



香 港 中 文 大 學
社 會 研 究 中 心

Industrialization and
Family Structure in Hong Kong

Fai-ming Wong

SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE
THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY
OF HONG KONG

Suggested citation:

Wong, Fai-ming. 1974. *Industrialization and Family Structure in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Occasional Paper No. 45, Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG
SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE

Industrialization and Family
Structure in Hong Kong

By
Fai-ming Wong

July, 1974

INDUSTRIALIZATION & FAMILY STRUCTURE
IN HONG KONG

Previous Studies of the Problem

Industrialization has been a predominant trend of social change in the modernization process of most major societies over the last two centuries. Wherever it is introduced, it begins with the creation of a technological revolution which makes it possible for sweeping changes to take place in the pattern of production as well as the whole economic structure. Its impact and repercussion is then disseminated and received by various interrelated social systems which in turn undergo fundamental changes in their respective structures. For the present study, the relationship between industrialization and the family system is of particular concern and will be analyzed and interpreted with the available, relevant data.

To begin with, a brief look of several major related studies may serve as an orientation to the existing theoretical propositions and empirical verification in connection with the studied problem. In his General Economic History, Max Weber spoke of the existence of a functionally interdependent relationship

* The author wishes to thank the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong and its staff for the use of some of the data from its fertility research project and some technical assistance.

between industrialization and the nuclear family. He pointed out clearly that changes in the family are a function of its changing economic position which, in turn, is a function of the changing society as a result of the industrial revolution (1927 lll, trans. Knight). In the same vein, Ogburn found that, under the impace of rapid technological and social changes, the family has experienced a process of defunctionalization, i.e., from its previous multifunctional form with economic, educational, recreational, religious and protective functions to its present dual-functional form with only affective and reproductive functions. This is also accompanied by structural changes of the family in the power relations between the sexes and between the generations, in the role of women, and in the pattern of child rearing and supervision. In addition, these functional and structural changes of the family system are believed to be factors leading eventually to its disorganization (1928, 1934 and 1955).

Following this line of thinking, Parsons stated that, along with a general trend toward differentiation in the development of industrial society which means mainly the increasing specialization of social units, the American nuclear family has become structurally isolated to a considerable extent. This can be seen in the residential and economic aspects of the family, so that "the members of the nuclear family, consisting of parents and their still dependent children, ordinarily occupy a separate dwelling not shared with members of the family of orientation of

either spouse, and ... this household is in the typical case economically independent, subsisting in the first instance from the occupational earnings of the husband-father" (1955:10). This isolated nuclear family, according to him, is especially capable of satisfying the needs of the industrial system for social and geographical mobility. But, unlike Ogburn, he interprets this form of family as a result of the functional specialization of the family rather than its defunctionalization and disintegration. Thus, as he succinctly puts it, "the family is more specialized than before, but not in any general sense less important, because the society is dependent exclusively on it for the performance of certain of its vital functions" (1955:9-10), i.e., those of child socialization and emotional support and affection between spouses.

The relationship between industrialization and the family has further been examined in cross-cultural settings, and their association has been confirmed in studies of the Chinese family as well as family studies in several other societies. Olga Lang, in her Chinese Family and Society, reported that industrialization, coupled with Westernization, is the major cause of the breakdown of the traditional Chinese family system. It operates to accelerate the disintegration of the old self-sufficient agricultural economy, deprive the family of its function as a productive unit, and upset the role structure of the whole family. Moreover, in

the industrial cities where the impact of industrialization is much stronger, the ideal and the partial practice of an extended family which was formerly prevalent among the upper social classes is now replaced by the widespread adoption of a conjugal family among all social classes (1946). In a similar study, Levy pointed out that industrialization and the traditional Chinese kinship structure are incompatible simply because "modern industry and the 'traditional' family are mutually subversive. The introduction of modern industry is the first genuine threat to the stability of the 'traditional' Chinese family, and the nepotism fostered by the 'traditional' Chinese family is one of the greatest obstacles to an efficient industrial system" (1949:354). Hence, the rise of industrialization in China is held responsible for disrupting irrevocably its traditional family structure on the one hand, and paving the way for the practice of a simple conjugal family unit of the West on the other (1949:364-365).

Finally, in his recent cross-cultural study, Goode analyzed family data collected in several societies such as the West, Arabic Islam, Sub-Saharan Africa, India, China and Japan over the past fifty years (1963). On the basis of these data, he concluded that, where societies are moving toward industrialization and urbanization, "the alteration seems to be in the direction of some type of conjugal family pattern - that is, toward fewer kinship ties with distant relatives and a greater emphasis on the 'nuclear' family unit of couple and children" (1963:1).

Theoretical Framework

The construction of a theoretical framework for the present study is now in order so as to guide and facilitate the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. Before doing so, the two major concepts of the study, i.e., industrialization and family structure, have to be operationalized so that a theorization of the relationship between these two variables may become possible and practicable. The concept of industrialization has been generally defined as "the process of technological development by the use of applied science, characterized by the expansion of large-scale production with the use of power machinery, for a wide market for both producer's and consumer's goods, by means of a specialized working force with division of labor, the whole accompanied by acceleration of urbanization" (Lumpkin, 1962:155). Or, more specifically, the extent of industrialization of a society can be measured in terms of such criteria as the level of technological sophistication, the diversification of the industry, the rate of industrial employment, the volume and value of manufactured goods, the number and size of industrial labor unions, the amount of gross national product, and the national as well as per capita income.

Furthermore, the complex of industrialization can be viewed in terms of its effects upon the family system and the processes through which changes in family behavior take place. In a recent study of a comparable problem, an index of urban industrialization has been devised to include several elements of the industrial system, such as the spread of modern education, demand for economic independence, decision on the choice of occupation, merit occupational placement and promotion, emphasis on occupational career, fulfillment of occupational goal, occupational mobility and employment of married women, which have been found to be highly correlated among themselves as well as with the total index industrialization (Wong, 1972c:141-142).

The concept of family structure may be divided into two parts: one is a family which is defined as a basic kinship unit with two or more persons living together who are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption; the other is the structure of a family which means the pattern of interrelated statuses and roles found in a family at a particular time and constituting a relatively stable set of social relations. The family structure is further viewed as a social system or subsystem which is made up of two sets of constituents, i.e., structural attributes and functional processes. The structural attributes of a family system may consist of family composition in terms of numerical size and age, sex and generation distribution, form of marriage,

descent pattern, rule of locality, power relations and value system, whereas its functional processes may include reproduction, biological maintenance, socialization, emotional sustenance and status placement. All these structural and functional components serve to define and describe the nature of the family system.

The structure of a family varies among different families and is therefore categorized into several types of family. For the present study, a common classification of family types is used. These types of family and their respective operational definitions are given below for reference:

a) Nuclear: Consists of a married couple with or without unmarried children, and with or without unmarried relatives or single married relatives.

b) Stem: Consists of a married couple with unmarried children and one or both parents of the husband, and with or without unmarried relatives or single married relatives.

c) Joint: Consists of a married couple with or without unmarried children, and at least one married brother/sister and his/her family of the husband or wife.

d) Stem-Joint: Consists of a married couple with unmarried children and one or both parents of the husband, with at least one married brother/sister and his/her family of the husband or wife, and with or without unmarried relatives or single married relatives.

e) Other Extended: Consists of miscellaneous groups of relatives who are either married or unmarried.

The relationship between industrialization and family structure is to be analyzed by means of the functional approach. There is indeed no simple cause-and-effect relationship between these two variables, as has been pointed out that "certainly, at present, no one has precisely stated or proved any set of determinate relations between industrialization and variations in family systems" (Goode, 1968:64). What the social scientists have been able to conclude from both theoretical postulation and empirical findings is that there is evidently a positive correlation of industrialization and the practice of a nuclear family system. From the functional perspective, this association of industrialization with the nuclear family is conceived as one of functional interdependence rather than unilateral determinism. Thus, the rise of industrialization creates various social conditions, such as emphasis on individual achievement, functional specificity and universalistic evaluation, merit occupational placement and promotion, social and geographical mobility and individual responsibility and economic independence, which operate in one way or another to disrupt the already weakened traditional kinship structure on the one hand, and facilitate the widespread adoption of the independent nuclear family on the other. In return, the nuclear family system also serves to affect the

development of industrialization. Its structural isolatedness, as characterized by residential and economic independence and freedom from kin control and intervention, is geared to meet the requirements of the modern industrial system, and is therefore capable of expediting the growth of industrialism.

The Development of Industrialization

Industrialization in Hong Kong is conceived as a city-wide movement of industrial development, or as synonymous with the rise of industrial revolution in other countries. It is a major process of social change not only directly in the technological and industrial structure of the local society, but also indirectly in its other social subsystems such as the value system, economy, polity and the community. Industrialization in Hong Kong has gone through a process of development, and, for empirical as well as analytical relevancy, is divided into three phases of development as given below for discussion.

Pre-Industrialization

Before its occupation by the British in 1841, Hong Kong was a small neglected, rugged island with a population of a few thousand Chinese fishermen and peasants. Thence, a process of rapid social change took place, dramatically shaping it into a metropolitan city within the period of about a century.

This was caused by a series of social forces. First was the incessant immigration movement which brought along a large number of Chinese people from the surrounding areas in Mainland China, as well as thousands of European and other Asian immigrants. With them came their respective cultures which were brought into contact with each other and molded to form a unique mixed East-West culture through a process of cultural cross-fertilization. Then the processes of commercialization and urbanization occurred. From the beginning it was made a trading port which was later expanded into a commercial center by providing various services like shipping, banking, insurance and trading, and serving a widespread market network of China, South East Asia, America and Europe. In order to meet with the needs resulted from the growth of its economy and the tremendous increase in population, there was developed a variety of urban facilities and services including housing, utilities, communication and transportation, education, recreation, and medical and welfare care. Finally, its industry was developed so as to keep pace with a world-wide trend of industrialization. This was necessary not only to satisfy its industrial demands but also to maintain its viable position in the world economy.

For the first hundred years in Hong Kong history, industry was only playing a minor role. The early industries were scattered and on a small scale, and consisted of various forms of services in connection with the development of the port. The earliest

industry was ship-building and ship-repairing. The first vessel built, namely, the eighty-ton Celestial, was launched in 1843, and a small slip-way capable of taking a ship of around 300 tons was constructed in the following year. After that, there was further expansion in ship-building enterprise, and a whole new industry of refitting and supplying ships was established. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, other industries, such as the manufacturing of matches, soap, sugar, rope and cement, were also developed.

During the early years of the twentieth century, various new industries were given a trial. A 55,000-spindle cotton mill was started, but was later closed down because of the damaging humidity of the climate and stiff competition. This was followed by the manufacture of rattan-ware and the knitting of cotton singlets and vests which were soon flourishing, and flour mills and shell-button factories also prospered for a time. Then the First World War came, and, as a result, deprived the Colony of the supply of imported foreign goods. This served to encourage the development of several light industries in Hong Kong. The most important industries, in terms of the export market, were those of electric batteries and flash-lights, rubber footwear and canned goods, which were consecutively established in the 1920s. Enamelware, electro-plating, machinery, tobacco and motion picture industries began operating during the depression decade.

In addition, there were hundreds of 'cottage' industries which made everything from wood and ivory carvings to musical instruments, jade, coffins, toys, beadwork, lanterns and silk-covered dragons.

The varieties of industries, established between the First World War and the seizure of the Colony by the Japanese in 1941, were very significant because of the fact that they became forerunners of the industrial development in Hong Kong after the Second World War. The growth of these light industries was moving at a rapid pace, and by 1940 there were some 800 factories in the city, with about 30,000 workers (Szczepanik, 1958: 134-135).

Early Industrialization

The industrial revolution in Hong Kong took place during the first post-war decade, 1945-55. In the first two years immediately after the Second World War, the city was filled with all sorts of activities aiming at resuming its previous viable position in the economic world. War damages of its physical structure were repaired or replaced with new construction and equipments. The bulk of its population who fled to the Mainland of China during the Japanese occupation began to return. Trade connections were re-established and strengthened. Furthermore, manufacturing industries were re-activated to produce consumer goods which were in acute shortage throughout South-East Asia. All these efforts of reconstruction helped to prepare the ground for the major take-off in industrial growth.

The rise of industrialization was made possible as a result of two crucial political events around the Colony. One was the revolutionary take-over of China in 1949 by the Communist regime which caused a great wave of refugees to cross the border into Hong Kong and bring along with them the necessary resources of new labor, capital, and technical skill and experience for industrial development. The other was the outbreak of the Korean War and the following United Nations Embargo on trade in strategic articles with China in 1951, which constituted a heavy blow to the important trading role of the city and forced it to turn to the development of various industries in order to compensate for its economic losses in trade. These events became the major forces which provided for and speeded up the process of industrialization after the war.

The industrial growth of Hong Kong during the period of 1947-51 can be viewed in terms of national income and other relevant magnitudes. In 1947-48, the net domestic product (at factor cost) of the Colony was approximately equal to HK\$1,600 million. By 1950-51, it increased to about \$2,800 million. Thus, during the four years the nominal domestic product was augmented by about 75 percent, indicating an average rate of growth almost equal to 19 percent per annum. The rate of growth in real terms amounted to 44 percent over four years, or an average of 11 per cent per year, which was regarded as a remarkable rate of economic growth (Szczepanik, 1958:138).

In 1953-55, the economy of Hong Kong was characterized by a further upswing in industrial activities on the one hand and a low level of entrepot trade on the other. The industrial foundation of the city was further strengthened and widened, and a substantial increase in the export of local products was revealed. The net domestic product of the Colony in 1954-55 was estimated to reach about \$3,400 million, of which one-third was derived from manufacturing industry. The domestic output per capita amounted to approximately \$1,600 per year, being one of the highest in the Far East. Other significant indications of growth included the increase in real capital formation from \$234 million in 1953-54 to \$318 million in 1954-55, and the increase of the Government's revenue from \$397 to \$434 million for the same period (Szczepanik, 1958:139-140).

The extent of industrialization in Hong Kong during the first post-war decade may also be measured in terms of other indices of growth. The number of registered and recorded factories and workshops and the size of employment, excluding unregistered industrial establishments and domestic workers, had more than doubled; or, taking 1948 as a base of 100, the index number of factories by 1956 increased to 253 and that of industrial employment to 226. The lines of manufacture multiplied, and there was a shift in the relative importance of various industries, i.e., the 'old' industries like ship-building and ship-refitting declined and 'new' industries including textile

and metal products gained in importance. The employment in manufacturing industry also expanded to become the main source of employment, with a total of about 230,000 workers or approximately 30 percent of the total gainfully employed population.

Finally, there was an enormous increase in the volume and value of exports of locally manufactured goods. In 1947, these exports formed only 10 percent of the city's total exports. This figure rose to 25 percent in 1952 and to 30 percent in 1953, and remained at this level throughout 1954 and 1955. Total exports of Hong Kong products amounted to about US\$122 million in 1953, to \$117.6 million in 1954, and to \$126 million in 1955. Textiles was the leading item, constituting approximately 60 percent of the total value of locally manufactured goods. Three other important items were footwear, enamelware and electric torches.

Toward Advanced Industrialization

Following the first post-war decade which witnessed the rapid rise of industrialization in Hong Kong, the succeeding years from 1956 onwards have been marked by an even more spectacular rate of industrial growth. This is very much facilitated by the existing advantageous conditions which the city has ever since enjoyed. It is endowed with an excellent natural harbor which is situated at a cross-road of major oceanic routes and

therefore has easy access to a world-wide market. It is equipped with the basic conditions for economic development, such as an unlimited supply of cheap labor, the needed capital gathered from both foreign investments and local sources, and ingenious entrepreneurship. In addition, other related conditions like the practice of a laissez-faire capitalism, an efficient system of banking, insurance and shipping services, low tariff rate and trained management, are all at work to bring about the present rate of industrial growth.

Evidently, the economy of Hong Kong has been heading toward a more advanced phase of industrialization. Again, the extent of current industrialization is measured in terms of national income and other relevant indicators. The national income of Hong Kong, characterized as its net domestic product, has increased from HK\$3,400 million in 1955, with one-third of it being derived from products of manufacturing industry, to a reliable estimate of nearly \$9,000 million in 1965, of which about 56 percent is contributed by exports of locally manufactured products, and the annual rate of growth is maintained at eight percent. In 1955 the real capital formation of the Colony amounts to \$318 million, but in 1965 foreign investment alone brings in a capital of \$1,800 million, or 20 percent of its national income (Smith, 1966: 17-20). Moreover, another indication of Hong Kong's economic prosperity is the increase of the government's revenue

from \$455 million in 1956, to \$1,518 million in 1965, and to \$3,071 million in 1971.

Under the impact of rapid industrialization, the number of industrial undertakings, or individually registered and recorded manufacturers, has risen from 3,319 in 1956, to 9,002 in 1965, and to 19,402 in December, 1971. These figures do not include unregistered 'factories' which consist of hundreds of family concerns or job-working units doing garment finishing and other rush work for the big firms. Parallel with the expansion of industrial undertakings is the increase in the variety of the lines of manufacture and in the volume of products of most industries, and the accompanying shift in the relative importance of these respective industries. Employment in manufacturing industries has grown in both size and relative importance. The total industrial employment in 1954 consists of about 230,000 laborers, or about 30 percent of the estimated total labor force in the Colony, but has risen to over 500,000 or slightly over one-third of its total employment in 1965 and to 605,367 or over 38 percent of the labor force in 1971. In addition, there is also an expansion in labor unions and their membership. The number of labor unions has increased from 232 in 1956, to 239 in 1965, and to 276 in 1971, and the size of their membership has expanded from a total of 150,246 registered unionists in 1965 to that of 197,529 people in 1971 (Hong Kong: Reports for the Years 1956, 1965 and 1971).

The economy of Hong Kong is based on free trade. On the one hand, it relies mainly on the import of raw materials for the making of industrial goods, and, on the other, its locally manufactured products are mostly exported rather than sold in the domestic market. As a result, wages and costs in the Colony are determined by world economic situation. However, in spite of rapid industrialization, inflation has been relatively slight; the index has increased only 22 points between 1947 and 1961 (Gleason, 1963: 134). There has been a marked increase in wages and some advance in the cost of living. Taking 1958 as a base of 100, the index of wage rates has risen to 1973 in 1965, with an increase of approximately 52 percent in real wages, whereas the cost of living has increased from an index of 100 to one of 114 during the same period (Smith, 1966: 16-17). In recent years, the cost of living has risen more rapidly, with an increase of some 25 percent since 1966, but there has still been an evident rise in real incomes and a trend toward a more equal distribution of income. While incomes are usually very unequal, the estimated average annual income has risen from HK\$1,600 per capita in 1955, to \$2,250 in 1965, and to \$4,200 in 1969, which is among the highest in Asia.

Today Hong Kong has become a more matured industrial society. It has borrowed from outside the necessary technology, machinery and natural resources which are complemented and

facilitated by a full utilization of its own economic resources. It is equipped with a most adaptable work organization which is capable of making the best use of its available resources for industrial development, and has proved its efficiency by having survived all the past international and local economic crises. Furthermore, it has increasingly adopted a value system which is geared to meet most rationalistic requirements of industrialism, such as emphasis on cost-benefit calculation, individual achievement and accountability, universalistic evaluation, functional specificity and affective neutrality. Thus, in recent years, Hong Kong's domestic exports has expanded remarkably, or at a rate of 17.4 percent in 1970 and an average annual growth rate of 13.8 percent during the decade, which are matched by very few developing countries. By 1970, Hong Kong is already listed among the top 10 trading countries of the world in terms of value of exports per capita and eighteenth in absolute terms among the 85 countries with larger populations in the world (Hong Kong: Report for the Year 1971:12).

The Changing Family Structure

The family structure in Hong Kong has been in a fluctuating situation throughout the past century. It swings from one form to another as dictated by the stage of socio-economic changes in which it exists (Wong, 1972a:13-15). Whenever the socio-economic structure is disrupted and transformed, the family system is seen to undergo changes in its basic structure as well as its functional processes in order to maintain its adaptable viability. Thus, the family has not had a single stable structure persisting over a long period of time, but has rather taken several forms of structure throughout the process of its historical development. For the present study, these various forms of the family structure are summed up and generalized into three major forms which are described below.

The Temporary, Broken Extended Family

The family system in the early years of the Hong Kong history was of an extended type qualified by two significant features - temporariness and brokenness. The early families were composed mainly of Chinese immigrants who came to the city from the neighboring towns and villages in Mainland China as a natural outcome of several pull and push factors. On the one hand, Hong Kong was a very attractive place to these people because it was known to provide ample economic opportunities,

convenient urban services and facilities, political security and freedom, and vital living environment with an appealing East-West flavor. On the other hand, they were sort of driven out of their native town simply because of the poor living situation there, which was the result of economic backwardness, social inequality, political insecurity, and wars and disasters. However, most of these immigrants were still tied to a traditionalistic Chinese culture and held strong sentiments for their native villages and families, but meanwhile they were even more fascinated by the economic opportunities and rewards available in this rapidly developing city. So the resulting compromise was that they would come over and settle themselves down for a relatively short stay, the length of which was to depend on how well and how fast they were able to take advantage of these economic opportunities. As soon as they had accumulated sufficient savings and wealth through trading activities or the taking of a job, they would then return to their native places and enjoy the fruit of their economic endeavor with their family members and relatives throughout their retiring years.

As these immigrants only planned for a temporary settlement and aimed at a short-term economic goal, they organized their families and households accordingly. As a result, their family structure was predominantly of an extended type, but with only an incomplete membership composition. In other words,

it was an adjunct family and formed only part of the extended family structure which was maintained and operating in their home towns. Hence, the typical immigrant family was composed of a few men in their productive age, who lived around the nucleus of a single couple or all by themselves. It included several combinations of family composition like parent(s) with married and unmarried adult sons, or parent(s) with adult sons and married brother, or married uncle and adult nephews, or several married and unmarried brothers living together, and there were often one or more relatives or friends living in for a short or longer period of time. The family was basically patrilineal and patriarchal, with power and decision-making vested in the hands of the senior male member and a pattern of labor division with the husband tending external tasks and the wife internal tasks, or all tasks mixed and shared among the teamed male members. As it was only a partial family and its members were fully engaged in economic activities, it held in daily practice only a simple pattern of traditions, values, rituals and customs. On the other hand, it tended to maintain a close and frequent connection with the extended system back home. It had to regularly send money to be used for the living and educating expenses of the extended kin and the up-keep of family property and ancestral temple and worship. It was supposed to abide by the extended family's traditions and rules in controlling and disciplining its members as well as

in memorizing and worshipping its deceased elders. On major family occasions and celebrations, the local members were obligated and in fact often did go back to their original home to pay their tribute to both the deceased and living elders and refresh their relations with all the kinsmen.

The idea of a temporary family composed of a few economically active males was propagated and accepted among the Chinese immigrants throughout the rest of the 19th century and the early part of the following century. The influx of migrants seemed to go on endlessly, only with its speed and magnitude fluctuating in response to the vicissitude of the social situation in the Mainland of China, and many of them held on to this idea in arranging and structuring their families. As a result, the population of the city increased rapidly, amounting close to half a million just before the First World War, but it remained transient and unstable in nature.

The Settled Stem Family

The structure of the Hong Kong family was going through some change with the rapid socio-economic expansion and population growth of the local society as well as the political and social changes in China throughout the first half of the 20th century. Before the turn of the century the Colony succeeded in obtaining from China a spacious peninsula, later called Kowloon and the New Territories, and over two hundred surrounding islands, which

proved to be invaluable and vital for societal development. Its economy grew both in size and dimensions, offering excellent opportunities to ambitious people at all levels of skill and from various social strata. With geographical and economic expansion, it was able to draw and accommodate continuous streams of immigrants from over the border. On the other hand, China itself was plagued all these years with internal and international wars including particularly the Republican revolutions, the Nationalist-Communist struggle, the Japanese invasion and the Communist take-over, and the ensuing social and economic problems throughout the country. The situation became clear to the immigrant families that, while it was not only socially unfavorable but also politically impossible for them to return to their native home, the option was for them to settle down and make the best of the local conditions. Thus, especially during the latter years, the immigrants poured into the city with a definite plan to stay for long and establish at least their immediate families. Consequently, the population became more settled and stable as it rose to an estimated total of 1,600,000 before the Second World War and that of over two million in 1951.

The immigrant families began to settle down and build their home here. Instead of sending money to feed their immediate kin in the native town, they invested it in the local business and sent for them to join the local family. These

people who were of marriageable age were now to marry and join their parents' family or establish their own family locally, rather than return and get married in their native village and come back alone to pursue their economic activities here. As a result, the prevalent type of family was a stem family with a stable composition. It was a single-trunk, three-generation family on the paternal side, and consisted of members like the parents, their married son and daughter-in-law and grand-children, or the couple and unmarried children, plus their parent(s), with occasionally one or more close relatives living under the same roof. It was still patriarchal, not in an absolute sense, but allowing the father to assume decision-making power on family policies and affairs. It was also patrilineal as the inheritance of the family name, property and social status followed the male line. It was generally patrilocal, with the newly married couple living in the father's home for a long or shorter period of time. In the case where the father had more than one married son, then the other sons were allowed to organize their own nuclear families. The stem family still took care of such functions as economic cooperation, the placement of social status, reproduction, and partially education, protection and ancestral worship.

The local stem family was an independent unit, not an adjunct part of the original extended family. Its members had less contacts and visits with their extended kinsmen in the village, thereby reducing their mutual rights and obligations.

Instead, they began to strengthen their relationship with the local relatives through mutual visits and exchange of gifts and favor, and participate in the activities and functions of their local clan and village associations. Because there was not sufficient time for its patterns of traditions and customs to be evolved, the values and rituals of the stem family had to be borrowed and its patterns of kinship relations to be imitated from those of the extended system. Moreover, as the local socio-economic structure was undergoing tremendous change at a high speed, it was not allowed to develop any structural patterns typical of its own, but had to try to be adaptable to rapid changes in other major social subsystems. Thus, the stem system was destined to be only a transitional structure, being hurried through from its old form and into a new form.

Toward the Small Nuclear Family

The 1950's is a critical decade in which the economy of Hong Kong undergoes an enormous shift in its form and direction of development, i.e., toward an industrial economy. As a result, the family system has to make adaptable changes in its structure and functions in order to maintain its viability in a new socio-economic environment. These changes converge in bringing about some variant of a nuclear family (Cf. Goode, 1963: 1-2). As it begins to emerge, the new family system is a small nuclear unit consisting of parents and their own and adopted children. It is

ideally equalitarian, but male-centered in practice, as the husband still wields more decision-making power and sons are more favored. It is meant to be bilineal as both sons and daughters are entitled to the inheritance of family rights and property, but the former usually enjoy a larger share than the latter and married daughters are not given anything at all. It is mostly neolocal, because grown-up children often establish their own home after marriage. It is becoming an independent structure, with family policies and affairs mainly determined by its own members and with decreasing interference from its kinfolk. As to its functional processes, it is turned into an economic consumption unit as its members share a common budget and have their basic living expenses charged to the same account. The parents tend to leave more of the responsibilities in teaching and disciplining children to school teachers because they are increasingly engaged in economic and social activities. Personal and property security is taken care of by the law and order institutions of the society, and religious and recreational needs are satisfied by the formal, specialized organizations concerned. However, it still provides child care as well as emotional support to its members, and remains the sole reproductive center for the society.

During the decade of the 1960's, the Colony has virtually become one of the most mature industrial cities in Asia. Given the associational pattern of industrialism and the family system,

it is to be expected that the increased industrialization of the city will be accompanied by a further intensified practice of the nuclear type which is found to be more suitable for the modern industrial system. In other words, as there has already been noted a beginning trend toward a small nuclear family in the previous decade when industrialization began to be widely introduced into the city, the trend should have strengthened even further to bring forth the nuclear system as a major type of family now that it has become more industrialized.

Looking at Table 1, it is found that this expectation is actually realized. As shown, the conjugal or nuclear family which is found to be more adaptable to industrialism has become the predominant type of family, being practised by nearly two-thirds of the Hong Kong families. The stem and the composite types of family have decreased in importance and are being adopted by one-fourth of all the families. Furthermore, the figures of Table 1 must be read with caution because the classification of family types used by Barnett does not correspond to the one generally used in the study of the Chinese family or adopted for the present study in particular. For examples, referring to his definitions of family types, Barnett's "conjugal family" represents only the complete nuclear family, and the "widowed family" can in fact be redefined as an incomplete nuclear family. His "stem family" is only an incomplete stem family, whereas the complete

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Family Types

<u>Family Type</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Conjugal ^a	62.9
Stem ^b	12.2
Composite ^c	12.7
Widowed ^d	7.1
Single	5.1
	<hr/> 100.0

^a Consists of family head and spouse, but no other married couple and no widowed parents.

^b Consists of family head, spouse and one widowed parent.

^c Consists of two or more married couples.

^d The family head is either a widow or widower.

Source: K.M.A. Barnett, The Census and You (Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1961), p. 10.

stem family is included in the "composite family" category which may also include the joint family or a household of unrelated families. Thus, by re-distributing the composite and the widowed families in accordance with the usual classification scheme, both the conjugal and the stem families would definitely increase, and this would in turn change the overall distribution of family types among the Hong Kong families early in the last decade.

Entering into the present decade, industrialization in Hong Kong has reached a far more advanced stage of development and has achieved even further in terms of the increased national products as well as the improved living standard. Correspondingly, the local families have moved toward a prevalent practice of the nuclear type; much more so than that as revealed in the 1960 Pilot Census. This is empirically confirmed, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 2: Distribution of Families by Family Type

Family Type	Number	Percent
<u>Nuclear</u>	<u>4669</u>	<u>73.5</u>
Single couple	159	7.0
Couple with unmarried children	1410	62.1
Couple with unmarried children and unmarried relatives	68	3.0
Couple with unmarried children and single married relatives	32	1.4
<u>Stem</u>	<u>544</u>	<u>24.0</u>
Couple with unmarried children and one or both parents	389	17.2
Couple with unmarried children, one or both parents, and unmarried relatives	136	6.0
Couple with unmarried children, one or both parents, and single married relatives	19	0.8
<u>Joint</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Couple with or without unmarried children, and husband's married brother and his family	5	0.2
Couple with or without unmarried children, and husband's married sister and her family	3	0.1
Couple with or without unmarried children, and wife's married brother and his family	2	0.1
<u>Stem-Joint</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Couple with unmarried children, one or both parents, and married sibling and family	13	0.6
Couple with married children and spouses, and unmarried grand children	1	0.0
Couple with one or both parents, married sibling and family, and unmarried siblings	15	0.7
<u>Other Extended</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0.5</u>
<u>Others</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.3</u>
Total	2270	100.0

Source: This table and other following tables are drawn from a re-tabulation of the raw data collected for C.Y. Choi and K.C. Chan, "The Impact of Industrialization on Fertility in Hong Kong: A Demographic, Social & Economic Analysis," Research Serials (Hong Kong: Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1973).

Table 2 shows that, among the general types of families, the nuclear family is the most prevalent one, being practised by 73.5 percent of all the families in the city. The next most common type is the stem family which is adopted by 24 percent of these families. Taking these two types of families together, they account for an over-whelming majority, or exactly 97.5 percent, of the families, while a very small proportion of them are spreading the joint, stem-joint and other extended types. Of the nuclear variants, the most popular unit is a family which consists of the husband and wife and their unmarried children. Next in popularity is the single couple, and it is quite likely that most of these single couples will also have their children in time, thus forming a typical nuclear family. The unpopular nuclear units are those which consists of a married couple with unmarried children and either unmarried relatives or single married relatives. Among the stem sub-types, the most common one is a family which is composed of the spouses, their unmarried children, and or both parents mostly of the husband, and increasingly of the wife. Next in common is this same family unit plus

unmarried relatives, and the least so is one with single married relatives.

The type of a family is expected to correlate with its size. The reason is obvious in that the type of family structure is commonly defined in terms of the lineal and lateral extension of a family, which directly determines the possible number of persons to be included in the family. Generally, a nuclear family has a smaller number of members than an extended one, as is confirmed in the table given below.

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Families by Family Type and by Family Size and Mean Family Size

Family Type	Number of Persons in Family											Total No.	Total %	Mean Size
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12+			
Nuclear	9.6	12.9	16.1	17.0	16.5	10.8	8.3	4.7	2.9	0.5	0.7	1669	73.8	5.34
Stem	0.0	3.7	7.4	15.1	20.0	16.7	14.7	12.3	6.1	2.6	1.5	544	24.0	6.91
Joint	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	20.0	10.0	0.0	20.0	30.0	10.0	10	0.4	10.10
Stem-Joint	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.4	13.8	10.4	17.2	0.0	48.3	29	1.3	11.24
Other Extended	0.0	45.5	36.4	9.1	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11	0.5	3.91
No.	160	240	313	366	586	278	224	148	88	25	35	2263*		5.81
Total	7.1	10.6	13.8	16.2	17.1	12.3	9.9	6.5	3.9	1.1	1.5		100.0	

* Does not add up to the total of 2270 because of 7 families in the "others" category.

$\chi^2 = 283.91$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$, when the "joint", "stem-joint" and "other extended" categories of family type are collapsed into one category, and so are the "2", "3" and "4" categories, the "5" and "6" categories, the "7" and "8" categories, and the "9", "10", "11" and "12+" categories respectively.

As shown in Table 3, the majority of the families under study are found to concentrate in the region from three to eight persons per family, whereas only a small portion of them have a family of either two persons or over eight persons. The overall average family size is 5.81 persons, as compared to 4.59 in the 1971 Census. This comparison should be read with caution, as the difference of over one person in the average family size as revealed in these two sets of data can well be explained by the fact that the present study has included only families of two or more persons, thus resulting in an artificial increase of the overall family size which would have been reduced with the inclusion of single-person families (almost 15 percent of the total households in the 1971 Census consist of single-person households). Furthermore, the various types of family vary in their respective family sizes in the predicted direction. The nuclear family is smaller in size, with an average of 5.34 persons, than any extended type, and the extended family types are largest for stem-joint with 11.24 persons, next largest for joint with 10.10 persons, and smallest for stem with 6.91 persons. The other extended type is a miscellaneous category which includes all combinations of broken extended kin groups and has therefore the smallest size of 3.91 persons.

In regard to the composition and nature of the family structure, as is revealed in the unanalyzed data of a recent study (Choi and Chan, 1973), the Hong Kong families are primarily immigrant families. Most of the couples have come from the surrounding towns and villages in the Southeastern region of China or some cities and towns in the North, and only about one-fifth of them have been born locally. Many of these immigrants have arrived in their childhood or youth, and have been brought up and socialized in the local culture. As the dominant ethnic and dialect group of the city is the Cantonese, they have grown up speaking native Cantonese and following the Cantonese folkways and customs. They have obtained their education from a variety of school systems including the traditional tutorial, the modern Anglo-Chinese and the modern Chinese, and are comparatively more educated than their fellow people in China, with 19 percent of them attending tutorial class, 37 percent primary school, 26 percent secondary school, 6 percent professional college and university, and only 8 percent remaining illiterate. While a little over one-third of them do not have a religious belief, the rest all have held some kind of faith like 24 percent worshipping traditional Chinese gods, 23 percent ancestors and gods, 9 percent Buddha, and 8 percent Jesus Christ.

These people are presently engaged in various kinds of industry and business, including mainly manufacturing industry, public services, commerce, and transportation and communication. As expected in an industrial city, over half or 59 percent of them are industrial workers at different levels of skill, next are the categories of white-collars with 15 percent and executives and supervisors with 14 percent, and only a small portion of 3 percent are either general professionals like school teachers and nurses or specialist professionals like doctors, lawyers and engineers. As a rule, the husband is the breadearner of his family, and his monthly income ranges mainly from HK\$600 to \$1,200, with an average income of \$897 per month for the whole group (US\$1 equals approximately to HK\$5). However, the family has increasingly received supplementary income from the wife and grown-up children who are economically employed, thereby raising the average total family income to \$1,171 per month for all the families. With this evidently increased family income, they have enjoyed an improved living standard and style. This is clearly shown in their possession and use of many modern consumer goods items, for example, over 60 percent of the families owning telephone, refrigerator and television, about one-third using transistor radio and washing machine, and a small portion having such luxuries as motor car, air-conditioner, vacuum cleaner and dish-washing machine.

The structure of their family is basically paternalistic, bilineal and neolocal. The father is the head of the family, assuming major decision-making power on family matters. He is no longer an absolute patriarch, but has to exercise his power in an indirect way through consultation and persuasion. On the other hand, the wife and children have enjoyed relatively more power than before, and have increasingly claimed their rights by participating directly or indirectly in the decision-making over family matters. This trend has been confirmed particularly among the middle-class and the lower-income families. Comparatively speaking, the former families are found to have accepted and practised a pattern of increased equalitarianism between the spouses and among the family members (Wong, 1972c: 142-143). In the latter families, while the working mothers are found to have loosened their monopoly of the so-called feminine world at home, they have participated more in the decision-making and performing of the masculine tasks and therefore shared more power and equality vis-a-vis their husbands, as compared with the housewives (Wong, 1972b: 11-16).

The family is mainly bilineal because children of both sexes inherit from the father in the form of educational opportunity, the placement of social status, or even a direct transference of family property and rights. However, paternal relatives are generally emphasized, and relations with them are

maintained and strengthened more frequently and on a relatively permanent basis. The pattern of neolocal residence is widely practised. Data from the present study show that, immediately after their marriage, almost two-thirds of the young couples have chosen to establish their own home, including 8 percent of them doing so involuntarily because of deceased parents, and only about one-third stay at the husband's parents home for a while or on a long-term basis, not of their own wish, but to follow social traditions. The practice of neolocality is also found in the aforementioned studies. One significant development in the practice of residence pattern is that, after these couples have set up their own home, an increasing number of them or almost 40 percent, would fetch the wife's parent or parents to live with them, thus forming the so-called "matri-stem families," as is also found in another family study (Hong, 1970: 101-103). This practice is by no means originated from the old family traditions, and must have been accepted because of practical necessities, i.e., to obtain household help in child care and other routine chores while avoiding the conventional conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law if the former is included in the household.

Industrialization Correlates and Family Structure

In addition to an analysis of the general relationship between the development of industrialization and the changing family structure, this section is devoted to an examination of the association of several specific industrialization correlates with the local family structure. In fact, this association has been confirmed in various forms and to different extents in previous studies (Wong, 1972a and 1972c; Choi and Chan, 1973; Hong, 1970; Mitchell, 1969). In the following several specific hypotheses proposing the association between these two sets of variables are to be presented and put to test, and relevant data will be gathered and tabulated in such a form as to allow the use of appropriate statistical tests for their analysis and interpretation.

Native Township and Family Structure

The first correlate of industrialization is the native township of a person. It is commonly known that the patterns of values and beliefs, living style and socio-economic environment of a modern metropolitan city are different from those of a traditionalistic farming village, and that, consequently, a person who grows up in the former would have a different set of traits, interests and outlook from that of one who is reared in

the latter. Accordingly, the type of township in which a person is socialized and brought up is believed to affect the extent of his adaptability in a society in which he is to live and work in his adulthood. Hence, a person would have less difficulty in adjusting to the requirements of industrialism if he had been brought up and trained in an industrialistic environment.

Furthermore, it is assumed that the type of one's native township will create certain personal and social conditions which would exert some effect on how one is to organize and shape one's family when one is ready to establish it. Thus, Hypothesis I is that the type of native township is related to that of family structure so that the nuclear family is more prevalently adopted by those coming from a modern, large city background, whereas the extended types are more practised by those growing up in a traditional village environment. The data for the testing of this hypothesis are given as follows:

Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Families by Type of Native Township and by Family Type

Type of Township	Nuclear	Stem	Joint	Stem-Joint	Other Extended	Total No.	Total %
Large city	69.8	28.0	0.4	1.4	0.3	918	41.0
Small city	75.7	22.0	0.3	1.7	0.3	355	15.8
Marketing town	81.1	16.8	0.0	1.0	1.0	191	8.5
Farming village	75.6	22.1	0.6	1.0	0.6	779	34.7
No.	1654	539	10	29	11	2243*	
Total %	73.7	24.0	0.5	1.3	0.5		100.0

Does not add up to the total of 2263 because of 20 families in the "no answer" category.

$\chi^2 = 15.31$, $df = 6$, $p < .05$, when the "joint", "stem-joint" and "other extended" categories of family type are collapsed into one category.

In Table 4, the native town of the male family head is entered to stand for that of the family. It is divided into two basic types: city and village. The difference between these types is defined roughly in terms of the size of population, general socio-economic situations, the provision of social services and facilities, and the kind of living standard and style. Each type is broken down into two categories, with either "large" or "small" city and either "marketing town" or "farming village" respectively, and the difference between these

categories is only a matter of degree and amount on a scale composed of these interrelated elements. Thus, looking back at the table, the data do show that the type of native township is correlated with that of family structure, and that this correlation is statistically significant. The hypothesis is therefore confirmed as predicted.

Modern Education and Family Structure

Modern education is also known to be correlated with the rise of industrialization. It is a process through which the existing knowledge in science and technology, social facts and beliefs, and values and ideals is inculcated upon the learning mind. As this knowledge is to a more or less extent commensurate with the requirements of industrialism, it is therefore believed to have facilitated the rise of modern urbanization and industrialization. Modern education is further assumed to have played an important role in bringing about changes in the family structure. Through the introduction of modern ideals and values, it has inevitably out-dated most elements of traditionalism. It has invalidated the practice of the traditional family system and led to the acceptance of a new nuclear family structure which is found to be more suitable for the modern industrial society. Hypothesis II then is that modern education is related to family structure so that the nuclear family is associated with a higher and more formal education, and the extended types with a lower

and more traditional form of education. The data for this purpose are presented as follows:

Table 5: Percentage Distribution of Families by Male Head's Education and by Family Type

<u>Education of Male Head</u>	<u>Nuclear</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Stem-Joint</u>	<u>Other Extended</u>	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Post-secondary	78.1	21.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	137	6.3
Secondary	69.2	28.4	0.5	1.5	0.3	588	27.0
Primary	71.0	26.2	0.4	1.8	0.7	844	38.7
Private-tutorial	78.9	19.2	0.5	0.7	0.7	437	20.0
Illiterate	79.4	18.8	0.6	1.1	0.0	175	8.0
No.	1597	534	10	29	11	2181*	
Total %	73.2	24.5	0.5	1.3	0.5		100.0

Does not add up to the total of 2263 because of 82 families in the "no answer" category.

$\chi^2 = 21.32$, $df = 8$, $p < .01$, when the "joint", "stem-joint" and "other extended" categories of family type are collapsed into one category.

In Table 5, the education of the male family head is taken to relate to his family structure. Education here consists basically of two types: one is the modern, formal education and the other the traditional private-tutorial one. The former is divided into three levels including "post-secondary" which means

a two-or-three-year course of teacher-training, nursing or technical college, or a four-year university education and post-graduate studies; "secondary" with a regular five-or-six-year program, and "primary" with a regular six-year course. The latter comprises only one general category which consists of a few broad levels like advanced, intermediate and elementary. The data evidently show that, as predicted, the nuclear family is associated with a more formal and higher education, as compared to the extended types. This association is confirmed at a very high statistical significance level, and the hypothesis is therefore strongly supported.

Occupation and Family Structure

A third correlate of industrialization is occupation. In the modern industrial society, almost every able man is required to take up an occupation which is primarily the assumption of a post in some industrial or commercial enterprise and seldom the starting of his own business. This occupation means a life career of work for himself and provides the source of livelihood for his family. The occupation of a person is believed to associate with the type of family structure he has. In order to be qualified for a post, he has to undergo a period of training; the more specialized and higher level is his post, the more demanding and time-consuming is his training. As modern occupation has become increasingly specialized and technical, people usually have to go

through a rather long and hard training to prepare for it. This tends to delay their age at marriage and affect the time and manner in which they will organize their family. Moreover, each occupation has some built-in conditions or requirements, such as the timing and nature of work, the amount of remuneration and other benefits, demand for geographical and social mobility, and all kinds of related social activities, and these requirements have become rather demanding on its holder as well as his family. To satisfy these requirements, he often has to organize and shape his family into a form which is consonant, or at least not in conflict, with them. Hence, success in one's occupation often means one has the fortune of a family which is smaller in size and simpler in structure because it is more capable of accommodating one's occupational requirements. Hypothesis III is therefore formulated to say that occupation is related to family structure insomuch that the nuclear family is associated with higher levels of occupation and the extended types of family with lower levels of occupation. The related data are tabulated as follows:

Table 6: Percentage Distribution of Families by Male Head's Occupation and by Family Type

Occupation of Male Head	Nuclear	Stem	Joint	Stem- Joint	Other Extended	Total		
						No.	%	
Professional	75.1	23.1	0.5	1.0	0.3	610	28.4	
Executive & administrator	71.2	27.0	0.9	0.9	0.0	118	5.5	
Supervisor	75.5	22.9	0.3	0.6	0.6	335	15.6	
White-collar	72.9	25.5	0.5	0.9	0.2	431	20.1	
Salesman	79.4	18.2	0.5	1.9	0.0	214	10.0	
Skilled laborer	69.4	26.0	0.6	3.2	0.9	346	16.1	
Semi-skilled & unskilled	60.9	34.8	0.0	2.2	2.2	46	2.1	
Farmer & fisherman	70.2	29.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	47	2.2	
<hr/>								
No.	1580	519	10	29	9	2147*		
Total								
%	73.6	24.2	0.5	1.3	0.4	100.0		

Does not add up to the total of 2263 because of 116 families in the "others" and "no answer" categories.

$\chi^2 = 15.85$, $df = 8$, $p < .05$; when the "joint", "stem-joint" and "other extended" categories of family type are collapsed into one category, and so are the "executive & administrator" and "supervisor" categories, the "white-collar" and "salesman" categories, and the "semi-skilled & unskilled" and "farmer & fisherman" categories respectively.

In Table 6, the occupation of the male family head is again used to relate to his family. Occupation is here viewed as a range of occupational positions which are defined broadly in terms of the amount of required training, remunerative rewards, and social prestige and status. For the testing of our hypothesis, these occupational positions are differentiated into higher levels, with "professional", "executive" and "supervisory", and lower levels including "white-collar" and various levels of skill. Accordingly, the higher levels of occupation require a longer period of preparation and a higher cost for it, and receive in return a larger monetary reward and a higher social status, as compared to the lower levels of occupations. Thus, by examining the data, it is found that there exists the predicted association of occupation and family structure so that the nuclear family is more practised by people with higher level occupations, whereas the extended types by those with lower levels of occupation. This association is statistically significant, and so the hypothesis is confirmed.

Family Income and Family Structure

Family income is viewed as a correlate of industrialization simply because nowadays it is derived mostly from an occupational position in some industrial or commercial organization. It is defined as the total monthly income of a family which may include the income of the family head alone or plus the supplementary

incomes of other family members. In all the types of families, the father is the undeniable breadwinner of the family and his salary is the major source of its income, but the number of income sources and the size of family income differ among these types of families. The nuclear family has only a small composition of members, i.e., parents and dependent children, and it is very likely that the father is the sole person being economically employed because the mother has to take care of her children and daily household chore. On the other hand, the extended family usually have a larger membership, and the able bodies of the family in addition to the father are likely to be employed and contribute either part or all of their income to the family coffer. As a result, the nuclear family may have a limited source of income and a smaller total income, whereas the extended type may enjoy more sources of income and a larger total income. Hypothesis IV is therefore chosen to indicate that family income is associated with family type such that the nuclear type tends to have a smaller total income and the extended families a larger total income. Data for this purpose are tabulated in the following table:

Table 7: Percentage Distribution of Families by Total Monthly Family Income and by Family Type

Total Monthly Family Income	Nuclear	Stem	Joint	Stem-Joint	Other Extended	Total	
						No.	%
Below \$ 400	80.4	19.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	51	2.3
\$ 400 - \$ 799	77.8	20.1	0.6	0.9	0.5	771	35.1
\$ 800 - \$1199	72.2	24.9	0.5	1.7	0.6	773	35.2
\$1200 - \$1799	70.2	27.8	0.0	1.4	0.5	366	16.7
\$1800 - \$2399	63.0	36.1	0.0	0.9	0.0	108	4.9
\$2400 - \$2999	61.5	28.2	2.6	7.7	0.0	39	1.8
\$3000 - \$3999	75.6	24.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	41	1.9
\$4000 - \$4999	81.8	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	11	0.5
\$5000 - \$5999	69.2	30.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	13	0.6
\$6000 or more	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	21	1.0
No.	1611	533	10	29	11	2194*	
Total							
%	73.4	24.3	0.5	1.3	0.5		100.0

* Does not add up to the total of 2263 because of 69 families in the "no answer" category.

$\chi^2 = 20.25$, $df = 6$, $p < .01$, when the "joint", "stem-joint" and "other extended" categories of family type are collapsed into one category, and so are the "below \$400" and "\$400 - \$799" categories, the "\$800 - \$1199" and "\$1200 - \$1799" categories, the "\$1800 - \$2399" and "\$2400 - \$2999" categories, and the "\$3000 - \$3999", "\$4000 - \$4999", "\$5000 - \$5999" and "\$6000 or more" categories respectively.

Table 7 clearly shows that the prediction as set in the hypothesis is borne out because the nuclear family does have a lower total family income, as compared to the extended types. This relationship is confirmed at a high statistical significance level, and the hypothesis is therefore upheld as valid.

Religion and Family Structure

Religion as a set of beliefs and values is also related to the value system of the social structure which in turn determines the nature of its major functional systems or subsystems including industry and the family. Certain religions are more commensurable to the ideals and values of traditionalism, whereas others are more related to those of modernity. On the other hand, agnosticism and secularism are among the essential factors which give rise to modern urbanization and industrialization, while religiosity is more a typical characteristic of the people in traditional society. Hence, by choosing to accept a certain religious belief, or particularly by choosing to remain a non-believer, one is predisposed to certain corresponding beliefs and values which are in turn reflected in one's action in daily life on such matters as adhering to a principle, choosing one's career, or organizing one's family. In this sense, religion does exert some indirect or direct influence on the structuring of one's family. Hypothesis V is therefore set to say that religion is related to family type in that the nuclear family is characterized

by agnosticism or the acceptance of a modernistic religion, and the extended types by some traditionalistic religious beliefs.

To test this hypothesis, data are tabled below:

Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Families by Male Head's Religion and by Family Type

Religion of Male Head	Nuclear	Stem	Joint	Stem- Joint	Other Extended	Total No.	Total %
No religion	78.1	20.0	0.3	0.9	0.8	793	35.1
Christian	72.6	25.0	0.6	1.1	0.6	179	7.9
Buddhist	68.8	29.7	0.0	1.5	0.0	205	9.1
Ancestor- worship	70.7	27.1	0.9	1.1	0.2	532	23.6
Traditional beliefs	72.4	24.6	0.4	2.0	0.5	548	24.3
	No.	1663	544	10	29	11	2257*
Total	%	73.7	24.1	0.4	1.3	0.5	100.0

* Does not add up to the total of 2263 because of 6 families in the "no answer" category.

$X^2 = 16.65$, $df = 8$, $p < .05$, when the "joint", "stem-joint" and "other extended" categories of family type are collapsed into one category

As shown in Table 8, the religion of the male household head is again treated as representing that of his family. The typology of religion is summarized, for both practical reasons and analytical convenience, into five categories which may be subsumed in three types. The first type is no religion which