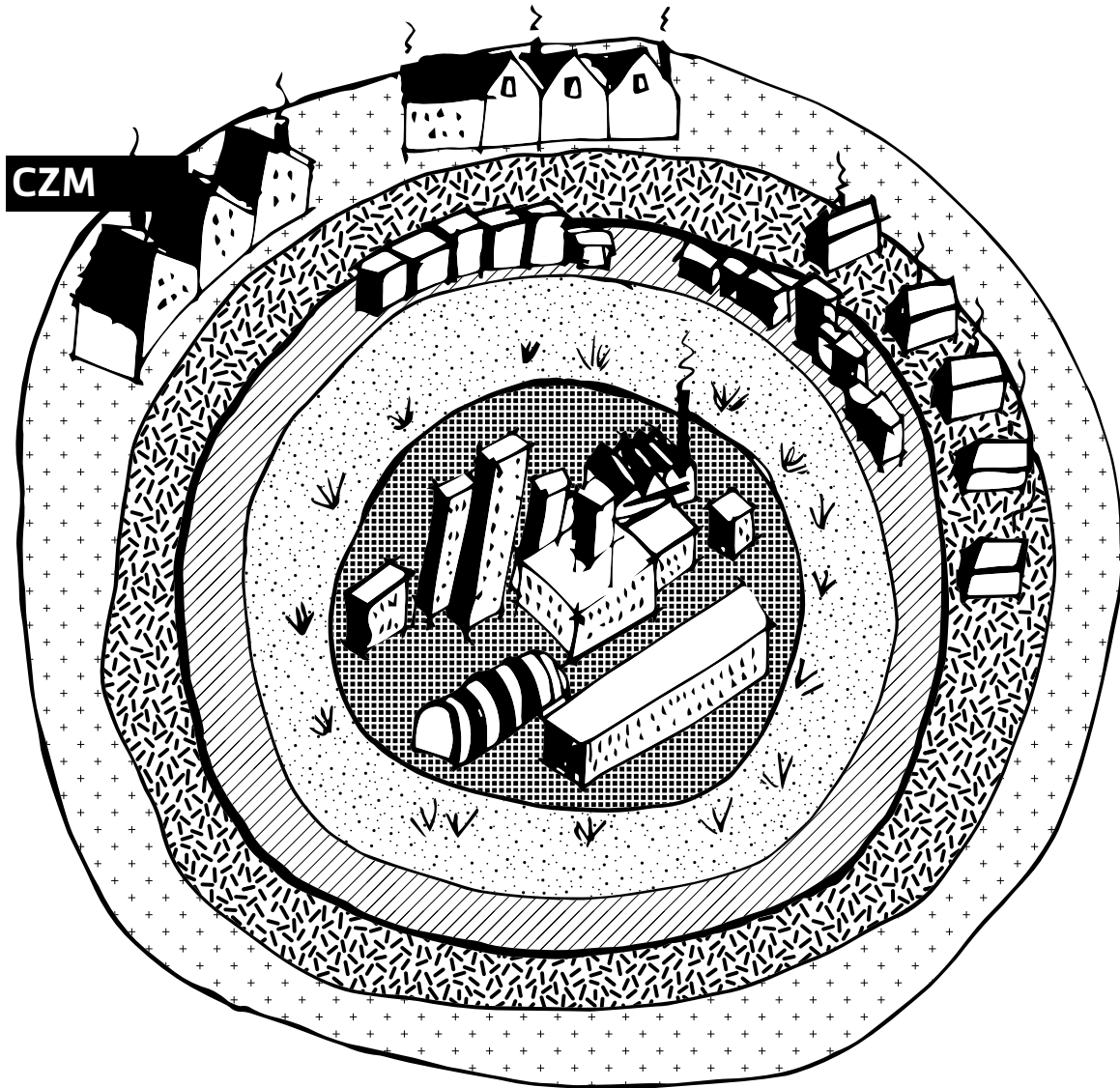
The economist Homer Hoyt's empirical model extends Burgess' notions by operating from within zones and quadrants, and is aptly termed the *Sectoral Model* (Pacione 2005, 144). This model relies on a survey of rent gradient in American cities, and expresses a spatial landscape in five basic sections: 1) a CBD; 2) high-income housing; 3) middle income housing; 4) low-income housing and; 5) a wholesale sector. The model reflects how homogenous (residential or non-residential) sectoral wedges grew outwards from the inner centre or core. More importantly, a concurrence was noted in the model, especially for the larger and more extensive wedges, that spread outwards in direct relation to larger and more extensive transportation routes.

Ullman and Harris' social-spatial model was termed the *Multiple Nuclei Model* (1945).² Their model represents a complete alternative to the concentric model which had dominated the formal models of urban structure up until 1945. The Multiple Nuclei model interpreted the city as originating from a variety of urban nuclei.³ Eight nuclei, a combination of social distribution and functional structures, are categorised under: 1) high-class residences; 2) medium class residences; 3) lower class residences; 4) wholesale; 5) CBD; 6) industrial suburb; 7) residential; and 8) heavy residential.

In comparison, Mann's Sectoral and Concentric model (Mann 1965), integrated both Burgess' and Hoyt's preceding concentric and sectoral models. Using British medium-sized towns as cases (Huddersfield, Nottingham and Sheffield), the model collapses the characteristics of a concentric

town with sectoral principles, and *wedges-off* functional zones that intersect the concentric structure. Mann's model held to the CBD as a central point at the heart of the city. His definition of socio-economic areas that are reflected in his definitions of *low-middle-class-sectors*, *lower-middle-class-sectors* and *industry sectors* are further segregated from one another each with a distinct layout pattern because of this intersection.

Gideon Sjoberg's 1960 work entitled *The Pre-industrial City, Past and Present*, harnesses technology to read urbanisation. Sjoberg, another sociologist, steers Burgess' concepts away from ecological conditions towards the importance of technology in both social and spatial development. Sjoberg's claim is based on definitive configurative characteristics, shapes, sizes, economic, and demographic compositions that mirror social hierarchy and benchmark the *preindustrial* (*pre-1830*) and an *industrial* (*post-1830*) urban period. Folk, preliterate, or feudal social forms reflect social hierarchy that directly relates to its inherent urban structure (*ibid*, 7). In addition, the claim is made, that technology becomes a *central force* in territorial transformations. A shift in technology produced a time-divide that culminated in alternative social and spatial forms. As such, the concepts of transformation, whereby inanimate sources of energy are applied as tools in man's surroundings is effectively credited for transforming the preindustrial age into an industrial landscape spatially, structurally or socially. As an effect, the city, its layout, and configuration, mirror the way class structure and upper levels of society arrange the functional orders of the city through available technologies (*ibid*, 9-11). Furthermore, Sjoberg's model hinges on the notion of central and peripheral social-spatial distinctions. The inner core ranks high in terms of social and urban hierarchy as a place of importance, whilst the exterior hinterland is indicative of places of less importance. The more



CZM - CONCENTRIC ZONE MODEL

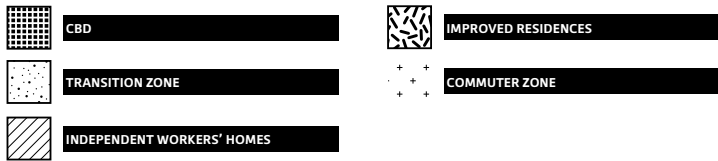
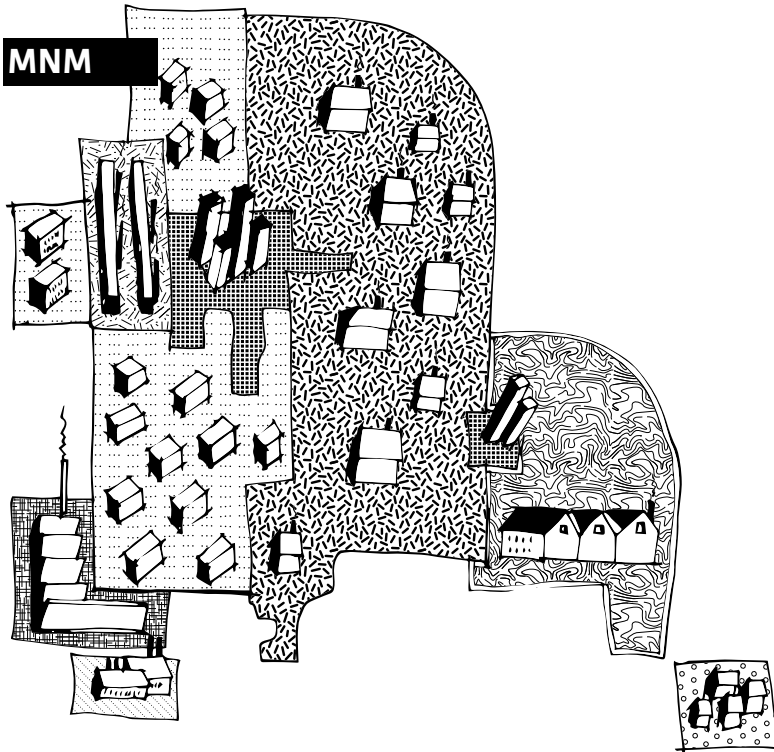
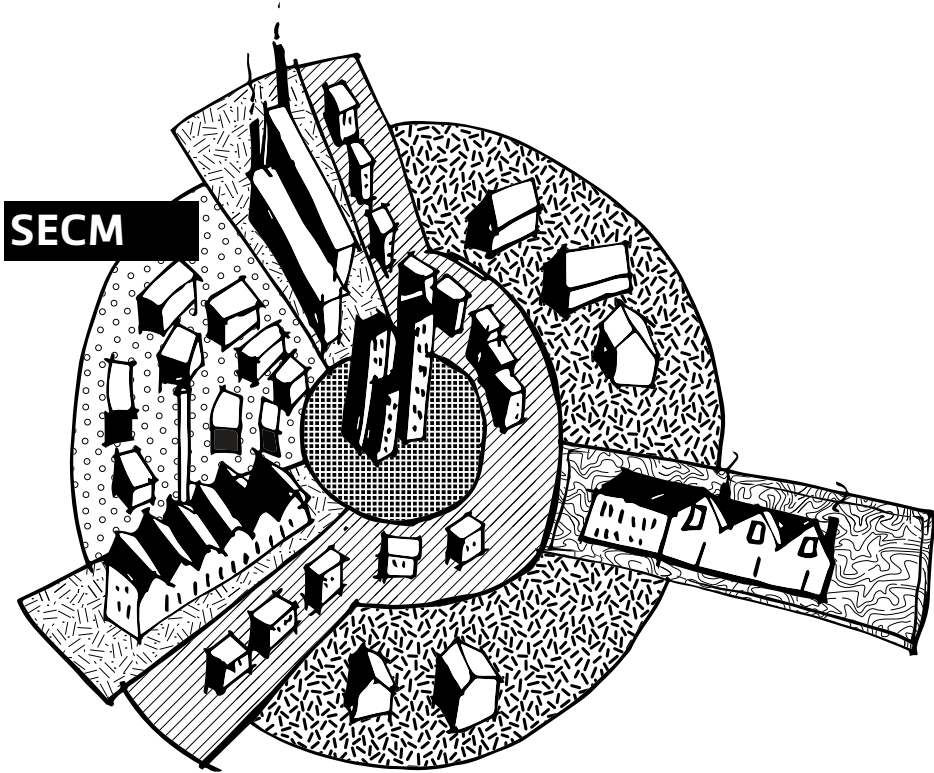


Figure 1 (top, this page): Social-spatial urban forms after Burgess' Concentric Zone Model (CZM). Mixed media drawing. Source: *Author*.

Figure 3 (page 57, bottom): Mann's Multiple Nuclei Model (MNM) as social-spatial structure. Mixed media drawing. Source: *Author*.

Figure 2 (page 57, top): Social-spatial structure after Hoyt's Sectoral Model (SECM). Mixed media drawing. Source: *Author*.



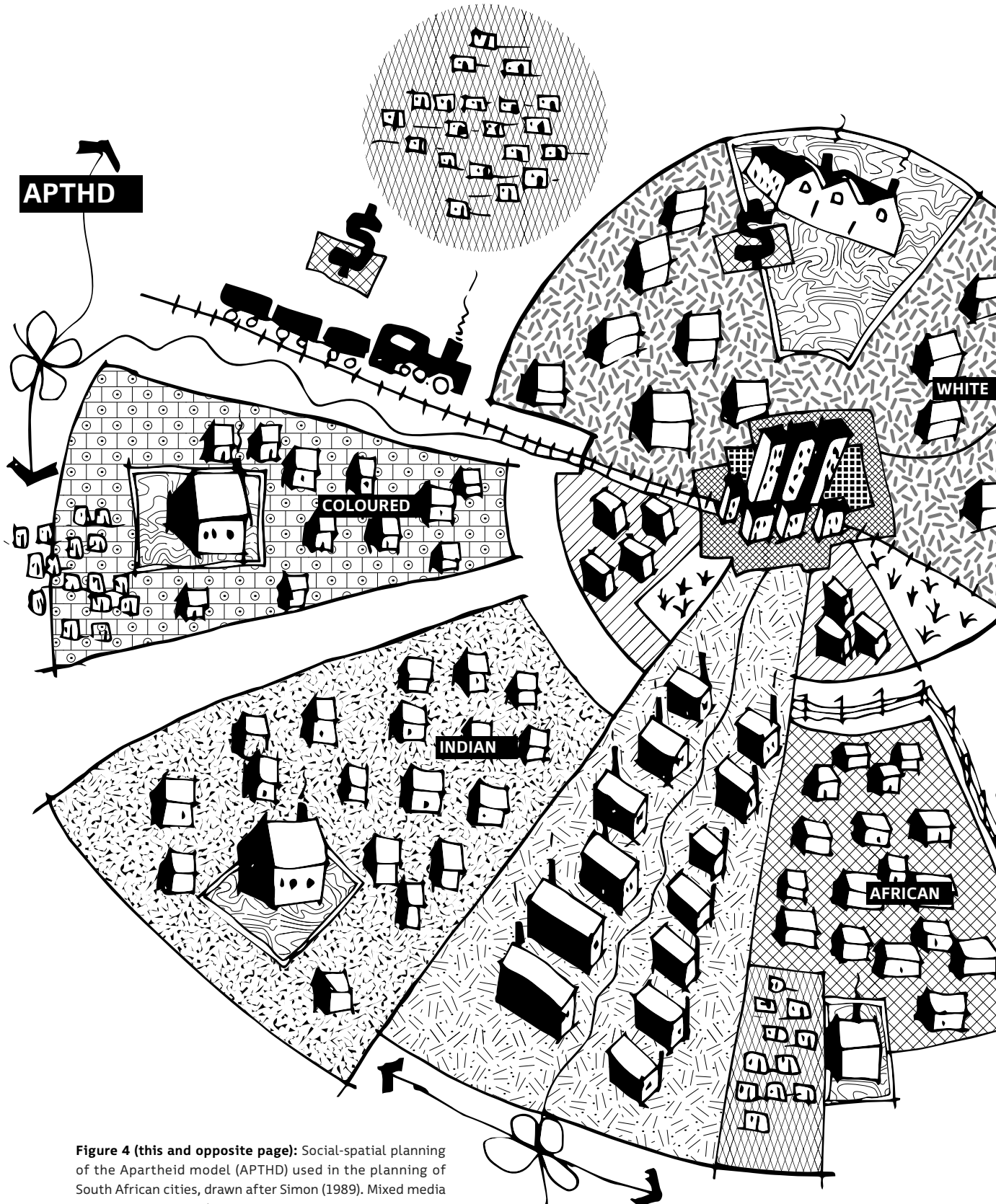
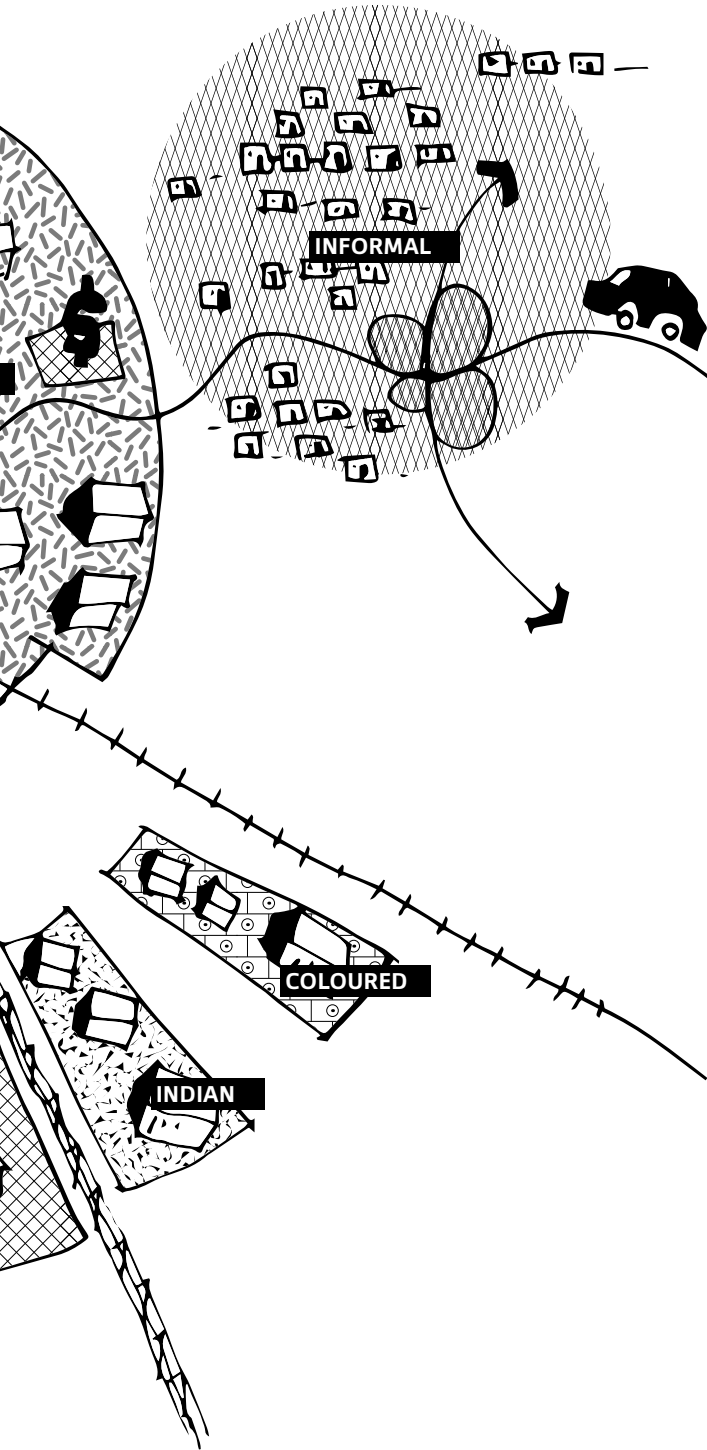
















Figure 4 (this and opposite page): Social-spatial planning of the Apartheid model (APTHD) used in the planning of South African cities, drawn after Simon (1989). Mixed media drawing. Source: Author.












SECM - SECTOR MODEL

-  CBD
-  INDUSTRIAL
-  WORKERS' HOMES
-  WORKERS' HOMES - 2
-  MIDDLE CLASS HOMES
-  COMMUTER ZONE / HIGH CLASS HOMES

MNM - MULTIPLE NUCLEI MODEL

-  CBD
-  INDUSTRIAL - LIGHT
-  INDUSTRIAL - HEAVY
-  LOW-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
-  MIDDLE-CLASS HOMES
-  HIGH-CLASS RESIDENTIAL
-  RESIDENTIAL SUBURB
-  INDUSTRIAL SUBURB

APTHD - APARTHEID MODEL

-  CBD - WHITE
-  INDUSTRIAL
-  WORKERS' HOMES
-  LOW SOCIOECONOMIC
-  MIDDLE CLASS HOMES
-  COMMUTER ZONE / HIGH CLASS HOMES
-  CBD - INDIAN
-  MIDDLE CLASS HOMES
-  COMMUTER ZONE / HIGH CLASS HOMES

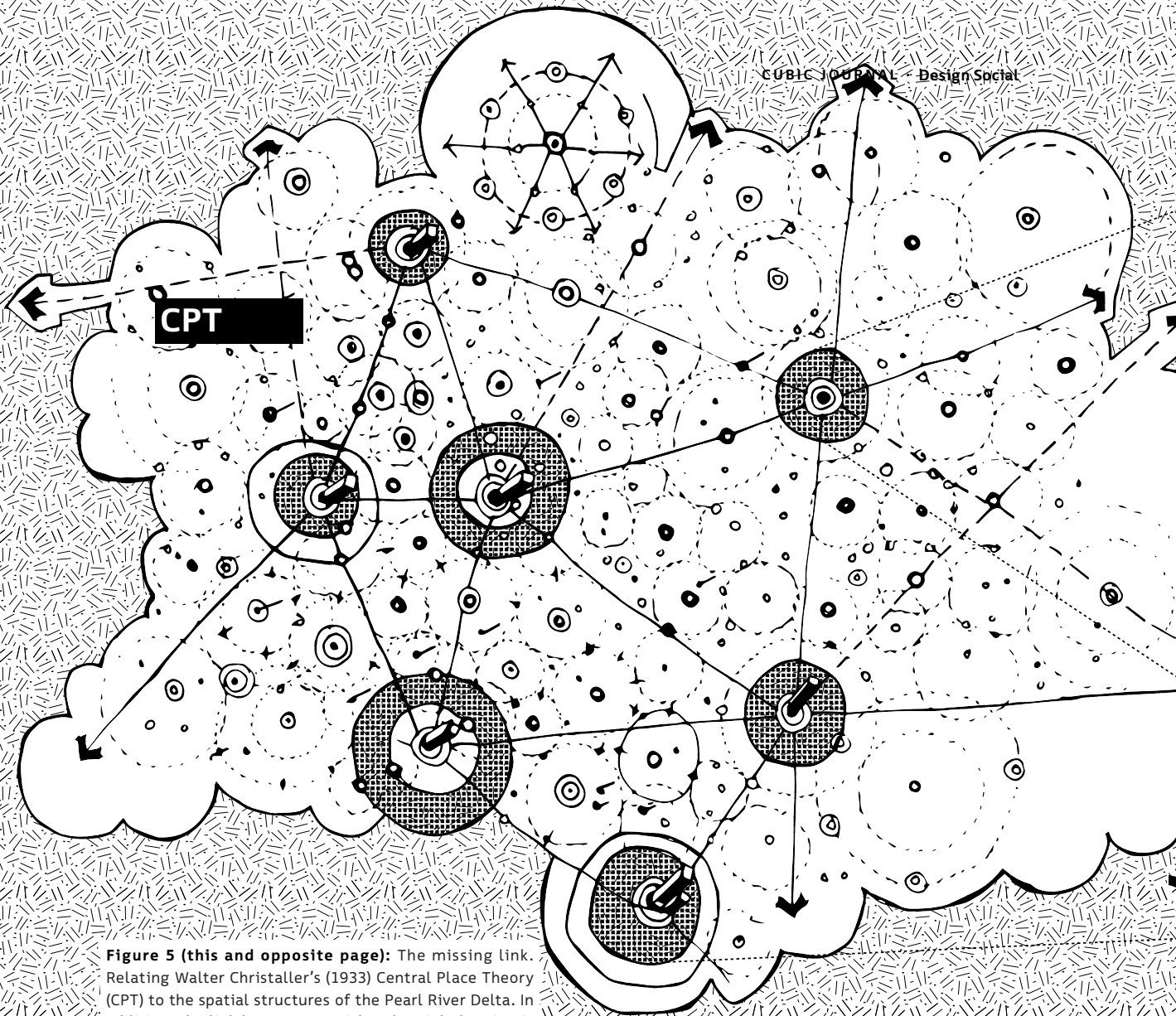
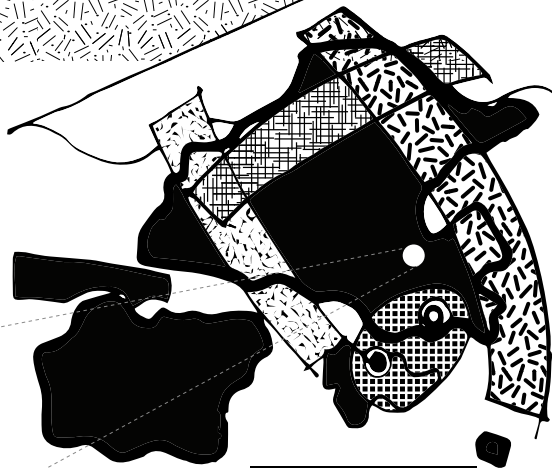
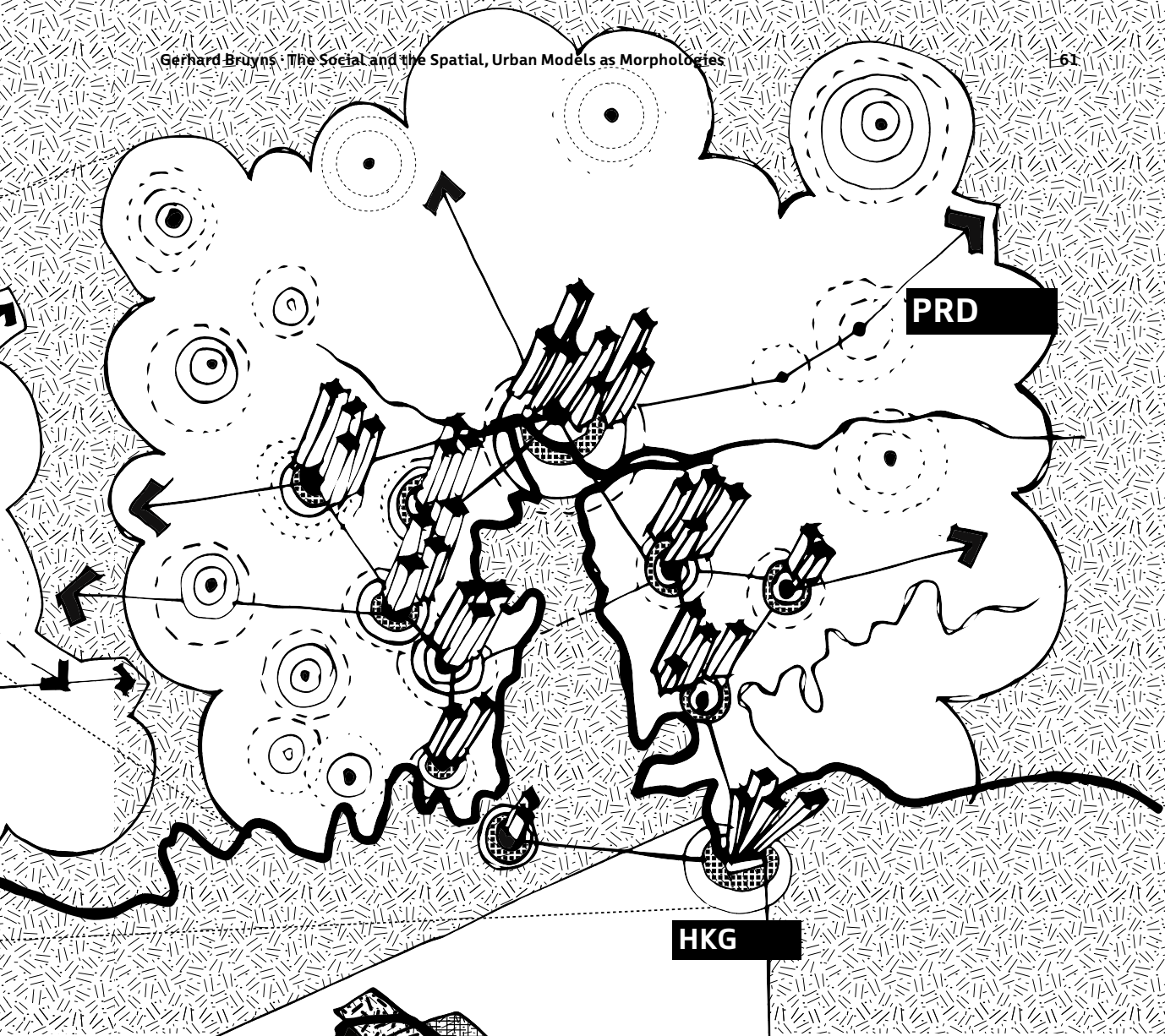


Figure 5 (this and opposite page): The missing link. Relating Walter Christaller's (1933) Central Place Theory (CPT) to the spatial structures of the Pearl River Delta. In addition, the link between spatial and social planning is brought under question for Hong Kong's practices of social scripting and effectively its blindsided compressed social morphologies. Mixed media drawing. Source: *Author*.





HKG 2030+




8 + MILLION

PREDICTED POPULATION INCREASE - 2046

CPT - CENTRAL PLACE THEORY

-  URBAN CENTRES
-  INDIVIDUAL URBAN SETTLEMENTS
-  PLACE REGION

PRD - PEARL RIVER DELTA

-  KNOWLEDGE & TECHNOLOGY CORRIDOR
-  ECONOMIC BELT
-  ECONOMIC CORRIDOR

central the location of the activity within the city, the higher the social status or the economical merit. This is evident in the physical locations of religious structures, palaces of kingship, or places of ceremony within the pre-industrial model.

Often not discussed in its evolutionary trajectory is the link between Burgess' perspective and older models of spatial analysis that are closely tied to the pre-industrial city. *The Isolated State model*, proposed by the spatial economist Johann Heinrich Von Thünen and dated 1826 (cf. McColl 2005, 273), was the first to formulate a similar social spatial concept for all pre-industrial settlements. Von Thünen's approach to urban structure and its social implication resulted from the enquiry into how social structures emerged, in the medieval sense, thanks to region-based economic activity. Von Thünen was regarded as the most influential thinker on the notion of location theory, which assumed man's ability to deliberately arrange economic activities around a central point in relation to regions of production (fields of agriculture) that were closely tied to social hierarchies. Influenced by the distances between settlement centres and economic functions, Von Thünen describes the co-dependencies between economic and social clusters constructed in isotropic planes. Although more economic in its orientation and hypothesis, the model in effect remains social as it attests to how social hierarchies become spatially specific. This ultimately highlights social rank in terms of their spatial positions.⁴ Overall, Von Thünen's model embodied a more sophisticated position of the social, in as much as its understanding of both location theory and social use to formulate a larger urban framework for settlements and their regions. This approach was mostly undervalued by later proposals that examined the industrial city, as shown by the concentric model of multiple nuclei models of the mid-twentieth century.

In this position, the geographer Walter Cristaller's 1933 *Central Place Theory* (in association with A. Lösch), extrapolates Von Thünen's proposal at a macroscale. Christaller's method is a reading of central urban formation within a distributed territory, that is to say a number of urban centres scattered across a vast landscape (cf. Baskin and Christaller 1966).⁵ In summary, a settlement's survival is closely tied to land availability, which indirectly implies the need for land for larger settlements. Classification of centres operates on the basis of seeking places where various production services are located, in comparison to peripheral *empty* regions. This questions how societies dwell differently in either the central or peripheral regions. Although it represents an urban structure more than a social model, its usefulness for the discussion here is one that questions a distributed urban form in relation to social processes of work-life relationships within an urban structure with many nuclei, similar to high density regions of Asia's Pearl River Delta. People's willingness to travel to access central serviced areas enforces the hierarchy of specific settlements, and emphasises the differences between the model as a formal entity and that of the lived, or how people engage and spatialise daily life.

Linking back to Wirth's *Urbanism* concept (1939) where the city, as a *way of life*, remains a spatial-technological entity, socially held together within specific organisational models of individuals, institutions, and expressed relationships, balance against inhabitant's norms, standards of behaviour, and attitudes which appears to have a greater impact within urban planning than given credit for. This overview of models is instrumental in summarising both the *social* and *spatial* on equal footing, and their respective strengths and weaknesses as design frameworks and respective forms of analysis. Each model brings to bear the translation of a spatial form into a social context.

As such these models become indicative of a specific response to spatial concepts. In support, they clarify the use of planning mechanisms that help steer territorial governance, regional programming, and neighbourhood design for social longevity. The co-dependencies between the social, spatial planning, and design, whether at the scale of the metropolitan structure, neighbourhood, urban block, or dwelling typology, therefore remains part and parcel of the same challenge.

Over prescription of the 'social'

The application of social models as planning instruments does present problems. Lee (1994, 35) highlights the use of the model's inability to disentangle issues, thus operating as a *black box* phenomenon, which questions their impact within design. Lee further alludes to why social models affect planning practices to such an extent, when he comments on planning's, then archaic, practice and praxis as an ideal testing ground for other types of influence.

The modern project's socially specific agenda inadvertently established spatial doctrines that promoted the social. Le Corbusier's *The City of Tomorrow* and its planning (Etchells 1971), Frank Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City* (1932), and the Ebenezer Howard's *Garden City* (1898), were not only exemplary in their utopian ideologies, they each promoted the rise of the new bourgeoisie (Fishman 1977). In each instance ideology was themed and then further translated into a form language, held together by comprehensive functional programmes and their prescriptive social structures. Cities were analysed and planned according to functional zones that mirrored social ideals in terms of places of work, places of leisure, green spaces, places for heavy and light industry, and places for living based on race and class (Somer et al. 2007). At each scale of planning the social remained on equal footing with that of urban

design. The social's relationships to the structural layout, cluster, and patterns of urban formation were interwoven at all levels with the various spatial typologies that echoed into the design of public spaces of the city, function, and operational arrangement. At its extreme, despite its good intentions, its legacy is associated with the *over prescription* of the social, through devisable planning in the industrial city and subsequent social-spatial models.⁷

One of the most noticeable failures of social-spatial planning in modern history remains the Apartheid model that was implemented during the 1930s by the South African Government (Steenkamp 2008). Essentially, this model enforced social and spatial division based exclusively on race. As diagrammed in Morris (1981), it remains a chilling reminder of a social doctrine of planning that scripted all forms of social, spatial, functional, and financial development between 1930 until the early 1980s. With formal characteristics similar to the spatial distribution of Hoyt's Sectoral model, and low density sprawled across a vast landscape, the Apartheid city's spatial language holds to a city structured with a central core and a less significant peripheral edge, all racially scripted (Steenkamp op. cit.). Being of a circular shape, the model's inner core is designated as a – white or European – Central Business District (CBD). All other zones are situated in relation to a central and white dominated business core. Wedges of the circular shape, directly adjacent to the CBD, are defined as zones for specific groups of races. These zones are reserved exclusively for white residential areas. A variety of other categories were further classified as part of a framework which laboured exclusivity of several wealthy white zones. Segments were classified based on high, middle, or lower *white* economic classes. High economic status had one segment alone, furthest from the lower or non-European zones. Middle-class economic segments formed the buffer regions of the city. Lower economic zones acted as intermediary zones.

They were located directly adjacent to the buffer zones and the non-European, or native zones. Buffer zones were emplaced to act as the strips of seclusion within the city, and divided “Europeans” and “non-Europeans”. “Non-European” ethnicities, classified as Indian, Coloured, Chinese or Africans, each received an individual quarter within the city.

Its implementation was forceful, and utilised planning and infrastructure to its own means. Major roads radiated outwards from the CBD, dispersed through specific white residential sectors of the city. Although the model allowed for roads to cut across middle, or high scale economic zones, no roads or major routes bisected the non-European zones. Accessibility to and from non-European sectors was only possible via an industrial zone. All roads of the non-European or native sections had to connect to the main access way before being allowed to enter the core regions of any city. Infrastructure therefore became a means to a political end. In times of unrest, main roads and railways were closed off and made inoperative, which halted the flow of black workers directly into the city and forever altered the position of race within South Africa’s spatial legacy.

In a European context, the failure of such social models is also evident. For Vanstiphout, the example of Amsterdam’s Bijlmer,⁸ and its well-meant articulation of spaces and society, misread political conditions against social needs of local inhabitants. As a consequence, it effectively produced the Netherlands first “third world city” (Vanstiphout 2008). Robert Fishmann (op. cit.), Wouter Vanstiphout (2008), Vanessa Watson (2009), Simin Davoudi (2009), and Iain Low (2012) address the ineffectiveness of modern ideologies to become more social. The allowances made within *free reign*, large scale, spatial planning and its manipulation of the social exposed the need to reconceptualise, and remains a failure from an ideological perspective. Marinda Schoonraad’s

thesis (2004) on the South African city is another case in point, which highlights greater social segregation than integration within the post-Apartheid city. As Daniel Schensul and Patrick Heller (2010) point out, the continued over-emphasis of “macro” scale conditions in spatial planning omits both complexities and conditions of the “micro” forces at play, and delivers only a singular perspective, termed the “local”, or its understanding. Using the post-Apartheid model as an example, both Schensul, Heller and Low articulate the asymmetrical conditions caused through the disconnection of spatial thinking through race, class, and space. With several investigations that either focus on neighbourhoods or on the entire city, the concern remains how to fill the so-called “voids” of scalar planning, and realign competing rationalities between that of the modern and of the local (Watson op. cit., 151; Low op. cit.).

Social-spatial frameworks and the Hong Kong SAR

How is this link between the social and the spatial made in the context of Hong Kong? Social-spatial planning still remains vague in terms of planning. The Special Administrative Region (SAR)⁹ has always been a “market city” (Ohno 1992) driven by economic directives in which planning had to find symbiosis. In its physical expression it remains a landscape that embraces amplified levels of excessiveness, and has allowed *manic* density to materialise in vertically stacked urban infrastructure. Anthony Yeh (2006) and George Lin (2011) both question Hong Kong’s future under the *one-country-two-system* policy. The gradual, yet consistent, “emptying out” of manufacturing services since the 1980s has forced the SAR to become dependent on speculative land-centred processes that are mechanised for the pursuit of revenue.¹⁰

In terms of planning, Hong Kong has not prescribed to any socially aligned planning framework since its proclamation. The colonial outline plan (COP), enforced between 1965–1974 (Hong Kong Planning Department 2015, 1), was seen by many as a policy of “indirect rule”. As a double-edged sword, indirect planning policies failed to provide basic services to both locals and colonial expatriates equally. Through its policies, colonial rule emphasised economic development above policies that linked the social with that of the spatial as a means to benefit indigenous communities. Spatially, the system initiated a total land monopoly. Commencing in 1841, all land ownership was retained by the colonial office, which monopolized both the use and users of land. The Crown coffer, with leasing periods ranging between seventy-five to ninety-nine years, generated substantial incomes through the rental and rate taxations (Mar 2002, 35). The monopolisation of spatial scarcity *de facto* mechanised socio-spatial control. High population rates, lack of housing for native dwellers, and overcrowded colonial centres characteristically avoided social concerns, and produced immediate alternatives in the form of architectural solutions. These warehouses of the labouring class (Home 1997, 85) were substituted in place of broader concepts that recognised social and spatial guidelines in planning.

Socially, indirect rule resulted in racial hegemony, with the division of urban settlements in either a Chinese or European quarter. Hardly any regulations in place and lack of space ensured the proximity of each social group to one another, often with intangible boundaries separating them. For Mar (op. cit.), Hong Kong’s rapid successions of urbanisation forced a society into constant improvisation. A general lack of space and excessive economic pressure meant a continued process of social-spatial adaption, where piecemeal and ad-hoc conditions characterised the

spatial incentives at all scales. In addition, intense industrialisation until the 1970s, and the shift to a de-industrialised manufacturing related service economy (Tao and Wong 2002), further emphasized the question of what to plan and through what means.

The dependency on architectural types seemed to fill the planning void. The *Tong Lau* typology (Shelton et al. 2010) set in place the generic and socially driven shophouse prototypes that miniaturised social models at an urban scale. As a direct product of social needs and housing norms during Southern China’s industrial surge (Lee 2010), the shophouse turned an architectural typology into a planning tool. Drawing from the availability of material, customs, and living standards, the *Tong Lau* institutionalised itself as the operative social-spatial container wherein to work and live, and established a spatial “datum” for neighbourhoods (Shelton op.cit.). Ironically, this architectural typology is simultaneously credited for Hong Kong’s extreme forms of dwelling. Subsequent compression of the *Tong Lau* typologies resulted in Hong Kong’s high density vertical typologies (ibid.). As such, cage homes, internal apartment subdivisions, and rooftop dwellings or beds placed along corridors remain derivatives. The further subdivision of floors as additional rental spaces or the compression of individuals into 2.2 square meter dwellings (ibid.), have in time become social concerns derived as a response to a society’s redress against overcapitalised land and limited social foresight within planning.

Hong Kong's missing link

Ng (1986, 23) states that Hong Kong’s planning system, has always been inconsistent and fragmented since its conception. Presently, territorial planning is strategised at two-tier, (i) territorial and (ii) sub-regional, scales (Hong Kong Year Book, 2004). The Territorial Development Strategies, or

the *Hong Kong 2030+: Planning Vision and Strategy*, plans regional intentions for both the SAR as well as its relationship within the Pearl River Delta. At the regional scale, two planning instruments take effect—the sub-territorial and district levels defined under the Outline Zoning Plans (OZP), and the Development Permission Area plans (DPA). Independently, these define planning directives and parameters, and harness zonal planning as a primary tool. Further, both express current and forecasted intentions through the means of functional patterns, use, and distribution.¹¹ Still, in either strategies or scales, the aspects, themes, and outlines of the social remain opaque.

It is understandable that Hong Kong's planning processes have always had to address a bipartisan scenario. From the mitigation between colonial ordinances and local conditions, to refocussing the territory's spatial alignment with its imminent reunification with mainland China in 2047, Hong Kong has to continuously grapple with centrifugal and centripetal development. In Yanxin Liu's words (2017, 13): "*Hong Kong remains a polycentric morphological model with a mono-functional urban construction*". In this case, mono-functional or centrifugal refers to a singular entity and SAR status, as an enclosed and "self-contained" unit, where planning had to devise spatially-specific conditions focussed on Hong Kong itself. The polycentric characteristic refers to the SAR's multi-centrality structure, as a network of clusters and new towns that over time had to establish new links across its own territory as well as with Shenzhen, Guangzhou, and Chinese mega centres further afield. Therefore, in a similar light, the question of Hong Kong's social schematic remains a product of this duality. The consistent ebb and flow of Chinese migrants in relation to its local populous has, in addition, complicated Hong Kong's social projects, and has once again marked its social conditions as mono and poly-ethnic society structures.

In effect, the core of what this paper argues pertains to a territory wherein what is understood as the social always finds its alignment, not in social norms nor through spatial models, but in how the social is *industrialised* through the economic frameworks of value and economic growth. As Ng (op. cit.) argues, the overemphasis of "capital" and value has, in this light, produced planning instruments within, not against, a "capitalist mode of production". Ng continues by stating that the dominant planning model remains "derivative rather than creative" (ibid., 124), and is meant to maximise private growth and restrict co-operative involvement (ibid., 125). Whilst planning at the larger scale addresses the specific pressures of urban development, the omission of social models and their respective themes remains a clear oversight in how to strategise for the territory within governance levels themselves. The exclusion within planning to allow for scenarios to rationalise the social, in both spatial and economic terms, deliberately by-passes the importance of the social in both instances of the polycentric, as well as monocentric, planning incentives. This is felt on several levels.

First, the legacy of colonial planning, more specifically its inability to absorb spatial models as mechanisms to instil social progression, emphasises the disempowerment of the social in planning that has sprung from a colonial type. Secondly, morphological expression, architectural typologies, social mobility, dwelling standards (Hui and Ho 2003), and spatial configurations purposefully "lock down" social groups and isolate individuals in their miniaturised and fragmented appearance. Within the official stance on "Planning and Urban Design for a Liveable High-density City" (Hong Kong 2030+, 2017), spatial allowances in this vision earmarked provisions at the rate of 3.5 square meters and 2.5 square meters per person, which is mostly concentrated in new town development. Once again, these remain statistical

and not actual indices that reflect the territories' current realities. The design of public spaces remains limited when compared to the person-to-open-space ratios that planning currently supports, documented by Bo-sin Tang and Chung Yim Yiu (2010). Thirdly, the broad acceptance within planning guidelines that advocates compact city models as a sustainable model for future development remains a moment of concern. The continued rhetoric that a compact city would reduce car emissions, improve work-life balance, protect natural resources, and systematically promote other means of mobility remains vague in its impact on the social equality of the city (Burton 2000, 19). The modes of compression felt in both domestic and commercial spaces, reaching levels of fifty square feet per individual (Tsoi 2013; Bruyns 2016) remains evidence of an explicit mismatch between how planning incentives spatialise in actual terms that impact human sustainability, social mobility, or any of the "SMART City" ideas that fill planning rhetoric (Smart City Blueprint 2017).

Spatial planning directives contemplate infrastructure and connectivity far above the conditions of user groups. What planning negates, other spaces of the social makeup for. A 2015 survey of thirty families in Hong Kong's Sham Sui Po district demonstrated the reliance of the social, not in terms of urban space, but through the adjustments made through the urban interior. Meant to establish dwelling patterns, the survey effectively highlighted socio-economic hegemony that was overlooked through planning but dealt with through dwelling standards. Documentation of a) the identity of the inhabitants, b) their ethnic background, c) statutory and residential status, d) living qualities of used spaces, and e) current interior amenities brought to light the contextual conditions of social compression. Each interior demonstrated sharing, appropriation, adaptation, and co-habitation to facilitate a means of survival.

Using architecture as mere spatial skeletons, families made use of the interiors to facilitate the sharing of household possessions and living spaces. Hong Kong nationals and Chinese immigrants, co-habituate apartments that were meant for single occupancy sometimes at triple the occupancy rates. Larger apartments were further subdivided to accommodate extended family, sometimes four to five additional members at a time. As an additional source of income, external tenants were taken in to share apartments. Shared kitchens and bathrooms with non-family members caused a hostel type of environment, with make-shift sleeping quarters or bunk beds converting living rooms into sleeping spaces. What could not fit inside each dwelling had to be placed outside. Corridors and hallways were appropriated to become storage, religious spaces, or gathering spaces. Comparable to the subdivisions of existing apartments, rentable rooftop areas provided additional living spaces.

Landlords capitalised on this, and used the spaces that technically fall under "illegal structures", in order to generate additional income. Twenty-one of the thirty inhabitants expressed a fear of the powers that landlords hold, as they pay higher rental rates per square foot than elsewhere. In extreme cases, with the lack of affordable accommodation scripted into planning directives, the interiors become a de facto density model that transforms single occupancies into high density living compartments. In such cases apartments operated as hostels, or as spaces where coffin or cage homes (Tsoi op.cit.; Stackle 2017) established new social typologies as redress. Co-habitation in these types of interiors, between ten and thirty cage homes per apartment, marked another social extreme, doubling up on the functionality of each space and use. Apart from sharing a basic bathroom and small kitchen, the spaces were stripped bare to allow for the maximum number of "cages" possible, which forced people to share each

side of their “home” with another occupant (ibid.). Although well known to Hong Kong dwellers, the mere existence of the cage homes remains a harsh reminder of the failures of planning in twenty-first century cities and the inability to strategise the city in a manner in which the social is imprinted into planning models. Moreover, they remain tell-tale reminders of an econometric model that drives planning, trickles downwards, infuses cities, neighbourhoods, city blocks, and architectural typologies, and eventually produces isolated and cramped dwelling typologies.

Conclusions

Overall, Hong Kong’s social-spatial dilemma presents itself as one that has fallen victim to a spatially competitive model, that over time has disempowered dwellers’ ownership within its own territorial model. One key aspect summarise these conclusions here, which draws on the applicability of old frameworks for new problems. Naturally, socially derived planning frameworks of the twentieth century remain ineffective in addressing social or spatial challenges characteristic of twenty-first century urbanisation. The lesson to be drawn from the argument here may be one that calls for the spatial disciplines to re-examine the urban *through* the social, first and foremost. The challenges placed on the planning systems of being both centrifugal and centripetal in alignment, calls for the re-examination as to how old models find new applications in contemporary terms. This is further in support of planning to mechanise instruments as a dynamic process of planning and the instruments necessary for social-spatial projections.

Planning models, as such, provide necessary links between the specific and general, the regional and the local, and between the social and the spatial in their visions of possibilities. They form a much required component to strategise, in both the short and long term, irrespective of scale. Concomitantly,

such projections represent accountability, and highlight the duality as well as the pros and cons associated with each system of approach. Yet, lacking such projections or visions of how these ideas can be made spatial, other forces dominate this process of development. Capitalism, financial competitiveness, spatial compression, and social immobility run their natural and usual detrimental course.

Irrespective of Hong Kong’s social future, or whether it commences its social strategies from the models of Burgess, Hoyt, or Mann, the SAR is required to take stock of its social if it deems its “two-systems-one-country” spatial incentive to extend beyond 2047; a social-spatial framework for the SAR territory, and beyond, based on a lived approach to planning and through its social dimension.

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Notes

1. Pinilla Castro's thesis defines two main aspects of planning. The first refers to regulatory or planned forms of spatial strategizing and its specific instrument of management, control, and its focus to produce exact projections that define as well as predict final outcomes. 'Emergent attitudes', in direct opposition to planned approach, refer to how placemaking is not pre-determined by experts, nor at any of the national or municipal planning levels. They emerge as a by-product, out of a collection of public or private actions that shape urban landscapes. (2008, pp ii).
2. The original proposal was made in a paper entitled "The Nature of Cities".
3. A later model proposed by Vance (1964) elaborates on the formal characteristics of urban centre emerging in an open territory, wherein a variety of commercial centres and business districts are located. Vance's model remains an extension to Ullman and Harris' model yet with a more informative take on urban form, process and culture. (cf. Vance 1964).
4. The Isolated State model deemed one's own actual position within the city significant. Important city functions, better housing conditions and most activities of public life 'centred' on these settlement points, associated with production.
5. Central Places Theory operates on the premise of equal distribution of functions, distances of formations and static locations to each settlement. As theory, it relies heavily on the distinctions between centre and peripheral geographies, and less on the social conditions of cities or urbanization as process in its own right. The method imposes a hierarchical order upon certain important settlements and their field of influence. A "centre-to-place" relationship is graphically depicted as interlocked hexagons.
6. A whole section in the publication by Somer is dedicated to how the *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* or CIAM directed planning and social strategy during its 4th Congress. The chairperson of the time, the Dutch planner Cornelis Van Eesteren, advocated the notion of the "functional city" in terms of planning analysis and design, laying importance on housing, work, leisure, and traffic. See Somer, et. al, 2007. Also see Bruyns (2011, 43) for a broader discussion on its implications for urban form.
7. See: Le Corbusier's text on "A Contemporary City" in Le Gates and Stout, 1996, 936.
8. The Bijlmer area was seen as Amsterdam's test case for applying modern planning ideology to an actual site. Conceived by Van Eesteren, the Bijlmer, became a key satellite city, extending Amsterdam beyond its 17th century confines, adding to the Berlage's plan for Amsterdam, dated 1914 (Somer, op. cit.).
9. The Special Administrative Region is the territorial autonomy of Hong Kong, awarded by The People's Republic of China (PRC) to the territory. As former British colony, the SAR is a part of the PRC yet with different administrative and legislative powers.
10. Yeah and Lin both address the transformation of Hong Kong's manufacturing nexus within the Pearl River Delta. Since the 1980s, and China's relaxation of trade policies, Hong Kong has experienced a steady deindustrialisation process. Known for its manufacturing services, Hong Kong's manufacturers, systematically seeped back into the mainland for reasons of affordable labour and materials. In this light, Hong Kong had to readapt its economic premise to a service economy. To this effect, the dependency on land-based revenue systems, where property is capitalised upon, has as an effect, implicated as a spatial question to Hong Kong's social future in as much as its affordability and access of adequate housing for all of its citizens.
11. For a full description of Statutory plans and Outline Zoning Plans see Schedules of Plans, Planning Department, the Government of the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong.

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Bio

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Figure 6 (this page): The effects of the 'model' versus the 'lived'. Compressed urban dwellings as a consequence of spatial planning. Source: *Author*.