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The Family and Family Planning in
Kwun Tong: An Overview of Findings

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THE FAMILY AND FAMILY PLANNING IN KWUN TONG

An Overview of Findings

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with the collaboration of

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a report on some of the basic findings obtained in the first phase of an ongoing research programme studying fertility behaviour and population change in Kwun Tong, a newly developed industrial satellite town of the metropolis of Hong Kong. Entitled "The People of Kwun Tong: a new Chinese industrial community," the research programme has been conducted under the auspices of the Social Research Centre of The Chinese University of Hong Kong with financial support from the Asia Foundation. The overall objective of the research programme is to identify a system of social variables affecting population change in Kwun Tong. In particular, the first phase of the programme aims at studying the relationships between socio-economic characteristics of the family and family structure on the one hand and fertility and family planning behaviour on the other. Not only does it attempt to answer academic questions concerning the social and demographic behaviour of the inhabitants of a newly created industrial community when many such questions have not been sufficiently and empirically dealt with in the context of Hong Kong,¹ but it also has important practical implications for urban planning and family planning work in Hong Kong.

The District of Kwun Tong²

Kwun Tong is located on the southern part of East Kowloon, occupying an area of approximately five square miles and accommodating

a population of half a million. It is Hong Kong's youngest and most rapidly developing industrial-urban complex. In the early fifties, Kwun Tong was practically waste land much of which was used as a refuse dump. The early "settlers" in these days, numbering about 1,000, were squatters who made their living by gathering metal scraps, old rubber, and rags.

In the mid-fifties, when Hong Kong's industrial boom faced the problem of scarcity of factory sites, government plans were made to develop Kwun Tong into a new industrial area. Much land was reclaimed to provide factory sites and hills were terraced to provide land for housing and community facilities. Subsequently, resettlement estates were built, followed by low-cost housing and private housing. Industrial activities also quickly expanded. By 1971, the population grew to more than 446,000, over three-quarters of which were living in various public housing estates (resettlement and low-cost housing estates).³ In December, 1974, there were over 2,300 factories of all sizes operating in the Kwun Tong District employing roughly 17 per cent of the total industrial work force in Hong Kong then.⁴

Kwun Tong is thus a response to the industrial growth of Hong Kong, serving as one of Hong Kong's centres of industrial production. At the same time, it provides housing and amenities for as much as one-eighth of Hong Kong's population. Since it is a new creation of such a considerable size it would be worthwhile to study the social characteristics of the population in

that particular context. What types of residents has such a planned community attracted? What are the employment patterns of these people? Are differences in family composition and family size discernible among the different types of housing? What is family life like in these different types of housing? Are there indications that life in the community of Kwun Tong exerts any systematic influence on couples' fertility goals and behaviour? These and other similar questions are not only intellectually stimulating to the social scientist but also practically relevant to those who are concerned with the social consequences of a planned community.

Family and Population

The factors that influence population change in a given community are multifarious. Migration brings into the community individuals of certain bio-social characteristics and certain types of family structure. Internal structure of the community, including its economy, also acts to shape the bio-social characteristics of the population and to provide a particular environment for the development of the family system. As a point of departure, however, the family system itself can be more or less "isolated" for careful study because it is related, directly and indirectly, to many social aspects of a community and the society at large and is thus a major component in the larger system of variables governing population change.

The family is one of the most important units linking demographic and social factors. While the formation, organization,

and functioning of family systems are influenced by various conditions of the population (e.g., sex-ratio, age composition, mortality, immigration, fertility), the family system itself plays an important role in population change. The family certainly contributes to the composition of the population. It also has direct influence on births and deaths.

For the purposes of our study, fertility and fertility control or family planning will be given particular attention since fertility is a major component of population change. Fertility is intimately related to many aspects of the family system, such as the time the family is formed (age at marriage) and the functions which the family performs for its members, including maintenance, socialization, and allocation of status.

Fertility involves decisions---no matter how rational or irrational--to be made by the family as a whole or by parts of it.⁵ Interaction among family members serves, in part, to bring together values concerning child-bearing and family size ideals in the course of reaching some fertility goal. The way in which these values are channelled into fertility decisions may be influenced by a variety of personal attributes, such as educational attainment, religious faith, and ethnicity, and by certain extra-familial factors, such as employment (especially wife's employment), community participation, and peer influence. Thus, the family may be viewed as the mechanism through which cultural values regarding having children come into action.

A comprehensive understanding of the family system in Kwun Tong, including its structure, interaction among and

attitudinal characteristics of family members, would constitute a useful first step in our attempt to identify a system of social variables affecting population change in Kwun Tong.

The survey, dealing with family system and family planning behaviour and representing the first phase of "The People of Kwun Tong" research programme, was conducted in 1973. A wide range of topics were included, such as demographic background, family composition, interaction among family members (husband-wife and parent-child), meaning of having children, values of traditional Chinese family pattern, social awareness and participation, and knowledge, attitudes, and practice in matters of family planning. Where appropriate and possible, similar questions were asked of both husband and wife and of their children aged 17 to 21, if any (so selected because of their nearness to marriageable age).

The survey has two major analytic concerns. First, it attempts to obtain a fairly comprehensive data base for a descriptive understanding of what families and family life are like in Kwun Tong. In particular, since a very high proportion of Kwun Tong's population live in various types of public housing, attention would be paid to whether housing type may serve to differentiate variations in family patterns. Second, the survey aims at relating certain characteristics of the family as a whole and characteristics of the couple as individuals to their family planning behaviour and fertility goals. Since the descriptive data base for examining family patterns is rather comprehensive, it would be possible to study the effects of various social and economic factors (e.g., education, income, wife's participation

in labour force, etc.) on family planning and fertility. It would also be possible, in further analyses, to construct various indices of social processes in the family and to test propositions of variations in family planning and fertility involving multiple variables.

Contents of the Report

As this is only a preliminary report, the substantive material included has to be highly selective, especially when there is a wide variety of data gathered. Following the next chapter on methodology, Chapter III gives a description of the demographic background of the couples and the economic aspects of the families. Chapter IV covers fertility-related information, including KAP (knowledge, attitudes, and practice) findings. Socio-economic differentials in family size and patterns of family planning practice are presented in Chapter V. Finally, possibilities of further analyses and certain practical implications, although necessarily rudimentary at this point, are discussed in Chapter VI.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Only two major original surveys on family and family planning have previously been conducted in Hong Kong: The Urban Family Life Survey by Robert E. Mitchell in 1967, and the Fertility Survey by C.Y. Choi, K.C. Chan, and Betty Chung in 1972.
2. For a more detailed account of the development of Kwun Tong, see Kwun Tong District Kai Fong Welfare Association, Kwun Tong Today (Hong Kong, 1972), pp. 10-19 and Chan Ying-keung, The Rise and Growth of Kwun Tong: A Study of Planned Urban Development (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1973), pp. 9-19.
3. Unpublished 1971 Census data, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Government.
4. As informed by the Employment Statistics Section, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Government.
5. See, for example, Reuben Hill, "The Significance of Family in Population Research" in William T. Liu (ed.), Family and Fertility (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), pp. 3-22.

CHAPTER II
METHODOLOGY

The Questionnaire

The interview questionnaire used to collect the data on the family and family planning evolved through a long process of discussion and deliberation among the research personnel of the programme during the spring and summer of 1973. Since the basic assumption of the family study is that fertility is a function of a wide variety of variables, such as demographic background, living environment, values, and interaction among family members, the questionnaire had to accommodate a sufficiently large amount of information.

The questionnaire was designed to collect data on a wide variety of areas which may be classified as follows:

- A. Demographic background of husband and wife.
- B. Family environment--e.g., family composition and housing type.
- C. Value system--e.g., "traditional" Chinese family values, tendencies toward general planning, and meaning of having children.
- D. Family action system--e.g., decision-making, marital adjustment, and parent-child communication.
- E. Social participation and awareness--e.g., knowledge and use of community facilities, and civic participation.
- F. Information and attitudes regarding family planning.
- G. Birth control behaviour.
- H. Actual fertility.

Since interaction among family members is an important concern in our study, we wanted to include both wife and husband in our survey as far as possible. Hoping to provide a fuller understanding of the dynamics of fertility and family planning behaviour, we intended to discern the fertility implications of similarities and differences in demographic and behavioral characteristics of the marriage pair. The design of the interview questionnaire thus took this into account. There are two basically similar questionnaires used in the survey: Questionnaire A and Questionnaire B. Questionnaire A is somewhat longer as it contains general household information questions. A copy of this questionnaire is attached in Appendix B. If both the husband and the wife were present when the interviewers (who worked in pairs) called, either questionnaire could be used for a spouse. More often, only one spouse, typically the wife, was at home when visited, in which case Questionnaire A would be used. Questionnaire B would be administered during a second visit to interview the other spouse. This way, both spouses would be included. However, as it turned out, in about one-third of the families interviewed, only one spouse (mostly the wife) could be contacted. Furthermore, if the couple had any children between the ages of 17 and 21 we asked no more than two of them to fill out a separate "youth" questionnaire. This questionnaire looks at parent-child relationship more carefully and also attempts to reveal the youth's views on some fertility-related matters. Although a limited number of families in the survey had such children who returned the completed questionnaire, we could still add the

youths' data to those supplied by their parents to establish an even fuller scenario of family life for some families.¹

These instruments went through considerable alterations and revisions after a pretest had been carried out in July, 1973. They were finalized and made ready for the actual fieldwork in late September, 1973.

Sampling Design

The basic sampling element in this survey is the "living quarter."² A complete list of all living quarters in Kwun Tong had been compiled by the Social Research Centre in its previous studies of Kwun Tong. This was updated to provide an accurate sampling frame for the study. A two-stage stratified cluster sampling procedure was employed to obtain a probability sample. There were five types of housing in Kwun Tong, namely, private housing, Resettlement Estates, Government Low Cost Housing Estates, Low Cost Housing Estates of the Housing Society and the Housing Authority, and cottages. Each of these types of housing, except for the cottages, consisted of blocks of various sizes. A list of the blocks in each housing type was compiled. In the first stage, the sampling unit was the housing block. Approximately 10 per cent of the total number of blocks was taken randomly from each of the four housing types. These selected blocks were regarded as unequal clusters each containing a different number of living quarters. In the second stage, the sampling unit was the living quarter. From a list of all living quarters contained in blocks selected in the first stage, a

simple random sample of 15 per cent of the living quarters in each selected block was taken. The living quarters so selected amounted to a total of 1,653. The cottages were sampled separately by a one-stage cluster method. First, all cottages located in Kwun Tong area were demarcated into 667 equal-size clusters each containing 10 cottages. Ten such clusters were taken randomly, giving a total of 100 cottages which were then included in the sample. Consequently, the sample of this survey consisted of 1,753 living quarters in five housing types in Kwun Tong. This represented approximately 1.6 per cent of the total living quarters in Kwun Tong.³ Table 2-1 provides details of the sampling procedure.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork was launched following the finalization of the research instruments in September, 1973. Since the academic year at the Chinese University of Hong Kong had already begun, however, it was not easy to recruit full-time student interviewers. Most of the interviewers recruited could work only for a few hours a week. A number of them dropped out midway and had to be replaced. Hence the fieldwork proceeded quite slowly and was not completed until January, 1974. Throughout the whole fieldwork period, a total of 57 university and post-secondary college students were employed to conduct the interviews. Interview responses were turned in to the research office twice a week and were checked for clarity and consistency. Since the study was designed to

TABLE 2-1 SAMPLING FOR "PEOPLE OF KWUN TONG" STUDY, 1973^a

Housing Type	1st Stage		2nd Stage				Overall Sampling Fraction ^b	Total Number of Living Quarters in Housing Type
	Total Number of Blocks in Kwun Tong	Number of Sampled Blocks	Sampling Fraction	Total Number of Living Quarters in The Sampled Blocks	Number of Living Quarters Sampled	Sampling Fraction		
Private Multi-storey Buildings	173	17	9.83%	1,167	175	15.0%	1.37%	12,739
Resettlement Estates	136	14	10.29%	7,247	1,087	15.0%	1.55%	70,251
Government Low Cost Housing Estates	24	3	12.50%	1,347	202	15.0%	2.00%	10,089
Low Cost Housing	30	3	10.00%	1,260	189	15.0%	1.89%	9,998
Cottages	667 (arbitrarily divided clusters)	10 (clusters, each containing 10 cottages)	1.50%	100	100	100.0%	1.50%	6,673
Total Sample Size:							1,753	109,750
(living quarters)								

^aThis sampling frame was based on information collected by the Social Research Centre from various estate offices and from on-the-site checking in June, 1973.

^bThe overall fraction is obtained by dividing the number of sampled living quarters by the total number of living quarters in the housing type in question.

include both husband and wife in a family, great effort was undertaken to interview both husband and wife even if it meant visiting the same household three or four times. Table 2-2 reports the fieldwork outcome in the survey. Altogether, 1,753 living quarters were in the sample as originally selected. However, 171 of them were found to be vacant, non-residential, or demolished at the time of fieldwork. Consequently, only 1,582 living quarters could be visited. Of these 1,582 living quarters, 547 could not provide information because of refusals and not-at-homes despite several visits. Entry and response were gained from 1,035 living quarters, representing a response rate of 65.4 per cent. Of these 1,035 living quarters, 217 had to be considered ineligible for full interviews since they did not contain any married couples. Thus, a total of only 818 interview cases was obtained, 548 of which were responded by the couple, 233 by the wife only, and 37 by the husband only.

TABLE 2-2 FIELDWORK OUTCOME

	Housing Type			Total
	Resettlement Estate	Low Cost Housing ^a	Private Housing ^b Cottage	
	N			
Completed cases				
a. Couple	319	179	47	548
b. Wife only	134	81	15	233
c. Husband only	24	10	3	37
	<u>477</u>	<u>270</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>818</u>
				51.7
Ineligible cases (containing no married couples)	161	30	16	217
				13.7
Non-response (Not-at-home and refusals)	344	87	75	547
				34.6
Total sampled living quarters called	<u>982</u>	<u>387</u>	<u>156</u>	<u>1,582</u>
				100.0%
Total sampled living quarters found vacant, non-residential, or demolished	105	4	19	171
Grand total of sampled living quarters	<u>1,087</u>	<u>391</u>	<u>175</u>	<u>1,753</u>

^a Includes Government Low Cost Housing Estates and the Low Cost Housing Estates of the Housing Authority and the Housing Society.

^b For those private housing living quarters that contained more than one household, interviewers were instructed to select at random only one household for the interview.

Notes to Chapter II

1. The findings concerning the "youth" questionnaire are not included in this report.
2. A "living quarter" is defined as "a dwelling unit used exclusively by one household or shared by a number of households for living, eating and sleeping. It had to be internally connected so that the occupants could move between rooms/cubicles without going outside (the unit proper)....." Hong Kong Government Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report, p.232.
3. According to information collected by the Social Research Centre from various estate offices and from on-the-site checking, there were a total of 109,750 living quarters in Kwun Tong as of June 30, 1973.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF KWUN TONG FAMILIES

Having described briefly the general nature and methodology of this study, we shall in this chapter have a comprehensive overview of certain demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Kwun Tong families included in our survey. Topics that will be examined include: migration, length of stay in Kwun Tong, family size, family composition, social-demographic characteristics of husband and wife, and economic aspects. Since different housing types seem to differ considerably in living environment and life style, the findings to be presented will be differentiated by type of housing wherever appropriate.¹ Together, these data would serve as a background for further studying the fertility pattern and family planning behaviour of the people of Kwun Tong.

Migration

In little over a decade, Kwun Tong sprang up from the status of a waste dump to that of an industrial satellite town with a population of almost half a million. It represents a first-generation community² in the sense that the adult population are first-generation immigrants. Our data indicate that almost 80 per cent of our sample families did not live in Kwun Tung before their present residence. Of these, 77 per cent came from various parts of Kowloon, 19.3 per cent from Hong Kong Island, and 3.5 per cent from the New Territories. Most of the 20 per cent of the families which had lived in the Kwun Tong area before their

present residence also came from other parts of Kowloon before moving into Kwun Tong. More than 80 per cent of the families in the resettlement estates moved into Kwun Tong because they were assigned to such estates by the Government. By contrast, 90 per cent or more of the families in the low cost housing and private housing estates came to Kwun Tong by voluntary choice or because they found that Kwun Tong had various attractions for them.

Length of Residence in Kwun Tong

From Table 3-1, it can be seen that in general families in the resettlement estates have lived in Kwun Tong the longest. Two-thirds of them, as compared with 17 per cent of families in the low cost housing estates, have lived in Kwun Tong for six years or more. This reflects the fact that in the course of Kwun Tong's development, resettlement estates were the first type of housing erected. In the case of families in private housing, while close to one half of the families have lived in Kwun Tong for six years or more, another 35 per cent have moved into the town for only two years or less. On the whole, there is quite a range of variation in length of residence in Kwun Tong, from less than two years to more than ten years, indicating that there has been a constant migration of people into Kwun Tong.

Family Size

In this study "family size" refers to the total number of related persons living together in the same household. A "family"

TABLE 3-1

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN KWUN TONG BY HOUSING TYPE

Length of Residence	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
2 years or less	11.0%	21.9%	35.4%	16.6%
3 - 5 years	22.6	50.6	16.9	31.5
6 - 9 years	34.7	18.6	40.0	29.7
10 years or more	31.7	8.9	7.7	22.2
Total (N)	100.0% (473)	100.0% (269)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (807)

may therefore contain members other than a married couple and their children so long as they are relatives. At the same time, some children may live away from their parents, as is true of approximately 15 per cent of the households in our study. Defined this way, "family size" is not quite the same as "household size" as used in Hong Kong's censuses because a "household" in the census simply means a group of persons who live together and make common provision for food or other essentials for living.³

The average family size in Kwun Tong, according to our findings, is 6.6.⁴ When we consider different housing types

separately, however, there are considerable variations. Thus, as shown in Table 3-2, 58 per cent of the families in resettlement estates contain seven or more members. Corresponding figures for families in low cost housing and private housing are 39 per cent and 23 per cent respectively. Most noticeably, there are proportionally much more private housing families which consist of no more than four persons, i.e., 39 per cent as compared with not more than 17 per cent in the resettlement and low cost housing estates. Thus, the mean family size is the smallest in private housing, being 5.2 as compared with 6.3 and 6.9 for low cost housing and resettlement estates respectively. A graphic representation of the mean family sizes of the various areas within Kwun Tong is given in Appendix A (p.A-2).

Family Composition

In addition to family size, the type of family composition is a relevant factor in describing and studying the nature and implications for social behaviour of the family system.⁵ In classifying family composition, our focus of concern is the married couple and their unmarried children living together with them, i.e., the "nuclear" family. For our purposes, however, the term "nuclear" family is used relatively loosely to include those families in which there are no children living together or in which unmarried or single relatives of either the husband or the wife are present. Where the focal married couple live together with either spouse's married sibling (and their family, if any), the family is a "joint" one. Further, a "stem" family is one in which

TABLE 3-2

FAMILY SIZE BY HOUSING TYPE

Family Size	Housing Type			
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	All
2 persons	1.9%	0.4%	3.1%	1.5%
3 - 4 persons	15.3	13.7	35.4	16.2
5 - 6 persons	25.2	47.8	38.5	33.6
7 - 9 persons	45.0	34.4	21.5	39.7
10 persons or more	12.6	3.7	1.5	9.0
Total (N)	100.0% (477)	100.0% (270)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (812)
Mean	6.9	6.3	5.2	6.6

the focal married couple live with the parent or parents of either or both spouses. Further, a family could be both stem and joint if it meets these characteristics. Thus, both vertical and horizontal kin relations are included in this simple classification.

Our data indicate that 73 per cent of our sampled families can be considered "nuclear" in the way we define it (see Table 3-3). About another quarter are of the "stem" type. There are very few cases of the other types, "joint" or "stem-joint." This pattern holds pretty much the same for all housing types, except that there is a somewhat higher proportion of nuclear families and hence a lower one of stem families in private housing.

TABLE 3-3

TYPE OF FAMILY COMPOSITION BY HOUSING TYPE

Type of Family Composition	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
Nuclear	72.7%	72.6%	78.5%	73.2%
Stem	25.4	27.4	18.5	25.5
Joint	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
Stem joint	1.5	0.0	1.5	1.0
Other extended	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.2
Total (N)	100.0% (477)	100.0% (270)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (811)

Further examination of the data reveals that a "husband-centred" composition is rather dominant in those families containing members other than the focal married couple and their children. In the case of nuclear families, for example, relatives, if any, living with the couple are often the husband's rather than the wife's. Stem families, too, typically contain the parent or parents of the husband, not the wife. A similar phenomenon is true of the one "joint" and several "stem-joint" families.

Social and Economic Characteristics of Couples

Since the married couple is the focus of concern in our study of the family system, it is essential that we know their social and economic characteristics before we can attempt to see how these may be related to their fertility and family planning behaviour. Although we did not interview both members of the couple in all the families, such information of the couple was obtained for all the families as reported by either the husband or the wife. In those cases where both husband and wife could be interviewed, some questions concerning such matters as education and income of both spouses were asked of both the husband and the wife. This would allow checking for presence of any discrepancy which in turn might serve as an indication of the accuracy of one spouse's knowledge or perception of the other. For our purpose of describing the social and economic characteristics of the couples, however, we shall use the information given by either spouse who happened to be first interviewed.

Age

The age distribution of the couples is shown in Table 3-4 and Figure 3-1. While there is quite a spread of age among both husbands and wives, the age category to which most husbands and wives (38 per cent and 37 per cent respectively) belong is 40 to 49. The median age of the husbands is 44, that of the wives 39.

TABLE 3-4

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

Age	Husband	Wife
19 or younger ^a	0.1%	0.8%
20 - 29	6.3	17.2
30 - 39	24.5	31.1
40 - 49	38.4	37.1
50 - 59	24.2	13.7
60 or older	6.5	0.0
Total (N)	100.0% (818)	100.0% (816)

^aThere were two wives aged 18, and three wives aged 19.

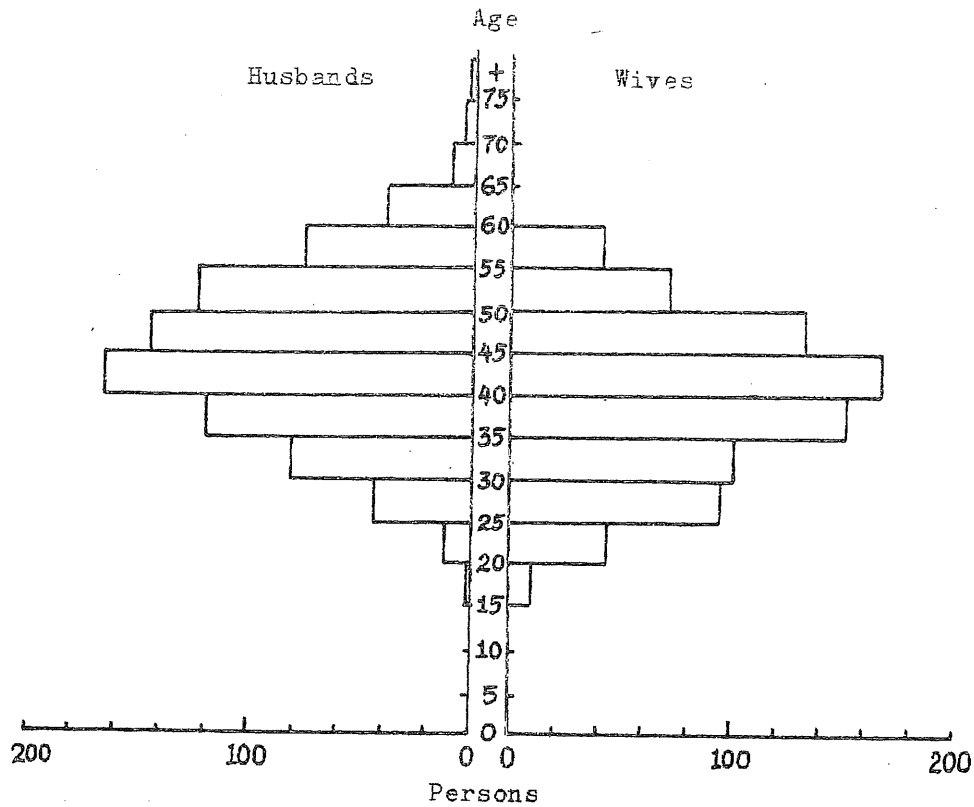


FIGURE 3-1 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Place of Origin

A person's place of origin is a possible factor in influencing his behaviour and attitudes. In Chinese folk culture, one's place of origin is sometimes consciously or unconsciously given some weight in one's interaction with others. How and to what degree this is manifested has yet to be studied empirically. At any rate, our first step is to identify the dominant ethnic groups.

Taking the husband's ethnic origin as representative of the family's ethnicity, we find that, as shown in Table 3-5, 43 per cent of the families claimed Hong Kong, Canton, and the Pearl River Delta areas as their places of origin. The next dominant ethnic groups are Sze Yap and Chiu Chau each of which accounted for 18 per cent of the families. There is, however, some important variation among the various housing types. Thus, resettlement estates contain a particularly higher proportion of Chiu Chau families (25 per cent). Low cost housing has proportionally more families from Hong Kong, Canton, and Delta areas (52 per cent). Private housing, compared with resettlement estates and low cost housing, contains a considerably higher proportion of non-Kwangtung families (18.5 per cent).

Our interest in the relevance of ethnicity to fertility is not ethnic group per se but the social, demographic, and economic characteristics that ethnic group membership connotes may be more important in the determination of fertility behaviour. The identification of ethnic concentrations in the various types of housing may therefore constitute a first step towards the understanding of differences in family pattern and fertility behaviour as may exist within each housing type as well as across different housing types.

TABLE 3-5

HUSBAND'S ETHNIC ORIGIN BY HOUSING TYPE

Husband's Ethnic Origin	Housing Type			
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	All
Hong Kong, Canton, and Delta	39.5%	51.7%	32.3%	42.9%
Sze Yap	16.6	19.0	18.5	17.5
Chiu Chau	24.6	7.4	15.4	18.1
Wai Yeung	10.1	5.9	13.8	9.0
Other areas within Kwangtung	7.5	6.7	1.5	6.8
Other Provinces	1.7	9.3	18.5	5.7
Total (N)	100.0% (476)	100.0% (269)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (812)

The next question to ask is: To what extent do men marry women of the same ethnic origin? When husband's place of origin is cross-tabulated with wife's place of origin (see Table 3-6), we find that marriage within the same ethnic group is quite prevalent on the whole but varies noticeably from one ethnic group to another. Thus, 81 per cent of both the men from the Hong Kong-Macau-Delta area and those from Chiu Chau have wives of the same ethnic origin. This is less prevalent in other ethnic

groups. Nonetheless, as many as 57 per cent and 41 per cent of the Sze Yap men and Wai Yeung men, respectively, have wives of the same ethnic origin.

TABLE 3-6

WIFE'S ETHNIC ORIGIN BY HUSBAND'S ETHNIC ORIGIN

Wife's Ethnic Origin	Husband's Ethnic Origin					
	Hong Kong, Canton, and Delta	Sze Yap	Chiu Chau	Wai Yeung	Other Areas within Kwangtung	Other Provinces
Hong Kong, Canton, and Delta	80.8%	36.9%	6.8%	37.0%	40.0%	22.7%
Sze Yap	8.7	56.7	3.4	8.2	12.7	11.4
Chiu Chau	0.9	0.7	80.8	4.1	0.0	0.0
Wai Yeung	3.5	1.4	5.5	41.1	5.5	2.3
Other areas within Kwangtung	4.7	2.8	2.7	4.1	38.2	6.8
Other Provinces	1.4	1.5	0.8	5.5	3.6	56.8
Total (N)	100.0% (343)	100.0% (141)	100.0% (146)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (55)	100.0% (44)

It is interesting to note that there is a marked difference among the various housing types in the proportion of couples who are of the same ethnic origin. Thus, the resettlement estates have the highest proportion of such couples (72 per cent, see Table 3-7), followed by low cost housing (68 per cent) and private housing (49 per cent). The especially low percentage of couples of the same ethnic origin in private housing may reflect a relatively more differentiated network of social interaction probably attributable to better education and greater social mobility of residents in private housing. For a more detailed breakdown of ethnic-sameness by husband's ethnic origin in the various housing types, see Table D-1 in Appendix D.

TABLE 3-7

SAMENESS OF COUPLE'S ETHNIC ORIGIN BY HOUSING TYPE

Couple's Ethnic Origin	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
Same	71.8%	68.1%	49.2%	68.7%
Different	28.2	31.9	50.8	31.3
Total (N)	100.0% (471)	100.0% (266)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (802)

Education

On the whole our data indicate that the men were better educated than their spouses. As shown in Tables 3-8 and 3-9, 58 per cent of the men, compared with 47 per cent of the wives, received no more than some form of primary education. Twenty-six per cent of the men went on to attain some secondary education or above, but only 13 per cent of the wives did so. Also, the proportion of wives who had no schooling at all is considerably higher, being nearly 40 per cent as compared with 15 per cent among the men. The distribution of husband's and wife's

TABLE 3-8

HUSBAND'S EDUCATION BY HOUSING TYPE

Husband's Education	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
Senior secondary or above	3.4%	2.6%	16.9%	4.2%
Junior secondary	15.8	25.4	53.8	22.0
Senior primary	30.0	34.3	7.7	29.6
Junior primary	16.5	15.3	7.7	15.4
Private tutor	16.2	10.1	6.2	13.4
No schooling	18.1	12.3	7.7	15.4
Total (N)	100.0% (474)	100.0% (268)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (807)

TABLE 3-9

WIFE'S EDUCATION BY HOUSING TYPE

Wife's Education	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
Senior secondary or above	2.7%	5.2%	40.0%	6.5%
Junior secondary	4.8	6.3	20.0	6.5
Senior primary	18.9	33.0	12.3	23.1
Junior primary	19.7	18.9	4.6	18.3
Private tutor	5.7	7.0	3.1	5.9
No schooling	48.2	29.6	20.0	39.7
Total (N)	100.0% (476)	100.0% (270)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (811)

education by housing type in these two tables further indicates that the general level of educational attainment of either husband or wife is by far the highest in private housing and lowest in resettlement estates. Thus, for instance, the proportion of husbands who had some secondary education or above is 71 per cent, 28 per cent, and 19 per cent, respectively, in private, low cost, and resettlement housing. Similarly, 60 per cent of the wives in private housing had some secondary education or above, as compared with only 11.5 per cent in low cost housing and 7.5 per cent in resettlement housing.

Religion

When asked the question of religious faith, 44 per cent of the men and 36 per cent of the wives replied that they do not have any religious faith (see Tables 3-10 and 3-11). On the other hand, 38 per cent of the men and 43 per cent of the wives claimed that they worship deities. Buddhists and Christians (Protestants and Catholics) are obviously a minority, although there are somewhat more Christians than Buddhists. Together, they account for 18 per cent of the men and one-fifth of the wives. Further inspection of Tables 3-10 and 3-11 indicates that the pattern of distribution of religion of both husbands and wives living in private housing is quite different from that in resettlement and low cost housing. First, the proportion of Christians in private housing is substantially higher (more than one-fifth) than in the other two housing types (no more than 11 per cent). Second, private housing also has the highest proportion (well over half) of both husbands and wives claiming no religious faith. That this is so may be related to the fact just revealed earlier that the couples living in private housing are generally much better educated. More education, particularly when received in Hong Kong where church-supported schools are rather common, is likely to expose the individual to Christian influence. At the same time, however, more education generally has also a secularizing effect. Furthermore, most of the couples living in private housing probably have an urban background which

may in part explain the drastically lower percentage of deity-worshippers as compared with couples in resettlement and low-cost housing.

TABLE 3-10

HUSBAND'S RELIGION BY HOUSING TYPE

Religion	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
No religion	45.7%	38.1%	55.4%	44.0%
Worshipping deities	39.8	41.1	13.8	38.1
Buddhist	7.1	10.8	7.7	8.4
Protestant	4.6	2.6	12.3	4.6
Catholic	2.6	7.0	10.8	4.7
Taoist and others	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.2
Total (N)	100.0% (477)	100.0% (270)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (812)

TABLE 3-11

WIFE'S RELIGION BY HOUSING TYPE

Religion	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
No religion	35.3%	32.2%	53.8%	35.7%
Worshipping deities	45.6	45.2	18.5	43.3
Buddhist	7.1	11.5	4.6	8.4
Protestant	5.9	3.3	9.2	5.3
Catholic	5.7	7.4	13.9	6.9
Taoist and others	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.4
Total (N)	100.0% (476)	100.0% (270)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (811)

Table 3-12 indicates, for each housing type, the proportion of couples claiming the same religious faith given husband's religion. Generally speaking, there is a rather high degree of religious similarity between husband and wife. If the husband is a Buddhist or worships deities, for example, it is highly likely (almost or over 90 per cent in most cases) that the wife is also a Buddhist or a worshipper of deities, almost regardless of the type of housing. It may also be noted that if the husband has no particular religious faith, it is also quite likely (roughly

75 per cent chance or better) that the wife, too, has no religious faith. This is especially true in private housing (83 per cent chance).

TABLE 3-12

PERCENTAGE OF COUPLES HAVING SAME RELIGION BY
HUSBAND'S RELIGION BY HOUSING TYPE

Husband's Religion ^a	Housing Type			
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	All
No religion	74.2(217) ^b	75.7(103)	83.3(36)	75.6(356)
Worshipping deities	97.9(190)	97.3(111)	100.0(9)	97.7(310)
Buddhist	88.2(34)	96.6(29)	60.0(5)	89.7(68)
Protestant	81.8(22)	42.9(7)	50.0(8)	62.6(37)
Catholic	100.0(12)	84.2(19)	57.1(7)	84.2(38)

^aNot included in this table are two Taoist husbands both of whom have wives who are also Taoist.

^bBase number for the percentage.

In many Chinese families shrines or altars are kept and served in honour of ancestors or certain deities. To understand better the significance of religion in Chinese families, therefore, we have to probe beyond the type of religious faith claimed by the

respondents. We asked our respondents whether shrines for ancestors, Tsao Tsun (kitchen god), Tu Ti (earth god), and Kwan Ti (god of loyalty) were present in their homes. The results are shown in Table 3-13.

TABLE 3-13

PERCENTAGE OF HOMES KEEPING VARIOUS SHRINES
BY HUSBAND'S RELIGION

Presence of Shrines in Home	Husband's Religion						All
	No. Religion	Wor- shipping Deities	Buddhist	Protes- tant	Catholic	Taoist & others	
	(361) ^a	(310)	(69)	(37)	(39)	(2)	(818)
Ancestors	50.1	89.0	85.5	5.4	5.1	100.0	68.0
Tsao Tsun	31.6	67.7	52.2	2.7	0.0	50.0	33.3
Tu Ti	45.4	89.0	73.9	2.7	0.0	100.0	60.2
Kwan Ti	11.9	26.5	15.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.6

^aBase number for percentage

From results shown in Table 3-13, we see that on the whole shrines for ancestors and Tu Ti are quite common, being present in at least 60 per cent of the homes. Shrines for Tsao Tsun and Kwan Ti are relatively less common; they are kept in one-third and one-sixth of the homes, respectively. Furthermore, shrines of any kind are especially common in homes in which the husband is either a

Buddhist or a worshipper of deities. Interestingly, the presence of various shrines is still quite noticeable in homes in which the husband does not have any religious faith. By contrast, shrines are rarely found in Protestant and Catholic homes.

Family Income

Categorized income information was obtained from our respondents since this could be asked and answered with less difficulty compared with exact income figures.⁶ The distribution of family monthly income in resettlement estates is very similar to that in low cost housing, as Table 3-14 illustrates. A substantial proportion of families--46 per cent in resettlement estates and 43 per cent in low cost housing--earn less than one thousand dollars a month. By sharp contrast, over 60 per cent of families in private housing earn at least \$1,500 a month. In fact, almost one third of private housing families boast a monthly income of \$2,500 or more. This simply reflects the fact that public housing estates in Hong Kong are built to accommodate the relatively lower socioeconomic strata of the population by charging minimal rents. (For distribution of median family income by area, see map on p.A3 in Appendix A.)

To compare the financial condition of the families somewhat more clearly, the percentage of families having five children or more is computed for each housing type within each of three broad income groups, namely, (a) under \$1000 a month, (b) \$1000 to \$1499 a month, and (c) \$1500 a month or more. Thus, within the same income group, a higher percentage having as many as five

TABLE 3-14

FAMILY MONTHLY INCOME BY HOUSING TYPE

Family Monthly Income	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
\$499 or below	3.6%	0.8%	0.0%	2.4%
\$500 - \$749	21.1	21.7	3.1	19.9
\$750 - \$999	21.5	20.2	12.7	20.4
\$1000 - \$1249	26.6	31.1	20.6	27.6
\$1250 - \$1499	8.3	7.1	1.6	7.4
\$1500 - \$1749	11.3	11.6	17.5	11.8
\$1750 - \$2499	5.0	6.4	12.7	6.1
\$2500 or above	2.6	1.1	31.8	4.4
Total (N)	100.0% (470)	100.0% (267)	100.0% (63)	100.0% (800)
Estimated Median Income	\$1036	\$1059	\$1669	\$1066

children or more suggests a more unfavourable financial condition since expenditures are likely to be higher. The results, shown in Table 3-15, clearly indicate that, even when income is kept constant, families in private housing are considerably better off compared to families in public housing, particularly in the resettlement estates. For example, 64 per cent of the families

in resettlement estates earning \$1500 or more a month have to support five or more children. This is true for only one-fifth of the private housing families earning the same level of income. Because of differences in family size, the same amount of family income may mean a fair amount of comfort in a private housing family but possibly poverty in a resettlement estate family.

TABLE 3-15

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES HAVING 5 CHILDREN OR MORE
BY INCOME GROUP BY HOUSING TYPE

Family Monthly Income	Housing Type			
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	All
Under \$1000	41.1(217) ^a	23.7(114)	10.0(10)	34.4(341)
\$1000 - \$1499	50.6(164)	35.3(102)	28.6(14)	44.0(280)
\$1500 and over	64.0(89)	56.8(51)	20.5(39)	52.5(179)

^aBase number for percentage

Couple's Working Status

Four types of working status of the couple may be distinguished: husband working, couple both working, wife working, and couple both not working. From Table 3-16, it can be seen that in 95 per cent of the sampled families, either the husband or the



A panoramic view of the centre of Kwun Tong looking from the hills of Sau Mau Ping. The seven-storied H-shaped blocks across approximately the middle of the picture are the Kwun Tong resettlement estates (Mark I). The more modern-looking and much taller buildings behind them are low cost housing blocks of Wo Lok Estate. Further behind are multi-storied private apartment buildings.



Mark I type resettlement blocks. Note the densely packed covered shacks between Block 20 and Block 21 used for stalls selling meat, vegetables, groceries, and other daily supplies. Note also the structures on the roof used as primary schools.



A contrast between a Mark I resettlement block (foreground) and private apartment buildings (background). The ground floor units of the resettlement block, as in other resettlement blocks, are typically used for shops of various kinds.



Private apartment buildings on Yuet Wah Street which is adjacent to the commercial centre of Kwun Tong.

wife or both are working (full-time or part-time). In more than half of these families, the husband is apparently the chief bread-winner. It is interesting to note that the proportion of families with working wives ("couple both working" and "wife working" combined) is highest in resettlement estates (40 per cent) and lowest in private housing (29 per cent).

TABLE 3-16

COUPLE'S WORKING STATUS BY HOUSING TYPE

Couple's Working Status	Housing Type			
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	All
Husband only working	54.1%	58.5%	63.1%	56.3%
Couple both working	36.5	35.6	26.1	35.3
Wife only working	4.0	3.3	3.1	3.5
Couple both not working	5.4	2.6	7.7	4.9
Total (N)	100.0% (477)	100.0% (270)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (812)

Couple's Working Place

For the purposes of this study, whether a person works in Kwun Tong is an important aspect characterizing Kwun Tong's

population. It may even have implications for studying the community effects on people's behaviour, including fertility and family planning behaviour. Table 3-17 summarizes the situation for the three major housing types in Kwun Tong. First, we see that almost one-third of the working husbands in the resettlement estates work in Kwun Tong but a much smaller proportion of those in both low cost and private housing do so (less than a quarter). Second, given that wives work, a very high proportion of them work in Kwun Tong (almost 80 per cent in both resettlement estates and low cost housing and somewhat less than half in private housing). Third, if we consider working couples rather than just working husbands or working wives, the likelihood of both spouses working in Kwun Tong is considerably lower, much like that among working husbands except that it is even lower among couples living in private housing (only 12 per cent). Two general observations can therefore be noted: (1) women are much more likely than men to work in Kwun Tong, (2) whether we consider just working husbands or working wives or working couples, the likelihood of working in Kwun Tong is always the lowest in private housing and highest in resettlement estates. (For areal distribution of the proportion of families with either or both spouses working in Kwun Tong, see map on p.A4 in Appendix A.)

TABLE 3-17

PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED HUSBANDS, WIVES, AND COUPLES
WORKING IN KWUN TONG BY HOUSING TYPE

	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
Husbands	32.2(432) ^a	24.4(254)	22.4(58)	28.8(744)
Wives	79.8(193)	79.1(105)	47.4(19)	77.6(317)
Couples	30.5(174)	25.0(96)	11.8(17)	27.5(281)

^aBase number for percentage

Occupation

We have adopted, for the purposes of this survey, a relatively new occupational classification scheme which attempts to capture two main dimensions of work, namely, type and social rank. Three major types of work are distinguished: (1) administrative and clerical work, (2) production work, which is essentially related to some production process resulting in some commodity or physical product, and (3) service work, including various kinds of professional and personal services. While "type" is for all practical purposes a horizontal classification, we need a vertical differentiation in terms of social ranking and prestige - since this would be useful for the study of stratificational

characteristics of behaviour. Within each of the three main types of occupation, four rather broad rank categories have been used. These categories carry different labels depending on the type of occupation, but generally speaking the equivalent rank category (e.g., rank 1) across the three occupational types is supposed to represent occupations requiring relatively more (or less, as the case may be) skill and commanding similar social prestige. Thus, for example, rank 1 occupations include commercial and governmental executives and managers in "administrative and clerical work," engineers and technologists in "production work," and various kinds of professionals (physicians, lawyers, lecturers, etc.) in "service work." By contrast, rank 4 occupations include office messengers in "administrative and clerical work," factory unskilled labourers in "production work," and waiters and attendants in "service work." The inclusion of particular occupations under each rank category was made after careful consideration and reference to the occupational classification scheme used by the Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department to ensure that the two schemes are roughly comparable although the latter scheme does not distinguish types of occupations as adopted in this study. For a detailed description of the rank categories and the occupations they classify, the reader is referred to Appendix C.

The distribution of occupational type and rank of working wives for each housing type is shown in Table 3-18. In resettlement and low cost housing, a very high proportion (over 80 per cent) of working wives are engaged in various kinds of production

TABLE 3-18

WIFE'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE AND RANK BY HOUSING TYPE

Occupational Rank ^a	Resettlement Estates			Low Cost Housing			Private Housing		
	Occupational Type			Occupational Type			Occupational Type		
	Admin ^b	Prod ^c	Service Types	Admin	Prod	Service Types	Admin	Prod	Service Types
(High) 1	2.1	0.5	2.6	1.7	2.6	4.3	5.3	15.8	15.8
2	3.1	1.6	56.0	1.7	2.6	69.8	10.4	21.1	26.4
3	1.0	31.1	41.4	21.6	4.3	25.9	15.8	47.4	42.0
(Low) 4	6.2	82.4	11.4	3.4	87.1	9.5	15.8	36.9	15.8
All Ranks	6.2	82.4	11.4	3.4	87.1	9.5	15.8	36.9	15.8
			100.0% (193)			100.0% (116)			100.0% (19)

^aSee Appendix C for occupations classified under the four ranks.

^bAdmin = administrative, clerical, and akin work.

^cProd = production work.

work. By comparison, much fewer working wives (47 per cent) in private housing are so engaged. They have a much higher proportion working in administrative and in service jobs. For both resettlement and low cost housing the vast majority (over 90 per cent) of the working wives work in jobs that belong to the two ranks, such as, in the area of production work for instance, semi-skilled factory workers and unskilled labourers. In fact, resettlement housing has the highest proportion of wives engaged in the lowest rank, i.e., unskilled work. In terms of the distribution of wife's occupational type and rank combinations, resettlement and low cost housing are quite similar. By clear contrast, private housing has a much higher proportion of wives working in the higher ranking occupations, particularly in the service sector (e.g., school teachers).

We turn next to the distribution of husband's occupational type and rank for each housing type. The results are shown in Table 3-19. Comparing first the distribution of occupational types, we see that resettlement and low cost housing are much alike in that they both have roughly two-thirds of the husbands engaged in production work, about 20 per cent in service, and a little over 10 per cent in administrative work. In private housing, as somewhat less than half of the husbands are in production work, the proportions engaged in service and administrative work are noticeably higher than those in the other two housing types. The pattern of the distribution of occupational rank among the three housing types is very similar

TABLE 3-19

HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE AND RANK BY HOUSING TYPE

Occupational Rank ^a	Resettlement Estates			Low Cost Housing			Private Housing			
	Occupational Type			Occupational Type			Occupational Type			
	Admin ^b	Prod ^c	Service All Types	Admin	Prod	Service All Types	Admin	Prod	Service All Types	
(High) 1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.8	0.8	2.0	7.1	10.7	8.9	26.7
2	6.1	13.7	21.7	7.1	9.4	20.0	10.7	3.6	5.4	19.7
3	4.0	37.7	49.9	5.1	51.6	65.8	10.7	30.4	10.7	51.8
(Low) 4	0.7	17.4	28.0	0.8	4.3	12.2			1.8	1.8
All Ranks	11.0	68.8	100.0% (425)	13.8	66.1	100.0% (254)	28.5	44.7	26.8	100.0% (56)

^aSee Appendix C for occupations classified under the four ranks.

^bAdmin = administrative, clerical, and akin work.

^cProd = production work.

to that in the case of wives. Thus, as many as 70 per cent or more of the husbands in resettlement and low cost housing work in jobs of the two lower ranks, with a greater concentration in the lowest rank for husbands from the resettlement estates. In private housing, there is, again, as in the case of wives, a much higher proportion of husbands (46 per cent) whose jobs can be classified in the two upper ranks. As far as type-rank combinations are concerned, resettlement and low cost housing are also quite similar except that most of the husbands in resettlement estates are unskilled labourers (lowest rank in production). It is interesting to note that, in private housing, almost none of the husbands' occupations can be classified in the lowest rank. At the same time, compared with the other two housing types, private housing has proportionally more husbands engaged in "rank 2" occupations in administrative and service work and also more in top ranking occupations in all three types of work.

Summary

We have in this chapter described a number of background characteristics of Kwun Tong families as a first step in our attempt to study the family, fertility, and family planning in Kwun Tong. Almost all of these characteristics have been presented for each of the three main housing types in Kwun Tong, namely, resettlement estates, low cost housing, and private housing.

Kwun Tong is a relatively new town. Thus it is not surprising that over 80 per cent of our sample families are living

in Kwun Tong for the first time. Nearly three-quarters of these families are of the nuclear type or some variation of it. On the average, families in the resettlement estates have lived in Kwun Tong the longest since, after all, these were the first residential buildings erected in Kwun Tong.

We found that families in the three housing types differ systematically in several social and economic aspects. Resettlement estate families on the average are the largest (6.9 persons), and more likely to consist of couples who are of the same ethnic origin and who are poorly educated (almost half of the wives had no schooling). The average family income is a little over \$1,000 per month. Families in private housing, by comparison, are typically much smaller (average 5.2 persons) and wealthier (average family income is over \$1,600 per month). They consist of couples who are just as likely to be of the same ethnic origin as they are of different origins. Most couples in these families have at least some secondary education. In these characteristics, i.e., family size, sameness of couple's ethnic origin, couple's education, and family income, families in low cost housing are intermediate between families in resettlement estates and those in private housing but are closer to the former than to the latter.

Further, we found that while the most dominant ethnic group are the "locals" (Hong Kong and Canton Delta) in all three housing types, Chiu Chau families are more highly represented in resettlement estates and non-Kwangtung families in private housing.

Resettlement estate and low cost housing couples are quite similar in religious faith as approximately 40 per cent of the couples in both these housing types worship deities. By contrast, couples in private housing are more likely to be either non-believers (no religion) or Christians (Protestants or Catholics).

With a knowledge of these background characteristics of the families in Kwun Tong, we shall now proceed to examine the characteristics of their marriage, fertility, and family planning behaviour.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Since there are only six squatter families from which interviews were obtained in the survey, they are temporarily excluded from our presentation of findings in this preliminary report.
2. The term "first-generation community" was used to describe Kwun Tong by Prof. C.K. Yang who played an important pioneering role in formulating the research proposal of this study.
3. See, for example, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report, p.165.
4. In a recent (1972) Colony-wide survey covering 2,270 households on the impact of industrialization on fertility in Hong Kong conducted jointly by the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (C.Y. Choi, Betty Chung) and the Hong Kong Family Planning Association (K.C. Chan), it was found that the average household size was 5.8 persons. In that survey, all the households were families in which the wives were between 15 and 49 years of age. In the 1971 Census, the average household size (excluding one-person households but including households of unrelated persons) was 5.2 persons.

5. For a comprehensive description of the forms of family structure in Hong Kong, see Fai-ming Wong, Industrialization and Family Structure in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Social Research Centre, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974), pp.20-28.
6. Faced with the difficulty of assessing the accuracy of reported family income, we tried to check it against the total number of material possessions within a specified range (radio, television, refrigerator, sewing machine, camera, washing machine, air-conditioner, and motor-car) that was reported or observed to be present in the family. We found that, as expected, the lowest income families (\$749 per month or less) had on the average the fewest (3.5 items) while the highest income families (\$2,500 per month or more) the most (5.1 items) such possessions. See Table D-2 in Appendix D.

CHAPTER IV

PATTERNS OF AGE AT MARRIAGE, FERTILITY, AND FAMILY PLANNING

Having presented a series of background characteristics of the married couples in our study, we shall in this chapter examine the patterns of age at marriage, fertility, and family planning behaviour of the wives. Since these aspects tend to differ according to age, we shall study their patterns across different age-groups of wives. Where appropriate, we shall also examine certain interrelations between age at marriage, fertility (number of children), and family planning so as to provide some meaningful data base for further analysis.

Age at Marriage

Age at marriage plays an important role in governing a woman's chance of exposure to reproduction and hence is a point of departure for the study of fertility and family planning behaviour. We shall first examine the actual age at marriage of the wives and the age at marriage perceived by them to be ideal for women in the larger population. The averages (means) of these two ages among the various age-groups of wives are presented in Table 4-1. As can be seen, there does not appear to be any significant change in the mean age at marriage across the various age groups, fluctuating between 21 and 22 years except for the wives in the youngest group (24 or younger) who married at the age of just under 20. However, our data on the

TABLE 4-1

WIVES' MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE AND MEAN PERCEIVED IDEAL AGE
AT MARRIAGE (FOR WOMEN) BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Mean Age at Marriage (X)	Mean Perceived Ideal Age at Marriage for Women (Y)	Difference (Y-X)
24 or younger	19.6(51) ^a	22.2(51)	2.6
25 - 29	21.0(94)	23.2(94)	2.0
30 - 34	21.5(101)	23.0(97)	1.5
35 - 39	21.9(153)	23.1(150)	1.2
40 - 44	21.1(168)	22.6(168)	1.5
45 or older	21.8(243)	22.9(239)	1.1
All age groups	21.4(811)	22.9(799)	1.5

^aNumber of cases

distribution of age at marriage (see Table D-3 in Appendix D) show that while one-third of the wives aged 40 or older married before the age of 20, this figure drops to about a quarter among the wives aged 25 to 39. Therefore, the little change in the mean age at marriage may be accounted for partly by a decrease in the number of older women who are marrying. At the same time,

judging from the decrease in the proportion of marriages before the age of 20, we can believe that there is a trend away from early marriages.

It is interesting to note that the mean perceived ideal age at marriage for women is consistently higher than the average actual age at marriage for all respondents. On the whole, "the most appropriate" age at which women should marry nowadays is about 1.5 years older than the wives' own age at marriage. The ideal age at marriage is somewhat higher (just over 23) among wives aged 25 to 39 than those aged 40 or older.

Fertility

Number of Children

We asked the wives their perception of the ideal number of children in a family for the general population. We also asked those wives who did not intend to have any more children what number of children they would prefer to have if they could start all over again. These are compared with the total number of living children, including those who do not live together in the same household, if any. The results are shown in Table 4-2.

There is considerable variation in the average number of children among wives of different ages, from 1.4 for those aged 24 or younger to 5.1 for those who are 45 or older. When asked what their preferred number of children would be, their responses showed much less variation, averaging 2.5 for the youngest wives and 3.5 for those aged 40 to 44. Variation in their perceived ideal number of children for the general population is the least:

TABLE 4-2

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN, MEAN PREFERRED NUMBER OF CHILDREN, AND MEAN PERCEIVED IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN FOR GENERAL POPULATION BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Mean Number of Children	Mean Preferred Number of Children ^b	Mean Perceived Ideal Number of Children for Population
24 or younger	1.39 (51) ^a	2.50 (14)	2.68 (48)
25 - 29	2.32 (95)	2.69 (46)	2.66 (89)
30 - 34	3.49 (101)	3.07 (80)	2.88 (93)
35 - 39	4.22 (154)	3.20 (135)	3.15 (148)
40 - 44	5.05 (170)	3.54 (152)	3.28 (163)
45 or older	5.14 (245)	3.41 (210)	3.23 (230)
All age groups	4.18 (816)	3.28 (637)	3.08 (771)

^aNumber of cases

^bOnly respondents who did not intend to have additional children or who were above the age of 44 were asked to indicate their preferred number of children if they could start all over again. The number of cases for many age groups is thus considerably smaller.

2.7 among the youngest wives and 3.3 for those above the age of 40. If we take the perceived ideal number of children for the general population as an indication of people's understanding of some general family size norm, we see that there is a noticeable convergence toward a norm of two to three children in a family. On closer examination of the results in Table 4-2, one finds a rather interesting pattern of relationship among the three columns of figures representing fertility behaviour and fertility norm. As far as the younger wives (under 30 years of age) are concerned, the actual number of children is smaller than what these wives think is appropriate for the general population. What they would prefer for themselves is more than what they actually have and is also quite close to but not more than the population norm. For those wives who are 30 or older, on the other hand, the actual number of children is consistently greater than their perceived population norm, especially among the older wives. Reality probably has convinced them that they have in fact too many children, and thus their preferred number of children is considerably smaller than their actual number. Indeed, what they would prefer to have, if they could start again, is also quite close to their perceived population norm, as in the case of the younger wives. However, probably because they already have more children than what this norm "prescribes," their preferred number of children is consistently somewhat higher than the normative number, as if this would strike a "balance" to reconcile the difference.

Age-specific Fertility

In order to show the actual fertility performance of the women in our study during 1973, the year in which the survey was taken, we computed the age-specific fertility rates for all the women between the ages of 15 and 49, divided into five-year age intervals, in the following manner:

First, the number of children who were one year of age or younger born to the women of each age group was recorded. Since most of the interviews were carried out toward the end of 1973, it was assumed that this number of children would very nearly represent the number of all births by the sampled married women in the year 1973. Second, it was assumed that the number of married women in each age group in our sample in mid-1973 would not be different from the number toward the end of 1973. Short of information needed for verification or adjustment, this assumption had to be made. The age-marital-specific fertility rate for the women in our sample was then calculated according to the formula:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Age-marital-specific} \\ \text{fertility rate for} \\ \text{age group } i \end{array} = \frac{\text{Number of births to married} \\ \text{women in age group } i}{\text{Midyear number of married} \\ \text{women in age group } i} \times 1,000$$

The results are presented in Table 4-3 in which the corresponding rates for the whole of Hong Kong as obtained in the Censuses of 1961 and 1971 are included for comparison. It is interesting to note that while there was a considerable decline

TABLE 4-3

AGE-MARITAL-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES, THIS SURVEY (1973)
COMPARED WITH HONG KONG CENSUSES OF 1971 AND 1961 (NUMBER
OF BIRTHS PER 1,000 MARRIED WOMEN IN EACH AGE GROUP)

Age Group	This Survey (1973)	Census (1971) ^a	Census (1961) ^b
15 - 19	600	586	721
20 - 24	500	451	458
25 - 29	390	307	368
30 - 34	218	174	248
35 - 39	123	88	152
40 - 44	36	31	66
45 - 49	8	4	12

^{a, b} Figures taken from Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report, p.36.

in the fertility of married women in Hong Kong of practically all age groups in the ten year period, 1961-1971, the fertility of married women in Kwun Tong remained quite high in 1973 and was generally intermediate between the 1961 and 1971 levels for Hong Kong. In the age groups of 20-24 and 25-29, the fertility rates of the Kwun Tong women in 1973 were even higher than the 1961 rates for the corresponding age groups. This pattern may be

accounted for by the socioeconomic characteristics of the women in Kwun Tong as compared with all women in Hong Kong. Educational attainment, for example, is one of such characteristics. According to Census findings, 87 per cent of all women in 1961 and 79 per cent in 1971 had no more than a primary education. By contrast, our Kwun Tong survey indicates that, even in 1973, 91 per cent of all the women in our sample did not go beyond primary school.

Achievement of Fertility Goal

We have noted earlier that for wives aged 30 through 59 the actual number of children on the average is considerably higher than both the preferred number and the normative number for the general population. Many wives have apparently "over-achieved" their fertility goal. Although such a goal as represented by the preferred number may not have been consciously formulated beforehand but is only contemplated retrospectively, we could use it as a rough standard against which to measure the degree to which the respondents are satisfied with the family size they have. We shall therefore speak of "achievement" of fertility goal in a somewhat loose sense, and shall classify our respondents into three groups: (1) the "underachievers" who have fewer children than what they would prefer, (2) the "achievers" who have just the number of children that they would prefer, and (3) the "overachievers" who have more children than what they would prefer. This classification includes all those to whom the question of preferred number of children applies, i.e., all

those wives who either want no more children (approximately 79 per cent of all wives aged 44 or younger) or probably will bear no more children (that is, those aged 45 and above).

Table 4-4 shows the distribution of fertility achievement by wife's age. On the whole, overachievers outnumber achievers considerably. More than half (56 per cent) of the wives, i.e., of all those to whom the question of preferred number of children applies, have more children than what they would prefer, compared with 38 per cent who have exactly what they would prefer. The proportion of overachievers increases significantly with age, with almost two-thirds of the wives aged 45 or older who are overachievers. The older wives, who typically have more children, are thus more likely to feel that they have too many children. The reverse is true of achievers: the younger wives are much more likely to be achievers than the older ones. Indeed, more than two-thirds of those in the 25-29 age group have exactly the same number of children as what they would prefer. Since these younger wives generally have fewer children, this suggests that the norm of small family size is gaining acceptance among the younger generations. The proportion of underachievers, those who have fewer children than what they would prefer, is very small for all age groups except those below the age of 25. More than a quarter of the youngest wives (below the age of 25) are underachievers, which is understandable because of their youth. The fact that they intend to have no additional children, however, is somewhat puzzling which has to be explained by their personal reasons. But we will not go into these here.

TABLE 4-4

FERTILITY ACHIEVEMENT BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Fertility Achievement			Total (N)
	Underachieve	Achieve	Overachieve	
24 or younger	28.6	50.0	21.4	100.0% (14)
25 - 29	6.5	67.4	26.1	100.0% (46)
30 - 34	6.3	42.5	51.2	100.0% (80)
35 - 39	3.6	48.2	48.2	100.0% (135)
40 - 44	3.3	32.9	63.8	100.0% (152)
45 or older	7.1	26.7	66.2	100.0% (210)
All age groups	5.8	38.2	56.0	100.0% (637) ^a

^aThe preferred number of children was asked only of those wives who either intended no additional children or were already above the age of 44, assuming that they would be the ones for whom the study of achievement of fertility goal is valid. The total number of respondents involved is therefore smaller as compared with most other tables presented in this report.

When fertility achievement is cross-tabulated against wife's age at marriage (Table 4-5), we find that the younger the woman marries the more likely she is to overachieve her fertility goal, i.e., to have more children than she would prefer. Thus, while one-third of those wives who married at the age of 30 or older

overachieved their fertility goal, as many as 63 per cent of those who married before the age of 20 did so. Conversely, the later the woman marries the more likely she is to have the number of children she would prefer. Thus, we find that over half of those wives who married after the age of 25 achieved their fertility goal.

TABLE 4-5

FERTILITY ACHIEVEMENT BY WIFE'S AGE AT MARRIAGE

Wife's Age at Marriage	Fertility Achievement			Total (N)
	Underachieve	Achieve	Overachieve	
19 or younger	5.4	31.2	63.4	100.0% (205)
20 - 24	5.9	37.6	56.5	100.0% (322)
25 - 29	6.0	52.4	41.6	100.0% (84)
30 or older	8.4	58.3	33.3	100.0% (24)
All ages at marriage	5.8	38.3	55.9	100.0% (635)

Attitude toward Birth Control

We asked our respondents about their attitude toward birth control. ("Some couples nowadays use certain methods to avoid pregnancy. Generally speaking, do you approve or not?") As shown

in Table 4-6, a very high majority (88 per cent) of the wives approve of birth control (86 per cent of the husbands also so approve). Approval is especially high among the respondents in the 25-44 age group (over 90 per cent), and somewhat lower among those over 44 years of age and those below 25. The slightly reduced level of approval among the oldest and the youngest wives is also reflected in the higher proportions of neutral responses among them. While any lack of approval among the older wives may be due to lower education, that for the younger wives is probably because many of them have not yet achieved their fertility goal (29 per cent of the wives under 25 years of age are "underachievers", see Table 4-4), or perhaps because some of them have not yet clearly understood the meaning and purpose of birth control. Nonetheless, the level of approval among these women is still as high as 80 per cent or more.

Sterilization

We further asked our respondents whether they approved of sterilization. ("Suppose a couple decided to adopt sterilization so as not to have any more children, would you approve of it or not?") The extent of approval increases from 77 per cent among the respondents over 44 years of age to 85 per cent among those under 25 years of age (Table 4-7). The overall approval rate among wives is 81 per cent, as compared with 74 per cent among husbands.

TABLE 4-6

WIFE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD BIRTH CONTROL BY AGE

Attitude toward Birth Control	Wife's Age				All Ages
	24 or younger	25-34	35-44	45 or older	
Approve	85.4%	91.8%	91.1%	80.7%	87.8%
Neutral	10.4	3.8	5.4	12.4	7.4
Disapprove	4.2	4.4	3.5	6.9	4.8
Total (N)	100.0% (48)	100.0% (183)	100.0% (316)	100.0% (233)	100.0% (780)

TABLE 4-7

WIFE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD STERILIZATION BY AGE

Attitude toward Sterilization	Wife's Age				All Ages
	24 or younger	25-34	35-44	45 or older	
Approve	85.4%	84.5%	79.9%	77.2%	80.6%
Disapprove	14.6	15.5	20.1	22.8	19.4
Total (N)	100.0% (48)	100.0% (181)	100.0% (309)	100.0% (224)	100.0% (762)

It is interesting to note that of those women who approved of sterilization as a method of eliminating further pregnancies, 85 per cent thought that it is the wife who should be sterilized. (Seventy-seven per cent of the husbands who approved of sterilization thought likewise.) Whether this is related to a general notion that birth control is the responsibility of the wife alone or to a relative lack of familiarity on the wives' part with the feasibility of male sterilization¹ is not clear here but can be studied in further analyses.

It may be expected that if one approves of birth control in general one is also likely to approve of sterilization in particular. As the results in Table 4-8 indicate, this is indeed the case. Over 80 per cent of those respondents who approve of birth control also approve of sterilization. The proportion of disapproval of sterilization is highest (40 per cent) among those who disapprove of birth control, although as many as almost 60 per cent of these wives are in favour of sterilization.

We must, however, be cautious in interpreting the apparently high degree of approval of sterilization as a birth control method. This may be partly attributable to the nature of the question used which poses sterilization not as a personal issue but as a concern of some other couple who have already decided not to have any more children. Had the question been worded to ask for approval of sterilization for self, the extent of approval would probably have been lower. This guess is partly based on our

finding that only about 8 per cent of the wives (all ages included) were sterilized at the time of interview. Furthermore, we are not sure to what extent our respondents truly understood the meaning of sterilization as a more drastic form of contraception and to what extent it might have undesirable social and cultural connotations. On the latter point, it is interesting to note that more than one-third of our women respondents and over forty per cent of our men respondents agreed ("quite agree" and "absolutely agree") to the traditional Chinese saying "The most serious form of filial impiety is to have no offsprings."

TABLE 4-8

WIFE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD STERILIZATION
BY ATTITUDE TOWARD BIRTH CONTROL

Attitude toward Sterilization	Attitude toward Birth Control			All
	Approve	Neutral	Disapprove	
Approve	83.3%	61.8%	59.5%	80.6%
Disapprove	16.7	38.2	40.5	19.4
Total (N)	100.0% (671)	100.0% (55)	100.0% (37)	100.0% (763)

Abortion

Responses to the question "Do you approve of abortion?" were highly negative. Seventy-two per cent of the wives categorically disapproved. The level of disapproval does not vary too much across the various age groups, as Table 4-9 shows. Approval of abortion accounted for only 14 per cent of the respondents, with another 14 per cent undecided on the issue.

TABLE 4-9

WIFE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY AGE

Attitude toward Abortion	Wife's Age				All Ages
	24 or younger	25-34	35-44	45 or older	
Approve	12.5%	13.1%	15.9%	11.2%	13.6%
Neutral	8.3	14.2	14.9	14.7	14.3
Disapprove	79.2	72.7	69.2	74.1	72.1
Total (N)	100.0% (48)	100.0% (183)	100.0% (315)	100.0% (232)	100.0% (778)

Since abortion is a controversial issue, we further refined the question of approval or disapproval by posing several specific situations: (1) if the family cannot afford

another child, (2) if the baby's father denies responsibility in the event of a premarital pregnancy, (3) if the baby's father is willing to marry the woman in the event of a premarital pregnancy, (4) if the doctor advises that the baby might be defective, (5) if the pregnancy is a consequence of rape, and (6) if the doctor warns that the birth of the baby will risk the mother's life. For each of these five situations, attitude toward abortion was measured by a five-point scale: 1 for "highly approve," 2 for "approve," 3 for a neutral "no comment," 4 for "disapprove," and 5 for "highly disapprove." Treating this as an interval scale, the means for the six situations are presented in Table 4-10 in which the situations are listed in descending order of the mean value, i.e., in the order of increasing approval of abortion. Thus, disapproval of abortion is strongest if the father of the premaritally conceived baby is willing to marry the woman, and also fairly strong for the situation where the family cannot afford another child. Opinion is roughly evenly split between approval and disapproval if the father of the premaritally conceived baby is unwilling to marry the woman. For the other three situations, i.e., consequence of rape, possibility of defective baby, and birth of baby risking mother's life, there is a clear indication of increased approval (based perhaps largely on sympathy with the welfare of the mother), especially in the situation where the birth of the baby might endanger the mother's life. Indeed, 79 per cent. of the respondents would approve abortion in such a critical situation.

TABLE 4-10

MEAN SCORES REPRESENTING ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION
UNDER HYPOTHETICAL SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

Situation	Mean Score ^a
Father of premaritally conceived baby willing to marry woman	4.2 (756) ^b
Family cannot afford another child	3.4 (762)
Father of premaritally conceived baby unwilling to marry woman	3.2 (744)
Consequence of rape	2.6 (729)
Possibility of defective baby	2.4 (740)
Birth of baby risks mother's life	2.0 (740)

^aBased on a five-point scale (1 = highly approve; 2 = approve; 3 = neutral; 4 = disapprove; 5 = highly disapprove).

^bNumber of cases, excluding don't knows and no answers.

We mentioned earlier that on the whole 72 per cent of our respondents are against abortion. Our findings indicate that this tendency remains true almost regardless of the respondent's attitude toward birth control in general (see Table 4-11). Even among those who are neutral on the question of birth control there is a majority (60 per cent) who do not approve of abortion.

Nevertheless, it is true that those who approve of birth control in general are more likely than the others to approve of abortion. It is only that there are so many who disapprove of abortion to begin with that the proportion of disapprovals of abortion is almost bound to be high in any subgroup.

TABLE 4-11

WIFE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY ATTITUDE
TOWARD BIRTH CONTROL

Attitude toward Abortion	Attitude Toward Birth Control			All
	Approve	Neutral	Disapprove	
Approve	14.8%	5.3%	5.3%	13.6%
Neutral	13.1	35.1	2.6	14.3
Disapprove	72.1	59.6	92.1	72.1
Total (N)	100.0% (684)	100.0% (57)	100.0% (38)	100.0% (779)

Knowledge of Contraceptive Methods

Knowledge of contraception and contraceptive methods is a prerequisite for adopting family planning. It is therefore necessary to examine the extent of knowledge of contraceptive methods of our respondents before further analyzing their family planning behaviour. We asked the respondents to name as many

contraceptive methods as they knew. We then read to them several other methods from a list of thirteen methods--only those that the respondents had not already mentioned themselves--to ascertain whether they had heard of such methods. In this way, we found that the five most widely heard of methods are: the pill, female sterilization, IUD, male sterilization, and the diaphragm. All of these are familiar to at least 70 per cent of the wives, with the pill as the most widely known (86 per cent). Details for all thirteen methods are given in Table 4-12. Coitus interruptus, foam tablets, and douche are the least known methods, all of which have been heard of by less than one-fifth of the wives.

The average (mean) numbers of contraceptive methods known by the respondents of different age categories are shown in Table 4-13. On the whole, those wives who are below the age of 35 tend to know more methods than their older counterparts. Although there is some irregularity, e.g., those in the 40 to 44 age group on the average know almost as many methods (7.2 methods) as those in the 35 to 39 age group, the average number of methods known by wives in their late twenties is considerably greater than that by those over 45 years of age (8.4 methods compared with no more than 6.0 methods).

When asked whether they had heard of the Hong Kong Family Planning Association, approximately 87 per cent of the wives who responded (777) answered in the positive.

TABLE 4-12

PERCENTAGE OF WIVES WHO HAVE HEARD OF
SPECIFIC CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS

Contraceptive Method	Percentage of Wives Who Have Heard of Method ^a
Oral pill	86.3%
Female sterilization	82.3%
IUD	81.6%
Male sterilization	72.2%
Diaphragm	70.2%
Injection	63.3%
Condom	58.5%
Safety period (Rhythm)	48.8%
Abstinence	41.9%
Jelly	36.4%
Coitus interruptus	19.7%
Foam tablets	16.1%
Douche	10.4%

^aNumber of cases on which these percentages are based is 781.

TABLE 4-13

MEAN NUMBER OF CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS
HEARD OF BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Mean Number of Contraceptive Methods Heard of
24 or younger	7.8(48) ^a
25 - 29	8.4(89)
30 - 34	7.7(94)
35 - 39	7.0(148)
40 - 44	7.2(168)
45 - 49	6.0(127)
50 - 54	5.2(70)
55 or older	4.8(36)
All age groups	6.9(780)

^aNumber of cases

Practice of Family Planning

Classification of Family Planning Practice Types

Since the practice of family planning may vary from one time to another, we should ideally collect information concerning family planning behaviour for several points in time. We asked, therefore, whether our respondents had ever used any birth control in the past and whether they were using it at present. Despite the problem of comparability of the "past" for different individuals, a simplistic classification scheme results from these two questions. For our purposes, there are four practice types: (1) "past and present users," who answered yes to both questions; (2) "present only users," who answered yes only to the "present" question; (3) "past only users," who answered yes only to the "past" question; and (4) "never users," who answered no to both questions. This classification is illustrated in Figure 4-1.

FIGURE 4-1

CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE TYPES

Past Practice \ Present Practice	Past Practice	YES	NO
	Present Practice	YES	NO
YES	Past and Present Users	Present Only Users	
NO	Past Only Users	Never Users	

Practice Type and Age

The distribution of the four practice types by wife's age is shown in Table 4-14. On the whole, the "past and present users" are the most dominant group, accounting for more than half of all wives below the age of 45. Another 17 per cent are "present only users" who started practising family planning only recently. These two categories add up to 71 per cent, representing the proportion practising family planning at present.² Further, it should be noted that the proportion of "past and present users" first increases substantially with age until roughly early or mid-thirties and then declines somewhat thereafter. In every age category, they outnumber the "present only users" by three to four times. This means that of those wives who are presently controlling fertility, most have already been doing so for probably quite some time. Like the "past and present users," the "present only users" exhibit a similar trend of first increasing and then decreasing somewhat with age. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that older married women tend to have more children and thus are more in need of fertility control under the pressures of reality. However, when they reach the age of 40 or older they approach the end of their reproductive period and hence have relatively less need for fertility control. The distribution of "never users" shows a reverse pattern compared with that of those currently practising family planning: the proportion of "never users" is highest among the youngest wives (46 per cent) but decreases sharply with age (11 per cent among the

TABLE 4-14

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE TYPE BY WIFE'S AGE

Practice Type	Wife's Age					All Ages
	24 or younger	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	
Past and present users	35.4%	47.1%	62.0%	60.0%	54.1%	54.2%
Present only users	12.5	12.7	15.2	20.0	18.5	16.8
Past only users	6.3	16.1	9.8	8.6	8.3	9.7
Never users	45.8	24.1	13.0	11.4	19.1	19.3
Total (N)	100.0% (48)	100.0% (87)	100.0% (92)	100.0% (140)	100.0% (157)	100.0% (524)

35 to 39 age group) yet increases again to 19 per cent among those in the 40 to 44 age group. The relatively high occurrence of "never users" among the younger wives is probably due to their not having attained their fertility goal.³ The higher proportion of "past only users" among the wives between the ages of 25 and 34 is probably also partly due to this reason. For women who have passed the age of 40, the chances of conception are comparatively low, and they were more likely to be either ignorant or skeptical of contraceptive methods when they were young, hence the substantial proportion of "never users."

Practice Pattern and Number of Children

Our data indicate that those women who have three or more children are more likely to be practising family planning. As can be seen from Table 4-15, three quarters of these women ("past and present users" and "present only users" combined) are using some form of birth control at present, compared with 56 per cent among those who have no more than two children. On closer examination we find that those women with three to four children are more likely than those with five children or more to be "past and present users" while those with five children or more are more likely to be newcomers in family planning, i.e., "present only users." At the same time, the proportions of "past only users" and "never users" are higher among those wives with no more than two children. It seems, therefore, that when there are very few children (two or less) in the family, the mother is not so likely to practise family planning, although the chances of practising it is still quite high, since she tends to want more children. As for those cases with more children, the need for fertility control is apparently greater, hence the increased proportion of new adopters ("present only users"). It must be pointed out that the results in Table 4-15 indicate only the statistical association between fertility control and number of children but tell us nothing about the actual reasons for such association. Thus, for example, we do not know to what extent fertility control is used to stop having more children or to plan for more children at a desired time (i.e., spacing children).

We shall therefore turn to the relationship between family planning practice pattern and intention to have more children for clues.

TABLE 4-15

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN
BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Practice Pattern	Number of Children			All
	2 or fewer	3 - 4	5 or more	
Past and present users	47.6%	64.8%	47.7%	54.2%
Present only users	8.1	14.1	27.3	16.8
Past only users	12.1	8.5	9.1	9.7
Never users	32.2	12.6	15.9	19.3
Total (N)	100.0% (149)	100.0% (199)	100.0% (176)	100.0% (524)

Practice Pattern and Intention to Have More Children

Since family planning is basically a means of controlling fertility to attain a desirable family size, we should expect that the pattern of practice of family planning should be associated with the intention to have or not to have additional children. Specifically, those women who do not want any more children should be more likely, compared with those who do, to practise family planning both in the past and in the present. This is indeed

borne out by results shown in Table 4-16. Both "past and present users" and "present only users" are much more highly represented among those wives who want no more children, altogether being 80 per cent compared with 33 per cent. The fact that as many as 33 per cent of those who want more children are using contraception merely suggests that these women are controlling fertility to attain some planned increase in family size. However, at the same time, these same women contain a much higher proportion (67 per cent versus 20 per cent among those wanting no more children) who are not using any contraceptive method. These wives probably anticipate more children sooner, hence no use of contraception.

On examination of the distribution of practice patterns among the groups with different numbers of children, we find that while those women who do not intend to have more children are highly likely to be current users of birth control (80 per cent) and those who do want more children are more likely not to use birth control at present, the great majority (over 80 per cent) of those who intend to have more children are those with two or fewer children. Consequently, not all women with two or fewer children who currently practise fertility control do so because they want no more children; some of them practice fertility control because they are apparently planning for additional children. However, for those women with three or more children, most of those who currently practise fertility control do so because they do not want any more children. Indeed, all of the current users among those with five or more children want no more

children. Further, again because of the high concentration of women wanting more children among those with two or fewer children, most of these women who are either "past only users" or "never users" are in fact planning to have more children. Since almost all of the women with three or more children do not want any more children, the non-users ("past only users" and "never users") among these women are also highly likely not to want any more children.

TABLE 4-16

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN BY INTENTION TO HAVE MORE CHILDREN BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Children	Intention to have more Children	Practice Pattern				Total	(N)
		Past and Present Users	Present Only Users	Past Only Users	Never Users		
2 or fewer	No	75.8	11.3	4.8	8.1	100.0%	(62)
	Yes	28.1	5.6	16.9	49.4	100.0%	(89)
3 to 4	No	66.7	14.0	7.5	11.8	100.0%	(186)
	Yes	27.3	9.1	27.3	36.3	100.0%	(11)
5 or more	No	48.9	27.2	8.0	15.9	100.0%	(176)
	Yes	0.0	0.0	66.7	33.3	100.0%	(3)
All groups	No	60.6	19.1	7.3	13.0	100.0%	(424)
	Yes	27.2	5.8	19.4	47.6	100.0%	(103)

Practice Pattern and Approval of Birth Control

It can be recalled that over 80 per cent of all the wives in our study expressed unqualified approval of birth control, and that over 70 per cent of those below the age of 45 were using some form of birth control at present. Let us then examine the relationship between approval of birth control and family planning practice pattern. The results shown in Table 4-17 indicate the extent to which attitude toward birth control can predict actual birth control behaviour. More than half of those women who approve of birth control are "past and present users" of birth control. Together with another 17 per cent who are "present only users," they account for almost three quarters of all those who approve of birth control, which is considerably higher than among either those who are neutral toward birth control or those who are against it. Moreover, only about one-sixth of those who approve of birth control have never used any birth control, which is substantially lower than the other women. It is interesting to note that those women who are neutral toward birth control are both least likely to have practised family planning in the past and in the present and most likely to have never practised it at all.

Practice Pattern and Fertility Achievement

In an earlier section on achievement of fertility goal, we classified our respondents who do not intend to have any more children (as well as those over the age of 45) into "under-achievers," "achievers," and "overachievers" depending on whether

TABLE 4-17

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN BY
APPROVAL OF BIRTH CONTROL

Practice Pattern	Approval of Birth Control			All
	Approve	Neutral	Disapprove	
Past and Present Users	57.0%	22.2%	27.8%	54.2%
Present Only Users	16.9	7.4	27.8	16.8
Past Only Users	9.6	11.1	11.1	9.7
Never Users	16.5	59.3	33.3	19.3
Total (N)	100.0% (479)	100.0% (27)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (524)

the actual number of their children is less than, equal to, or more than, respectively, what they would prefer if they could start all over again. Since their "achievement" of fertility goal, used in this sense, reflects their own evaluation of their fertility behaviour at the time of the study, it would be informative to see what effect their practice or non-practice of family planning has on such evaluation.

Table 4-18 shows the distribution of fertility achievement type by family planning practice pattern. Although the differences among the four practice patterns are not very great, those women who practice family planning both in the past and in the

TABLE 4-18

FERTILITY ACHIEVEMENT BY FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN

Fertility Achievement	Family Planning Practice Pattern				All
	Past and Present Users	Present Only Users	Past Only Users	Never Users	
Underachieve	6.3%	2.5%	6.7%	3.4%	5.2%
Achieve	46.5	41.3	33.3	42.4	44.0
Overachieve	47.2	56.2	60.0	54.2	50.8
Total (N)	100.0% (256)	100.0% (80)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (59)	100.0% (425) ^a

^a Excluded from this table are those women who intend to have more children and those who are over the age of 45.

present have the highest proportion of (46.5 per cent) "achievers," i.e., those who have exactly the same number of children as what they would prefer. These "past and present users" of family planning also have relatively fewer (47 per cent) "overachievers," i.e., those who have more children than what they would prefer. The other three practice patterns represent women who either are using birth control only at present or are not using birth control at present. They are therefore probably less experienced in or perhaps even less receptive to family planning than the "past

and present users." (We cannot, however, be too affirmative on this point here short of further and more detailed analysis of the data.) They all tend to contain less "achievers" and more "overachievers" when compared with those women who are "past and present users" of family planning. It therefore appears that longer use of family planning is somewhat helpful to the achievement of one's fertility goal. However, the effect should not be over-stressed because, for one thing, the measurement of "achievement" of fertility goal is somewhat tenuous, and also because such factors as the actual length and regularity of use of fertility control and reasons of non-use are almost all unknown. But this is certainly an area worth further study.

Summary

We have in this chapter examined a number of characteristics pertaining to fertility and family planning behaviour of the women in our study. Some of the more important findings may be summarized as follows.

1. Age at marriage

The mean age at marriage of our respondents is a little over 21 years. Although this changes only slightly among the different age groups, there is some indication of a trend away from early marriages judging from a decrease in the proportion of marriages before the age of 20. At the same time, the most appropriate age at which women should marry, as perceived by our respondents, is on the average 1.5 years older than their own age at marriage.

2. Family size

Three average values of family size (actual and preferred number of children in the family and ideal number of children for population) were compared for the various age groups. While the actual number of children varies from 1.4 for the youngest wives to 5.1 for those above the age of 45, there is a marked convergence toward an ideal family size of two to three children for the general population. The preferred number of children for self is greater than the actual number for women under 30 but smaller than the actual number for those over 30. For all ages, however, the number of children preferred is closer to the ideal number of children for the general population than to the actual number in the family.

3. Age-specific fertility

It was found that the age-specific fertility rate of each of the five-year age groups between 15 and 49 in our sample is higher than the corresponding figure in the 1971 Census.

4. Fertility achievement

Using a comparison of the preferred number of children (if no additional children are intended) and the actual number of children as an approximate measurement of fertility achievement, we found that 56 per cent of our respondents feel that they have too many children. Younger wives and wives who

married late have proportionally fewer "overachievers" but older wives and wives who married early have more.

5. Attitude toward birth control

The approval of birth control in general is overwhelming, representing as many as 88 per cent of all the respondents and even higher for those aged 25 to 44. Approval of sterilization is less pervasive, but is still expressed by 81 per cent of the respondents, reaching 85 per cent among the younger wives (below 25 years of age). Approval of birth control in general and sterilization in particular are closely associated, for over 80 per cent of those who approve of birth control in general also approve of sterilization. This does not necessarily mean, however, that these same respondents would approve of sterilization for themselves, since only very few (8 per cent of all ages) are actually sterilized.

The attitude toward abortion is quite negative, as over 70 per cent of our respondents disapprove of it. This is so even among those who approve of birth control in general. Under certain specific situations, however, when the moral and physical well-being of the mother is at stake, the attitude is more sympathetic and approval is relatively stronger.

6. Knowledge of contraceptives

The oral pill, female sterilization, and IUD are among the most widely known contraceptive methods, all of which have been heard of by over 80 per cent of our respondents. On the

average, younger wives (under the age of 35) tend to have heard of seven to eight contraceptive methods. Older wives, especially those over 45, tend to have heard of fewer methods--no more than six on the average.

7. Practice of family planning

Somewhat over half of our respondents under the age of 45 have used some form of fertility control at some time in the past and are also using it at present. Another 17 per cent are using such control only at present. About one-tenth have done so only in the past but are not doing it at present, and almost a fifth have never practised any form of birth control. The highest proportion of present users can be found among those women between the ages of 30 and 39 and those with three to four children.

It was found that the pattern of family planning practice is highly associated with the intention to have or not to have more children. Thus, those women who do not intend to have any more children are much more likely to be "past and present users" as well as "present only users" while those who intend to have additional children are much more likely to be "past only users" and "never users" particularly. We also found that approval of birth control in general is a fairly good predictor of family planning practice. Thus, almost three quarters of those wives who approve of birth control are using birth control at present.

8. Practice of family planning and fertility achievement

Although the relationship between practice of family planning and fertility achievement cannot be fully uncovered at this stage by our findings, indications are that those women who are "past and present users" of fertility control, as compared with those with apparently less experience in fertility control, tend to be somewhat more likely to have exactly the same number of children as what they would prefer.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. When asked to name as many birth control methods as they knew of, 66 per cent of the wives did not mention female sterilization and 75 per cent did not mention male sterilization.
2. Of those wives below the age of 45 who were practising family planning, 46 per cent were using pills, 13 per cent were using IUD, and 17 per cent were sterilized.
3. Of all those wives (below the age of 45) who were not practising family planning, about 25 per cent were hoping for more children, 20 per cent believed that they had passed their reproductive period, and 6 per cent were not in favour of birth control methods because of fear of side-effects.

CHAPTER V

SOCIOECONOMIC DIFFERENTIALS IN FERTILITY AND FAMILY PLANNING BEHAVIOUR

We have in the preceding two chapters described separately certain demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the families in Kwun Tong as well as the fertility and family planning behaviour of the couples of these families. We shall in this chapter examine variations in fertility and family planning behaviour as related to certain socioeconomic factors. This is partly to see if such relationships as often reported in many studies of the social correlates of fertility¹ also hold true in the new industrial community of Kwun Tong, and, more importantly, to provide a baseline for further analyses to study the structural forces in the family system which account for variations in fertility and family planning behaviour. For the purposes of this chapter, we shall examine the relationships between number of children and family planning practice pattern on the one hand and the following factors on the other: housing type, husband's occupation ranking, husband's income, husband's education, wife's education, wife's rural or urban background, and wife's work pattern.

Number of Children

Housing type

It has been pointed out in Chapter III that the three housing types (resettlement, low cost, private) differ considerably

in the average family size, being smallest in private housing and largest in resettlement estates. When we consider just the total number of children in the family,² private housing families on the average have the fewest children (2.9) and resettlement estate families have substantially more (4.5), as Table 5-1 indicates. Indeed, over half of the families in private housing have no more than two children while 48 per cent of those in resettlement estates have five or more children. Low cost housing families are somewhat intermediate, as the most typical number of children in these families is three to four.

As reported in Chapter III, the families in the three housing types differ markedly in couples' education, occupational ranking, income, and some other social and economic characteristics. The difference in number of children among the housing types is therefore probably due to the socioeconomic characteristics of the families rather than to the housing type itself as such.

Husband's Occupational Ranking

It can be recalled that, as presented in Chapter III, we have classified occupations into four broad rank categories from high to low social prestige. When number of children is cross-tabulated with husband's occupational ranking (Table 5-2), we find that the higher the ranking the fewer the children in the family. Thus, one half of the families in which the husband's occupation can be classified as belonging to the highest rank category (professionals and executives) have no more than two children. By contrast, more than 53 per cent of those in the

lowest category (unskilled workers) have five or more children. In fact, compared with other higher ranking families, they are clearly more likely to have as many as seven or more children. Families in the third rank category (clerical and semi-skilled workers), which accounts for about 55 per cent of all the working husbands, have on the average four children, which is about the same as families in the second rank category (senior clerical, skilled workers, and lower professionals).

TABLE 5-1

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY HOUSING TYPE

Number of Children	Housing Type		
	Resettlement	Low-Cost	Private
0	5.0%	2.6%	3.1%
1 to 2	16.4	20.0	50.8
3 to 4	29.8	42.6	24.6
5 to 6	28.9	24.8	16.9
7 or more	19.9	10.0	4.6
Total (N)	100.0% (477)	100.0% (270)	100.0% (65)
Mean	4.5	4.0	2.9

TABLE 5-2

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL RANKING

Number of Children	Husband's Occupational Ranking			
	1 (High)	2	3	4 (Low)
0	4.5%	4.5%	4.9%	3.3%
1 to 2	45.4	19.4	23.2	13.7
3 to 4	36.4	32.9	36.2	29.4
5 to 6	13.7	25.8	24.4	31.4
7 or more	0.0	17.4	11.3	22.2
Total (N)	100.0% (22)	100.0% (155)	100.0% (411)	100.0% (153)
Mean	2.6	4.3	3.9	4.7

Husband's Income

Table 5-3 shows that the lower the husband's income the larger the average number of children in the family. Conversely, the higher the husband's income the fewer the children. The mean number of children varies from 4.4 for those husbands earning less than HK\$750 per month to 3.3 for those earning more than HK\$2,000 per month. One probable explanation is that low-income husbands tend to be less educated than high-income husbands and hence to be less knowledgeable of or receptive to family planning. In

addition, wives of high-income men are also apt to marry later in life, thus shortening the reproductive period. These are, however, tentative guesses which have to be verified in later analyses.

TABLE 5-3

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY HUSBAND'S MONTHLY INCOME

Number of Children	Husband's Monthly Income (Dollars)				
	Under 750	750-999	1000-1249	1250-1999	2000 or above
2 or fewer	20.9%	28.9%	28.4%	39.4%	46.8%
3 to 4	33.0	34.6	37.5	30.3	34.4
5 or more	46.1	36.5	34.1	30.3	18.8
Total (N)	100.0% (388)	100.0% (156)	100.0% (120)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (32)
Mean	4.4	4.0	3.9	3.3	3.3

Husband's Education

The relatively common finding in fertility studies that the number of children varies inversely with education is confirmed by our data. Table 5-4 shows that, for each age-group of the wife, the mean number of children decreases with higher educational attainment of the husband.

TABLE 5-4

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY HUSBAND'S EDUCATION BY WIFE'S AGE

Husband's Education	Wife's Age			
	24 or younger	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 or older
No schooling	} 1.5(11) ^a	3.4(18)	4.9(59)	5.7(45)
Some primary		3.5(58)	4.9(146)	5.2(120)
Primary graduate	1.4(18)	3.0(42)	4.5(51)	5.1(30)
Some secondary or above	1.5(13)	2.2(43)	3.8(42)	4.4(28)

^aNumber of cases

Wife's Education

A very similar relationship exists between number of children and wife's education. In fact, as Table 5-5 shows, the differential in number of children due to wife's education for each age-group of the wife is even greater than that due to husband's education.³ The number of children borne by uneducated wives is on the average almost two more than that borne by wives with at least some secondary education for wives in the age group of 25 to 44. For wives aged 45 or older, the difference is even larger.

TABLE 5-5

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY WIFE'S EDUCATION BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Education	Wife's Age			
	24 or younger	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 or older
No schooling	1.5(23) ^a	3.7(31)	5.1(157)	5.5(134)
Some primary		3.3(68)	4.5(113)	4.7(74)
Primary graduate	1.2(14)	2.8(44)	3.7(32)	5.0(20)
Some secondary or above	1.2(9)	1.9(34)	3.3(14)	3.2(10)

^aNumber of cases

Wife's Rural or Urban Background

The place where our respondents grew up is identified as either (1) a village or a market-town, or (2) a city such as Hong Kong or Canton. The women in our study are divided almost equally between those with an urban background and those with a rural one. The proportion of rural, however, is higher among women above the age of 35 and lower among those under 35. Table 5-6 shows that for almost all age groups, the average number of children of urban wives is smaller than that of rural wives. For wives in the 45 to 49 age group, the situation is reversed,

TABLE 5-6

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY WIFE'S RURAL/
URBAN BACKGROUND BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Wife's Background	
	Rural	Urban
24 or younger	1.8(8) ^a	1.4(40)
25 - 29	2.7(29)	2.2(60)
30 - 34	3.9(35)	3.4(58)
35 - 39	4.4(83)	4.1(64)
40 - 44	5.1(99)	5.0(58)
45 - 49	5.3(78)	5.8(46)
50 or older	5.2(59)	4.8(47)
All age groups	4.7(391)	3.9(383)

^aNumber of cases

with urban wives showing higher fertility than rural wives. This is possibly related to the post-War economic boom beginning around the mid-fifties which coincided roughly with the peak of the reproductive period of the women aged 45 to 49 at the time of the study. The general optimism stimulated by the more settled

conditions after the War, social and economic, may have partly caused higher fertility motivation, more so for people accustomed to the cosmopolitanism of city life than for people with a rural background. In fact, there was a rapid rise in the crude birth rate in Hong Kong after the War, reaching a peak around the mid-fifties.

Wife's Work Pattern

Labour force participation of women is usually associated with their low fertility.⁴ This is reflected by our data, as shown in Table 5-7. Those women who work full-time both before marriage and at present have on the average the smallest number of children. By comparison, those who have not worked full-time before marriage and at present have the largest average number of children. This is true for all ages. Those who have worked full-time either before marriage or at present are roughly intermediate in the average number of children. It is interesting to note that among all women who are not working full-time at present, those who have so worked before marriage (third row in Table 5-7) tend to have fewer children than do those who have not worked before marriage (first row in Table 5-7). Thus, it seems that premarital working experience may have a carry-over effect if working has any constraint on fertility. It may be that some of them plan to resume work when the opportunity comes and thus they cannot afford to have too many children. Although the causality of the relationship between fertility and work is not immediately clear (do

women work because they have fewer children or do they have fewer children because they work?), our findings are quite suggestive that, on the whole, the more full-time working experience a woman has the more likely she has fewer children.

TABLE 5-7

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY WIFE'S WORK PATTERN BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Work Pattern	Wife's Age			
	24 or younger	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 or older
00 ^a	---	3.3(43)	5.2(94)	5.4(114)
01	---	3.1(8)	4.6(34)	4.6(31)
10	1.8(32)	2.9(108)	4.7(136)	5.3(73)
11	0.8(12)	2.3(40)	3.9(59)	4.3(27)

^aThe first digit represents working status before marriage; the second digit represents present working status. In either digit, 1 represents full-time work, and 0 represents part-time work or no work at all.

Family Planning Practice Pattern

Housing Type

We have seen in Chapter III that families in the low cost housing estates and in the resettlement estates are rather similar in a number of socioeconomic characteristics (e.g., family size, family income, couple's education and occupation) although low cost housing families are, judging from these characteristics, somewhat "higher" than resettlement estate families. Families in both these two types of housing are generally considerably "lower" in socioeconomic status than private housing families. In family planning practice, however, women in low cost housing families are more similar to private families' women than to those in resettlement estates. In fact, as Table 5-8 shows, women in low cost housing families are the most likely (80 per cent) to be practising family planning at present, followed closely by women in private housing (75 per cent) and then by those in resettlement estates (65 per cent). Almost a quarter of the wives in resettlement estates have never used any fertility control, compared with 12 per cent and 17 per cent in low cost and private housing, respectively. Like the difference in number of children, the difference in the proportion of users of fertility control among the housing types is probably attributable more to the socioeconomic characteristics of the families rather than to the type of accommodation as such. The differentials in family planning practice by such other social and economic factors as presented below may suggest how this is so.

TABLE 5-8

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN BY HOUSING TYPE

Practice Pattern	Housing Type		
	Resettlement	Low-Cost	Private
Past and Present Users	46.2%	66.7%	61.7%
Present Only Users	18.7	13.8	12.8
Past Only Users	11.0	7.5	8.5
Never Users	24.1	12.0	17.0
Total (N)	100.0% (299)	100.0% (174)	100.0% (47)

Husband's Occupational Ranking

Although the wives of men in the highest ranking occupations (professionals and executives) are more likely to be "past and present users" of fertility control and somewhat less likely to be "never users," the differential in practice pattern among the other three rank categories is not very clear (see Table 5-9). It may be that the rank categories themselves are too broad so that any possible systematic differences in family planning practice are concealed. It may also be that the husband's occupational ranking as such does not have any necessary relationship with the practice of family planning.

TABLE 5-9

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN
BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL RANKING

Practice Pattern	Husband's Occupational Ranking			
	1 (High)	2	3	4 (Low)
Past and Present Users	70.6%	49.6%	55.0%	51.0%
Present Only Users	5.9	21.0	15.0	18.0
Past Only Users	5.9	8.4	11.6	8.0
Never Users	17.6	21.0	18.4	23.0
Total (N)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (95)	100.0% (293)	100.0% (100)

Husband's Income

We pointed out earlier in this chapter that the higher the husband's income the smaller the average number of children. Quite consistent with this finding, it is interesting that, generally speaking, the higher the husband's income the more likely the wife has been using fertility control ("past and present users"). From Table 5-10, we also notice that the proportion of wives who have never used fertility control is highest (23.5 per cent) among those whose husbands earn the least income (under HK\$750 a month). This proportion drops with higher husband's income but rises back to 19 per cent for wives of the top-income men (HK\$2,000 or more a month).

TABLE 5-10

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN
BY HUSBAND'S MONTHLY INCOME

Practice Pattern	Husband's Monthly Income (Dollars)				
	Under 750	750-999	1000-1249	1250-1999	2000 or above
Past and Present Users	51.8%	43.2%	61.1%	63.0%	65.4%
Present Only Users	15.0	20.8	17.8	14.8	3.9
Past Only Users	9.7	13.6	3.3	14.8	11.5
Never Users	23.5	22.4	17.8	7.4	19.2
Total (N)	100.0% (247)	100.0% (125)	100.0% (90)	100.0% (27)	100.0% (26)

Short of a more detailed analysis of the data, it is not readily clear why higher income should be associated with more use of family planning. The differential in education as is likely to be associated with differences in income may be an explanation. On the other hand, that the top-income group contains a sizeable proportion of never users is perhaps because there is possibly more late marriages in the top-income group.

Husband's Education

As shown in Table 5-11, husband's education does not seem to differentiate the wife's family planning practice clearly.

TABLE 5-11

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN
BY HUSBAND'S EDUCATION BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Husband's Education	Practice Pattern				Total	(N)
		Past and Present Users	Present Only Users	Past Only Users	Never Users		
24 or younger	No schooling or some primary	36.4%	0.0	0.0	63.6	100.0%	(11)
	Primary graduate	40.0%	13.3	13.3	33.4	100.0%	(15)
	Some secondary or above	38.4%	30.8	0.0	30.8	100.0%	(13)
25 - 34	No schooling	46.7%	20.0	13.3	20.0	100.0%	(15)
	Some primary	48.1%	18.5	13.0	20.4	100.0%	(54)
	Primary graduate	67.5%	2.5	10.0	20.0	100.0%	(40)
	Some secondary or above	52.6%	18.4	13.2	15.8	100.0%	(38)
35 - 44	No schooling	46.3%	16.7	9.2	27.8	100.0%	(54)
	Some primary	59.5%	19.1	9.6	11.8	100.0%	(136)
	Primary graduate	53.2%	19.1	6.4	21.3	100.0%	(47)
	Some secondary or above	55.3%	23.7	10.5	10.5	100.0%	(38)
All age groups	No schooling	47.2%	16.7	9.7	26.4	100.0%	(72)
	Some primary	55.0%	18.2	10.1	16.7	100.0%	(198)
	Primary graduate	56.9%	11.8	8.8	22.5	100.0%	(102)
	Some secondary or above	51.7%	22.5	10.1	15.7	100.0%	(89)

However, the general tendency is that the wives of uneducated husbands are more likely to be "never users" of family planning. Besides, while a substantial proportion--over 40 per cent--of these wives are "past and present users," such proportion is relatively small compared with the wives of better educated husbands.

Wife's Education

The effect of wife's education on practice of family planning is much similar to that of husband's education, but is somewhat more pronounced, especially in terms of the proportion of "past and present users" and "never users." Table 5-12 shows that, for all ages, the more educated the wife the more likely she is to have practised family planning in the past and to be so practising at present. Thus, for example, 85 per cent of the wives in the 35 to 44 age group who have had at least some secondary education are "past and present users," compared with only 49 per cent among those in the same age group who have had no schooling.

Wife's Rural or Urban Background

The wife's rural or urban background seems to have a fairly consistent effect on the wife's practice of family planning. Table 5-13 shows that women who have grown up in urban areas (e.g., Hong Kong, Canton), as compared with those in rural areas, are somewhat more likely to be "past and present users" of fertility control and less likely to be just "present only users" or "past

TABLE 5-12

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN
BY WIFE'S EDUCATION BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Wife's Education	Practice Pattern				Total	(N)
		Past and Present Users	Present Only Users	Past Only Users	Never Users		
24 or younger	No schooling or some primary	26.1%	4.3	8.7	60.9	100.0%	(23)
	Primary graduate	36.4%	27.2	0.0	36.4	100.0%	(11)
	Some secondary or above	55.6%	11.1	0.0	33.3	100.0%	(9)
25 - 34	No schooling	42.8%	28.6	3.6	25.0	100.0%	(28)
	Some primary	52.4%	11.1	14.3	22.2	100.0%	(63)
	Primary graduate	61.0%	7.3	19.5	12.2	100.0%	(41)
	Some secondary or above	58.6%	17.2	3.5	20.7	100.0%	(29)
35 - 44	No schooling	49.0%	22.1	9.6	19.3	100.0%	(145)
	Some primary	61.1%	14.6	9.7	14.6	100.0%	(103)
	Primary graduate	67.8%	25.0	3.6	3.6	100.0%	(28)
	Some secondary or above	84.6%	7.7	0.0	7.7	100.0%	(13)
All age groups	No schooling	47.7%	22.7	8.5	21.1	100.0%	(176)
	Some primary	54.3%	12.4	11.3	22.0	100.0%	(186)
	Primary graduate	60.0%	16.2	11.3	12.5	100.0%	(80)
	Some secondary or above	64.7%	13.7	2.0	19.6	100.0%	(51)

TABLE 5-13

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN BY WIFE'S
RURAL/URBAN BACKGROUND BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Wife's Rural/ Urban Background	Practice Pattern				Total	(N)
		Past and Present Users	Present Only Users	Past Only Users	Never Users		
24 or younger	Rural	25.0%	--	12.5	62.5	100.0%	(8)
	Urban	37.5%	15.0	5.0	42.5	100.0%	(40)
25 - 34	Rural	49.2%	20.6	17.5	12.7	100.0%	(63)
	Urban	57.4%	10.4	10.4	21.8	100.0%	(115)
35 - 44	Rural	54.7%	20.3	8.7	16.3	100.0%	(172)
	Urban	59.7%	16.9	8.1	15.3	100.0%	(124)
All age groups	Rural	52.3%	19.7	11.1	16.9	100.0%	(243)
	Urban	55.5%	14.0	8.6	21.9	100.0%	(279)

only users." As "present only users" tend to be newcomers and "past only users" dropouts in the practice of birth control, we can infer that women with an urban background tend to start practising birth control earlier and to keep on doing so more persistently than women with a rural background. It is possible that since women with rural background have proportionally more

newcomers and dropouts in the practice of family planning, their proportion of "never users" becomes smaller than that among urban women, as is the case among the respondents in the 25 to 34 group.

Wife's Work Pattern

The relationship between wife's work pattern and practice of family planning is not immediately clear. Interpretation is made difficult by (a) the fact that we are looking at the wife's participation in the labour force at only two points in time, before marriage and at present, and (b) the possibility of many different reasons for using or not using fertility control at any point in time. Nevertheless, if we concentrate our attention on the dominant family planning practice pattern, namely, "past and present users," Table 5-14 shows that those women who have worked full-time before marriage and are working full-time at present are more likely to be "past and present users" of fertility control. This is especially true for the older wives (aged 35 to 44). Compared with other women who have never worked full-time or who have not so worked either before marriage or at present, those who have worked full-time (coded 11 in table) are also much less likely to be "present only users." Thus, having more full-time working experience seems to be associated with a longer, and possibly more regular, use of fertility control.

Summary

For the sake of simplicity and providing a point of departure for further analyses, we have briefly presented variations by a number of socioeconomic factors in the number of children and pattern of practice of family planning.

TABLE 5-14

FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICE PATTERN BY
WIFE'S WORKING PATTERN BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Wife's Working Pattern	Practice Pattern				Total	(N)
		Past and Present Users	Present Only Users	Past Only Users	Never Users		
34 or younger	00 ^a	48.8%	17.1	7.3	26.8	100.0%	(41)
	01	33.3%	50.0	16.7	0.0	100.0%	(6)
	10	52.6%	12.8	12.8	21.8	100.0%	(133)
	11	51.1%	8.9	11.1	28.9	100.0%	(45)
35 - 44	00	57.6%	16.5	11.8	14.1	100.0%	(85)
	01	42.3%	26.9	7.7	23.1	100.0%	(26)
	10	53.8%	23.1	6.9	16.2	100.0%	(130)
	11	69.7%	8.9	7.1	14.3	100.0%	(56)
All age groups	00	54.8%	16.7	10.3	18.2	100.0%	(126)
	01	40.6%	31.2	9.4	18.8	100.0%	(32)
	10	53.2%	17.9	9.9	19.0	100.0%	(263)
	11	61.4%	8.9	8.9	20.8	100.0%	(101)

^aThe first digit represents working status before marriage, the second digit represents present working status. In either digit, 1 represents full-time work, and 0 represents part-time work or no work at all.

Our data indicate that families in the three types of housing are quite different in the average number of children (private housing: 2.9; low cost housing: 4.0; resettlement estates: 4.5). The proportion of wives under the age of 45 who have ever practised contraception is over 80 per cent in both low cost and private housing, and is about 75 per cent in resettlement estates. More specifically, those who have been using fertility control in the past and at present reach more than 60 per cent in both low cost and private housing, but only 46 per cent in resettlement estates.

We also found that the average number of children in a family varies inversely with the husband's occupational ranking and the husband's income. Both the husband's education and, in particular, the wife's education have a marked effect on the number of children. Lower fertility is consistently associated with higher educational attainment. For example, the average number of children among the women in the 35-44 age group with some secondary education or more is 3.3 in contrast to 5.1 among those without any schooling.

Another finding that is consistent with most KAP survey findings is that women who have an urban background typically have fewer children (3.9) than do those with a rural background (4.7).

Our data further indicate that labour force participation of women is associated with lower fertility. Those women who have worked full-time both before marriage and at present, in

contrast with those who have worked only part-time or have not worked at all, have the smallest average number of children.

Variation in the practice of family planning by the socioeconomic variables we have selected is not, on the whole, as clear-cut as variation in the number of children. This is more so when considering husband's occupational ranking and wife's working pattern. In these two aspects, however, our data suggest that wives of professional (and similar occupations) men and wives who have more full-time working experience are more likely to have practised contraception in the past and to be so practising at present. In addition, it is relatively clear that more use of fertility control, both in the past and at present, is associated with higher husband's income. The couple's education, especially the wife's, also makes a difference in the practice of fertility control. For all ages, those wives who have had at least some secondary education are much more likely than uneducated wives to be "past and present users" of fertility control.

Finally, we found that women with an urban background, as compared with those with a rural background, are more likely to be "past and present users" of fertility control. However, rural women are more likely to have used fertility control only at present, suggesting that they are relatively late in accepting and adopting family planning.

Notes to Chapter V

1. See, for example, National Family Planning Board, Report on the West Malaysian Family Survey 1966-1967 (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1967); and Bom Mo Chung et al., Psychological Perspectives: Family Planning in Korea (Seoul, Korea: Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, 1972).
2. To better reflect the influence of housing type more as a rough proxy for socioeconomic status than as a physical living quarter per se, the total number of children refers to all children of the couple, regardless of whether they live together with their parents or not.
3. In a study using data from a sample of the 1960 census of the United States, Dinkel found that the education of the wife, compared with that of the husband, was more strongly associated with number of children ever born. See Robert M. Dinkel, "Education and Fertility in the United States," in Charles B. Nam (ed.), Population and Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp.517-520.
4. In a recent Hong Kong study of fertility, it was found that for all ages, those women who work full-time either before marriage or at the time of the study have significantly smaller number of children. See C.Y. Choi and K.C. Chan, "The Impact of Industrialization on Fertility in Hong Kong: A Demographic, Social and Economic Analysis," Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1973, Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER ANALYSES

The preceding analyses have only briefly described some of the basic social and demographic characteristics of families in the industrial town of Kwun Tong, certain general attitudes toward birth control, and patterns of family planning practice among the wives. We have also briefly examined the relationships between number of children and contraception practice on the one hand and certain socioeconomic factors on the other. Considering the vast amount of data this survey has gathered, these must be viewed as merely a prelude to further and more detailed analyses, in order to reveal more clearly how the various aspects of the family and family life are related to fertility and family planning, which is, after all, the main purpose of the "People of Kwun Tong" project.

One reason why Kwun Tong has been chosen for this study is that being a relatively new and planned community, Kwun Tong as a place to live should have many implications for its residents in terms of family life and adjustment to an environment which probably is very different from where they used to live before coming to Kwun Tong. Large and extensive public housing schemes, so predominant in Kwun Tong, bring along not just people but also the need for services, facilities, and job opportunities. To the town planner and to those engaged in various types of social service, therefore, it would be useful to know about the characteristics of these people and their families.

To practitioners in family planning service, much of the data reported here should prove to be useful as reference information for the development of family planning programmes. Not only is it essential to take cognizance of the general nature of the community and its residents for the purpose of maximizing the efficiency of a programme, it is also useful for the same purpose to know the correlates of fertility and family planning behaviour. For example, our findings indicate that more of the wives who are above the age of 30 have used contraception than those who are below 30. Our findings also suggest that those wives who have already five or more children contain a much higher proportion who are using contraception at present only but never before. It seems, therefore, that not many women are using contraception early enough in a real family planning sense; they have come to use birth control only at the point where they realize that they have too many children. If family planning is to make a genuine contribution to controlling population growth, more people ought to be motivated to accept the concept of family planning as soon as possible, even before marriage. One of the key factors in the motivation to control fertility appears to be approval of birth control, as indicated by our finding that those women who approve of birth control are more than twice as likely to have used contraception in the past and to be using it at present. This has important implications for publicity work of family planning programmes and for population education in general. Special attention should be paid to the change of attitudes before arriving at a desired behavioural outcome.

Nevertheless, whatever practical implications that may be drawn from the findings presented in this report can only be regarded as tentative or suggestive since much more data have yet to be analysed. Thus, for example, a whole series of questions concerning attitudes toward traditional Chinese familism and planning in general as well as those pertaining to relationship between husband and wife and between parents and children will have to be examined. Then there is another set of data on the meaning of children which should bear some relationship to fertility and family planning behaviour. Many questions can be asked and answered in one way or another by our data. To what extent do people of different social and economic backgrounds still hold such traditional ideals as "five generations under the same roof"? To what extent is there the belief that in all pursuits one should be fully "rational" about setting goals and making preparations for goal achievement? Is such a belief at all related to family planning behaviour in any way? Why should lower fertility be associated with greater income of the husband, as we have discovered? What are some of the clearer and more valid indicators of marital adjustment of the married couple? How is marital adjustment related to other aspects of the family (e.g., family type, decision-making, social participation)? What is the significance of marital adjustment in the family planning behaviour of the couple? Does the meaning of having children vary with parity? Many more such questions

can be posed and pursued. Further analyses of our data should thus add much more contextual material for our understanding of the various determinants of fertility and family planning.

It is therefore our plan that further analyses of the data collected in the survey will be carried out based on which a comprehensive monograph would be prepared in due course. But this is not all if the best use of the data is to be achieved. Since the family system does not exist all by itself but in both the physical and social space of a community, i.e., Kwun Tong in our study, it would be necessary to look beyond the family and family life per se into such characteristics of the community as its economic opportunities and development of educational institutions in order to provide a broader and sounder basis for understanding the forces at work shaping the population of Kwun Tong. When the family system is thus placed in a community context, the role of the family in the demographic process can be better identified. Only by so doing would we be able to truly claim that ours is a study of not just people and their behaviour but people and their behaviour in a particular community.

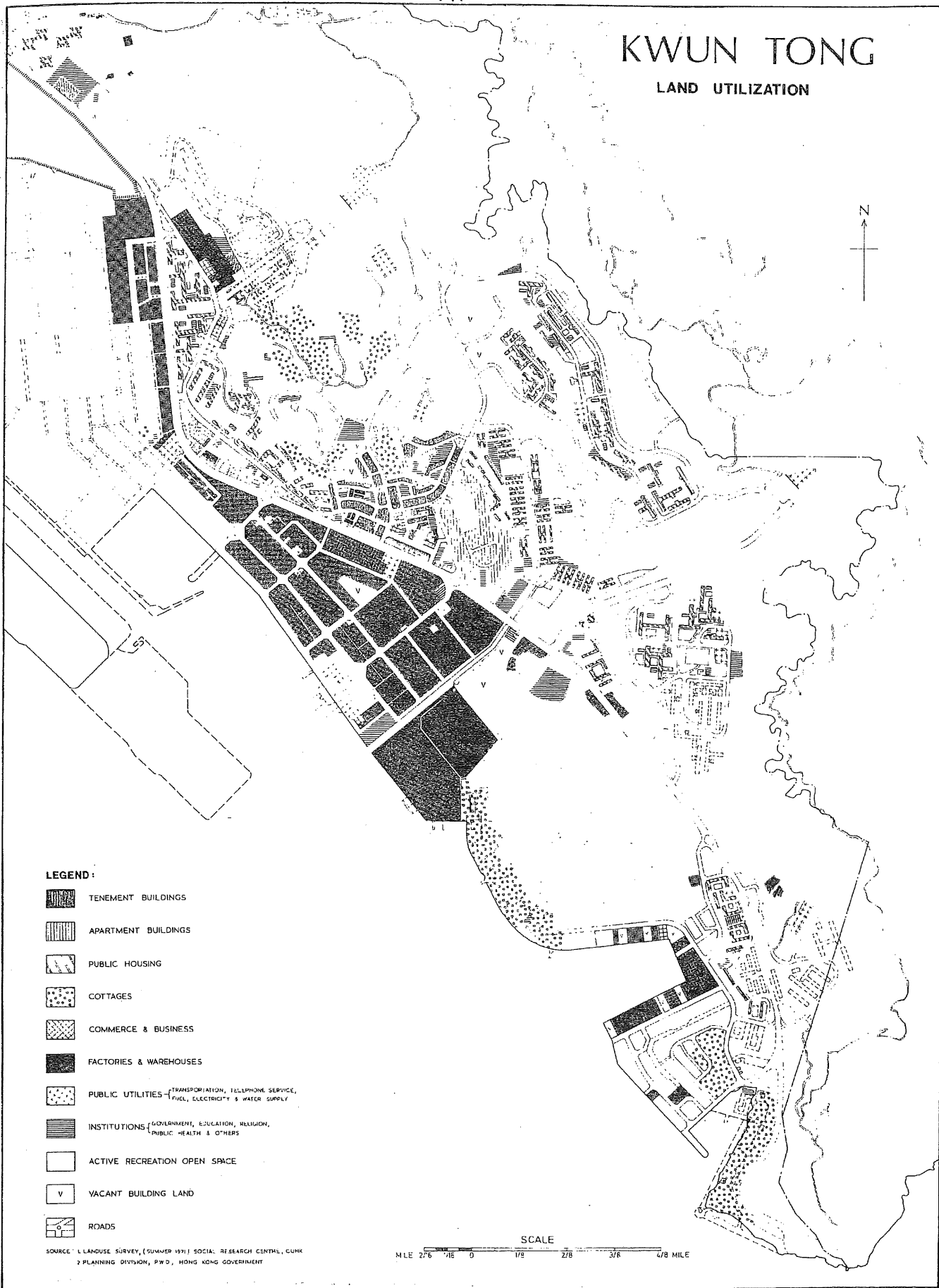
One important area that needs further exploration and study is the relationship between employment on the one hand and fertility and family planning on the other, especially in the larger context of the employment structure in Kwun Tong. The data we have gathered indicate that, for instance, as mentioned earlier in this report, the rate of wife's employment is higher in the resettlement estates (employment in Kwun Tong especially).

high) than in other types of housing. However, the average number of children in the resettlement estates is by far the highest, and the proportion of wives who have ever used contraception is the lowest compared with other housing types. We have not gone further to unravel the reasons for this, but it would certainly be highly important that we do so in the future. Since our data also suggest that those women who have a longer full-time working experience tend to have fewer children (chapter V), it is possible that women in resettlement families generally have less or shorter full-time working experience. However, it is also likely that women in these families are to some extent engaged in some form of domestic industry (e.g., assembling plastic flowers) to which the conventional notion of "part-time" and "full-time" work does not quite apply. How this kind of economic activity is related to fertility is not yet entirely clear. This is one area that our further data analysis in the future should study in detail. To do such analysis more adequately, it would be necessary to also study the employment opportunities of Kwun Tong in terms of the quality of manpower required and the types of employment with regard to such aspects as time, place of work, job security, and transferability (from one industry to another). This would then shed some light on the complex relationship between employment and fertility which is one of the major foci of attention in our study of a new industrial town.












It follows, therefore, that much more work remains to be carried out to map out the intricacies of the network of factors that account for variations and trends in the fertility and family planning behaviour of the people of Kwun Tong. This report is nothing more than a preview of a small part of the data that would eventually lead us to that goal. Not only further analysis of the existing data will have to follow this report, but additional data on the community aspects of Kwun Tong should preferably be obtained so that the uniqueness of Kwun Tong and its impact on fertility and family planning may be adequately assessed.

KWUN TONG

LAND UTILIZATION



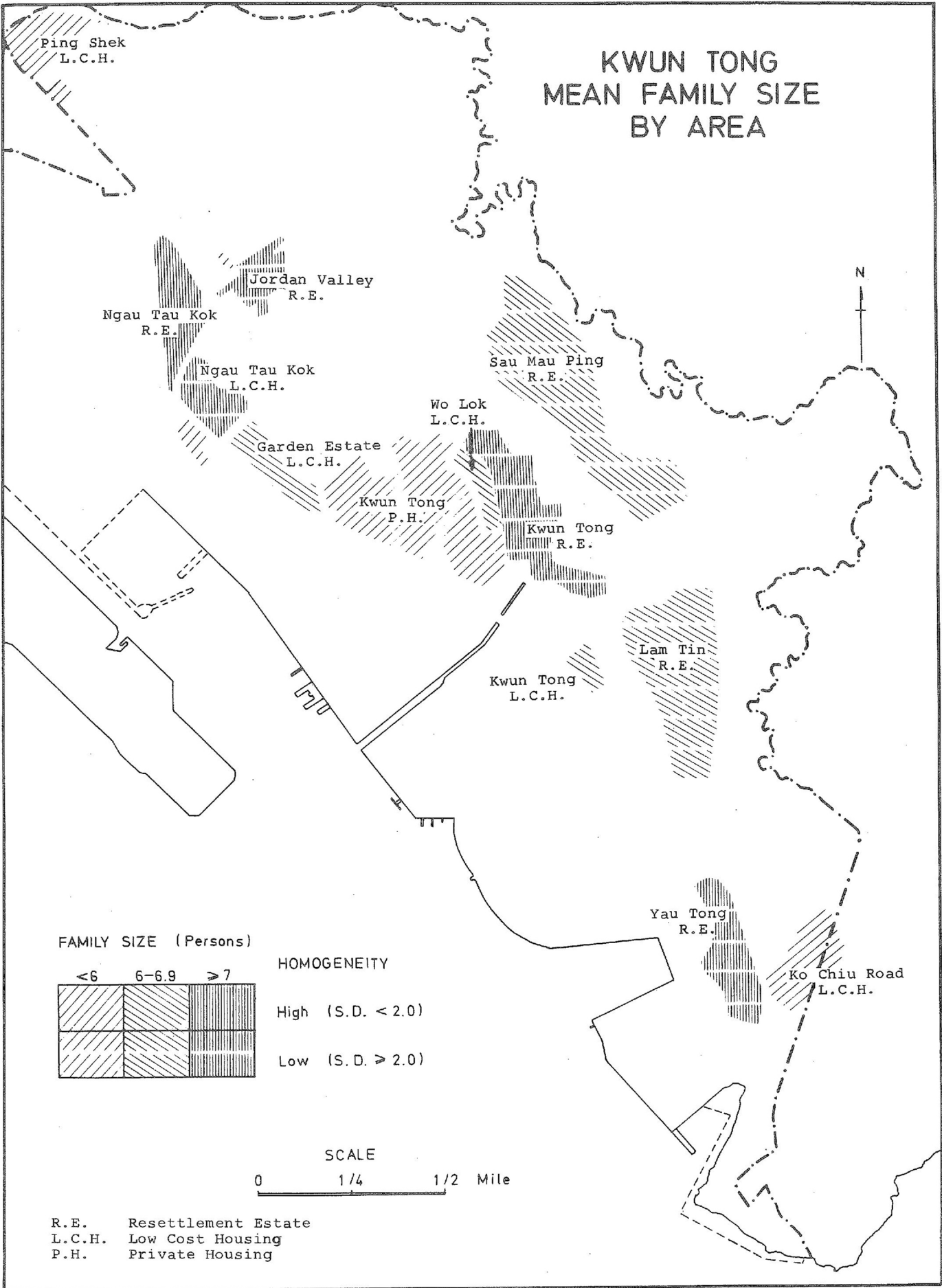
LEGEND:

-  TENEMENT BUILDINGS
-  APARTMENT BUILDINGS
-  PUBLIC HOUSING
-  COTTAGES
-  COMMERCE & BUSINESS
-  FACTORIES & WAREHOUSES
-  PUBLIC UTILITIES — TRANSPORTATION, TELEPHONE SERVICE,
FUEL, ELECTRICITY & WATER SUPPLY
-  INSTITUTIONS — GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, RELIGION,
PUBLIC HEALTH & OTHERS
-  ACTIVE RECREATION OPEN SPACE
-  VACANT BUILDING LAND
-  ROADS

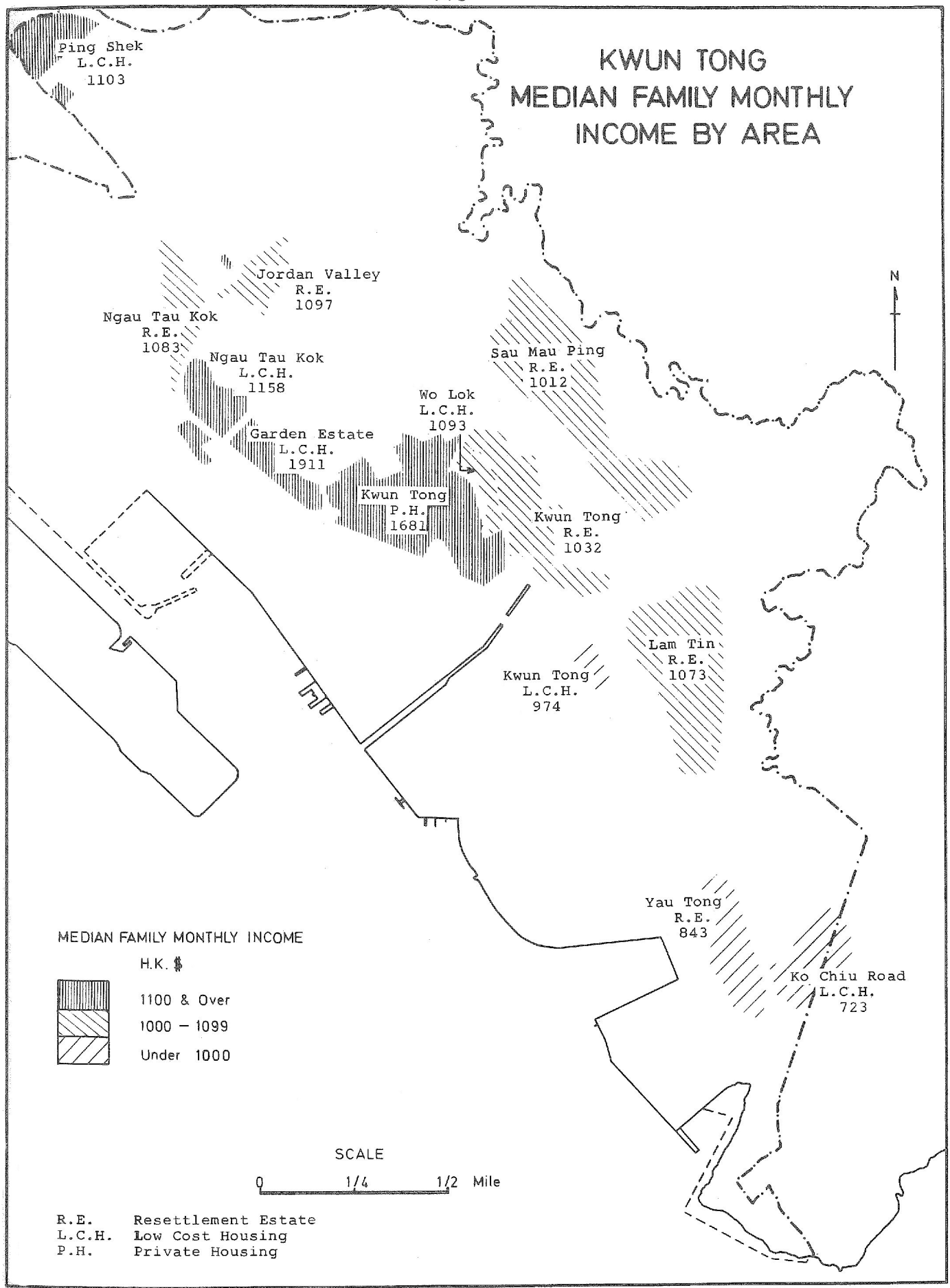
SOURCE: 1. LAND USE SURVEY, (SUMMER 1971) SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE, CUHK
2. PLANNING DIVISION, P.W.D., HONG KONG GOVERNMENT



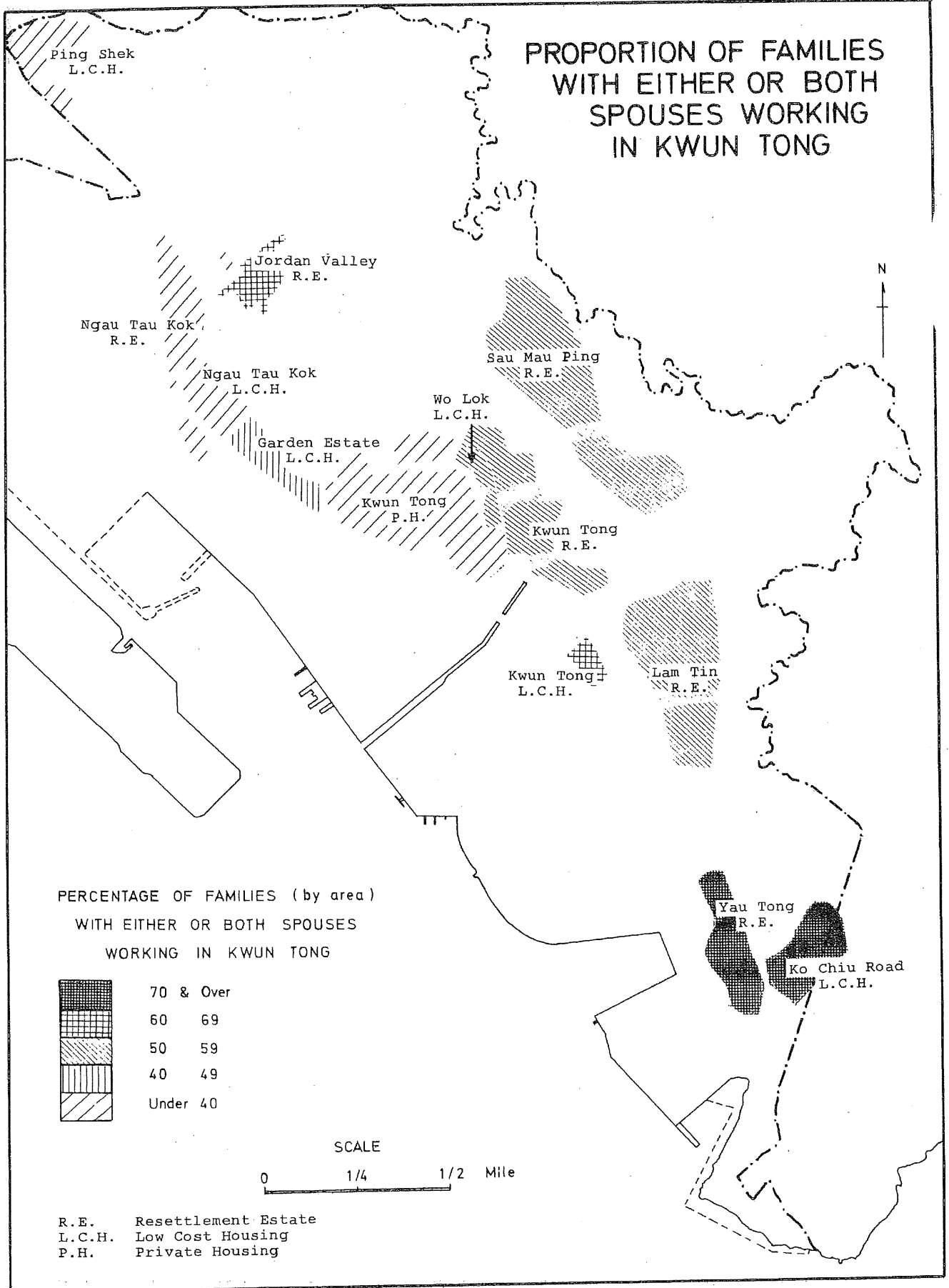
KWUN TONG MEAN FAMILY SIZE BY AREA



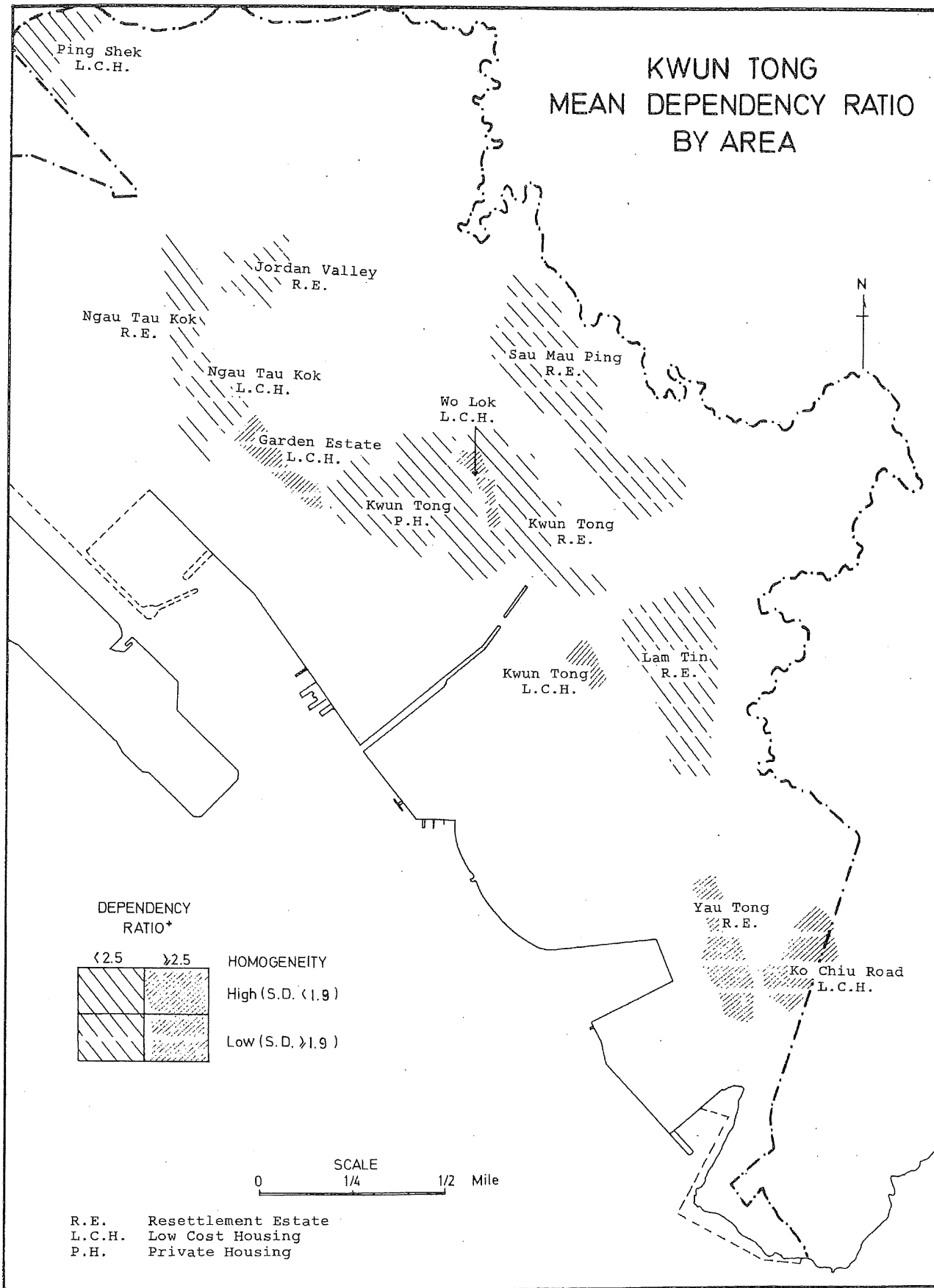
KWUN TONG MEDIAN FAMILY MONTHLY INCOME BY AREA



PROPORTION OF FAMILIES WITH EITHER OR BOTH SPOUSES WORKING IN KWUN TONG



KWUN TONG MEAN DEPENDENCY RATIO BY AREA



DEPENDENCY RATIO*		HOMOGENEITY
<2.5	>2.5	
(diagonal lines)	(cross-hatch)	High (S.D. < 1.9)
(diagonal lines)	(cross-hatch)	Low (S.D. > 1.9)

SCALE
0 1/4 1/2 Mile

R.E. Resettlement Estate
L.C.H. Low Cost Housing
P.H. Private Housing

*Dependency Ratio = $\frac{\text{All economically inactive persons in family}}{\text{All economically active persons in same family}}$

Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Social Research Centre
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

People of Kwun Tong Project

I. Basic Household Information

- (1-1) Please tell me the number of households living here. _____
- (1-2) How many persons are there in your household? _____
- (1-3) (In case of more than one household in the living quarter) How many persons are there altogether in this living quarter? _____
- (1-4) Please tell us the names of all the members of this household, including those who sometimes do not sleep here, if there are any. We also would like to know certain personal information of each member. (Enter answers in household list.)

Household List

Employment	Place of work (district)				
	Self-employed				
	Employed				
	Part-time				
	Full-time				
	Occupation				
	Industry				
Working Status	Neither studying nor working				
	Studying and working				
	Studying				
	Working				
Educational Attainment	Highest educational level attained				
	No schooling				
Marital Status	Separated or divorced				
	Widowed				
	Married				
	Single				
Sex	Age				
	Female				
	Male				

Name	Relationship
1 Household Head	
2 Spouse	
3	
4	

Do you have any children living outside? How many? _____
 (Fill in data of these children in the following table)

	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Educational Attainment	Working Status	Employment	Name	Relationship
							1 Household Head	2 Spouse
	Female		Separated or divorced	Highest educational level attained	Neither studying nor working	Place of work (district)		
	Male		Widowed	No schooling	Studying and working	Self-employed		
			Married		Studying	Employed		
			Single		Working	Part-time		
						Full-time		
						Occupation		
						Industry		

II. Present and Past Residence

- (2-1) What was your former area of residence? _____
 (If former residence was inside Kwun Tong, e.g., Ping Shek, Kowloon Bay, Ngau Tau Kwok, Jordan Valley, Kwun Tong Town, Sau Mau Ping, Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate, Lam Tin, Yau Tong, Li Yuen Mun, then ask Question 2-2)
- (2-2) What was your former area of residence before you moved into Kwun Tong? _____
- (2-3) What are your reasons for moving into Kwun Tong? _____
- (2-4) How many years have you lived in this area? _____
- (2-5) If you could choose freely, would you prefer to live in Kwun Tong?
- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- (2-6) If Kwun Tong is not preferred, which area would you choose?

III. Husband-Wife Background Characteristics:

- (3-1) What is your and your spouse's religion? (If the respondent has children, then ask: What is your children's religion? If they have different religions, check all that apply.)

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Children</u>
No religion	1 ()	1 ()	1 ()
Protestant	2 ()	2 ()	2 ()
Catholic	3 ()	3 ()	3 ()
Buddhist	4 ()	4 ()	4 ()
Worshipping Deities	5 ()	5 ()	5 ()
Taoist	6 ()	6 ()	6 ()
Mohammedan (Muslim)	7 ()	7 ()	7 ()
Others	8 ()	8 ()	8 ()
Not applicable: no children	9 ()	9 ()	9 ()

(3-2) Are there shrines for the following in your house?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Ancestral shrine	1 ()	2 ()
Tsao Tsun (竈君)	1 ()	2 ()
Tu-ti (土地)	1 ()	2 ()
Kwan-ti (關帝)	1 ()	2 ()

(3-3) (Ask if there is an ancestral shrine in the house) Do you and your spouse worship ancestors?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Husband	1 ()	2 ()
Wife	1 ()	2 ()

(3-4) What is the highest educational level you and your spouse have attained?

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
No schooling	1 ()	1 ()
Private tutorial school/study by oneself	2 ()	2 ()
Primary (Junior)	3 ()	3 ()
Primary (Senior)	4 ()	4 ()
Anglo-Chinese secondary school (Junior)	5 ()	5 ()
Anglo-Chinese secondary school (Senior)	6 ()	6 ()
Chinese middle school (Junior)	7 ()	7 ()
Chinese middle school (Senior)	8 ()	8 ()
Post-secondary school (Professional)	9 ()	9 ()
Post-secondary or above	Y ()	Y ()
Don't know	A ()	A ()

(3-5) Was the stated educational level completed?

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Yes	1 ()	1 ()
No	2 ()	2 ()
Don't know	3 ()	3 ()
Not applicable	4 ()	4 ()

(3-6) (Ask if the respondent or the respondent's spouse has received any kind of education) Was your or your spouse's education received entirely in Hong Kong?

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Yes, entirely in Hong Kong	1 ()	1 ()
Partly not in Hong Kong	2 ()	2 ()
Entirely not in Hong Kong	3 ()	3 ()

(3-7) How many years of your and your spouse's education were received outside Hong Kong?

Husband: In China _____ years Elsewhere _____ years
 Wife: In China _____ years Elsewhere _____ years

(3-8) Can you tell me your and your spouse's places of origin?

Husband: Province _____ Hsien _____ don't know ()
 Wife: Province _____ Hsien _____ don't know ()

(3-9) Where were you and your spouse born?

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Hong Kong	1 ()	1 ()
Elsewhere (specify) _____	_____	_____

(3-10) Have you and your spouse stayed in Hong Kong all through?

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Yes	1 ()	1 ()
No	2 ()	2 ()
Not applicable	3 ()	3 ()

(3-11) How long have you and your spouse been staying in Hong Kong?

Husband _____ years
 Wife _____ years

(3-12) Where did you grow up?

- 1 () Hong Kong, Kowloon or New Kowloon
- 2 () The New Territories
- 3 () Kwangtung Province (specify) _____
- 4 () Other Provinces in China (specify) _____
- 5 () Outside Hong Kong or China (specify) _____

(3-13) How large is that area? (read out)

- 1 () A village, township
- 2 () A city like Canton, Shanghai, Hong Kong.
- 3 () Don't know
- 4 () Not applicable

(3-14) What is the particular place in the New Territories where you grew up?

Interviewer: Judging from answers to the above three questions, the respondent was brought up in:

- 1 () A village, township
- 2 () A city
- 3 () No answer

(3-15) What is the language/dialect you use in conversation with your spouse?

What is the language/dialect you use in conversation with your children?

What is the language/dialect your spouse uses in conversation with your children?

What is the language/dialect you and your parents, your spouse and his/her parents use in conversation?

	<u>With Spouse</u>	<u>Husband & Children</u>	<u>Wife & Children</u>	<u>Husband & Parents</u>	<u>Wife & Parents</u>
Cantonese	1 ()	1 ()	1 ()	1 ()	1 ()
Hakka	2 ()	2 ()	2 ()	2 ()	2 ()
Chiu Chau	3 ()	3 ()	3 ()	3 ()	3 ()
Toishan	4 ()	4 ()	4 ()	4 ()	4 ()
Fukienese	5 ()	5 ()	5 ()	5 ()	5 ()
Shanghainese	6 ()	6 ()	6 ()	6 ()	6 ()
Mandarin	7 ()	7 ()	7 ()	7 ()	7 ()
Other Chinese dialects in Kwangtung Province	8 ()	8 ()	8 ()	8 ()	8 ()
Other Chinese dialects outside Kwangtung Province	9 ()	9 ()	9 ()	9 ()	9 ()
Other foreign languages	X ()	X ()	X ()	X ()	X ()
Not applicable	Y ()	Y ()	Y ()	Y ()	Y ()

(3-16) Working Record

	Working Status			Place of Work			Industry	Occupation	Monthly Income	Nature of Employment		
	Working full-time	Working part-time	Not working	Not applicable	At home	Outside the home				Not applicable	Employer or self-employed	Employee
Husband Current job												
Husband Current part-time job												
Wife (Now)												
Wife (before marriage)												
Wife (after marriage but before having any children)												
Wife (after having one child)												
												Monthly Family Income: HK\$ _____

IV. Family Structure

(4-1) (Do not ask if respondent is already living with his own parents or spouse's parents) Where are your parents living now? Where are your spouse's parents living now?

	Not applicable (living together)	Deceased	Not living in Hong Kong	Living with other children in Hong Kong	Living alone in Hong Kong	Others	No answer
Husband's parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Wife's parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(4-2) How much schooling had your father received? What about your father-in-law?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Father-in-law</u>
No schooling	1 ()	1 ()
Private tutorial	2 ()	2 ()
Some primary school	3 ()	3 ()
Completed primary school	4 ()	4 ()
Some secondary school	5 ()	5 ()
Completed secondary school	6 ()	6 ()
Some technical (professional) school	7 ()	7 ()
Some post-secondary school	8 ()	8 ()
Completed post-secondary school	9 ()	9 ()
Don't know	X ()	X ()

(4-3) What is or was your father's occupation? What about your father-in-law?

Husband's father: Industry _____ Occupation _____

Wife's father: Industry _____ Occupation _____

(4-4) Were you living with your parents or parents-in-law when you were newly married?

- 1. Not applicable, husband's parent(s) were deceased.
 - 2. Not applicable, wife's parent(s) were deceased.
 - 3. Not applicable, both husband's & wife's parents were deceased.
- } (go to section V)

- 4. Living with husband's father.
 - 5. Living with husband's mother.
 - 6. Living with husband's parents.
 - 7. Living with wife's father.
 - 8. Living with wife's mother.
 - 9. Living with wife's parents.
 - X Living with other relatives or friends (specify) _____
 - Y Couple living alone.
- (4-4a) Why were you living alone? _____
- (4-4b) Why were you living with your husband's parent(s) or your wife's parents?

<u>Living with Husband's Parent(s)</u>	<u>Living with Wife's Parent(s)</u>	
1 ()	1 ()	Not applicable (parents were deceased)
2 ()	2 ()	Not applicable (living with other relatives or friends)
3 ()	3 ()	Not applicable (living alone)
4 ()	4 ()	Parent's wish
5 ()	5 ()	Because of tradition
6 ()	6 ()	To look after parent(s)
7 ()	7 ()	To be taken care of by parent(s)
8 ()	8 ()	Other reasons _____

Ask the following if respondent has one or both parents livingHusband's parentsWife's parents

(4-5) Do you both give money regularly to your (husband's) parents?

- 1 () Yes
 2 () No
 3 () Not applicable,
 all deceased

(4-6) Do you both give money regularly to your (wife's) parents?

- 1 () Yes
 2 () No
 3 () Not applicable,
 all deceased

(4-5a) Do you give money to them monthly?

- 1 () Yes
 2 () No
 3 () Not applicable

(4-6a) Do you give money to them monthly?

- 1 () Yes
 2 () No
 3 () Not applicable

(4-5b) Under what conditions do you give money to your parents?

- 1 () Parent's birthday
 2 () Festivals
 3 () When parent(s) need money
 4 () Under no condition
 5 () Not applicable

(4-6b) Under what conditions do you give money to your parents?

- 1 () Parent's birthday
 2 () Festivals
 3 () When parent(s) need money
 4 () Under no condition
 5 () Not applicable

(4-5c) Under what other conditions would you give money to your parent(s)? _____

(4-6c) Under what other conditions would you give money to your parent(s)? _____

(4-5d) Whose idea is it to give money to parent(s)?

- 1 () Husband's
 2 () Wife's
 3 () Both's
 4 () Not applicable

(4-6d) Whose idea is it to give money to parent(s)?

- 1 () Husband's
 2 () Wife's
 3 () Both's
 4 () Not applicable

(4-5e) How much do they depend on the money?

- 1 () Totally
 2 () Partly
 3 () No
 4 () Not applicable

(4-6e) How much do they depend on the money?

- 1 () Totally
 2 () Partly
 3 () No
 4 () Not applicable

V. Marriage

(5-1) How old were you when you first married?

Husband _____

Wife _____

(5-2) What do you think is the ideal age for a man and a woman to marry?

Man: _____ years old

Woman: _____ years old

(5-3) Including any children who may not be living with you, how many children do you have? (i.e., how many children have you given birth to altogether?)

_____ Children

_____ Not applicable, no children

VI. KAP (Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practice of Family Planning) A

(Husband Only)

(6-1) Have you ever discussed birth control with your relatives and friends? (read out)

- 1 () Often
 2 () Sometimes
 3 () Seldom
 4 () Never

(6-2) What proportion of your relatives are practising birth control?

- 1 () Nearly all
- 2 () Majority
- 3 () Minority
- 4 () None
- 5 () Don't know
- 6 () Not applicable

(6-3) What proportion of your friends are practising birth control?

- 1 () Nearly all
- 2 () Majority
- 3 () Minority
- 4 () None
- 5 () Don't know
- 6 () Not applicable

(6-4) Some couples are practising birth control. Generally speaking, do you approve of this?

- 1 () Highly approve
- 2 () Approve
- 4 () Disapprove
- 5 () Highly disapprove
- 3 () No opinion

(6-5) Have you ever discussed birth control with your wife?

- 1 () Often
- 2 () Sometimes
- 3 () Seldom
- 4 () Never

(6-6) Have you and your wife ever practised birth control?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No

(6-7) Are you and your wife practising birth control at present?

- 1 () Yes (go to 6-8)
- 2 () No (go to 6-9)
- 3 () Not applicable (cannot give birth)

(6-8) Whose idea is it for practising birth control (or sterilization) at present?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Husband's parent(s)
- 5 () Wife's parent(s)
- 6 () Other (specify) _____
- 7 () Not applicable

(6-9) Whose idea is it for not practising birth control at present?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Husband's parent(s)
- 5 () Wife's parent(s)
- 6 () Other (specify) _____
- 7 () Not applicable

(6-10) Would you approve of sterilization opted by a couple who have decided not to have any more children?

- 1 () Approve
- 2 () Disapprove

(6-11) Which spouse would you prefer to be sterilized?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Not applicable

(6-12) Have you ever heard of the Hong Kong Family Planning Association?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No

(6-13) What do you think should be the ideal number of children for an ordinary family in Hong Kong?

_____ Children

VII. KAP (Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practice of Family Planning) B, C

(Interviewer: Please fill in the number of children the respondent has at present: _____ children)

Questions 7-1 to 7-9 are for both Husband and Wife

(7-1) Do you intend to have any more children?

- 1 () No (go to 7-7)
 2 () Yes
 3 () Undecided
 4 () Don't know

(7-2) How many children do you expect to have, including your existing ones?

_____ children

Of this number how many do you expect to be boys and how many girls?

_____ boys

_____ girls

- X () No preference
 Y () Don't know

(7-2a) (Ask if respondent has no children yet) Do you hope that your first child will be a boy or a girl?

- 1 () boy
 2 () girl 3 () No preference

(7-3) (For those who have married for 2 years or more) In the light of your past experiences, what is the total number of children you prefer if you could start all over again?

_____ children (go to 7-5)

(7-4) (For those who have married for less than 2 years) If you could have any number of children you wish for, what is the total number of children you prefer if you could start all over again?

_____ children

(7-5) (If the answer in question 7-3 or 7-4 is less than that in question 7-2) Why is it that you prefer fewer children than what you expect to have?

- (7-6) (If the answer in question 7-3 or 7-4 is more than that in question 7-2) Why is it that you prefer more children than what you expect to have?
-
-

- (7-7) (For those who have no intention to have any more children) What would be the total number of children you prefer if you could start all over again?

_____ children

- (7-8) (If the answer in question 7-7 is less than the present number of children) Why is it that you prefer fewer children than what you have now?
-

- (7-9) (If the answer in question 7-7 is more than the present number of children) Why is it that you prefer more children than what you have now?
-

The following questions are only for wives aged 45 or above

- (7-10) In the light of your past experiences, what is the total number of children you prefer if you could start all over again?

_____ children

- (7-11) (If the number in question 7-10 is less than the present number of children) Why is it that you prefer fewer children than what you have now?
-

- (7-12) (If the number in question 7-10 is more than the present number of children) Why is it that you prefer more children than what you have now?
-

VIII. KAP (Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practice of Family Planning) D

(Questions 1-13 are for wife only)

(8-1) How often do you discuss birth control with your relatives and friends?

- 1 () Often
- 2 () Sometimes
- 3 () Seldom
- 4 () Never

(8-2) What proportion of your relatives/friends are practising birth control?

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 () Nearly all | 1 () Nearly all |
| 2 () Majority | 2 () Majority |
| 3 () Minority | 3 () Minority |
| 4 () None | 4 () None |
| 5 () Don't know | 5 () Don't know |
| 6 () Not applicable | 6 () Not applicable |

(8-3) Nowadays some couples practise birth control. Generally speaking, do you approve of this?

- 1 () Highly approve
- 2 () Approve
- 4 () Disapprove
- 5 () Highly disapprove
- 3 () No opinion

(8-4) How often do you discuss birth control with your husband?

- 1 () Often
- 2 () Sometimes
- 3 () Seldom
- 4 () Never

(8-5) Generally speaking, do you approve of abortion?

- 1 () Approve
- 2 () Disapprove
- 3 () Don't know, undecided
- 4 () Not applicable

(8-6) Would you approve of abortion under the following specific conditions?

	<u>Highly</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Highly</u> <u>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Neu-</u> <u>tral</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>appli-</u> <u>cable</u>
Financially cannot afford an additional child	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Premarital pregnancy, boy-friend denies responsibility	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Premarital pregnancy, boy-friend willing to get married	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Possibility of defective birth	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Consequence of rape	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Child-birth risks mother's life	()	()	()	()	()	()	()

(8-7) Please tell me all the methods of contraception you have heard of? (listed out by the respondent herself)

<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Never</u> <u>heard of</u>	
1 ()	2 ()	Condom
1 ()	2 ()	Pills
1 ()	2 ()	IUD
1 ()	2 ()	Safety period
1 ()	2 ()	Diaphragm
1 ()	2 ()	Injection
1 ()	2 ()	Foaming tablets
1 ()	2 ()	Douche
1 ()	2 ()	Coitus-interruptus
1 ()	2 ()	Abstinence
1 ()	2 ()	Jelly
1 ()	2 ()	Female Sterilization
1 ()	2 ()	Male Sterilization (Vasectomy)

(8-12) What contraceptive method(s) did you use?

<u>1st method</u>	<u>2nd method</u>	
1 ()	1 ()	Condom
2 ()	2 ()	Pills
3 ()	3 ()	IUD
4 ()	4 ()	Safety period
5 ()	5 ()	Diaphragm
6 ()	6 ()	Injection
7 ()	7 ()	Foaming tablets
8 ()	8 ()	Douche
9 ()	9 ()	Coitus-interruptus
X ()	X ()	Abstinence
Y ()	Y ()	Jelly
A ()	A ()	Female Sterilization
B ()	B ()	Male Sterilization
C ()	C ()	No answer
D ()	D ()	Not applicable

(8-13) Where did you or your husband learn such method(s)?

- 1 () H.K. Family Planning Association
- 2 () Private practitioner
- 3 () Hospital or clinic
- 4 () Husband
- 5 () Self-acquired, no need to learn from others
- 6 () Relatives & friends
- 7 () Others (speciy) _____
- 8 () Cannot recall
- 9 () Not applicable

Questions 8-14 to 8-20 are only for female respondents aged 44 or younger

(8-14) Are you and your husband practising birth control at present?

- 1 () Yes (go to 8-15 and 8-16, then 8-21 to 8-24)
- 2 () No (go to 8-17)
- 3 () No answer
- 4 () Not applicable

(8-15) What contraceptive method(s) are you using at present?

<u>1st method</u>	<u>2nd method</u>	
1 ()	1 ()	Condom
2 ()	2 ()	Pills
3 ()	3 ()	IUD
4 ()	4 ()	Safety period
5 ()	5 ()	Diaphragm
6 ()	6 ()	Injection
7 ()	7 ()	Foaming tablets
8 ()	8 ()	Douche
9 ()	9 ()	Coitus-interruptus
A ()	A ()	Jelly
B ()	B ()	Female Sterilization
C ()	C ()	Male Sterilization
D ()	D ()	No answer
E ()	E ()	Not applicable

(8-16) Whose idea is it for practising birth control (including sterilization) at present?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Husband's parent(s)
- 5 () Wife's parent(s)
- 6 () Others (specify) _____
- 7 () Not applicable

(8-17) (Ask only those who do not practise birth control) Whose idea is it for not practising birth control?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Husband's parent(s)
- 5 () Wife's parent(s)
- 6 () Others (specify) _____
- 7 () Not applicable
- 8 () Pregnant at present

(8-18) What are your reasons for not practising birth control at present? (Write in 1, 2, etc. to indicate the degree of importance of the reason)

- 1 () The productive period is believed to have passed (go to 8-21)
- 2 () Hope to have children (have no child now)
- 3 () Hope to have more children (have children already)
- 4 () Contraception disapproved by religion
- 5 () Fear of side-effects and troubles
- 6 () Opposed by parents
- 7 () Husband not at home, so need not use any contraceptive method
- 8 () Others (specify) _____
- 9 () No answer
- X () Not applicable

(8-19) Is it likely that you would practise birth control in the future?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Don't know
- 4 () Not applicable

(8-20) When would you start to practise birth control in the future?

(8-21) If a couple decide not to have children and undergo sterilization, do you approve?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No

(8-22) Would you approve of sterilization for the husband or for the wife?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Not applicable

Ask all female respondents

(8-23) Have you ever heard of the H.K. Family Planning Association?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Not applicable

(8-24) Have you ever attended a clinic of the HKFPA?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Not applicable

(8-25) Which district is that HKFPA clinic located?

(8-26) What do you think is the ideal number of children for an ordinary family in Hong Kong?

_____ children

IX. Family Interaction and Marrital Adjustment

(9-1) (Ask if respondent has children under 21) Who is mainly responsible for children's home education?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Not applicable

(9-2) (Ask if respondent has children) Who decides on children's educational matters (e.g., choice of school, further education)?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Not applicable

(9-2a) Do you consult your children in matters related to their education?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Not applicable

(9-2b) At what educational level would they be consulted?

_____ grade/level

- 0 () Not applicable

(9-3) Do you have a monthly family budget?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No

(9-3a) Who is mainly responsible for footing the bills?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Not applicable

(9-4) Who decides on extraordinary purchases costing more than HK\$200?

- 1 () Husband
- 2 () Wife
- 3 () Both husband and wife
- 4 () Not applicable, no such purchases

(9-4a) Do you consult your children in cases of extraordinary purchases costing more than HK\$200?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Depends
- 4 () Not applicable, no children
- 5 () Not applicable, no such purchases

(9-5) If all family decisions are made by one spouse, what do you think the other spouse would feel?

- 1 () Very dissatisfied
- 2 () Slightly dissatisfied
- 3 () Does not mind at all

(9-6) How frequent do you communicate with your spouse on the following matters?

	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Almost never</u>
a. Interesting episodes	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()
b. Unpleasant experiences and worries	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()
c. Recreation	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()
d. Gift-giving	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()

(9-7) What would you do when you disagree with your spouse on children's discipline?

(9-8) What would you do when you disagree with your spouse on family expenditure?

(9-9) Do you have any hobby in common with your spouse?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No

(9-9a) What are these hobbies? _____

(9-10) What proportion of your spouse's good friends do you know?

- 1 () All
- 2 () Majority
- 3 () Minority
- 4 () None

(9-11) Do you and your spouse socialize with them together?

- 1 () Most often only the other spouse goes
- 2 () Most often couple go together

(9-12) Do you engage in any recreation with your spouse on holidays or Sundays?

- 1 () Most often only the other spouse goes
- 2 () Most often couple go together

(9-13) What is the course of action you are likely to take if you are asked by your spouse to see a movie which you do not like?

- 1 () Usually go with him/her
- 2 () Sometimes go with him/her
- 3 () Definitely will not go

(9-14) Do you or your spouse know how to play mah-jong?

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Yes	1 ()	1 ()
No	2 ()	2 ()

(9-15) How would you feel if your spouse brings friends home for a mah-jong game?

- 1 () Don't mind, if once in a while
- 2 () Definitely don't like it
- 3 () Definitely don't mind

Questions 9-16 and 9-17 are for wife only

(9-16) How would a wife feel if her husband indulges in dog- and horse-gambling?

- 1 () Don't mind, if once in a while
- 2 () Definitely don't like it
- 3 () Definitely don't mind

(9-17) How would you feel if your husband indulges in dog- and horse-gambling?

- 1 () Don't mind, if once in a while
- 2 () Definitely don't like
- 3 () Definitely don't mind

(9-18) Do you feel there is any financial difficulty in the family?

- 1 () Very difficult
- 2 () Slightly difficult
- 3 () No difficulty at all

X. Meaning of Having Children

(Ask only those who have children)

(10-1) Do you think that children have the obligation to give money to parents when they work?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () It depends
- 3 () No (go to 10-4)
- 4 () Not applicable

(10-2) Do you think your children have the obligation to give money to you when they are married?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () It depends
- 3 () No
- 4 () Not applicable

(10-3) Do you think your children have the obligation to give money to you if they are not living with you?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () It depends
- 3 () No
- 4 () Not applicable

(10-4) How is the relationship between you and your spouse affected by having children?

- 1 () Much improved
- 2 () Improved
- 3 () Makes no difference
- 4 () Deteriorated
- 5 () Much deteriorated
- 6 () Not applicable

(10-5) How is the 'fun' in the family affected by having children?

- 1 () Much increased
- 2 () Increased
- 3 () Makes no difference
- 4 () Decreased
- 5 () Much decreased
- 6 () Not applicable

(10-6) What are the things about children that concern you most?
(Write in numbers, e.g., 1, 2, to indicate order of importance.)

- 1 () Being led astray
- 2 () Safety
- 3 () Study
- 4 () Future prospect
- 5 () Not applicable

(10-7) Do you think rearing children is laborious?

- 1 () Not at all laborious
- 2 () Not laborious
- 3 () It's alright
- 4 () Laborious
- 5 () Very laborious
- 6 () Not applicable

(10-8) What do you think is the degree of emotional burden caused by children?

- 1 () Very light
- 2 () Light
- 3 () It's alright
- 4 () Heavy
- 5 () Very heavy
- 6 () Not applicable

(10-9) (Ask only if husband's parent(s) are in Hong Kong) How is the relationship between the wife and her parents-in-law affected by having children?

- 1 () Much improved
- 2 () Improved
- 3 () Makes no difference
- 4 () Deteriorated
- 5 () Much deteriorated
- 6 () Not applicable
- 7 () No parents-in-law

(10-10) What do you think are the disadvantages of having children?
(Write in numbers, e.g., 1, 2, to indicate order of importance.)

- 1 () Emotional burden
- 2 () More expenses
- 3 () Inconvenience
- 4 () Detrimental to husband-wife relationship
- 5 () Others
- 6 () No answer
- 7 () No disadvantages
- 8 () Not applicable

(10-11) What do you think are the advantages of having children?

- 1 () To perpetuate the patrilineal family
- 2 () Children are security against old age
- 3 () Emotional satisfaction
- 4 () Brings 'fun' to the household
- 5 () Strengthens the bond between husband and wife
- 6 () Helps household chores and family income
- 7 () Having fulfilled one's duty
- 8 () Others
- 9 () No answer
- X () No advantages
- Y () Not applicable

XI. Expectation for children

(The following questions are only for those whose children are still studying in school or are too young for school.)

(11-1) What are your plans for your children's education? What level of educational attainment do you expect of your sons and of your daughters?

<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	
1 ()	1 ()	Primary graduated
2 ()	2 ()	Junior middle graduated
3 ()	3 ()	Secondary graduated
4 ()	4 ()	University graduated
5 ()	5 ()	Further education abroad
6 ()	6 ()	Don't know or undecided
7 ()	7 ()	Others (specify) _____
8 ()	8 ()	Depends on their abilities
9 ()	9 ()	Not applicable

(11-2) Can you afford to support your children to reach that educational level?

- 1 () Cannot afford
 2 () Can barely afford
 3 () Not much of a problem

(11-3) Are you willing to let your sons reach that goal despite possible financial difficulty?

- 1 () Yes
 2 () No
 3 () It depends (specify) _____
 4 () Not applicable

(11-4) How about for your daughters?

- 1 () Yes
 2 () No
 3 () It depends
 4 () Not applicable

(11-5) At what age do you expect your children to help the family financially:

Sons: _____ years old or after completing school (level _____)
 () Not applicable

Daughters: _____ years old or after completing school (level _____)
 () Not applicable

The following are some views concerning the family and children. Please indicate to what degree you agree or disagree with each of them.

XII. Family System and Opinions Concerning Children

	Absolutely agree	Quite agree	Very difficult to decide	Quite disagree	Absolutely disagree	Don't know
A "To have five generations under the same roof is an ideal family today"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
B "It should not matter whether one's child is a boy or a girl"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
C "What a blessing it is if one has numerous children and grandchildren"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
D "Newlyweds ought to form their own small family"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
E "Of the three forms of filial impiety, the most serious one is not to have offsprings"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
F "Children must unconditionally obey their parents"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
G "Raising sons can give one security at old age"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
H "One should have more sons to carry on the ancestral line"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
I "Raising children is a heavy burden"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
J "Children are indispensable to a happy family"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()

XIII. Tendency Toward General Planning

(13-1) Do you agree with the following views?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
A "It does not matter if a family's expenditure exceeds its income"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()
B "The consequence of doing something remains the same regardless of any prior preparation"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()
C "The number of children that a family has is predetermined by fate"	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()

(13-2) Some people would consider what his purpose is in doing anything. Do you think that they should do that?

- 1 () No
 2 () No opinion
 3 () Yes

(13-3) Do you feel that many people nowadays would fully prepare before doing anything?

- 1 () No
 2 () No opinion
 3 () Yes

(13-4) Do you feel that many people at present simply leave things to fate without any planning at all?

- 1 () No
 2 () No opinion
 3 () Yes

(13-5) What would you do if you had too many things to handle in very little time?

XIV. Living Conditions

(14-1) Do you possess any of the following material goods?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Radio	1 ()	2 ()
Sewing machine	1 ()	2 ()
Refrigerator	1 ()	2 ()
Camera	1 ()	2 ()
Washing machine	1 ()	2 ()
Television	1 ()	2 ()
Air-conditioner	1 ()	2 ()
Motor car	1 ()	2 ()

(14-2) Do you own this living quarter? (Don't ask those living in government housing)

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Not applicable

(14-3) What is the monthly rent you have to pay?
 _____ dollars per month

(14-4) (Ask only those who pay rent for private housing) How long did it take you to rent the present living quarter?
 _____ months

(14-5) (Ask only those living in Low Cost Housing) How long did it take you to have your application for housing approved?
 _____ months

(14-6) How many rooms does your family occupy? (including sitting room, but excluding kitchen and bath room)
 _____ rooms

(14-7) What is the total floor space your family occupies?
 _____ sq.ft.

(14-8) To what extent are you satisfied with the following aspects of your living environment?

	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Nothing particular</u>	<u>Dis-satisfied</u>	<u>Very dis-satisfied</u>
Safety	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
Neighborliness	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
Cleanliness of vicinity	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()

(14-9) Do you think your present living space is sufficient?

- 1 () Sufficient
- 2 () Not sufficient
- 3 () Very insufficient

(14-10) What is the importance of saving to your family?

- 1 () Very important
 - 2 () Important
 - 3 () Not sure
 - 4 () Unimportant
 - 5 () Very unimportant
 - 6 () No savings
 - 7 () Don't know
- } (Go to 14-12)

(14-11) What for you are two main purposes of saving?

- 1 () For unexpected expenses
- 2 () For children's education
- 3 () For old age
- 4 () For purchase of property
- 5 () For purchase of expensive goods
- 6 () Others (specify) _____
- 7 () Don't know
- 8 () No answer
- 9 () Not applicable

(14-12) Do you have a bank account?

1 () Yes

2 () No

(14-13) What kind of account is it?

1 () Joint account

2 () Individual account

3 () Both joint and individual accounts

4 () Not applicable

(14-14) Does your spouse have a bank account?

1 () Yes

2 () No

3 () Don't know

(14-15) What kind of account is it?

1 () Joint account

2 () Individual account

3 () Joint account and individual account

4 () Not applicable

XV. Social Participation

(15-1) Have you ever participated in any of the following associations?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Kinsmen's associations	1 ()	2 ()
Trade unions	1 ()	2 ()
Religious associations	1 ()	2 ()
"Kaifong" associations	1 ()	2 ()
Others (specify) _____	1 ()	2 ()

(15-2) What do you think of the "Clean Hong Kong Campaign"?
(Read out response categories)

- 1 () Very meaningful
- 2 () Meaningful
- 3 () Meaningless
- 4 () Much ado about nothing

(15-3) What do you think of the "Fight Crime Campaign"?
(Read out response categories)

- 1 () Very meaningful
- 2 () Meaningful
- 3 () Meaningless
- 4 () Much ado about nothing

(15-4) Do you feel that the Government is sincere in the Anti-Graft Campaign?

- 1 () No
- 2 () Yes
- 3 () Don't know

(15-5) Do you know the location of the following community organizations?
(Ask further if location known) Have you ever visited them?

	<u>Don't know its loca- tion</u>	<u>Know its loca- tion but have never been there</u>	<u>Know its location and have been there</u>
Nearby community services centre	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()
Nearby City District Office	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()
Nearby Kaifong Association	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()
Nearby playgrounds	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()
Nearby Post-office	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()
Hong Kong City Hall	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()

(15-6) Have you ever supported or participated in the following? (Read out)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Community Chest	1 ()	2 ()
Flag Days	1 ()	2 ()
Charity Concerts	1 ()	2 ()
Clean Hong Kong Campaign	1 ()	2 ()

(15-7) Do you think that sit-in petitions at the Government House by
certain civilian groups are of any use?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () No opinion
- 4 () It depends

(15-8) Do you think that sit-in petitions at the Government House should
take place at all?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () No opinion
- 4 () It depends

(15-9) Would you complain by telephone to authorities concerning unattended rubbish and litter that you see?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () It depends

(15-10) Would you consent to you children's working in the Government?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () No opinion

(15-11) Do you approve the legalization of off-course betting?

- 1 () Approve
- 2 () It depends
- 3 () Disapprove

(15-12) Do you think that the 'tips' in horse- and dog-gambling are of any use?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Don't know

(15-13) Do you agree to the saying "It is best not to bother with other people's business"?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () It depends
- 4 () No opinion

(15-14) Would you choose to live abroad or stay in Hong Kong if you have a great deal of money?

- 1 () Live in Hong Kong
- 2 () Live abroad
- 3 () Don't know

(15-15) Do you think that every citizen ought to have the right of expressing his opinions on public affairs?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () It depends

(15-15a) Do you think that the opinions of an ordinary citizen would carry any effect?

- 1 () Definitely
- 2 () May be
- 3 () Definitely not

(15-15b) Do you think that your own opinions would carry any effect?

- 1 () Definitely
- 2 () May be
- 3 () Definitely not

(15-16) What would you do if certain Government policies have adverse effects on you?

- 1 () Complain to the Government
- 2 () Complain to City District Office
- 3 () Appeal to "Kaifong" Association for help
- 4 () Appeal to the press
- 5 () Don't do a thing
- 6 () Others (specify _____)

APPENDIX C

Occupational Classification

(A) Administrative and Clerical Work

1. Professional Administrator/Executive/Manager

- 111. Directors, managers, or executives in banking, trade, or industry
- 112. Heads and senior staff in government service, including members of the administrative and executive grades

2. Senior Clerk (or equivalent)

- 121. Proprietors of small firms, small businesses
- 122. Minor supervisory staff in government service (e.g., inspectors, supervisors)
- 123. Minor supervisory staff in private enterprises (e.g., floor managers and captains of restaurants, bus station masters and inspectors, section managers of department stores, etc.)
- 124. Proprietors of small business stalls (e.g., cooked food stalls, miscellaneous goods stalls, etc.)
- 125. Bookkeepers
- 126. Secretaries, shorthand typists

3. Junior Clerk (or equivalent)

- 131. Office clerks, typists, receptionists, telephone operators, office machine operators
- 132. Cashiers, tellers, shroffs
- 133. Clerical assistants, shop assistants

4. Messengers

- 141. Office boys, messengers

(B) Production Work

1. Technologist/Engineer

211. Architects, engineers, surveyors, system analysts, statisticians, technologists, qualified accountants

2. Technician/Craftsman/Skilled Worker

221. Skilled mechanics and electricians, technicians, and technical assistants

222. Craftsmen (e.g., carpenters, jewellery setters, ivory carvers, precision instrument makers, etc.)

223. Draughtsmen, cartographers

224. Construction foremen, production process inspectors and supervisors (in maintenance, testing, training, etc.)

3. Machine Operator/Semi-skilled Worker

231. Factory semi-skilled workers (e.g., assembly line work or work requiring some degree of manoeuvring of machines)

232. Transportation workers (drivers), Drivers and controllers of construction vehicles and heavy machinery

233. Semi-skilled manual workers (e.g., plumbers, bricklayers, toolmakers, printing typesetters, bakers, construction scaffold builders, dock workers, etc.)

234. Master fishermen, master farmers

4. Unskilled Worker

241. Technician apprentice (e.g., apprentices--especially beginning apprentices--in garages, factories, or in plumbing and electrical work)

242. Factory unskilled labourers (casual labourers)

243. Non-factory unskilled labourers (e.g., stone cutters, construction casual labourers, coolies, unskilled labourers in fisheries and agriculture, etc.)

(C) "Service" Work

1. Service Work Requiring Relatively Higher "Professional" Qualification
 311. Physicians, surgeons, dentists, lawyers
 312. University/post-secondary college teaching and research workers
 313. Secondary school principals and teachers
 314. Professionally trained social workers
 315. Clergymen (Protestant and Catholic)
 316. Writers and editors of major newspapers and magazines

2. Service Work Requiring Relatively Lower "Professional" Qualification
 321. Primary school teachers and principals
 322. Nurses
 323. Newspaper, radio, and TV reporters
 324. "Peripatetic" salesmen (e.g., insurance, real-estate, office equipment, books) and advertising agents
 325. Movie and TV actors
 326. Professional athletes
 327. Members of non-Christian religious orders (Buddhist monks, Taoist Priests, etc.)

3. "Personal Service" and Disciplined Service Workers
 331. Barbers, tailors, cooks, tourist guides, bartenders, undertakers, attendants in modern hotels
 332. Salesmen/salesgirls in retail and department stores
 333. Bus conductors, ferry fare collectors, cinema box office clerks
 334. Rank and file policemen and firemen, guards (e.g., "Securicor")

4. Unskilled Service Workers
 341. Waiters
 342. Amahs
 343. Attendants (e.g., petrol service stations, lift operators, cinemas, public lavatories, bus boys in restaurants, building caretakers)
 344. Hawkers

APPENDIX D

Supplementary Tables

TABLE D-1

PERCENTAGE OF COUPLES OF THE SAME ETHNIC ORIGIN
BY HUSBAND'S ETHNIC ORIGIN BY HOUSING TYPE

Husband's Ethnic Origin	Housing Type			All
	Resettlement	Low Cost	Private	
Hong Kong, Canton, and Delta	81.5 (184)*	81.9 (138)	66.7 (21)	80.8 (343)
Sze Yap	58.2 (79)	58.0 (50)	41.7 (12)	56.7 (141)
Chiu Chau	85.3 (116)	65.0 (20)	60.0 (10)	80.8 (146)
Wai Yeung	52.1 (48)	25.0 (16)	11.1 (9)	41.1 (73)
Other Areas In Kwangtung	38.9 (36)	33.3 (18)	100.0 (1)	38.2 (55)
Other Provinces	50.0 (8)	66.7 (24)	41.7 (12)	56.8 (44)

* Base number for percentage

TABLE D-2

TOTAL MATERIAL POSSESSIONS BY FAMILY INCOME

Total Number of Material Possessions*	Family Income						All	
	\$749 or less	\$750-\$999	\$1000-\$1249	\$1250-\$1499	\$1500-\$1749	\$1750-\$2499		\$2500 or more
1 to 2	21.7%	11.0%	8.9%	10.2%	6.3%	0.0%	2.9%	11.2%
3 to 4	58.3	66.4	51.8	52.5	49.5	26.5	31.4	53.6
5 to 6	20.0	22.0	37.5	35.6	33.7	61.3	48.6	31.7
7 to 8	0.0	0.6	1.8	1.7	10.5	12.2	17.1	3.5
Total	100.0% (180)	100.0% (164)	100.0% (224)	100.0% (59)	100.0% (95)	100.0% (49)	100.0% (35)	100.0% (806)

* Out of the following specified items: TV, radio, refrigerator, sewing machine, camera, washing machine, motor-car, and air-conditioner.

TABLE D-3

WIFE'S AGE AT MARRIAGE BY WIFE'S AGE

Wife's Age	Wife's Age At Marriage			Total	(N)
	19 or younger	20-24	25 or older		
24 or younger	43.1	56.9	0.0	100.0%	(51)
25-29	27.4	66.3	6.3	100.0%	(95)
30-34	23.8	58.4	17.8	100.0%	(101)
35-39	26.1	52.3	21.6	100.0%	(153)
40-44	33.3	48.8	17.9	100.0%	(168)
45 or older	33.7	42.4	23.9	100.0%	(243)
All Ages	30.8	51.3	17.9	100.0%	(811)

Wife's Age	Ideal Age at Marriage for Women			Total	(N)
	20 or younger	21-24	25 or older		
24 or younger	23.5	66.7	9.8	100.0%	(51)
25-29	8.5	63.8	27.7	100.0%	(94)
30-34	14.4	57.8	27.8	100.0%	(97)
35-39	11.4	65.3	23.3	100.0%	(150)
40-44	15.5	65.5	19.0	100.0%	(168)
45 or older	13.4	63.6	23.0	100.0%	(239)
All Ages	13.6	63.8	22.6	100.0%	(799)

APPENDIX E

Housing Situation In Hong Kong¹

"Living quarter" in the Census means a dwelling unit, either occupied exclusively by one household or shared by a number of households, for living, eating and sleeping. A dwelling unit has to be internally connected, so that the occupants could move between the rooms or cubicles without going outside onto a public corridor, landing or staircase, and has to have direct external access to a street, a public corridor, landing or staircase without going through another household's accommodation.

Types of living quarter as classified by the Census include: self-contained flats and tenement floors in private housing, self-contained and non-self-contained units in public housing, house, simple stone structure, quarters in hostels, and commercial or industrial non-domestic units. For the purpose of our survey, we shall consider two broad types of domestic housings in which our respondents live, namely, private housing and public housing.

Private HousingA. Types of Private Housing

1. Private Self-contained Flat.---These are self-contained² living quarters in apartment blocks and composite buildings.

¹ The information presented here is based largely on the Report of Housing Board 1972 and the Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report, both published by the Hong Kong Government.

² In Hong Kong a self-contained accommodation is defined as a whole living quarter with its own entrance, water supply, kitchen, toilet and/or bathroom.

Apartment block: a multi-storey building containing separate residential flats, each of which is built with its own entrance, water supply, kitchen, living room, bedroom, and bathroom or toilet, properly partitioned by permanent floor-to-ceiling walls.

Composite building: an apartment block where the flats on the lower floors are built for commercial use.

A small flat has an effective area³ of not more than 650 square feet, a medium flat has an effective area of more than 650 square feet but not more than 1,000 square feet, and a large flat has an effective area of more than 1,000 square feet.

2. Private Tenement Floor.--These are living quarters in multi-storey tenement buildings, each floor of which is built as a single unpartitioned room, usually with a separate kitchen and toilet and sometimes a bathroom. Tenement floors are usually subdivided by non-permanent partitions into cubicles. A small tenement floor has an effective area of not more than 300 square feet, while a large tenement floor has an effective area of more than 300 square feet.

B. Periods of Private Housing Construction

1. The Period before 1948.--These buildings are usually three to four storeys high. Over-crowding is usually quite acute in these buildings. The rent of such buildings cannot be raised freely owing

³ Effective floor area means the usable internal floor area of premises excluding parts designed for use as kitchen, lavatories, bathrooms, open balconies, servants' quarters, utility areas, etc.

to a rent-control law instituted immediately after World War II. This law is embodied in the Landlord and Tenant Ordinance of 1947 which restricts the rents by reference to the prewar levels. If the tenant is forced to move he will be compensated according to the number of square feet of floor space in his premises.

2. The 1948-1960 Period.--All the buildings built during this period are multi-storied. Those built before 1956 are mostly 6 to 8 storeys high without lifts. In 1956 a change of ordinance permitting multi-ownership of a building led to the emergence of high-rise housings. As there is no control on the charge of rent, landlords can raise the rents by as much as 50 per cent each year and no compensations are paid to the tenants who are forced to move.

3. The Period after 1960.--Buildings erected after 1960 are typically high-rise buildings because of the continuous increase in population alongside with the decreasing amount of land in urban areas. The Rent Increase (Domestic Premises) Control Ordinance 1970 was enacted in June 1970 for the purpose of providing security of tenure for certain tenants of post-war domestic premises, and preventing unreasonable increases in rents. In December 1970 the life of the Ordinance was extended for a further period of two years until 31st May 1974. During this period landlords will be able to impose two further increases, neither of which may exceed 5 per cent. Each increase confers on the tenant one year's security of tenure at the new rent, but the first such increase may not take effect within a period of 2 years from the date of any increase under the principal ordinance.

Public Housing

In our survey we have included two main types of public housing--the Resettlement Estates and the Low-Cost Housing Estates (including the Government Low-Cost Housing estates, estates of the former Housing Authority and those of the Housing Society). The former Resettlement Department of the Government and the former Housing Division of the Urban Services Department (which used to provide staff for the former Housing Authority) were merged to form the Housing Department of the Government on April 1, 1973. The Housing Society still remains as a private organization, assisted by the Hong Kong Government with private treaty land grants and low-interest loans.

In the past, various types of public housing varied in purpose, management, physical layout, internal construction, and provision of facilities and services. The present trend with the establishment of the Housing Department is toward more standardization in the quality of accommodation to be provided.

A. Resettlement Estates (Marks I-III)

They are non-self-contained units to resettle families displaced from Crown land required for development, families made homeless by the demolition of dangerous buildings, compassionate welfare cases, and certain victims of natural disasters. There is no income limit for those who are qualified to live there. They were built by the Public Works Department for the former Resettlement Department. Legal authority for managing urban estates, factories and cottage areas is vested in the Urban Council but day-to-day management is delegated to the Resettlement Department,

and now the Housing Department. The designs of the Resettlement blocks are designated "Mark" in architectural terms.

1. Mark I blocks (6 to 7 storeys, built in 1955-61).--Each block is usually H-shaped with communal wash-places and lavatories in the cross-piece. An access balcony runs all the way around the outside of each floor. An average space of 24 square feet per adult (each child counted as half an adult) is provided.

2. Mark II blocks (7 to 8 storeys, built in 1961-64).--These are similar to Mark I blocks in internal arrangements, except that the ends of the two arms of the 'H' are connected by a screen of perforated bricks, and large rooms with a balcony, water supply and kitchen are provided at each end of the block.

3. Mark III blocks (8 storeys, built in 1964-67).--These have an entirely different design from Marks I and II with room access from an internal corridor. Each room has its own private balcony and water-tap. Toilets are shared between two rooms. Refuse-chutes are provided on each floor.

B. Resettlement Estates (Marks IV-VI)

They are self-contained units, with the same purposes and management as the older Resettlement blocks.

1. Mark IV blocks (16 storeys with lifts, built in 1965-69).--Each room has its own balcony, water-supply and toilet.

2. Mark V blocks (16 storeys built in 1966-71).--These are the later version of Mark IV, but with wider corridors and a greater variety of room sizes closely matching the sizes of the families.

3. Mark VI blocks (16 storeys built in 1969).---These blocks are similar to those of Mark V but have larger rooms. The standard floor space was increased to 27 square feet for each adult. This was increased to 35 square feet per adult in the 1970 blocks.

C. Government Low-Cost Housing

Government Low-Cost Housing estates were first built in 1963 to provide housing for families living in overcrowded and substandard accommodation and with assessed incomes below \$500 a month (\$600 a month for Kwai Chung Estates). Estates were built by the Public Works Department and formerly managed by the Housing Authority for the Government but are now under the Housing Department. They are self-contained units. Early types are similar to Mark III resettlement blocks; others are 16 storeys high with larger rooms, balcony, water supply, and toilet. Space standard is 35 square feet for each adult.

D. Housing Authority Estates

These estates provide housing for families of moderate means living in overcrowded and standard accommodation. They are for families with assessed incomes between \$400 and \$900 a month (up to \$1,250 for high rent units). Estates were built and formerly managed by the Housing Authority under the Housing Ordinance (Chapter 283). They are presently under the management of the Housing Department. These estates are self-contained units, with 35 square feet for each adult plus kitchen, bathroom, and private balcony.

E. Housing Society Estates

These estates are for families with assessed incomes up to \$1,000 a month (up to \$1,250 a month for high rent units). Estates were built and managed by the Hong Kong Housing Society. They are self-contained units and similar to those of the Housing Authority.