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The Growth Pattern of  
Organisations in Kwun Tong

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**SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE**  
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by

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CONTENTS

i

I	PROLOGUE .....	1
	1 Objectives of the study .....	1
	2 Sources of Data and limitations .....	2
	3 Approach to the subject .....	3
II	FACTORIES .....	3
III	COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS .....	6
IV	SCHOOLS .....	8
V	SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCIES .....	9
VI	MEDICAL AND HEALTH ORGANISATIONS .....	10
VII	GOVERNMENT OFFICES .....	11
VIII	CIVIC ORGANISATIONS .....	11
	1 Kaifong Associations .....	11
	2 Trade Unions .....	12
	3 Multi-storey Building Associations .....	13
IX	RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS .....	13
X	SUMMARY AND DISCUSSIONS .....	15
	1 The Growth Pattern in general .....	15
	2 Supplies, demands and the growth of organisations .....	18
	A. On the Supply Side .....	18
	a The Government Planning	
	b Available lands in low price	
	c Capital	
	d The population	
	e Physical setting	
	f Availability of facilities	
	B. On the Demand Side .....	22
	a Demand for low price industrial lands	
	b Demand for low and lower-middle classes housing	
	c Demands from the local population	
	d Industrial development and the growth of other organisations	
	3 Theoretical Implications .....	27
	4 Epilogue .....	29
Appendix I	HOW KWUN TONG DISTRICT HAS BEEN BUILT .....	31
Appendix II	STATISTICAL TABLES .....	36
	Table 1: Kwun Tong Non-domestic Floor Area Constructed and Cost by Year .....	36
	Table 2: No. of Factory workers, & Reclamation Progress in Kwun Tong by Year .....	37

Table 3:	Growth of Factories from 1968 to 1971 .....	38
Table 4:	No. of Establishments & Employees of 4 Types of Businesses by Year .....	39
Table 5:	No. of Schools and Enrollments by Type .....	40
Table 6:	No. of Schools by Sub-district and by Year of Registration .....	41
Table 7:	Kwun Tong Education Statistics: No. of Establishments and Enrollment by Combination of Types of Course .....	42
Table 8:	No. of Social Welfare Agencies by Year of Establishment and by Sub-district .....	43
Table 9:	Health care units by Type and by Year of Establishment .....	44
Table 10:	Year of Establishment and Present Staff Number of Important Government Offices in Kwun Tong .....	45
Table 11:	Year of Establishment and No. of Honorary Officials, Paid Employees, and Ordinary Members of Kaifong Associations in Kwun Tong when Established and at Time of Interview (December, 1971) .....	46
Table 12:	Number of Religious Organisations by Year of Establishment .....	47
Table 13:	Growth of Various Organisations in Kwun Tong .....	48
Table 14:	Prices for Industrial Lands in Kowloon (1966/67) .....	49
Table 15:	Product moment correlation coefficient between numbers of organisations and the population size (1961-71) .....	50
Table 16:	Completion Date of Public Housing Estates in Kwun Tong .....	51
Table 17:	Floor of Private Building Constructed in Kwun Tong and their Cost by Year .....	52
Table 18:	The Growth of Housing Capacity in Public Housing Estates in Kwun Tong .....	53
References	.....	54
Figure 1	Theoretical Assumption of the Growth Pattern of Organisations in Kwun Tong .....	28
Figure 2	Stages of Reclamation in Kwun Tong (Since 1887) .....	32
Figure 3	Kwun Tong, Completion of Construction by Period .....	33

## I. Prologue

Before 1954, there were only five small villages in Kwun Tong District. By 1956, under the pressure of overpopulation in certain districts and the needs for industrial lands in lower price, the Government decided to develop Kwun Tong into an industrial town in order to re-settle the population from overcrowded areas and to provide spaces for expansion of manufacturing industries which was indispensable for the Colony's economy. During the past 15 years, large amount of capitals from both Government and private organisations have been invested in the districts; factories, firms and other organisations have been established, more and more residences have been built. At the present stage, Kwun Tong supplies housing to more than 450,000 persons and provides sites for 1,600 factories which employ about 100,000 workers (1/10 of the Hong Kong total). Education, health care, social services as well as commercial services are provided (whether it is self-sufficient or not)<sup>1</sup> within the District.

### 1. Objectives of the study

Individual studies of different kinds of organisations (e.g. factories, health care units, political organisations, religious organisations and social welfare organisations) have been carried out in the Kwun Tong Industrial Community Research Programme,\* but in order to have a clearer picture of the development of organisations in the district, a study devoted to the growth patterns of organisations mentioned above as well as those of commercial undertakings, schools, and civic organisations will be both necessary and inevitable.

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1 In a Social Research Centre's paper "A Theoretical and Operational Definition of Community: The Case of Kwun Tong," by A. King & Y.K. Chan, this question will be discussed in detail.

\* This paper is produced for the Kwun Tong Industrial Community Research Programme which was financially supported by the Harvard-Yenching Institute and was under the auspices of the Social Research Centre, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

The objectives of this paper are to study, how Kwun Tong has been developed in the past fifteen years, what the development background of organisations is, what the governing factors are, and how the present spatial structure is evoked, both in general terms and for individual institutional systems. It is not our intention in this paper to work out a conceptual/historical model for the development of organisations applicable to any industrial community in the Colony or elsewhere. But a clear description of reality, of what happened in the development process of organisations in Kwun Tong community will be our work in first order; then we will also go through the pre-formulation stage discussion of a conceptual/historical model. To break through this pre-theory stage, deepened qualitative and quantitative analyses of the independent, intermediate and dependent variables based on more refined and complete data will be indispensable and also highly possible. This will become our target in the next step.

## 2. Sources of data and their limitations

In this paper, statistical data on organisations come from both our surveys<sup>2</sup> and Government departments' records. Unfortunately, usage of some of these data is limited: most of our surveys are sample surveys. Basing on these surveys, we can trace the growth trends of now-existing organisations; however, organisations suspended are not in the sample, and there is no way to find out how many organisations has been closed down in each institutional system every year. Though we can counter-check with Government records, complete records by year are only available for some kinds of organisations (e.g. schools), and in general, detailed records by district did not exist before 1968. As a result, the number of organisations by year and their employees in the past may be under-estimated.

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2 Factories Survey - Summer 1971; Social Welfare Agencies Survey - Summer 1971; Political Organisation Survey - Winter 1971, Health System Survey - Spring 1972 and Religious Organisation Survey - Spring 1972.

Other information on population, Government Town Planning, progress in reclamation, investments in construction, installation of public utilities, etc., has been obtained from various Government departments. Their cooperation in providing us with useful data have facilitated our study a lot.

### 3. Approach to the subject

Quantitative analyses based on our surveys and Government departments' records will surely help us to acquire good background knowledge of organisations in Kwun Tong; but in case quantitative data are lacking or incomplete, complementary qualitative information may also be very valuable. Hence we are going to carry out our study both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In the following pages, we will first study different kinds of organisations separately with regard to their historical background, development trends, major factors affecting the growth pattern and related phenomena, etc.

In the later part, we will compare and regroup our findings from different institutional systems and try to figure out the general growth pattern of organisations in the district. Also, discussions on the growth patterns, the governing factors and inter-organisational relationship as well as theoretical implications will lead to a pre-theory stage of model building which, as expected, should be reached before the end of this paper.

## II. Factories

By 1944, there had been a pressure from the industrialists on the Government for more cheap land. The Governor appointed a special committee (Interdepartment Committee) to investigate and to advise the Government for a special area to be utilised and developed as an industrial area. The Committee recommended that in Kwun Tong, reclamation should be proceeded by stage and the land thus formed be used exclusively for factories. The Report was approved by the Governor and it was anticipated that the first sites would be available by early 1955. The provision of housing

for workers in the factory area, usual community services, transportation facilities, etc., would be undertaken at the same time. Anyway the scheme was to be given priority over any other scheme for the development of new industrial areas. But since Kwun Tong lies at the eastern end of the Victoria Harbour, smoke may cause serious pollution and affect adversely the use of Kai Tak Airport, only those factories that would emit little or no smoke were permitted.

Though sales of industrial land began in August 1956, only a very small number of factory buildings had been erected. This is because factories which are excluded from Kwun Tong are either those likely to produce smoke or need assured supply of water which was not available from Government Waterworks until July 1957. Besides, development of the new reclamation in Kwun Tong was also hampered by the lack of public services, roads which were unpaved and narrow created traffic conjections in certain parts of the area, transportation facilities were inadequate and sanitation was poor.

But since 1961 or 1962, manufacturing industries have gone through rapid development. Capital invested in building flatted factories increased quickly from 1961, particularly in the years 1965/66, and 1970/71 and so was increment of floor area (see Table 1). During the years from 1958 to 1971, more than 550 million H.K. Dollars has been invested in private buildings in Kwun Tong District, among them more than 70% were put into building of non-domestic buildings which are mainly for industrial use.

Though data concerning the growth of manufacturing industries in the whole district during the past ten years are incomplete, but according to Government reports, we still can trace the rapid growth of factories on the reclaimed lands (the industrial zone according to land-use type) of the district (see Table 2). The number of factories increased rapidly particularly in 1965, 1966 and 1968 on these reclaimed lands. This coincided with the increase of investment in building and the increase of



floor areas in the whole district. Besides, a complete set of data can be obtained from the Labour Department since 1968.<sup>3</sup> From Table 3 we observe that during three years' time (from June 1968 to June 1971), the number of factories doubled, but the number of employees increased only by 27,398 persons (less than ½ of that in 1968). This means that the average size, or more exactly, the average number of employees per factory decreased. Two reasons may account for this finding: first, because of the development in technology, less manpower is needed, but it seems unlikely;<sup>4</sup> second, larger factories were established first in the district, then came smaller ones, and it has made the average number of employees per factory decline.

In the last three years, the total number of factories increased by more than 200 annually, but from Table 3, we find that the recent growth of factories on the reclaimed lands slowing down. Instead, small factories have kept on growing and decentralising in other areas of Kwun Tong. During our landuse survey conducted last summer, the invasion of small factories in the sector of private domestic buildings was being observed.<sup>5</sup> Also, factories are now developing in the new industrial area of Yau Tong sub-district.

Figures in Table 3 also show that factories of all categories are undergoing rapid growth in Kwun Tong District, except for the manufacturing of chemical products and glass. Mining industry is even declining.

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3 1968 is the year when the government began to process various kinds of statistics by computer.

4 According to our survey on factories in Kwun Tong, among 346 respondents only 115 showed there was decrease in number of employees in their factories, but 132 showed that there was increase in number of employees.

5 For more details, please see the research report: "The Spatial Distribution of Organisations in Kwun Tong". by Y.K. Chan, Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, August, 1972.

### III. Commercial undertakings

Commercial undertakings may include several categories of businesses, such as retail, personal services, entertainments (cinemas, theatres & Mahjong schools), restaurants and cafes, banks, import and export businesses, etc. They may differ from each other (also from other formal organisations) in nature, form, characteristics, size, and may have different growth patterns.

No information can be obtained from Government Departments on retail shops in Kwun Tong since the registration of these shops is mixed with that of others in New Kowloon. (the only source is the Commerce and Industry Department) But we can say that the number of retail shops increases with the multiplication of constructed permanent buildings. Since early 1960's, businesses began to grow in Yue Man Square, than in Yee On Street, Ngau Tau Kok Road and Luen On Street, and later extended to Mut Wah Street and Hip Wo Street.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the ground floors or sometimes even the first and second floors of private multi-storey buildings are always filled up with commercial undertakings, among them many are retail shops.

In public housing estates, particularly resettlement estates, ground floor spaces are usually provided for commercial purpose, especially retail businesses which serve the residents of the estate. Practically, retail shops are more crowded in resettlement estates than in low cost housing estates.

Generally speaking, spaces for commercial use, particularly for retail shops are soon filled up after the completion of construction. Private multi-storey buildings at the the Commercial Centre are too small and may hinder the development of businesses - as pointed out by Mr. Wong,

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<sup>6</sup> For more detailed information on the development of the built-up area, see also App. I.

the Chairman of the Kwun Tong Kaifong Association during an interview with the personnel of the Social Research Centre last summer. Rent is usually high and is sometimes even higher than that in commercial streets in Kowloon. Small merchants who cannot afford to buy their own shop sites may be forced to move out when the rental contracts become expired after a few years; the place will then be succeeded by others who can afford to pay higher rent.

The growth pattern of restaurants and cafes is similar to that of retail shops, their number increases with the construction of buildings, especially the private multi-storey buildings. But according to Labour Department records, there was no obvious increase in the number of restaurants and cafes from December 1968 to May 1971.

In Kwun Tong, there was no cinema or theatre until 1963. One cinema was established in 1963 and another one in 1965; later, in May 1971, the total number of cinemas in Kwun Tong increased to three. In fact in this district of more than 450,000 residents, recreation grounds and entertainments like cinemas and theatres are still badly needed.

Import and export businesses and banks did not appear in Kwun Tong District until late 1969. Since the end of 1969, the number of banks in Kwun Tong has increased continually, but for import and export businesses, no significant change in number of establishment has been observed (see Table 4).

In the above-mentioned businesses, excluding retail shops, cinemas and theatres, the number of employees increased by less than 620 during the past three years (from 2,194 in December 1968 to 3,809 in May 1971). The number of employees in import and export businesses even declined.

#### IV. Schools

As a district has been developed, and the population continues to grow, education facilities must be provided for children in the area.

According to records of registration of schools in the Education Department, schools were rare in Kwun Tong before 1961. At that time, most schools were located in Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate and Jordan Valley Resettlement Estate; in Kwun Tong Town Area they were just beginning to grow (see Table 5).

Between 1961 and 1966, figures show no rapid increase in number of schools in the district; it increased in a rate of 10 per annum, and was confined in completed resettlement estates such as Kwun Tong, Jordan Valley and Yau Tong. Rapid growth of schools in Kwun Tong Town Area began in 1966 and arrived at the peak in 1968. Then following the completion of resettlement estates and low cost housing estates in Ngau Tau Kok, Lam Tin and Yau Tong, education facilities were also provided for children in these areas. The number of schools has since increased quickly. In spring, 1971, the number of schools in Kwun Tong reached a total of more than 140, ten-fold as that of 1960.

More than half of the schools in Kwun Tong are primary schools where teachings are mainly conducted in Chinese (Cantonese). Nurseries and Kindergartens are next to primary schools in number, and nearly all of them use Chinese as the medium of instruction. (see Table 6). There are twenty secondary schools in Kwun Tong and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of them are Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. But the students enrolled in secondary schools in this district are less than  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the number of pupils in primary schools. Among those secondary schools in Kwun Tong,  $\frac{1}{2}$  are grammar schools offering school certificate courses, while only one school offers matriculation courses.

Only one government primary and one government technical school have been established in Kwun Tong. Private day schools are much larger in number than subsidized day schools; but in terms of enrolment, it is just the opposite. In fact, private schools are smaller and many of them only offer courses at Kindergarten level. 16 private evening schools can be found in Kwun Tong, but they offer only primary and non-school certificate secondary courses.

In Kwun Tong, most schools offer only one kind of courses; but some do have combination of courses, it means that in the same school, kindergarten, primary and/or secondary courses are offered (see Table 7). There are combinations of primary and secondary courses or kindergarten with primary and secondary courses together. However, the most common combination is that of kindergarten with primary courses.

#### V. Social Welfare Agencies

Very often, social welfare agencies are needed earnestly by lower working class people who need help. In Kwun Tong, social welfare agencies began to develop firstly in Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate. Before 1963, all social welfare agencies in Kwun Tong were sponsored by voluntary and religious bodies. After 1964, social welfare agencies began to appear in Kwun Tong Town and Yau Tong Resettlement Estate, and some of them had Government sponsorship. The establishment of social welfare organisations in Sau Mau Ping, Lam Tin and Ngau Tau Kok is more recent, they were usually erected after the completion of the resettlement blocks (see Table 8).

In general, religious and voluntary social welfare agencies developed much earlier than Government agencies. The increase in number of this kind of organisations was not so impressing before 1965/66; but after the completion of resettlement estates where particular buildings had been reserved for community social welfare use, the increase in number reached the peak in 1968/69. Within this latter period, most new

social welfare agencies were located in those new resettlement estates and also near the junction of Tsui Ping Road/Kwun Tong Road within the boundary of Kwun Tong Town Area.

By the end of 1971, the number of social welfare organisations in Kwun Tong District made up a total of 44, and were serving the 450 thousand residents of Kwun Tong.

## VI. Health Care Units<sup>7</sup>

In Kwun Tong, western and traditional Chinese medical services have shown steady growth in number since 1960; but in fact, the growth did not accelerate until 1965. According to the crude result of a Social Research Centre's Survey,<sup>8</sup> more than half of respondents in both western and traditional Chinese sectors answered that their clinics were established in Kwun Tong after 1966.

The first western medical clinics established there were nearly all sponsored by voluntary organisations. Government clinics are rare and started late. Private practitioners are numerous, but most of them came into business after 1965 (see Table 9).

In Hong Kong, it is very common for Chinese or Chinese/Western drug stores to have affiliation with traditional Chinese herbalists. The herbalist diagnoses the patients and the store provides the potion. In Kwun Tong, services of this kind of herbalists commenced their services early, and now still account for a high proportion among traditional Chinese medical practitioners. While others having their own clinics are less in number and in general were implanted later in the district.

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7 Including only general physicians clinics (western medicine) and herbalists' clinics (Chinese medicine).

8 Medical and Health Organisation Survey, directed by Rance Lee, Social Research Centre, May, 1972.

Whatever preference the residents may give to western or traditional Chinese medicine, generally speaking, the number of medical and health organisation in both sectors did grow simultaneously in the district in response to the continually increasing population and its needs.

#### VII. Government Offices

Among all Government offices except those public housing estate offices, the branch of Urban Services Department is one of the first Government offices established in Kwun Tong (1963). Then followed the Magistracy and Labour Department Office in 1965, and the Police Station in April 1966. The Community Centre was erected in 1967. The City District Office (supposed to be the medium of communication between the Government and the people) was established in 1968. But at the very beginning, the Kwun Tong City District Office had only a few staff and had its site in Wong Tai Sin City District Office. Since February, 1969, the Kwun Tong City District Office has its own office in Kwun Tong Government District Branch Offices Building and has expanded its staff. By 1971, the Kwun Tong City District Office had a staff of 24 persons, and has been playing a very active and important role in the District. The development and present size of important Government Offices in Kwun Tong are shown in Table 10.

#### VIII. Civic Organisations

##### 1. Kaifong Associations

The earliest Kaifong Associations established in Kwun Tong District were those located in cottage area such as Fuk Wah Tsuen (Ngau Tau Kok Cottage Area), and Lei Yue Mun. Later, after the completion and inhabitation of each resettlement estate or area, Kaifong Associations were then established, with Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate as an exception. This resettlement estate was completed in 1960, but the Kaifong Associations were established in 1969, nine years after its completion.

Kaifong Associations are organisations for the welfare of the residents in the area. But membership records (as shown in Table 11) show us that the residents are not very interested in joining this kind of associations. In a resettlement estate of more than ten thousand persons, members of the Kaifong Association may be only a few hundred. Furthermore, some associations show no increase in the number of members since their establishment. The only Kaifong Association that has a substantial increase in the number of members is the Lam Tin Kaifong Association (from 150 persons in 1967 to 1100 persons in 1971). Also in these Kaifong Associations the number of employed staff is usually small, but the number of Honorary officials may reach the level of about 1/10 of the total number of members. Perhaps this is the way to attract people to join and give financial aids to the association.

At present, there are 12 Kaifong Associations within the District, but among the 450,000 residents, less than 1.5% are members of these organisations.

## 2. Trade Unions

Data on trade unions are incomplete either because of rejection of interview or unsuccessful contact. Among the six unions in Kwun Tong Town, we only know that one was established in 1965, two in 1968, and one in 1969. It seems that trade unions developed much later than industries in Kwun Tong. Factory workers may be members of trade unions located in Hong Kong and Kowloon, or some of them may not belong to any trade union at all. Anyway, it is rather surprising that trade unions or even branches of trade unions are so rare in an industrial district like Kwun Tong.



### 3. Multi-storey Building Associations

Titles of these associations vary a great deal (e.g. management committee, association, landlords & tenants fraternity association etc.), but the major function of this kind of organisations is to take care of the management and maintenance of the building. In general, these associations are administered by an executive committee selected by the General Assembly of members or by taking turns. And in principle, all residents and owners of the building are members or assumed to be members of the association. But the number of committee members is limited by the constitution, and no increase over time has been observed. The establishment of such association usually followed the inhabitation of the building.<sup>9</sup> According to the Kwun Tong Community Centre's record (1971), these associations are now 24 in number.

## IX. Religious Organisations

In 1971, more than 60 religious organisations were found in Kwun Tong District. Most of these religious organisations belong to Western religious groups, either Catholic or Protestant. Buddhist and Taoist Temples or Ching Sairs (精舍) can also be found, but these traditional Chinese religious groups are usually independent and show no presence of control by any other outside bodies.

Among the 45 religious organisations being interviewed last year in our Religious Organisations Survey, 32 respondents answered that there were presence of control from Headquarters in Hong Kong. These religious organisations are all Catholic or Protestant. Though they may have their international or Hong Kong headquarters established long ago, yet the presence of these Western religious groups in Kwun Tong District is recent, following the population growth and the develop-

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<sup>9</sup> For detail information, please see App.I.

ment of the District. Soon after the beginning of industrialisation and urbanisation of the district, in 1961/62, the number of religious organisations began to increase; following the growth of population, their number increased rapidly between 1965 & 1968. (see Table 12). And because of the rapid growth of population, parishes (e.g. the Catholic Kwun Tong Town parish) must be sub-divided and new chapels have to be built.

The increase in number of religious organisations during the past 10 years is not exactly known due to incomplete data from many religious organisations.<sup>10</sup> But based on available information (see Table 12), we can assume that the number has increased substantially in total. Very often, Taoist and Buddhist Temples and Ching Sairs (精舍) have no record on the number of attendance; some of them are even semi-private and are open to limited members and visitors.

But we can say in general that Catholic churches have more members and a higher rate of attendance on ceremonial days, since administratively they are unique and not segregated into so many denominations as Protestant organisations are.

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<sup>10</sup> Because of mobility of attendance, e.g. Catholics may attend any church that they like, not necessarily in the parish where they live.

## X. Summary and discussions

Before we dig deeper into the studies of similar industrial districts or future industrial districts, such as Tsuen Wan, Castle Peak and Shatin, it is too early to say the development pattern being observed in Kwun Tong will occur or has occurred in other industrial areas, and the same problems encountered in Kwun Tong will be or have been faced by them during the development process. The study of a particular district cannot imply a general rule to others, but a good scientific analysis of organisations in Kwun Tong may serve as the preliminary step towards the formulation of a conceptual/historical model of organisational development for this particular Colony.

### 1. The growth pattern in general

The ever-increasing migration flow and the rapid growth of manufacturing industries are the two major dynamics of the up-rising Kwun Tong industrial community. Surely, the Government planning has been playing a very important role in the development process of the District. Not only have public housing estates been built to house more than 300 thousand people, reclaimed industrial lands were also sold in low price and, as in Tsuen Wan, payment may be made in a period spreading over 20 years (while in other industrial areas, payments are usually cleared within two years). Because of the Government encouragement and lower land price, private housing have also been constructed progressively in the commercial/residential zone of Kwun Tong Town.

Under the Government planning, the realization of large scale housing schemes in Kwun Tong would provide residences; at the same time, residents may supply manpower to the manufacturing industries of the district. But, if we take the population and the number of factories in 1971 as bases and calculate the growth rates, we will find that the population has increased very quickly during the last ten years; but the growth of factories did not take the

speed until 1964/65, and a pause even appeared during 1967. In fact the annual growth rates of factories have been rather fluctuating and not as steady as those of the population which seldom dropped below 20% (see Table 13). Discrepancy of the two growth trends is obvious.

Government offices were developed much earlier than other organisations. More than half of the present existing Government offices (including public housing estate offices) in the District were erected in or before 1963 - the year the construction of the Kwun Tong Government Branch Offices Building had just been completed. By 1969, nearly all now-existing Government offices have been established.

Commercial undertakings are supposed to provide services to both the residents, industrial firms, and workers in the district. In the past ten years, commercial undertakings did develop rapidly in Kwun Tong. After the completion of each public housing estate and every private multi-storey building, shops and business offices would soon be implanted. Statistics on the growth of commercial undertakings are lacking, but based on the limited information from the Labour Department, we still can find that more than 80% of the now-existing business undertakings in Kwun Tong were erected in Kwun Tong in or before 1968. We can assume that the growth of businesses is simultaneously responding to the growth trend of population as well as the development of industries. In fact, business undertakings increase not only rapidly in the above-mentioned permanent structures, but also in cottage areas, on vacant lands and in every obtainable place where one can hawk.

Kaifong Associations are civic organisations of the residents, their increase in number is related to the development of new sub-districts rather than the population size of the district. For the time being, there are 12 Kaifong Associations in Kwun Tong but most of them were established after 1966. Besides the reason that many sub-districts were formed after 1965/66 (e.g. Lam Tin, Sau Mau

Ping), Government policy in encouraging residents to organise this kind of civic organisation during the year of disturbance (1967) is another main reason.

It seems that the number of religious organisations has already reached the saturation point; more than half of the present existing religious organisations in the district were erected in or before 1965, and during the past three years, no single increase in number has been observed. (see Table 13)

Organisations which provide services mainly to the local population of the district such as schools, social welfare agencies, health care units, etc., also increase in number as the population keeps on growing. However, from the annual growth rates or the development trends as shown in Table 13, we do find that the development of these organisations have not kept up with the population growth and their needs, and it did show an obvious time lag. In 1966, the population size in Kwun Tong was half as big as that in 1971, but at that time, only about 38% and 47% of now-existing schools and health care units respectively had been established. This discrepancy between the population increase and the growth of organisations which are supposed to serve the local people is worth noticing.

The government has succeeded turning Kwun Tong into an industrial area, but in other aspects, the development is not well-planned. For example, the commercial centre is too small, rent is high and ever up-rising, small merchants usually find it difficult to carry out their businesses there. It seems that the Government lays stress upon manufacturing industries, other organisations providing services to the local population are sometimes ignored. In fact, only 18.2% of social welfare agencies, 1% of schools and 4.3% of

clinics (Western medical services) are sponsored by the government; in addition, spaces for community use are usually not provided in old type resettlement estates. And actually, the Kwun Tong people are not satisfied with the community services within the district.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Supplies, demands and the growth of organisations

In this paper, eight kinds of organisations differing in characters and functions have been taken into consideration. Though empirically, we can point out what the main factors affecting the development of organisations in Kwun Tong are, and to what kind of organisations which factor (or factors) is more important. However, it is impossible to make generalisation to show what the most important factors to the overall development of organisations in the District are (at least at the present stage which is based on limited data). Anyway, we can classify these factors into two major groups and see what kind of organisation are largely affected by each of them.

### A. On the supply side

Supplies of spaces, manpower, public utilities, capital from outside as well as the Government planning, all contribute to the growth of organisations in the district.

#### a. The Government planning

According to the original Government planning, Kwun Tong would be developed into an industrial satellite and this was intended to solve the problem of shortage of industrial

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<sup>11</sup> In the Life Quality Survey (Social Research Centre, summer 1971), results show that the majority of the respondents gave negative answers to questions concerning the adequacy of schools, social welfare agencies, health care units and entertainments etc., on a five-point scale (+2, +1, 0, -1, -2), the computed means were always between 0 and -1.

lands in Hong Kong. Industrial lands in Kwun Tong were sold in low price and payment could be made in a period spreading over 20 years. At the same time, public housing estates, particularly resettlement estates and government low cost housing estates would be constructed so as to provide dwellings to lower and lower-middle classes people, hoping that they, being moved into the district, might provide enough manpower for industrial development.

The Government planning has been favourable to the industrialization of Kwun Tong. Besides, sites for social welfare agencies, schools, medical and health organisations, etc., had also been planned and constructed in the Town Centre and in the new type resettlement estates; but still, they are inadequate (as mentioned in the preceding section). The planned commercial centre is too small and has limited the future expansion of commercial undertakings there; but in public housing estates, though spaces for shops are limited, rent is low and the sites are close to customers, the conditions are favourable for the development of small businesses.

b. Available lands in low price

According to the Government policy, lands in Kwun Tong, whether they are reclaimed lands or flattened hill-slopes, were all sold in relatively low price. The low price industrial lands had surely stimulated the growth of manufacturing industries in the district; while in other places, available industrial lands were rare or in higher price and would hinder the implantation of factories. In 1966/67, the year just before the 1967 disturbance, industrial lands in Kwun Tong were still the cheapest in Hong Kong (see also Table 14). Besides, in the early stage, lower land price in the commercial/residential zone also favoured the construction of multi-storey buildings and helped in developing commercial and various kinds of organisations in the District.

c. Capital

The rapid development of Kwun Tong in the past 15 years is also partly due to the large amount of capital invested by both the Government and private organisations. Reclamation and flattening of lands, construction and maintenance of public housing estates, establishment of transportation system and water supply system, etc., all need money, and it comes only from the Government. It would not be easy to estimate how much capital the Government has put into the development of Kwun Tong since 1956; at any rate, it is the most important motivating power in the first-stage development.

In the private sector, on the construction of permanent structures alone (including factories and multi-storey buildings), more than 550 million Hong Kong dollars have been invested. Though we cannot tell the exact amount of money invested in equipping the production units, and in establishing various kinds of organisations, etc., in the District, one thing we can be sure is that the restless growth of industries, commerce, as well as other organisations would not be possible without an important influx of capital.

d. The population

Theoretically speaking, the local population may supply manpower to the manufacturing industries; and inversely, industries can provide job opportunities to the residents of the District. The immense manpower resource for the production activities in Kwun Tong has undoubtedly facilitated the development of factories in the District. At present, among the 100,000 workers employed by Kwun Tong factories, 52.9% are Kwun Tong residents,<sup>12</sup> and in the case of skilled workers and labourers, the percentages are still higher.

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<sup>12</sup> Estimation based on the Life Quality Survey, Summer 1971, Social Research Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong.



Apart from providing manpower, the huge-size local population also forms a large market for commerce and public utilities, and in turn stimulates the growth of these services in the District.

e. Physical setting

The development of the commercial/residential zone and the public housing estates has a history of slightly over ten years. Though we do observe invasion of functions in certain areas - e.g. some small home-factory type industries appears in multi-storey domestic buildings and in some resettlement units; enough spaces are provided for factories in the industrial areas, and for other services such as community services and commerce, spaces are available in the Town Centre as well as in public housing estates.

Competition between different land utilisations may be keen in other already developed districts. In Kwun Tong, under the Government planning, different functional areas have been drawn, and thus specific activities are concentrated in particular areas - segregation of different landuses and functions is obvious. Hence the competition between landuse types is minimized. Spaces are provided for various kinds of activities, and land price is relatively low. This is important to the development of the District, particularly to the growth of factories.

f. Availability of facilities

In the case of Kwun Tong, the insufficiency of certain kinds of facilities may be considered as negative factors which have hindered the development. Public utilities have not been developed in a speed that could satisfy the needs of the growing industries and local population (e.g. lack of water supply before 1957). Transportation facilities are inadequate, the present

transportation system is always over-burdened.<sup>13</sup> This would affect not only the manufacturing industries which depend much on "raw materials" and "markets" of the outside world, other businesses and organisations which do not merely serve their own sub-district, and like to extend their service area to other places would surely be obstructed too.

Obviously on the supply side, the situation is favourable for rapid development of organisations, if the transportation system, and other public services can be improved, it will not only facilitate the residents in Kwun Tong, it can also make easy the future development of organisations in the District.

B. On the demand side

Demands raised internally or from exterior did evoke the growth of organisations in Kwun Tong. The most important internal factor would be the needs of services from the people and existing institutional systems. On the other hand the demands for industrial lands as well as housing supplies in Hong Kong may be considered as the most important external factors on the demand side.

a. Demand for low price industrial lands

By 1954, there had been a pressure from the industrialists on the Government to call for more cheap lands for factories. For this reason, an Interdepartmental Committee was formed, and after investigations, recommendation was made in reclaiming an area of about 140 acres in Kwun Tong. The report was approved.

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<sup>13</sup> In Life Quality Survey (Social Research Centre, Summer 1971), 24.1% of respondents considered transportation as being the biggest problem of living in the District, (score higher than that of cleanliness and Juvenile Delinquency). And in Factory Survey (Social Research Centre, Summer 1971), more than 65% of respondents (all responsible personnels in factories) thought the road system in Kwun Tong was inadequate.

The reaction from industrialists was favourable to this scheme, and by 1955, the Chinese Manufacturers' Association received some 454 applications for land amounting to 9 million square feet. By 1955, the Government announced that lands in Kwun Tong would be auctioned at an upset price of \$5 per square foot. Industrial lands in Kwun Tong sold till 1958 remained at the price between \$13 and \$29 per square foot, and the price remained the lowest in Hong Kong till 1966/67 (see also section X, 2A.). Though some unforeseen difficulties and limitations on the side of public services in the District had hindered the development in the early stage (such as inadequacy of transportation facilities, water supply and supply of cheap electricity), factories in Kwun Tong have increased quickly in number since 1962.

In fact, the development of Hong Kong industry became vital to the livelihood of Hong Kong people after the decline of China Trade following the out-break of Korean War. Since Hong Kong was lack of land suitable for industrial purpose, and the needs from industrial development were urgent, it thus brought forth the large-scale Kwun Tong Scheme, and the rapid growth of industrial organisations in the District.

b. Demand for low and lower-middle classes housing

In order to (1) provide housing to factory workers who would like to reside close to their working place, and (2) release the pressure of overpopulation in other districts<sup>14</sup>, or (3) resettle squatter dwellers after the clearance of their

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<sup>14</sup> 52% of the respondents gave the answer that they had moved to Kwun Tong because their former residence was no more available - Life Quality Survey, Summer 1971, Social Research Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

former dwellings, large-scale public housing schemes have been realised in Kwun Tong District. This led to the construction of resettlement estates and low cost housing estates, (2 government low cost housing estates and 3 low cost housing estates of Housing Society and Housing Authority). 80% of the Kwun Tong population are now living in these public housing estates.

The effect of the housing needs on the growth of organisations in the district is generally indirect. But as a consequence of the increasing housing supply, the population grows rapidly in size, and it is the population growth which influences the growth of organisations. (We will further discuss this issue in the following section.) Organisations being affected directly by the growth of housing supply are those public housing estate offices. They are established once the estate is completed.

c. Demands from the local population

The population increase influences both the diversification and the amount of services in the district (each increase in size affords greater opportunity for specialisation). Though the income of the residents in the district is relatively low,<sup>15</sup> the needs for social services are as intensive as in other districts, thus evoking the growth of social service organisations (schools, medical and health services, social welfare agencies, etc.) High product moment correlation coefficients between numbers of schools, social welfare agencies, health care units and the population size in time ( $r = 0.98$ ,

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<sup>15</sup> According to the Health System Survey (Spring 1972, Social Research Centre), the average monthly income of households in Kwun Tong would be \$893.

0.98, 0.99 respectively, see also Table 16) indicate that the growth of these kinds of organisations in Kwun Tong corresponds to the increase of the population.

However, the coefficients between the population size and Government offices, Kaifong Associations and religious organisations are relatively low, since the growth of these organisations follows the development of new sub-districts or new public housing estates, but not necessarily following the population growth in general.

Manufacturing industries grow simultaneously with the population, the coefficient between them is high ( $r = 0.98$ ). But they are not necessarily interdependent (as mentioned in Section X, 2A-d), since the interchange of the working population between the district and other parts of Hong Kong is great.<sup>16</sup> Anyway, the growth of population and industries intensifies the needs for service type commerce and good public services: development of commercial undertakings as well as development of an efficient transportation system, communications, water and electric supply, etc., become vigorous.

d. Industrial development and the growth of other organisations

The rapid development of manufacturing industries on the other hand stimulates the growth of other organisations in the District. At least, the growth of factories has intensified the needs for commercial services such as finance, banking and import/export firms, etc. Besides, restaurants, cafe, and other commercial undertakings have to serve not only the residents of the District but also the factory workers. Health care units should take care of factory workers apart from the normal health

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<sup>16</sup> See also the research report by A. King and Y.K. Chan, "A Theoretical and Operational Definition of Community: The Case of Kwun Tong", Social Research Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong, July, 1972.

care services for the residents. The United Christian Hospital expected to be completed next fall will take care of the District's residents and at the same time pay special attention to casualties of factory accidents.

Diversification and multiplication of services and organisations are either evoked by the population growth or industrialisation of the District. Any improvement may facilitate not only the people and the now-existing establishments in Kwun Tong, but can also help in further development and attract more investment flowing into the district.

Though deeper analysis cannot be carried out at the present stage because of incompleteness of records about the historical development of some kinds of organisations, however, based on our empirical data, we can be sure that both the supply and demand sides are important for the growth of organisations in Kwun Tong. The above-mentioned factors considered to be important may have different degrees of influence on various kinds of organisations.

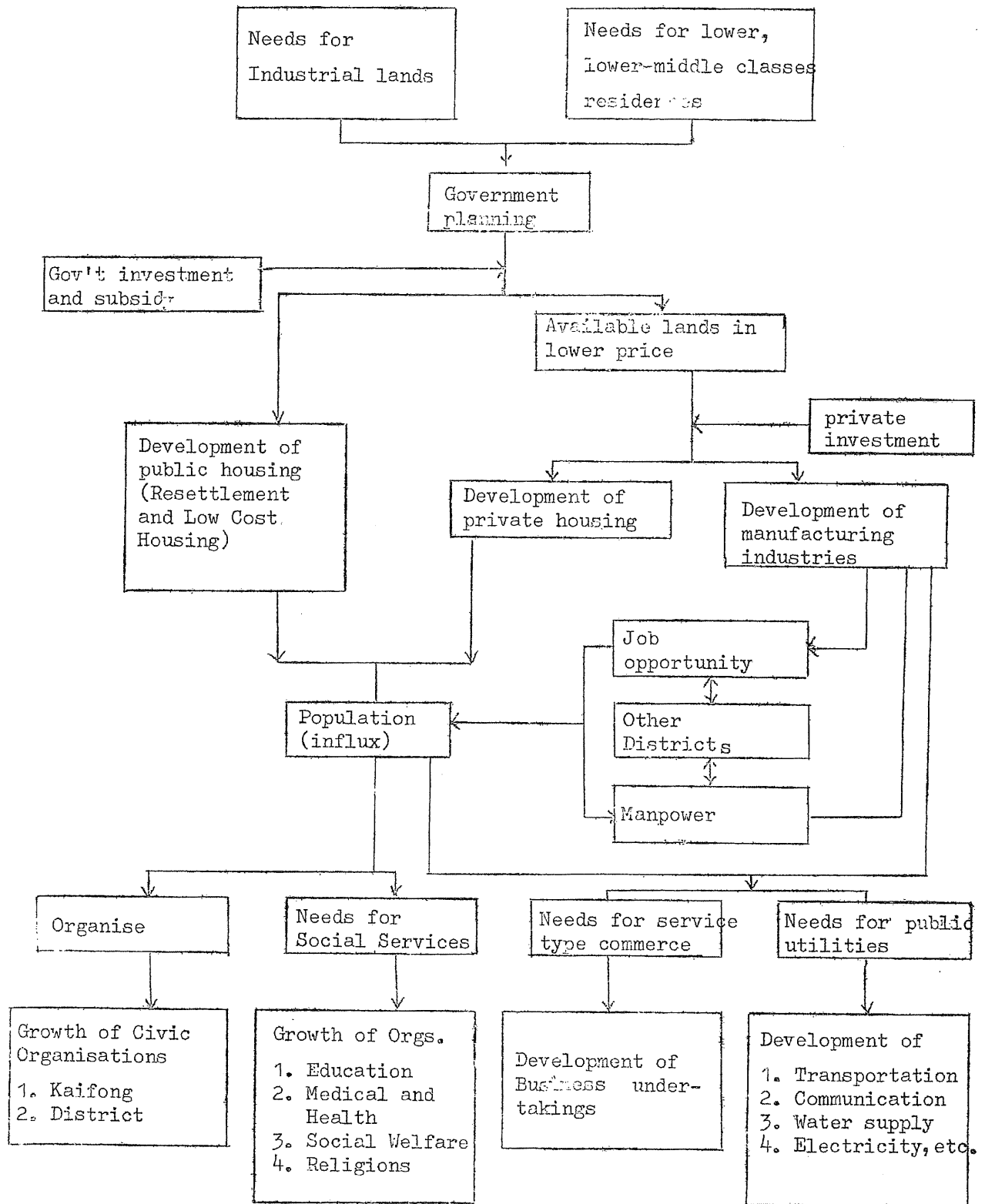
Urgent demands for low price industrial lands in Hong Kong, Government planning, available lands in Kwun Tong, investment from local and foreign consortiums, and manpower supplied by Kwun Tong and other districts, all affect the rapid development of industries in Kwun Tong. For the growth of commercial undertakings, available spaces in private and public housing, the market created by the local population and industries are important factors. Due to the needs of the local population, social services type organisations (schools, social welfare agencies, medical and health organisations, etc.,) are established; but, without supports from outside funding organisations, their development would not be easy. Government offices, religious organisations and civic organisations, continue to grow as new sub-districts are developed, but their number would not necessarily correspond to the population size.

### 3. Theoretical implications

In the case of Kwun Tong it is impossible to adopt Western regional growth models or economic growth models to explain the development process or phenomena being observed without any modifications: (1) In many Western models, national states are the natural units of comparison; those conceptual/historical models (Goldsmith 1959, Rostow 1960) in national scale cannot be applied to a small district like Kwun Tong. (2) Some scholars do pay attention to the high homogeneity of sub-national units, and think that it is more realistic to organise the scale breakdown in terms of sub-divisions and aggregations (Haggett and Chorley, 1967), but most of these non-spatial models emphasizing on economic development (Export base model-North 1955, Growth Pole model-Milhau 1956, Gannage 1962) are not suitable to our study on organisations of a particular district like Kwun Tong. (3) Some non-spatial conceptual models of regional industrialization applied to process of development from primary economic activities to secondary and tertiary activities are based on agriculture or natural resources of the region (Hoover 1937, Fisher 1955, Hirsch 1959 & 63, Haq 1963). But these cannot be applied to Kwun Tong, where industrialization is not based on agriculture, mineral resources or energy in the environment; in short, the development of secondary production activities in Kwun Tong have nothing to do with the natural resources in the district.

To study the development process or more specifically, the growth of organisations in Kwun Tong, we have to follow useful, specially created analytical framework. We are not intending to create a new conceptual/historical model but at least a pre-theory stage of model building will be attempted. Fig. 1 is more than a simplified description of reality, of what happened in the development process of organisations in Kwun Tong. But it is also supposed to be reapplicable to other new industrial areas in Hong Kong. It is clearly shown in Fig. 1 that the pressure of overpopulation in certain districts of the Colony and the needs for more cheap industrial lands forced the Government to envisage new sites for residential and industrial usage. Under Government planning, projects of reclamation and flattening hill slopes were

Fig. 1 Theoretical Assumption of the Growth Pattern of Organisation in Kwun Tong





carried out in Kwun Tong, and building lands were made available. Then, because of Government encouragement, and investments coming from both the Government and the private sector, factories and domestic buildings increased steadily in number; manufacturing industries and the population grew simultaneously in the district. Theoretically speaking, the local population can supply manpower to the manufacturing industries; and inversely, industries can provide jobs to the local residents. And the population increase influences both the diversification and the amount of services in the district; and each increase in size affords greater opportunity for specialisation. Anyway, the growth of population and industries intensifies the needs for services type commerce and good public service facilities, development of commercial undertakings as well as efficient transportation system; meanwhile, communications, water and electricity supply become vigorous. The multiplication and improvement of services and organisations can facilitate not only the new existing establishments, but attract more investments into the district.

Our theoretical assumption on the growth pattern of organisations in Kwun Tong mentioned above and summarised in Fig. 1 is in general correct, and consistent with our findings derived from the available data.

However, to create a conceptual/historical model which can explain the development process of organisations and can be reapplied to other newly developed industrial areas, more efforts must be made in overcoming the problems of incompleteness of data concerning the change over-time, more profound quantitative analysis (e.g. factor analysis) would be needed, and comparative studies of industrial areas in Hong Kong are also indispensable.

#### 4. Epilogue

Kwun Tong may be considered as a particular industrial community of the Colony and has its own special development pattern. The planned (at least at the beginning) development, whether successful or not, may be repeated in other industrial areas of Hong Kong. Before we dig deeper into the studies of similar industrial districts or industrial-districts-to-be, such as Tsuen Wan or Shatin, it is still

premature to say the same development pattern will occur or has occurred in these industrial areas, and the same problems encountered in Kwun Tong will be or have been faced by them during the development process. Anyhow, planners should pay attention to some already occurred problems in the Kwun Tong community, e.g. (1) the development of community services and organisations cannot catch up with the rapid growth of population and manufacturing industries; there is always a gap between the needs wanted and the needs satisfied; (2) there is not enough space for the expansion of commercial undertakings in the Town Centre; (3) insufficient recreations and entertainments; (4) inadequacy of transportation facilities, etc.<sup>17</sup> These chaos may be avoided if (1) we can anticipate what the population size and the intensity of production activities will be when the community undergoes its development process, and (2) the question of how to satisfy the probable needs for services (including public utilities, transportation system, social services, education, medical and health care, recreation and service type commercial undertakings, etc.) at each stage of development is well considered at the very beginning.

Sometimes, it may be very difficult to have a 100% perfect regional development plan, particularly for areas under changeable political and economic atmosphere. However, it is not impossible to minimize the above-mentioned problems.

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17 In the Life Quality Survey (summer 1971, Social Research Centre,) a five-point scale (+2, +1, 0, -1, -2) was employed in measuring satisfactions of Kwun Tong residents with the adequacy of schools, social welfare agencies, entertainments, recreational facilities and transportation between Kwun Tong and Kowloon. Results being observed are all on the negative side (the computed means are located between 0 and -1). For more details, please see the "Kwun Tong Life Quality Study Data Book", compiled by A.M. Shively, February, 1972.

Appendix I. How Kwun Tong District has been built

More than half of the built-up lands in Kwun Tong are reclaimed from sea. Reclamation began in the district long before the decision of making Kwun Tong into an industrial area, but large scale reclamation was not underway until the government accepted the proposal of an Interdepartmental Committee in creating a new industrial area in Kwun Tong in 1954 (see Fig. 2).

In early 1950's, there were only a few villages in this District. Lei Yue Mun, Cha Kwo Ling and the Ngau Tau Kok Cottage Area (Fuk Wah Tsuen) had been settled there before the large scale development of manufacturing industries.

Sale of industrial lots began in 1956, but before 1963 factories were only built on the site bounded by King Yip Street, Hung To Road, Tsun Yip Street and Kwun Tong Road. Later, when more public services had been established and transportation improved, factories continued to grow and extend north-eastward towards Kowloon Bay along Kwun Tong Road and Hung To Road/Wai Yip Street. Besides, in Ngau Tau Kok and Yau Tong Bay, industrial sites were constructed before 1963.

In the northern side of Kwun Tong Road, private multi-storey buildings at Yue Man Square (eastern half), Ngau Tau Kok Road, Yee On Street were first erected before 1963. Later on, it was the turn for buildings in Mut Wah Street and Yuet Wah Street. The buildings in Wan Hon Street are more recent (see Fig. 3).

In the sector of public housing, Jordan Valley and the Kwun Tong Resettlement Estates were first constructed. The former was completed in November 1960 and the latter in June 1961. Two low cost housing estates of better standards - the Garden Estate Phase I and the Kwun Tong Government Low Cost Housing Estate were constructed in 1960 and 1961 respectively (see Table 16).

Fig. 2 STAGES OF RECLAMATION IN KWUN TONG  
(since 1887)

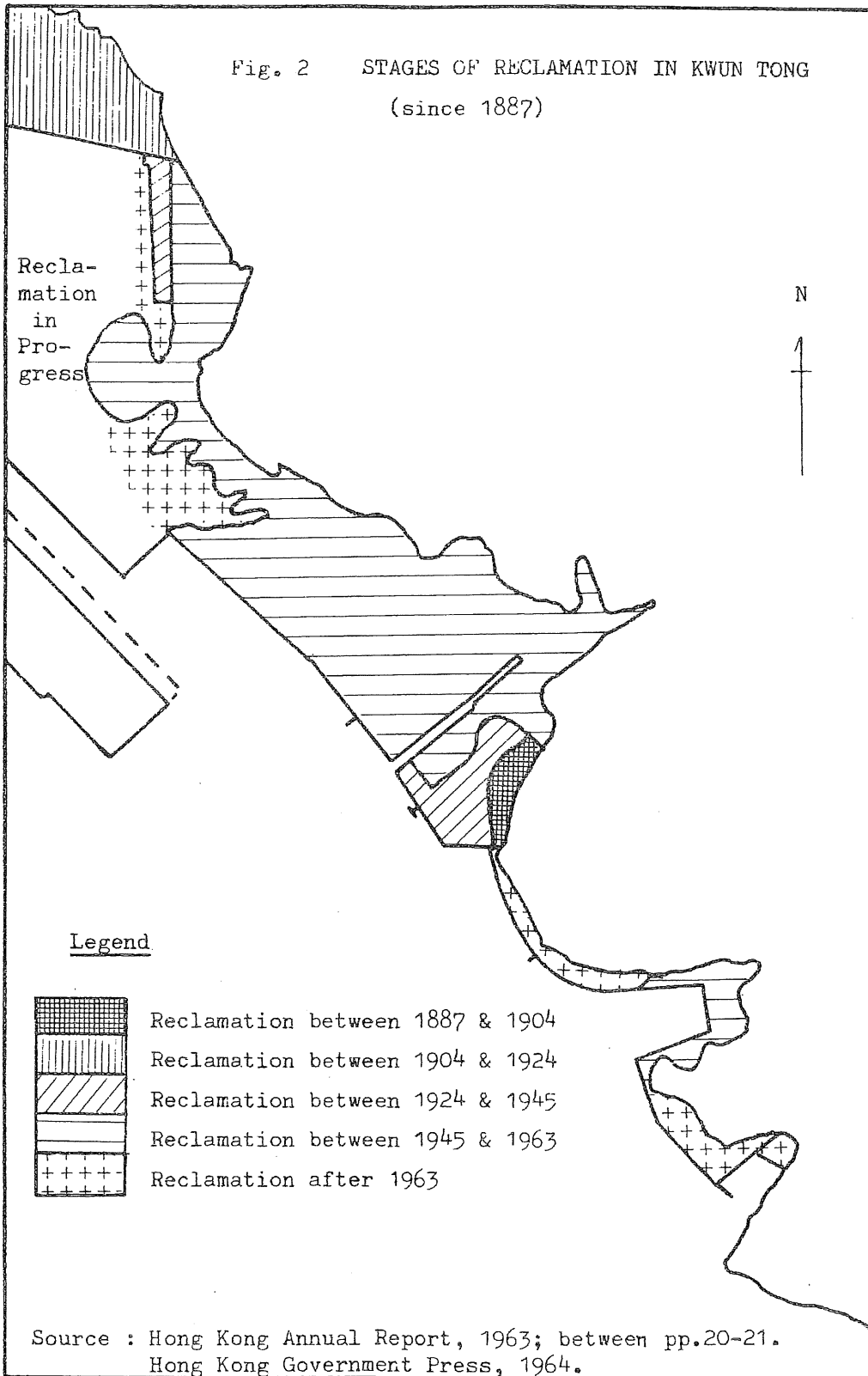
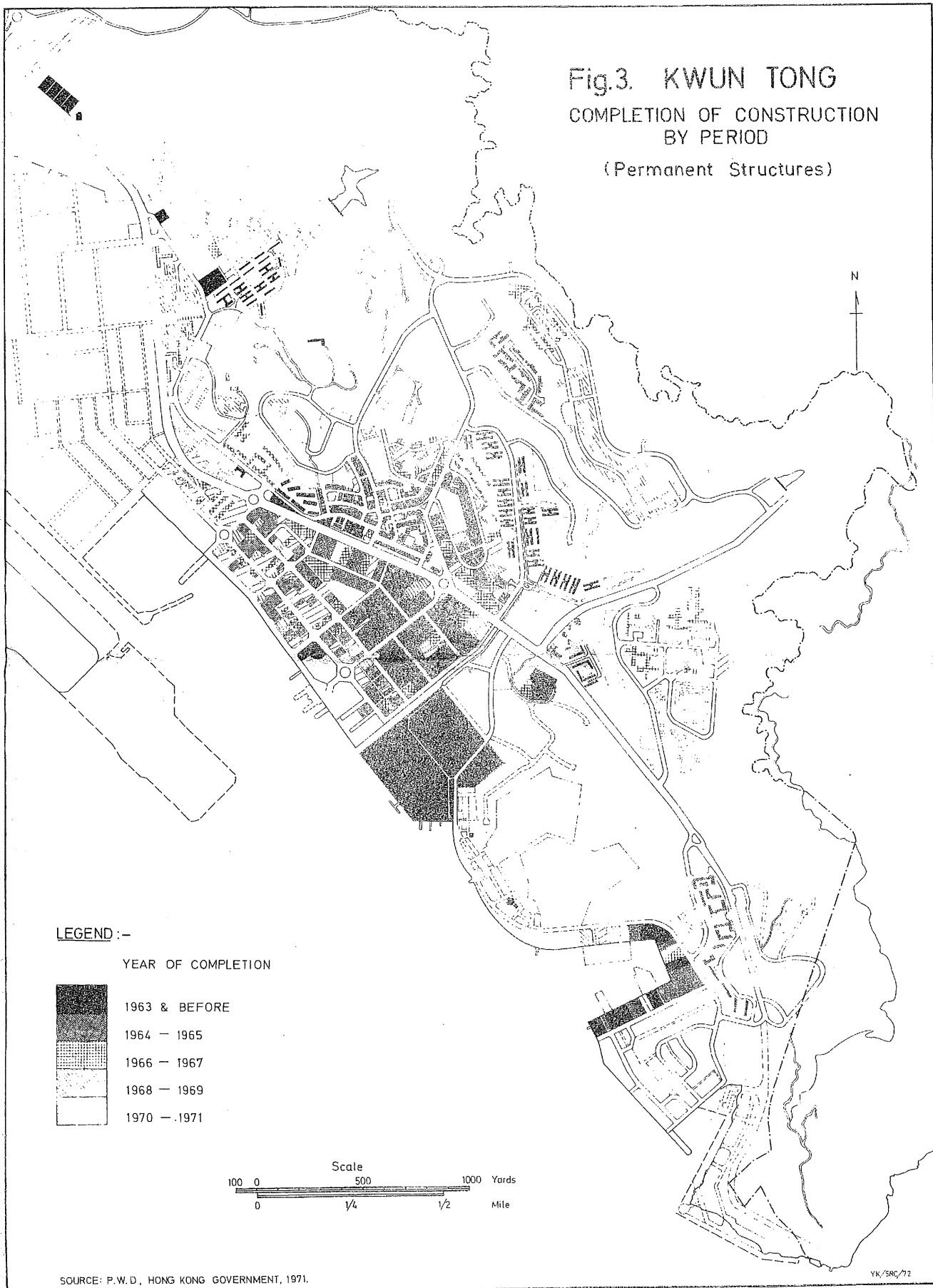


Fig.3. KWUN TONG  
 COMPLETION OF CONSTRUCTION  
 BY PERIOD  
 (Permanent Structures)



Two older type (Mark III) resettlement estates were built in and before 1966 - Yau Tong in 1965 and Lower Sau Mau Ping in 1966. Resettlement estates completed later on (after 1968) are all new Mark IV and V estates (middle and upper Sau Mau Ping, Lam Tin and Ngau Tau Kok). Now the most recent Mark VI type new blocks are still under construction or going to be completed in Lam Tin and Yau Tong.<sup>18</sup>

For low cost housing, Wo Lok Estate Phase I was completed in 1963 and Phase II in 1966. In the same year (1966), the expansion of Garden Estate (construction of Phase II) had also been completed, then followed by Ngau Tau Kok Government Low Cost Housing Estate in 1968, and the Ping Shek Estate in 1971.

As mentioned above, Lei Yue Mun Village, Cha Kwo Ling Village and Ngau Tau Kok Village were established long before the development of Kwun Tong. Apart from these villages, in 1966, there were only several hundred huts erected in Ngok Yue Shan, Kowloon Bay, Jordan Valley Licensed/Resite Areas, and some small scattered villages in the District as well. In 1967, huts began to appear in Hong Ling Road Class II Area, and in Kung Lok Road Class II Area by 1968. Then, the number of huts continued to increase, from January 1969, Sam Ka Chuen Class II Area was inhabited, and before the destruction caused by a disastrous typhoon, this area remained the largest and most densely populated cottage area in Kwun Tong.

Certainly, the Government has invested a great amount of capital in reclamation, construction of public housing estates, and establishment of public services in Kwun Tong District; but this is true for the private enterprise too! From 1958 to 1971, HK\$156,026,885 and HK\$394,154,290 have been invested respectively in construction of domestic and non-domestic buildings in Kwun Tong. The investment in construction of non-domestic

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<sup>18</sup> See also the paper "The Settlement" by Y.K. Chan, Social Research Centre, April 1972.

buildings of which most part is for industrial use has been more than double-fold of that in domestic buildings; and non-domestic structures cover a larger area too. Rapid growth of domestic buildings was experienced in the period of 1963 to 1967; while it was true for non-domestic buildings in 1965, 66, 70, and 71. The growth of non-domestic buildings slowed down in 1967 and 68 due to the disturbance in the Colony (see Table 17).

According to the original plan, Kwun Tong would be developed into an industrial district; at the same time housing would also be provided for factory workers, especially those lower class workers who cannot afford the rent in a private apartment buildings. Since there were sites available (flattened hill slopes), the Government considered that resettlement estates and Government Low Cost Housing Estates would not only provide housing to lower income groups, particularly those whose dwellings were cleared or whose previous dwelling was announced to be dangerous and must be demolished; at the same time, these people might also provide manpower to the manufacturing industries in the District.

In 1960, the resettlement estate in Kwun Tong only provided dwellings to about 2,200 persons, with the Garden Estate (Housing Society Low Cost Housing Estate), it made a capacity lodging less than 25,000 people in total. But in 1966, the capacity of public housing estates increased and provided dwellings to over 140,000 persons (117,496 in resettlement estates and 24,066 in low cost housing estates), with private domestic buildings, it made a total round 200,000. In 1971, the resettlement estates alone could lodge more than 276,000 persons, and the the low cost housing estates provided places for 102,062 persons. With an addition of more than 57,000 from private housing, the total capacity of residences in all permanent structures in Kwun Tong could house over 435,000 people. In a short period of 12 years, the housing capacity has increased by 10 times! (see Table 18).

APPENDIX II: STATISTICAL TABLES



Table 1 Kwun Tong - Non-domestic Floor Area Constructed and Cost by Year

Year	Floor Area (in sq. ft)		Cost (in H.K. Dollars)	
	Usable	Gross	In the year	accumulate
1958			9,390,723.17	9,390,723
1959			5,413,343.56	14,804,066
1960			3,977,122.70	18,781,188
1961			17,165,840.80	35,947,028
1962			8,913,630.35	44,860,658
1963	626,021		20,291,535.62	65,152,193
1964	1,069,765		21,549,198.54	86,701,391
1965	3,015,118	3,744,848	79,046,967.32	165,748,358
1966	1,931,284	2,482,884	51,374,049.09	217,122,407
1967	779,887	1,005,859	19,459,327.68	236,581,734
1968	281,922	436,627	10,080,464.74	246,662,198
1969	913,601	1,148,508	30,939,813.58	277,602,011
1970	2,408,030	3,112,996	49,101,455.06	326,703,466
1971	2,260,102	2,929,873	61,798,794.73	388,502,260

Source: Public Works Department Records

Table 2: No. of Factory Workers, & Reclamation Progress in Kwun Tong by Year

<u>End of Year</u>	<u>Factories No.</u>	<u>Annual Increase</u>	<u>No. of Workers</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>Average Size of Factories (in No. of workers)</u> <sup>2</sup>
1961	100+		15,000+	150
1962	130+	+30	19,700+	151
1963	170+	+40	25,000+	147
1964	197+	+27	25,336	128
1965	343	+146	30,500	88
1966	468	+125	49,373	105
1967	503	+35	48,445	96
1968	642	+139	63,000	98
1969	729	+67	71,200	97
1970	808	+79	72,300	89

1. Not including managerial employees
2. Approximations

Source: Labour Department Records and  
Hong Kong Government Annual  
Reports

Table 3: Growth of Factories from 1968 to 1971.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Number of Establishments</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>
June 1968	879	68,498
June 1969	1,110	81,898
June 1970	1,315	91,204
June 1971	1,619	95,896
Annual Growth		
	(No.)	(%)
June 1968-June 1969	231	26.3
June 1969-June 1970	205	18.5
June 1970-June 1971	204	23.1
	(No.)	Employees (%)
June 1968-June 1969	13,400	19.6
June 1969-June 1970	9,306	11.4
June 1970-June 1971	4,692	5.1

Source: Labour Department Records (Unpublished)

Table 4: Number of Establishments & Employees of 4 Types of Businesses by Year

	December, 1968.		May, 1969.		November, 1969.		May, 1970.		January, 1971.		May 31, 1971.	
	Establishment	Employee	Establishment	Employee	Establishment	Employee	Establishment	Employee	Establishment	Employee	Establishment	Employee
Import & export business					6	41	6	49	9	130	8	62
Bank					11	200	13	252	16	317	19	366
Boarding houses							12	32	12	34	12	29
Restaurants & cafes	138	2,194	139	2,170	137	2,266	131	2,350	131	2,225	139	2,352
Cinemas & theatres	No information	No information	No information	No information	No information	No information	No information	No information	2	75	3	106

Sources: Labour Department Records (unpublished)

Table 5: No. of Schools and Enrollments by Type (as at March 31, 1971.)

	Nursery & Kindergarten		Junior & Primary		Secondary (Non School Cert. Courses)		Secondary (Sch. Cert. Courses)			Matriculation		Total	
	A/C	C	A/C	C	A/C	C	Grammer		Tech & Voc.		A/C		C
							A/C	C	A/C	C			
A. Government Day Schools				2040 (1)									
B. Subsidized Day Schools				76680 (51)	1026 (1)		1422 (4)	1046 (1)		239 (1)			2279 (2)
C. Private Day Schools	964 (3)	15248 (73)	3009 (6)	11582 (51)	1095 (2)		1947 (6)	260 (4)		84 (1)			34189 (146)
Total of A + B + C	964 (3)	15248 (73)	3009 (6)	90302 (103)	2121 (3)		3369 (10)	1306 (5)		323 (2)		39 (1)	116681 (206)
D. Private Evening Schools			626 (5)	232 (3)	727 (6)	226 (1)				456 (1)			2267 (16)

Note: A/C Anglo-Chinese Section  
 C Chinese Section  
 964 No. of Enrollments  
 (3) No. of Establishments

Source: Education Department Records

Table 6: No. of Schools by Sub-district and by Year of Registration

Year	Ping Shek	Jordan Valley	Ngau Tau Kok	Kwun Tong Town	Sau Mau Ping	Kwun Tong R/E	Lam Tin	Cha Kwo Ling	Yau Tong	Lei Yue Mun	Kln. Bay	Total
1946				2						1		3
1947			(1)									
1948												
1949												
1950												
1951												
1952												
1953			1									1
1954												
1955												
1956										1		1
1957												
1958			1									1
1959				1				1				2
1960		5				1						6
1961		2		1		8						11
1962						2						2
1963		1		1		1		1				4
1964		4				1						5
1965		1				5		1	2			9
1966			1	4	2		2				1	10
1967		1	1	8(1)	4		3		1	1		19
1968			4	12	2			1(1)	2		3(1)	24
1969	2		10	6(2)	3	1	2	1				25
1970	1	1	1	4	1		2		1			11
1971	1		1	1	3		1		1		1	9
Unknown				1	1	1						3
Total	4	15	20(1)	41(3)	16	20	10	5(1)	7	3	5(1)	146

Note: Establishment Suspended in ( )

Sources: Education Department Records.

Table 7: Kwun Tong Education Statistics: No. of Establishments and Enrollment by Combination of Types of Courses

Combination of Courses	No. of Establishments	Course	No. of Establishments		Enrollment	
			A/C	C	A/C	C
NK	29	NK	1	29	173	8,268
NK, JP	36	NK	1	35	484	5,201
		JP	2	34	610	5,617
JP	62	JP		62		83,007
NK, JP, SSG	5	NK	1	5	307	1,054
		JP	1	5	316	1,542
		SSG	3	3	57	195
NK, SNS, SST	1	NK		1		274
		SNS	1		723	
		SST	1		84	
JP, SNS	1	JP	1		156	
		SNS	1		372	
JP, SSG	2	JP	2		1,927	
		SSG	2	1	1,759	65
SNS	1	SNS	1		1,026	
SST	1	SST	1		239	
SSG	5	SSG	5		1,553	
SSG, M	1	SSG		1		1,046
		M		1		39
Suspended	9					
Total	153					

Note: NK Nursery & Kindergarten  
 JP Junior Primary  
 SSG Secondary School (Grammar)  
 SNS Secondary School (No Certificate)  
 SST Secondary School (Technical)  
 M Matriculation  
 A/C Anglo-Chinese Section  
 C Chinese Section

Source: Education Department Records

Table 8: Number of Social Welfare Agencies by Year of Establishment and by Sub-District

Sub-district Year	Kwun Tong R/E	Kwun Tong Town	Ngau Tau Kok	Sau Mau Ping	Lam Tin	Yau Tong	Total
1959	(V.) 1						1
1960	(V.) 1						1
1961	(V-R) 2 (V.) 1		(V.) 1				4
1962	(V.) 1						1
1963	(V-R) 1	(G.) 1					2
1964	(G.) 1	(G.) 1				(V.) 1	3
1965	(V.) 1	(V-R) 3				(V.) 2	6
1966		(V-R) 1 (V.) 1		(V.) 2		(V-R) 1 (V.) 1	6
1967		(V-R) 1					1
1968		(G.) 1			(G.) 2		3
1969		(G.) 1 (V.) 1		(G.) 1 (V.) 1 (V-R) 2	(V.) 4		10
1970		(V.) 1	(V.) 2 (V-R) 2				5
1971		(V-R) 1					1
Total	9	13	5	6	6	5	44

Note: G Governmental  
V Vountary  
V-R Religious

Source: Social Welfare Organisation Survey,  
Social Research Centre, 1971.



Table 9: Health Care Units by Type and by Year of Establishment

Type	Before 1960	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	Unknown	Sub-total
Western Medicine (General Physician)															
Private practitioner		1			1		3	3	4	5		2	2		21
Voluntary clinic	2	2		1		2	2	1	3	2	3	1		2	21
Government clinic						1									1
Total	2	2	1	1	1	3	5	4	7	7	3	3	2	2	43
Chinese Medicine (Herbalist)															
Private practitioner	1				2		1	1	1	5	2	2	1		18
Voluntary clinic															0
Affiliated to drug stores	3	5		3			1	4	2	4	2	5	1	3	33
Total	4	5	0	3	2	2	2	5	3	9	4	7	2	3	51

Source: Health System Survey,  
Social Research Centre, 1972.

Table 10: Year of Establishment and Present Staff Number of Important Government Offices in Kwun Tong

<u>Office</u>	<u>Year of Establishment</u>	<u>No. of Officers</u>	<u>No. of Clerical Staff</u>	<u>No. of Minor Staff</u>
U.S.D.	1963	17	23	600
Magistracy	1965	5	21	6
Labour Dept.	1965	14	8	3
Police	1966	10	25	215
Community Centre	1967	10	6	11
C.D.O.	1968	11	11	2

Source: Political Organisations Survey,  
Social Research Centre, 1971.

Table 11: Year of Establishment and No. of Honorary Officials, Paid Employees, and Ordinary Members of Kaifong Associations in Kwun Tong when Established and at Time of Interview (Dec., 1971)

Year of Establishment	Name of Association	When Established			Winter, '71		
		No. of Officials	No. of Employees	No. of Members	No. of Official	No. of Employees	No. of Members
1959	Ngau Tau Kok (Cottage Area)		No record		42	2	700
1964	Lei Yue Mun	14	1	183	14	4	500
1965	Kwun Tong District	15	2	200	29	2	400
1965	Cha Kwo Ling	No information					
1967	Jordan Valley	25	2	300	25	2	300
1967	Lam Tin	30	1	150	30	4	1,100
1967	Sau Mau Ping Kaifong	67	1	600	67	1	600
1967	Yau Tong	30	1	100	30	1	500
1969	Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate	25	1	600	25	1	600
1969	Kai Liu	25	1	600	25	1	600
1969	Ngau Tau Kok Resettlement Estate	9	1	400	9	1	400
1970	Sau Mau Ping Residents'	57	0	1,100	57	0	1,100
Total		297	11	4,222	353	19	6,800

Table 12: Number of Religious Organisations by Year of Establishment

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1920 - 34	2	4
1954	4	9
1959 - 60	3	7
1961 - 62	6	13
1963 - 64	3	8
1965 - 66	12	27
1967 - 68	8	18
1969 - 70	2	4
No response	5	11
<hr/>		
Total	45	101

Source: Religious Organisation Survey,  
Social Research Centre, 1971.

Table 13: Growth of Various Organisations in Kwun Tong

Type of Organisation Year	(1) Population		(2) Factories		(3) Business Undertakings		(4) Schools		(5) Social Welfare Agencies		(6) Health care units (Chinese & Western)		(7) Government Office		(8) Kaifong Association		(9) Religious Organisation		
	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	% (a)	% (b)	
1960	10.7	61.2					9.8	78.6	4.6	200.0	14.6	7.7	12.0	66.7	8.3	0.0	22.5	44.4	
1961	17.2	25.3	10.5	30.0			17.5	8.0	13.6	16.7	15.7	28.6	20.0	20.0	8.3	0.0	32.5	15.4	
1962	21.5	19.2	13.6	30.8			18.2	14.8	15.9	28.6	20.2	16.7	24.5	16.7	8.3	0.0	37.5	6.7	
1963	25.7	28.0	17.8	15.9			21.7	16.1	20.5	33.3	23.6	23.8	52.0	0.0	8.3	100.0	40.0	12.5	
1964	32.8	22.5	20.6	74.1			25.2	25.0	27.3	50.0	29.2	26.9	52.0	30.8	16.7	100.0	45.0	33.3	
1965	40.2	29.7	35.8	36.4			31.5	22.2	40.9	33.3	37.1	27.3	68.0	11.8	33.3	0.0	60.0	25.0	
1966	52.2	27.9	49.0	7.5			38.5	34.6	54.5	4.2	47.2	23.8	76.0	15.8	33.3	100.0	75.0	16.7	
1967	66.7	19.9	52.6	27.6			51.8	32.4	56.8	12.0	58.4	30.8	88.0	9.1	66.7	0.0	87.5	8.6	
1968	80.0	11.1	67.2	13.6	82.6	11.6	68.5	25.5	63.6	35.7	76.4	10.3	96.0	0.0	66.7	37.5	95.0	5.3	
1969	88.9	9.5	76.3	10.8	93.0	2.6	86.0	8.9	85.4	13.2	84.3	15.3	96.0	0.0	91.7	9.1	100.0	0.0	
1970	97.3	2.7	84.5	18.3	94.6	5.7	93.7	6.7	97.7	2.3	95.5	4.7	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	
1971	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		

(a) Percentage of existing establishments in the year as related to the No. of establishments in 1971.  
 (b) Annual growth rate.

Source: (1) Estimations based on 1961, 66, & 71 Census, R/E Department & Low Cost Housing Estates Records.  
 (2) Labour Department Record.  
 (3) Social Research Centre Survey, Summer 1971. These figures refer to establishments of entertainment, retail shops, cafe & restaurant, personal services and cleaning/dyeing shops, finance & trade businesses.  
 (4) Education Department Record, Spring 1971. (not including schools suspended)  
 (5) Social Research Centre Survey, Summer 1971.  
 (6) Social Research Centre Survey, Summer 1971, including all Western general physicians' clinics and chinese herbalists' clinics.  
 (7, 8, 9) Social Research Centre Survey, Winter 1971.

Table 14: Prices for Industrial Lands in Kowloon (1966/67)

<u>District</u>	<u>Price (HK\$ per sq. ft) in Average</u>
Kwun Tong	60
Tsuen Wan	70
San Po Kong	80
Cheung Sha Wan	90
To Kwa Wan	100

Source: Rating and Valuation Department, Hong Kong Government

Table 15: Product moment correlation coefficient between numbers of organisations and the population size (1961-71).

	<u>Population</u>
Factories	0.988
Schools	0.985
Social Welfare Agencies	0.985
Health Care Units	0.997
Government Offices	0.559
Kaifong Associations	0.341
Religious Organisations	0.346

Table 16: Completion Date of Public Housing Estates in Kwun Tong

Name of Estates	Date Completed, First Block	Date Completed, Last Block	No. of Unit (4/71)	Population 31. 3. 71.
Jordan Valley	20. 10. 59.	15. 11. 60.	3771	20,264
Yau Tong R/E	17. 4. 64.	27. 1. 65.	3357	19,309
Sau Mau Ping R/E (West)	20. 4. 64.	29. 12. 66.	3924	87,508
(North & Central)	18. 8. 67.	14. 5. 69.	13521	
Lam Tin R/E	10. 3. 66.	18. 6. 68.	10694	55,508
Ngau Tau Kok R/E	25. 8. 67.	6. 9. 69.	8551	54,410
Kwun Tong (Kai Liu) R/E	Nov., 59.	June, 61.	11000	57,014
Garden Estate		Phase I 1960	1070	6,895*
		Phase II 1966	2357	15,335*
Wo Lok Estate		Phase I Feb. 1963	1948	12,584
		Phase II July, 1966		
Ping Shek Estate		Phase I Aug. 1970	4596	25,450
		Phase II March, 1971		
Kwun Tong G. L. C. H.		September, 1961.	1128	7,373
Ngau Tau Kok G. L. C. H.		1968	5801	37,690

\* Population as at 30. 9. 71.

Source: R/E Departmental Annual Reports  
Housing Authority Annual Reports  
Housing Society Annual Reports



Table 17: Floor Area of Private Buildings Constructed in Kwun Tong and their Costs by Year

Year	Usable Floor Area (in sq.ft)		Gross Floor Area (in sq.ft)		Cost (H.K. dollars)	
	Domestic	Non-domestic	Domestic	Non-domestic	Domestic	Non-domestic
1958					200,000.00	9,390,723.17
1959					2,500,000.00	5,413,343.56
1960					267,000.00	9,629,145.81
1961					5,325,684.00	17,165,840.80
1962					4,541,020.00	8,913,630.35
1963	1,180,050	626,021			14,362,950.12	20,291,555.62
1964	830,266	1,069,765			20,112,706.41	21,549,198.54
1965	1,132,656	3,015,118	1,543,397	3,744,848	40,617,565.29	79,046,967.32
1966	564,561	1,931,284	903,734	2,482,884	23,222,500.86	51,374,049.09
1967	627,854	779,887	1,073,518	1,005,859	15,926,087.32	19,459,327.68
1968	154,063	281,922	201,674	436,627	2,455,345.26	10,080,464.74
1969	146,608	913,601	216,110	1,148,508	4,324,307.09	30,939,813.58
1970	298,796	2,408,030	467,597	3,112,996	17,319,243.13	49,101,455.06
1971	118,327	2,20,102	207,999	2,929,873	4,852,475.55	61,798,794.81
Total					156,026,885.03	394,154,290.13
						550,181,175.16

Source: Public Works Department, (Private Communication)

Table 18: The Growth of Housing Capacity in Public Housing Estates in Kwun Tong

Type of Housing	Date	1-4-60	1-4-61	1-4-62	1-4-63	1-4-64	1-4-65	1-4-66	1-4-67	1-4-68	1-4-69	1-4-70	1-4-71
Capacity (persons)													
Resettlement Estates		22,211	56,011	72,360	72,360	72,360	104,130	117,496	151,348	223,220	249,883	276,614	276,614
Government Low Cost Housing Estates					5,717	5,717	5,717	5,717	5,717	30,288	39,072	39,072	39,072
Housing Authority Estates					5,174	5,174	5,174	10,164	11,732	11,732	11,732	11,732	40,760
Housing Society Estates		2,357	5,432	6,895	6,895	6,895	6,895	8,185	16,867	22,230	22,230	22,230	22,230
Total		24,568	61,434	79,255	90,146	90,146	121,916	141,562	185,664	287,470	322,917	349,648	378,676

Source: R/E Departmental Annual Reports  
Housing Authority Annual Reports  
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