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Value Changes During a
Period of Modernization:
The Case of Hong Kong

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MODERNIZATION - THE CASE OF HONG KONG

by

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Introduction

Hong Kong is a city which is comparatively young, yet nearly all of its population comes from a society whose history spans the millennium -- a society which was viable, continuous and non-changing for the past two thousand years. The Chinese arriving in Hong Kong, whether they came when it was first settled by the British in the middle of the last century, or in droves a century later, fleeing from a communist government in China, brought with them to his place their own notions about life, their place in the world, and their own life styles. In other words, they brought with them a specific culture whose "basic outlines of the fundamental values, existential propositions, and basic abstractions,"[1] was peculiarly their own -- a traditional Chinese culture.

Culture, as defined by social scientists, is the sum total of basic assumptions of a people or central core of meanings in societies (Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck) -- a value system. It is hardly necessary any longer to demonstrate that there is a great deal of variability in the life styles of people, especially so when comparing individuals from different societal backgrounds such as a Latin American and a Northern European, or for that matter a Chinese and an Englishman. It is, however, necessary to distinguish those elements in the different societies which account for the differences in the behavior of their individual members.

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[1] Kluckhohn, Clyde, "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action," in Talcott Parsons, Edward A. Shill, et al., Toward A General Theory of Action. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 409-410.

Analysis of Social System - the Value-Orientation Approach

Although people all over the world share a common biological
nature and, because of their humanness, universally live in social
grouping, the way they live, the meaning they give to their lives,
and the way they interact with their environment and among themselves
will vary from people to people. This variation in life styles of
different people is accounted for, according to Kluckhohn and Strodt-
beck, as follows:

> "Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned
> (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional
> interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of
> the evaluative process - the cognitive, the affective, and
> the directive elements - which give order and direction to
> the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these
> relate to the solution of "common human" problems. These
> principles are variable from culture to culture but ....
> variable only in the ranking patterns of component parts
> which are themselves cultural universals."[2]

> "... It is from the cognitive and the affective elements and
> the relationships between them that the value system derives
> its content in the forms of existential premises and normative
> assumptions. There would be no value system which takes human
> behavior out of the realm of the purely instinctual were it
> not for the quite highly developed human capacities for intel-
> lection and affectivity. But it also seems apparent that there
> would be no ordered, no systematic, value system without a
> directive tendency which both aids in the selction among
> possible value systems and also serves to give continuity to
> the total system." [3]

The "common human" problems faced by all peoples, arising
inevitably out of the human situation, according to Kluckhohn and
Strodtbeck, for which they must find solutions from the varying
alternatives present in all societies, but which are differentially
preferred for any given society, are:

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[2] Kluckhohn, Florence R. and Strodtbeck, Fred L., _Variations in
Value Orientations_. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co.,
1961, page 4.

[3] _Ibid._, page 8.

(1) What is the character of innate human nature?
(<u>human nature</u> orientation)

(2) What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature?)
(<u>man nature</u> orientation)

(3) What is the temporal focus of human life? (<u>time</u> orientation)

(4) What is the modality of human activity?
(<u>activity</u> orientation)

(5) What is the modality of man's relationship to other men?
(<u>relational</u> orientation) [4]

The solutions to these problems preferred by a society are its value-orientation. All societies have dominant as well as variant value-orientations which are ranked in order of preference. When a society is in the process of change, however, the distinct rank-ordering of some or even all of its solutions to human problems is subject to alteration. The dominant value-orientations may, under the stress of social change, diminish in importance or be displaced in the order of preference by value-orientations which until then were peripheral to the mainstream of the culture.

The orientations and the variability of their range, as conceptualized by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, are:

<u>Human nature</u>:	(1)	Evil (mutable or immutable)
	(2)	Neutral (mutable) and/or Mixture of Good-and-Evil (immutable)
	(3)	Good (mutable or immutable)
<u>Man-nature</u>:	(1)	Subjugation-to-Nature
	(2)	Harmony-with-Nature
	(3)	Mastery-over-Nature
<u>Time</u>:	(1)	Past
	(2)	Present
	(3)	Future
<u>Activity</u>:	(1)	Being
	(2)	Being-in-Becoming
	(3)	Doing

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[4] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 11.

Relational: (1) Lineality

             (2) Collaterality

             (3) Individualism [5]

This schema for analysis of cultures is obviously most useful when the task is the differentiation between cultures. But it is also useful when determining whether a society is under-going change, since, as has been contended already, when a society undergoes change one would expect to find the rank ordering of its value-orientations less clear cut. Thus the value orientation of the Chinese population of Hong Kong can be examined in order to determine their "fit" with the traditional Chinese value-orientations, the degree to which they deviate from them and whether a new rank ordering of these value-orientations is emerging. In other words, the schema provides a basis for the detection in Hong Kong society of deviations from traditional Chinese values, as well as the direction of these deviations from which predictions on future developments can be made.

The value-orientations and their variations provide a framework for the description of traditional Chinese society, whose value system was founded on two major philosophies: Confucianism and Taoism. Taoism held that human nature and the universe were a mixture of good and evil -- made up of two opposing forces -- the Yin and the Yang. These forces interact and intertwine like heaven and earth, male and female, strong and weak, good and evil. There is a little of each in the other and together they form a harmonious unity.[6] Therefore, man is basically both good and evil. He should live in harmony with nature and with his fellow men. Confucianism stressed further the social environment and gave the Chinese their orientation to one another. The ordering of interpersonal relationships was, indeed, the core of the teachings of Confucius and his followers. The social nature of Confucianism and, hence, of traditional Chinese value-orientations can never be over-emphasized. They were almost totally concerned with man's relationship to man -- humanly based rather than extra-human (as Christianity, for instance), and with this life on this earth and now. Francis L.K. Hsu puts it this way:

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[5] Ibid., p. 12

[6] Bloodworth, Dennis, The Chinese Looking Glass. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966, page 194.

"Confucianism holds that the good society is one in which
each individual occupies his proper place. It teaches that
when the individual is right his family will be right, when
the family is right the nation will be rigth. To achieve this
end, one must fulfill the duties and obligations inherent in
the five human relationships. These are the relationships
between emperor and subject, between father and son, between
husband and wife, between brothers, and between friends." [7]

C.K. Yang elaborates on the interpersonal relationships in
traditional Chinese society:

"... the so-called Five Cardinal Relations ... constituted
the foundations of traditional social values. Mencius
states that in the relations of humanity --- between
father and son there should be solidarity and affection;
between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between
husband and wife, attention to their separate functions;
between old and young, a proper order, and between friends,
fidelity.'" [8]

He goes on to describe the importance and the rank-ordering of these
relationships:

"... It is to be noted that heading the Five Cardinal
Relations of humanity is the relation between father
and son, and that of the five relations three belong
to the kinship realm ...

"These Five Cardinal Relations, centering upon kinship
ties, formed the core of social and moral training for
the individual almost from the beginning of his conscious-
ness of social existence until he became so conditioned to
it that his standard of satisfaction and deprivation was
based upon it ..." [9]

The lineal nature of the interpersonal relationships governing
traditional Chinese society is expounded upon by Yang:

" "In the traditional structure of family status and
authority age was a leading factor. The Five Cardinal
Relations, the basic principles of family organization,
taught that family members should be arranged into
proper order by their age."

"... This hierarchy of status and authority imposed strong
compulsion on the individual to observe his own place in
the group through, among other factors, the operation of the
mores of filial piety and veneration of age. Filial piety

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[7] Hsu, Francis. L.K., Americans and Chinese. London: Cresset Press,
1955, page 363.

[8] Yang, C.K., The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution,
Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1959, pages 6-7.

[9] Ibid., page 7.

demand absolute obedience and complete devotion to be parents,
thus establishing the generational subordination of the children.
In traditional society an individual from childhood to the end
of his life was completely immersed in an atmosphere which
compelled the observation of filial piety." [10]

Filial piety fulfilled the function of maintaining the family

instituion through time and thus upheld the lineal principle of inter-

personal relationships. This was not merely part of the moral code

of Chinese society but was enforceable by law.

The time orientation of traditional Chinese society is summarized

by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck:

"Historical China was a society which gave first-order
preference to the Past time orientation. Ancestor
worship and a strong family tradition were both
expressions of this preference. So also was the
Chinese attitude that nothing new ever happened in
the Present or would happen in the Future; it had
all happened before in the far distant Past." [11]

Other writers support this view regarding traditional Chinese time

orientation:

"A second culture value is the principle of respect
for the past, or almost veneration of history. If
there is one people in the world that is history-
mined, it is certainly the Chinese people." [12]

And,

"China has always been a conservative country ... which
held to the belief that what was good for their fore-
fathers, and had been tested by countless generations,
was sacrilege to tamper with." [13]

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[10] Ibid., pages 86-89.

[11] Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., page 14.

[12] Van Oort, H.A. "Chinese Culture-values, Past and Present,"
      Chinese Culture, A Quarterly Review (The China Academy, Taiwan),
      Vol. XI, No. 1, March 1970, page 40.

[13] Burkhardt, Valentine Rodolphe, Chinese Creeds and Customs,
      Hong Kong; The South China Morning Post, Ltd., 1953, Vol. II,
      Page 1.

As for the activity orientation of traditional Chinese society the evidence is conflicting. When the focus is on a Taoist monk the "Being" orientation stands out. However, spontaneity, which is the most elemental expression of such an orientation is diametrically opposed to the actual state of affairs in which an individual in traditional China found himself:

> "... From cradle to grave the individual was under the uninterrupted influence of the family regarding his physical and moral upbringing, the formation of his sentiments and attitudes, his educational training, his public career, his social associations, his emotional and material security." [14]

> "The insitutional framework of traditional Chinese society was characterized by the prominence of li, which we may translate as ritualism, denoting a system of semi-formal norms of behavior in all basic situation of social life." [15]

Jarvie and Agassi also give testimony for the predominance of this value-orientation in Chinese society:

> "The highest value in China is to live properly, which particularly concerns being polite and obeying the rules; and this makes even the social aspect of a personal transaction of supreme importance. In other words, in traditional China being considerate to others is equated with saving others' face, with politeness, and with strict observance of the accepted code. To observe the code is to be human; to forget it is to become barbarian." [16]

Still, the Taoist strain in Chinese culture makes up the other side of this coin -- it advances the notion of fortune and fate, the fluidity of life and its non-absoluteness. "A man must follow his instinct, ... for there is no principle that is right in all circumstance, or any action that is wrong in all circumstance." [17] This fatalism supports an orientation of "being" but within limits permissible by the standards promulgated in the code of behavior.

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[14] Yang, op. cit., page 5.

[15] Ibid., page 186.

[16] Jarvie, I.C. & Agassi, Joseph, "A Study in Westernization", in Jarvie & Agassi (eds.), Hong Kong: A Society in Transition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, pages 151-152.

[17] Bloodworth, op. cit., page 256.

The potential tension arising from the opposing value orientations may contribute to cleavage in a society if and when it undergoes stress under changing conditions of life. Evidence to this effect, as well as evidence of tensions growing from the other value-orientations dominant in traditional China, which is extensively explored by C.K. Yang in particular, would lead to the hypothesis that an examination of the value orientations of modern day Chinese, resident of Hong Kong, would show a change in their values and, minimally, a different rank-ordering of them. It is probable that these people are moving gradually toward a modern industrialized societal value-system whose orientation to nature is mastery over it, which is concerned with "doing", which focuses its gaze on the future, and which is also a society which is organized on individual rather than lineal lines.

Analysis of Social Systems - the Pattern-Variables Approach

The uniqueness and the persistence of traditional Chinese
society has been beguiling people in the West for centuries. Marco
Polo returned from China with his fabulous tales and started a rush
to tour, observe, proselytize, understand and analyze. And social
scientists - from Weber to Parsons - share in this curiosity. In his
major theoretical formulation on the social system, Talcott Parsons
uses traditional Chinese society as an illustration for one combination
of the pattern-variables which he suggests as descriptive of societies -
the particularistic-achievement pattern.

Parsons, in his general theory of society, which is anchored
to the "action" frame of reference, delineated a procedure for the
analysis of personality systems, social systems and cultural systems.
This procedure is to be applicable universally and would be so standard-
ized as to permit comparability between various social systems. The
major task was the development of an exhaustive as well as mutually
exclusive set of variables with the aid of which societies could be
analyzed. Each of the variables had to meet certain easily established
criteria which are:

> "... First, the variables should be completely general and
> permit comparisons between groups of any sort whatever and
> across cultures. The special vocabularies which have been
> developed for describing particular kinds of social systems,
> for example, family systems or economic systems, will not do...
>
> "Second, the variables should be relevant for the action frame
> of reference. For Parsons, this means that when applied to
> particular actors they should yield a classification of types
> of orientations, when applied to social systems they should
> serve to classify role expectations, and when applied to
> cultural systems they should deal with types of normative
> patterns. Moreover, because of the inter-penetrating
> character of these orders of systems, the same set of
> variables should serve to deal with all three.
>
> "Finally, the variables should be relevant for the analysis
> of the functional problems about which system differentiation
> takes place. If a business firm and a mental hospital have
> somewhat different forms of organization, it is probably
> because these organizations must serve different functions.
> Not all categories referring to observed differences between
> these organization types will do. The variables selected
> should upon points of similarity and difference crucial to

the functioning of the system: you should be able to demonstrate
that a change in state of any one of the variables would have
some importance consequence in terms of system function." [18]

Five variables, conceptualized by Parsons, meet these criteria.
Each of the five variables is mutually exclusive and is dichotemized in
terms of its polemics, thus yielding polar types. In addition, each of
these variables is viewed as both exhaustive and operative in any given
action situation. The five variables are:

(1) Affectivity - Affective neutrality. In any given situation
an actor is believed to relate and to react to an object in that situation
either with or without some degree of affectivity. The relationship
between husband and wife contains affectivity, while that between a
customer and a salesman does not. And in addition, affectivity could
be either positive or negative.

(2) Self-Orientation-Collective-orientation. The orientation
of an actor in a situation could be focused either on himself or on a
collective. The doctor's orientation to his patient, as prescribed
by society, should not center on his own interests, but rather guided
by the welfare of the patient. The salesman, on the other hand, when
dealing in a business transaction, is mainly concerned with his objective
of making a sale and not with the benefits accrued by the customer from
this activity.

(3) Universalism-Particularism. In a given social situation,
actor's orientation to a social object can be defined either as universal
or particular. In orientation to a doctor, for instance, it may be to
doctors in general -- a universalistic orientation, or this doctor
(mine, yours, his) in particular without reference to doctors in general --
a particularistic orientation.

(4) Ascription - Achievement. This variable could also be
described by the terms "quality" or "attribute" -- as opposed to "per-
formance". A social object is viewed ascriptively if the viewing is
based on who he is. Alternatively, if the focus on what he is doing --
his performance -- the viewing is based on an achievement orientation.

[18] Devereux, Edward C., Jr., "Parsons' Sociological Theory," in
The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, Black, Max (ed.),
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1961, page 39.

(5) <u>Specificity - Diffuseness</u>. This variable relates to action orientation in that it describes the state of inclusiveness with which an object is held by the actor. A relationship between married people is a good example of diffuseness in that a husband and wife relate to each other's total personality.

These five pattern variables are used by Parsons to analyze social interaction in his action frame of reference. He maintains that in any action situation there exist for the actor five orientational problems which must be solved by him before any action in that situation can be undertaken. He must decide, whether consciously or unconsciously whether -- (a) to act affectively or with neutral affectivity, (b) his action is to be self-oriented or collective oriented, (c) universal or particular, (d) ascriptive or achievement-oriented, and (e) specific or diffuse.

Parsons continues by stating that the two pattern variables of affectivity-neutrality and specificity-difuseness are most directly relevant to the motivational focus and "may, indeed, be considered as the major axes of organization of action with reference to the needs of the personality ..." [19]. Similarly, he maintains that the two pattern variables of universalism-particularism, and ascription-achievement are mainly related to social systems:

> "The other pair of variables is universalism-particularism and ascription-achievement. These variables have, by contrast with the other pair, reference to the social system as such. They are concerned, as we have seen, respectively with the type of value-norms which enter into the structure of the social system, and with the ways in which the characteristics of actors as objects of orientation are 'taken account of' in the selective processes through which social structures are built up."[20]

Using these two pattern variables for the description of social systems, Parsons derived four ideal types which are:[21]

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[19] Parsons, Talcott, <u>The Social System</u>. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, page 6.

[20] <u>Ibid</u>., page 105.

[21] <u>Ibid</u>., The quotation given below, descriptive of each pattern, are to be found in Table 2a, page 102. The examples of specific social systems are to be found, <u>im passe</u>, in page 107 - 111.

(1) <u>Universalistic Achievement Pattern.</u> Expectation of
active achievement in accord with universalized standards and generalized
rules relative to other actors." Stated in terms of interaction, this
pattern is conformity with generalized goals and evaluation of social
objects by what they do rather than whom they are. An example of this
pattern is the social system of the United States.

(2) <u>Universalitstic Ascription Pattern.</u> "Expectation of
orientation of action to a universalistic norm defined either as an
ideal state or as embodied in the status-structure of the existing
society." In terms of interaction, again, this pattern is conformity
with generalized goals and evaluation of social objects on the bais of
what they are. Parsons claims that the idealism embodied in the German
culture is a good example of this pattern.

(3) <u>Particularistic Ascriptive Pattern.</u> "Expectation of
orientation to an ascribed status within a given relational context."
In other words, this pattern is best expressed by interactions which
include the categorization of objects by biological relatedness or
territorial and temporal location, as well as the evaluation of social
objects for what they are. The social system of the Spanish-Americans,
according to Parsons, approximates this pattern.

(4) <u>Particularistic-Achievement Pattern.</u> "Expectation
of active achievement relative to and/or on behalf of the particular
relational context in which the actor is involved." In this instant,
interactions which categorize social objects by biological relatedness
or territorial an temporal location, but which evaluate social objects
by what they do, rather than by what they are. Traditional Chinese
society is offered by Parsons as an excellent example of this pattern.

Parsons' claim about traditional Chinese society is supported
by the literature in the field. C.K. Yang offers the following as
evidence of the particularistic-achievement nature of Chinese society:

> "Traditional Chinese society was composed of numerous semi-
> autonomous local units, each of which was structured around the
> kinship system as its core, and each was only loosely related
> to the others. As a national social system, these units were
> integrated not so much by extensive functional interdependence
> and centralized control as by a fairly uniform institutional
> framework which enabled Chinese people everywhere to act toge-
> ther as a group on the basis of a common system of basic values.

At the center of this decentralized system was the kinship
structure with its sizable membership, its generational
continuity, its rigid organization, and its multiplicity
of socio-economic functions." 22

"... the particularistic nature in the kinship-oriented
pattern of social organization divided the population
into numerous small, self-confined, and loosely inter
related kinship units,..." 23

"... The central feature of traditional Chinese society as
a whole was that the individual's loyalty toward the family
transcended all his other social obligations and that the
family was the determining factor in the total pattern of
social organization." 24

"Functioning through the strength of filial piety and
veneration of age, the hierarchy of age served to provide
a status system for the operation of family authority, to
firmly initiate the young into the institution of family
life until they reached full maturity, to establish
security for the old, and to impress upon the individual
the dominance of the family as a corporate body." 25

Yang as well as Bloodworth attest to the fact that achievement
was the dominant element in traditional China:

"... The traditional Chinese moral standards demanded not
merely self-sacrifice from the individual but also that
he take responsibility for self-cultivation according to
Confucian ethics and try to find the solution for all
domestic disharmonies in his own efforts at self per-
fection. Self cultivation, the basic theme of Confucian
ethics traditionally inculcated in the child's mind from
an early age, did not seek a solution to social conflict
in defining, limiting, and guaranteeing the rights and
interests of the individual or in the balance of power
and interests between individuals. It sought the solu-
tion from the self-sacrifice of the individual for the
preservation of the group." 26

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22 Yang, op. cit., page 20.

23 Ibid., page 11.

24 Ibid., page 166.

25 Ibid., page 92.

26 Yang, Ibid., page 172.

"... Confucian moral law was founded on conscience, and
across the Chinese conscience was written one word:
<u>Chia</u> - family. A man could be a Scott, a Lawrence,
a Gauguin, a Schweitzer - but only if he left his
family secure and his activities brought upon them
honor, not destitution and disgrace ...

"The prudent paterfamilias looks after his own business
so that his kinfold may prosper .... once he feels
that the fame or advantage that will accrue to his folk
may outweigh the hardship or the risk in an enterprise,
he will not hesitate to act. In Imperial times, thousands
entered for the official examinations so that, as mandarins,
they might bring greater glory and influence to their
families, and many made great personal sacrifices for the
sake of the honor of their house. All wanted their
particular family to be looked up to 'as a crane among
chickens'." [27]

Shively gives further support to this assertion. In a
study of classical Chinese literature[28] he found the dominant pattern
of social interactions to conform to the particularistic-achievement
pattern.

In the light of the theoretical frameworks outlined here -
the value-orientation approach to the study of variant culture systems
and the pattern variable approach to the study of social systems - the
task at hand can be made more explicit. The Chinese society of Hong
Kong can be studied in order to establish its value-orientations.
If a change from traditional values is, indeed, taking place, the task
is to discover the trends, to find out what is changing and how much.
It would then be possible to determine which pattern variable it con-
forms to now - is it still a particularistic-achievement type or is it
moving towards the universalistic-achievement model, as one would
expect to happen to a society which is in the process of modernization?
Again to cite Yang whose words about mainland China are applicable to
Hong Kong at the present:

[27] Bloodworth, <u>op. cit.</u>, pages 108-109.

[28] Shively, Stanley E., <u>A Sociological Study of the Classical Chinese
Social System</u>, 1961 (unpublished paper).

"... The dynamic nature, the functional diversity, and
the high degree of integration of such a mass society
impose on the individual the requirement of speciali-
zation and universalism, the development of which
would be hampered should the particularistic kinship
relations retain the dominant position in the web of
social relations..." [29]

If an investigation uncovers that a sizeable proportion of
the Chinese of Hong Kong differ in respect to interpersonal relation-
ships from the traditionally prescribed values, and if their behavior
and attitudes are moving more towards the universalistic-achievement
pattern, then it would be clear that indeed a social change is taking
place. Moreover, an examination of which portion of the Hong Kong
population is changing would yield clues as to trends and make possible
predictions as to the nature of Hong Kong society in the future.
The theme of this study is that there is indeed a detectable change in
Chinese society in Hong Kong and that this change is a movement toward
modernization with all its concomitant value-orientations and its
universalistic character.

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[29] Yang, op. cit., page 218.

Methodology

The "Life Quality" survey data, collected in Kwun Tong in May, 1971, includes a number of items which provide an opportunity to investigate a number of facets of the modernization of Hong Kong society.[30] The survey grew out of a felt need to investigate the living conditions peculiar to an urban in Southeast Asia, and so perhaps to enhance future public policies. A major area into which research effort was directed was the quality of life in Hong Kong. The area of Kwun Tong was selected for this purpose as being representative of existing living environments in this part of the world.

Kwun Tong as a community is of recent origin. It represents a visionary aspect of public policy in that it is a planned living environment. It has been built gradually in the last fifteen years along lines which would make it a self-contained community. Residential areas are located in the proximity of factories in order to reduce transportation problems, however separate from them so as to enhance living conditions.

The residential areas themselves are made up largely of resettlement estates and low-cost housing estates. These assume large proportions and some house close to 50,000 people. The housing units per family vary in size and comforts. The older estates offer relatively small units with no toilet, bathing or kitchen facilities. The newer ones tend to be larger and include private, though small, kitchens and baths. Schools, medical, shopping and entertainment facilities are located within short distances of all the residential areas. Indeed, a resident of Kwun Tong who is employed in one of its industrial enterprises need not leave the area at all in search of fulfillment of his needs. And in this not very large territory slightly more than half a million people of relatively low socio-economic status spend most of their lives.

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[30] The funds for this study were provided by a grant from the Harvard-Yenching Institute to the Social Research Centre of The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

For the purpose of the survey, a representative sample of Kwun Tong's population was selected, and subsequently 1,065 interviews were conducted. The interviews covered a large number of aspects of life in Kwun Tong. They also contained items on value-orientations and attitudes, many of which touch directly upon traditional Chinese values as well as present orientations.

Using the data provided by the "Life Quality" survey this study specifically explored the following:

(1) Is there any noticeable deviation from the traditional Chinese value-orientations among a sizeable proportion of the sample?

(2) In what way are the people who have changed, or who are changing their value-orientations, different from the "traditionalists"?

(3) To what extent, and in what ways, are they different with respect to attitudes and behavior?

The central task of the study was to detect the extent to which respondents "hold" or "deviate" from traditional Chinese values. For this purpose a "Traditional Values" scale was constructed from six items included in the Kwun Tong "Life Quality" survey. Using a Likert-type, five-point, agree-disagree, scale, each of the 1,065 respondents was asked to react to many statements. Six of these statements, which relate to typical Chinese values, were selected to form the "Traditional Values" scale. They are:

(1) "Young men must respect older people."

(2) "The husband is to be the head of the household and his wife must be obedient to him."

(3) "The more children and grand children one has, the better it is."

(4) "A woman should not lose her virginity before marriage."

(5) "Good men will receive good rewards, while bad men will receive bad rewards."

(6) "It is important to select a 'lucky' day for one's wedding."

For substantiation of the representativeness of these items a Chinese sociologist was consulted. Moreover, a survey of the literature on traditional Chinese society firmly establishes them as such. The reader, has, no doubt, come across many statements to that effect. For example:

"... veneration of age was traditionally a means of inspiring respect and obedience by the young toward all the other senior members of the family and society as a whole. 31

"Difference in sex, as in age, was a factor in the strati- fication of status and allocation of authority, which in tradi- tional China meant the subordination of women in the dichotomy of family membership based on sex differences ... Subordination of female members, like subordination of the young, in the traditional family always constituted a point of tension which was kept under control by various authoritarian features of the old family institution." 32

"... For practical purposes, it seems advisable in describing the term (Chinese-AMS) "familism" to include the following five essential features. (1) Emphasis on the father-son relationship .... (2) Family Pride .... (3) Encouragement of the large family .... (4) The cult of ancestor worship .... (5) Common ownership of property by the family ...." 33

"..... While the bride has to adjust to her new surroundings, the husband's primary duties and obligations remain as before." 34

"... in China, every action permissible or forbidden, is clearly laid down in the calendar for each day of the year. No one dreams of starting a business or repairing a house on one of the days unlucky for such an enterprise." 35

The combination of the reactions to each of the six items, enumerated above, results in a dependent variable measure of "Tradi- tional Values" which ranges from 6 to 30. The scale scores on this scale are obtained by totalling the responses to the six items, each of which can have a value between 1 and 5 ("1" signifying that the respondent "strongly disagrees" with the statement, and "5" signifying a "strongly agree" position). Therefore, a person who strongly disagrees

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31 Yang, op. cit., page pl.

32 Yang, Ibid., page 105.

33 Shu-Ching Lee, "China's Traditional Family, It Characteristics and Disintegration," in Winch, Robert F., McGinnis, Robert, and Barringer, Herbert R. (Eds.), Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, page .

34 Hsu, Francis, L.K., op. cit., page 128.

35 Burkhardt, op. cit., Vol. 1, page 88.

with all six statements will have a scale score of 6, while a person who strongly agrees with all of them will have the scale score of 30. The scores 6 and 30, thus, mark the boundaries of the "Traditional Values" scale and respondents having such scores might be considered as ideal, or polar, types. Low scores can be viewed as moving away from traditional values and labelled "deviates", and the high scores are the ones who are conforming to traditional norms and are labelled the "traditionalists".

The scale scores obtained for the 1,065 respondents had the following distribution:

Scale Score	Number of Persons
6	0
7	0
8	0
9	1
10	0
11	1
12	5
13	5
14	9
15	15
16	20
17	35
18	46
19	56
20	96
21	94
22	104
23	108
24	158
25	84
26	84
27	48
28	36
29	24
30	16
Don't know	20
Total	1,065

Examination of this distribution shows a pronounced skewness, with greater representation in its "traditional" region. Because of this skewness it was decided not to divide the respondents into groups on the basis of manipulation of the scale itself (such as mid-point - scale score 18) because the lower points on the scale are most minimally

represented. The grouping was decided on an isotropic basis by assigning a more-or-less equal number of respondents to the two extreme, or polar, types. The "deviates", with scale scores between 9 and 20, are made up of 289 respondents (28%), the "traditionalists", whose scores are between 25 and 30, consist of 292 respondents (28%). The remaining "middle" group, scale scores between 21 and 24, include 464 respondents (44%). The 20 respondents who did not have scores (did not react to the statements) were excluded from further analysis.

Validation of the "Traditional Values" Scale

The next step undertaken in the study was an attempt at validation of the "Traditional Values" scale by means of observing the extent to which variance on this scale correlates with other items in the study relating to traditional Chinese values. The items which were selected for validation of the scale elicited the importance attached to such values as "filial piety", "face", propagation, ancestor worship, etc., by the three groups of respondents.

Specifically, the process of validation of the scale involved the examination of the relationship between scores on the scale and views held on other items relating to traditional Chinese values by means of statistical tests of significance. The hypothesis was that there is a statistically significant difference between the groups and that this difference will be borne out by their reactions to these items. The Chi-square test of significance was applied to all these items and the results indicate a high degree of correspondence between the scale scores and the distribution of reactions to the individual items. A detailed discussion of the validation process, which will throw light on the differences between the groups in values held, follows, but for convenience, a summary of the results of the tests of significance is first presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Results of Chi-square Tests of Significance
Comparing "Deviates", "Middle" and "Traditionalists"
Regarding Traditional Chinese Values

Items	Value of x^2
Importance of: Propagation	181.42(4)*
Ancestor Worship	113.65(4)*
Wealth	82.96(4)*
Marriage	75.27(4)*
Filial Piety	72.24(4)*
Tradition	65.97(4)-
Fate	50.14(4)*
Geomancy (Fung Shui)	49.22(4)*
"Face"	49.13(4)*
Achievement	48.51(4)*
Relatives	40.30(4)*
Morality	35.23(4)*
Family Socialization	17.17(4)**

( )   Number of degrees of freedom

*   Significant well beyond the .001 level.

**   Significant well beyond the .01 level.

It is clear from the above summary that the differences
in opinions held between the three groups are statistically significant
well beyond the .001 level for twelve out of the thirteen items.
The thirteenth item, "family socialization", yields a statistically
significant value - well beyond the .01 level.

In concrete terms, in all cases there were many more "deviates" who considered a value, such as "filial piety", as <u>not important</u> than would be expected by chance. Moreover, in all these same cases there many more among the "traditionalists" than would be expected by chance who considered these values <u>important</u>. This relationship is true for filial piety, "face", propagation, relatives, ancestor worship, fate, tradition, wealth, morality, achievement, marriage, and family socialization. In the case of geomancy (Fung-Shui) the difference springs from a combination of the differences in the "middle" and the "traditionalists" groups. Many more of the "middle" group than would be expected by chance considered geomancy <u>not important</u>. And, again, more of the "traditionalists" than would be expected considered geomancy <u>important</u>.

More depth of insight into the differences between the "deviates" and the "traditionalists" is provided by the average importance which these polar groups assigned to the thirteen items. Table 2 gives these means. Briefly, the "deviates" from traditional Chinese values consistently fail to assign as great importance to these values as do the "traditionalists". In regard to some values the deviation is greater such as in the cases of propagation, ancestor worship and wealth, which are strongly adhered to by the "traditionalists".

Table 2

Mean Importance Assigned to Traditional
Chinese Values by "Deviates" and "Traditionalists"
(Scores range from 0 to 4)

Item	"Deviates"	"Traditionalists"
Propagation	1.18	2.44
Ancestor Worship	0.95	2.10
Wealth	1.68	2.52
Marriage	2.06	2.79
Filial Piety	2.32	3.20
Tradition	1.32	2.05
Fate	1.02	1.71
Geomancy (Fung-Shui)	0.72	1.24
"Face"	1.40	2.03
Achievement	2.16	2.60
Relatives	1.74	2.22
Morality	2.31	2.80
Family Socialization	2.63	2.97

The major conclusion from these findings is that the
"Traditional Values" scale is indeed a valid instrument. Another
conclusion pertains to the extent of the deviation from the fabric of
tradition. The findings indicate that the deviations are greatest
for the values concerned with interpersonal relationships - the hallmark
of the traditional Chinese value system. The extremely high values for
Chi-square for the items of propagation, Ancestor Worship, Filial Piety,
and Relatives indicate that lineality orientation which ranked first
in the interpersonal relationships in China for over two-thousand
years is losing its dominance. And in Parsons' terminology, the
particularistic basis on which the traditional Chinese social system
was organized is showing signs of slippage, a clue, perhaps, to the
undercurrent structural reorganization which Hong Kong society is
undergoing.

Comparison of the "Deviates" and the "Traditionalists" in relationship
to other values and areas of life

   The survey data provides information on the values held by
the respondents in other areas of life. A summary of the comparison
of the three groups by means of tests of significance for these items
is provided in Table 3. Table 4 gives the average importance assigned
to these items by the "deviates" and the "traditionalists".

Table 3

Results of Chi-square Tests of Significance
Comparing "Deviates", "Middle" and "Traditionalists"
in general areas

Item	Value of X^2
Importance of: Food	40.51(4)*
Employment	32.61(4)*
Health	30.57(4)*
Living Environment	21.58(4)*
Friends and Peers	17.96(4)**
Leisure Time	11.01(4)***
Recreation	7.81
Public Affairs	6.52
Formal Education	5.88
God and Church	2.96

  ( ) Number of degrees of freedom.
  * Significant well beyond the .001 level.
  ** Significant well beyond the .01 level.
  *** Significant at the .05 level.

Table 4

Average Importance Assigned by "Deviates"

and "Traditionalists" to general areas of life

(scores range from 0 to 4)

Item	"Deviates"	"Traditionalists"
Importance of: Food	2.10	2.69
Employment	2.51	2.91
Health	2.74	3.18
Living Environment	2.23	2.50
Friends and Peers	2.08	2.34
Leisure Time	1.60	1.62
Recreation	1.56	1.86
Public Affairs	1.68	1.63
Formal Education	2.62	2.78
God and Church	1.07	1.08

Table 3 shows statistically significant differences between
the groups in regard to six items. Again, the differences arise
mostly from the larger proportions of "deviates" who regard these
items as not important. Specifically, more than would be expected
by chance among the "deviates" regard food, employment, health, and
living environment as not important. Also, fewer among them regard
friends and peers as important. As for leisure time, although the
greatest proportions among all the three groups rate it as not
important, the statistically significant difference arises mainly
from the "traditionalists" group who have greater representations in
both the neutral and important categories.

These findings also clearly exhibit uniformities in the
total sample regarding three social institutions - the formal religious,
the formal educational and the formal political. Assignment of
importance to these insititutions and the values they represent does
not seem to depend at all on adherence to, or deviation from, traditional

values. Similarities also exist between the groups in two personal
aspects of life which are interconnected - leisure time and recreation.
It would seem that the recent affluence of Hong Kong has not been of
long enough duration yet, nor has it spread wide enough, to have
affected the population's priority ranking of life's activities and
opportunities.

Two items from the survey data yield information confirming
that the deviation from traditional Chinese values is consistent.
Respondents were asked if most of their close friends were also
relatives of their family. The "deviates" differed significantly
from the "traditionalists" in that more of them claimed that none
of their close friends were also relatives (x^2 = 29.41 (4d.f.) --
significant well beyond the .001 level). Similarly, to the question
whether anyone in the family practiced ancestor worship more of the
"deviates" claimed that the answer was "no", while fewer of the
"traditionalists" claimed likewise (x^2 = 21.26 (2d. f.) -- again
significant well beyond the .001 level).

These two findings lend credence to the assumption that the
value orientations of the "deviates" will be reflected in their
attitudes as well as their behavior. Firstly, ancestor worship, the
cornerstone of traditional Chinese society, which in Yang's words:

> ".... The unique, and possibly the most basic, feature of the
> traditional Chinese family was its sacred character. In a
> variety of forms, the religious element was elaborately and
> inseparably woven into the fabric of the family institution;
> and it helps to explain why the disruptive factors, such as
> the excessive exercise of authority by the male and senior
> family members, failed in the past to shake the foundation
> of the family. .... the ancestors religiously symbo-
> lized the collective existence of the family group...." [36]

> "The primary factor in lending a sacred character to the
> traditional family was the cult of ancestor worship ..." [37]

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[36] Yang, op. cit., p. 183.

[37] Ibid., page 184.

is absent to a greater degree from the family background of the
"deviates". Thus, not being socialized in the family-centered
interpersonal relationships characteristic of Chinese culture,
they are more likely to deviate from its traditional values - and
perhaps the seeds of their deviation have been sewn by their own
parents who dessisted from ancestor worship before them. Secondly,
having moved away from family-centered values, they do not choose
their friends from among their relatives but tend to do so from
the society at large.

Biographical Background

The five biographical variables included in the survey data
are: sex, age, education, income, and occupation. A brief general
description of the sample should facilitate the interpretation of
the findings.

The sample is made up of approximately one third males and
two-thirds females, and the median age is 36.5 years. The last school
grade completed on the average is Primary 4. The median income is $20,
since more than half had income less than $100. Nearly sixty per cent
of the sample had no occupation.

The Chi-square test of significance when applied to four
of these variables (occupation was not treated in this manner) shows
statistically significant differences between the "deviates" and the
"traditionalists" with respect to age and educational level. Neither
the sex of the respondent nor his income seems to bear any relationship
to the respondent's value-orientations. However, both the age of the
respondent and his exposure to formal schooling reflect on the values
held by him. The tests indicate that the younger the respondent is
and the more formal education acquired by him the more likely he is
to deviate from the traditional values. The Chi-square values for
age and education are 53.18 (2d.f.) and 67.60 (4d.f.) respectively -
both significant well beyond the .001 level. In other words, the
differences in the make up of the "deviates" and the "traditionalists"
groups in terms of the age and educational level of their members is
great enough not to be likely to happen by chance and thus would lead
to the conclusion that there is correlation between youth and higher
levels of education on the one hand and deviation from traditional
values on the other.

It is evident from these findings that exposure to formal
schooling tends to influence Chinese in Hong Kong and to propell them
away from the values held by their elders. The influence of formal
education on the value systems held by people has been well established
for many social systems, so it is not at all surprising to find
corroboration of this relationship among the people of Hong Kong.

Furthermore, with the introduction of free primary education to all who want it in Hong Kong, it is most probable that the movement away from traditional Chinese values will accelerate and will gain even greater mommentum when free educational opportunities will be offered on the secondary school level.

Another link between education and values held is found in the fact that more of the "deviates" speak more than one language or dialect and they are more likely than are the "traditionalists" to speak English ($x^2 = 18.41$ (4d.f.) and 23.73 (2d.f.) respectively - significant well beyond the .01 level and .001 level).

Inspection of the distribution of the groups along occupational lines establishes further the connection between education - reflected in the respondent's occupation - and the decreasing dominance of traditional values. The "deviates" in larger proportions than the "traditionalists" occupy professional-managerial roles (mainly teachers) and student roles. The proportions in both categories are three to one. In light of these findings it would be difficult to overemphasize the role of education in shaking of the foundations of traditional Chinese value system among the population of Hong Kong.

Education, however, should be viewed in the context of the social system and its requirements. Hong Kong society is not organized along traditional Chinese lines where the family was not only the focus of social organization but was also the nucleous around which the economic organization of traditional Chinese was formed. Traditional China was an agrarian society in which the family was predominant "as a unit of production: a unit of organization of labor, capital, and land for the acquisition of goods and services to meet the needs of the members of the household."[38] Hong Kong's beginnings are embedded in commerce, although at the present time it combines both commerce and industry in its economic organization. At present, only a small section of its population is committed to agricultural pursuits and Hong Kong must import a large proportion of its food. In the process of industrializing the society has has had to modernized, re-order and ration-

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[38] Yang, op. cit.; pages 137-138.

alize its resources, including its human resources. What Wilbert Moore
said about the process of modernization in general is well suited to
the Hong Kong situation:

> "... any economic development will require rationalization of
> organization and the creation of concrete systems of action
> designed for specific and limited functions. Although forms
> of rationally constituted productive organization are probably
> much more common in preindustrial societies than is commonly
> supposed, they constitute a central and pervasive characteristic
> of economically advanced societies. [39]

> "Resource utilization, commercial and financial organization,
> and a network of transportation and communication comprise
> the minimum essential organizational conditions for
> industrialization." [40]

> "... as the social transformations accompanying economic
> modernization proceed, many kinship relations become permissive
> rather than obligatory; and the number of situations in which
> they are at all relevant decreases." [41]

Education provides the knowledge and skills necessary for
the working of an industrial society. It also holds the key to
advancement of, and in, such a society. Along with skills provided
by formal education new values which are functional to the new
social and economic institutions - the universalistic-achievement
values - are taught and they gradually replace the old ones.
Thus, the pattern of interpersonal relationships centered on the
family cannot survive in a society trying to achieve industrialization
since the chief requirement of such an industrializing society,
according to Moore, is mobility. Moore claims that:

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[39] Moore, Wilbert E., The Impact of Industry, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.:
Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965, page 23.

[40] Ibid., page 28.

[41] Ibid., page 87.

"The principal cause of the breaking of large kinship
organization is the extensive mobility required by indus-
trialization. This mobility is geographical, involving a
concomitant physical separation of kinsmen. It is also
social, thus involving the separation of kinsmen in social
status and styles of life ... Hereditary, ascribed social
status is widely superseded by status assignment made on
the basis of individual qualities and achievements." [42]

".... Modernization may be political and social as well as
economic. It means essentially becoming a member of the
common pool of world knowledge and useful techniques,
perhaps withdrawing much and adding little, but still
sacrificing many time-encrusted customs for the sake of
real or visionary benefits." [43]

Mobility, then, as well as education, tends to undermine the
particularistic character of traditional society.

Yang claims that this process has been going on in China
proper starting with its first contact with the industrial West and
materializing forcefully after the overthrow of the Ching dynasty:

".... this pattern of social organization (family-centered-AMS)
became increasing incompatible with the new needs that arose
with China's gradual integration into the modern industrial
and nationalistic world. The past three-quarters of a
century of floundering efforts at transferring the family
and kinship relations to modern economic and political
undertakings produced endless contradictions between the
particularistic and universalistic patterns of social
life. From such contradictions developed the accelerating
trend of change in the traditional family and its old rold
in the organization of social life, a change that proceeded
by popular demand from the educated young for a 'family
revolution' from the second decade of the present century.
There was little success in overcoming the incongruity
between the kinship tie as an organizational requirement
in the traditional order and the need for objective
qualifications for individuals as components of modern
economic and political structure." [44]

And, even more so as regards China under Communism:

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[42] Ibid., page 86.

[43] Ibid., page 6.

[44] Yang, op. cit., page 11.

"Most important in the long run, in addition to the
functional and structural features of the Chinese family
institution emerging under communism, is the incompatibility
between the social dominance of the kinship system and the
basic features of a modern industrial society under authri-
tarian socialism. The contrast between the particularistic
and the universalistic pattern of social organization has
been pointed out by Talcott Parsons. When kinship relations
as a particularistic factor play a dominant role in social
life, they result in a national society which is subdivided
into numerous small, semi-autonomous, and mutually exclusive
kinship cells. This localized, uncoordinated subdivision of
the social structure is contradictory to the nature of a
sensitively integrated mass society with a highly centralized
controls..." 45

45 Ibid., page 218.

Attitudes and Behavior

The evidence so far presented amply supports the major hypothesis of this study that there is a sizeable proportion among the Chinese of Hong Kong who are gradually, but consistently, moving away from their historically persistent value-orientations and social organization. Further scrutiny of the data helps to identify characteristics of the "deviates" from the traditional Chinese values. These were found to come from the younger and better educated sector of the sample population. These findings, in turn, are compelling evidence that deviations from tradition are not isolated in time but are part and parcel of an ongoing process. They point to a trend for the future of Hong Kong society - a future in which the modernization process will continue with assistance from its young members who are undergoing formal schooling and who are moving in the universalistic-achievement direction. The question that can now be raised is whether these changes in value-orientation affect changes in attitudes and behavior. The last section of this study addresses itself to this question and will offer some tentative answers.

The survey included a battery of questions touching upon the attitudes of the respondents to their environment. These were couched in terms of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with general conditions of life as well as many specific areas. Each respondent was asked to identify the biggest problem in his area as well as to give a ranking of importance or non-importance to problems which might exist. A few of these problems were selected for an examination of possible differences in attitudes between the groups.

Analysis of the data shows that where a problem exists it is a problem for anyone, be he a "traditionalist" or a "deviate". The respondents are in basic agreement in their perceptions of living conditions and their attitudes to problems cropping up around them. Table 5 gives the statistical findings of the analysis of attitudes to some of these problem areas.

Table 5

Results of Chi-square Tests of Significance
Comparing "Deviates", "Middle" and "Traditionalists"
in relationship to problems

Item	Value of X^2
Problem: Hawking	10.54(4)*
Air Polution	9.11
Population Increase	7.14
Juvenile Delinquency	5.67
Corruption	4.74
Violence	2.93
Gambling	2.48
Accidents	1.22
Triad Societies	.82
Satisfaction with general living conditions	6.94
Would like to move or not move from Kwun Tong	3.57

( ) Number of degrees of freedom
* Significant at the .05 level.

The above table shows clearly the concurrence of opinion
between the three groups regarding living conditions in general and
problems which all of them encounter in their day-to-day existence.
The only area where differences are significant is that of the
attitude to hawkers.

Similarities between the members of the three groups also
exist in the identification of "the biggest problem". There is
agreement amongst them as to the nature of the "big problem".
The respondents most frequently mention the following, listed in
order of severity (determined by frequency of mention by the
respondents): transportation, cleanliness, juvenile delinquency,
effectiveness of police, quality of housing, traffic conjection,
violence, education, population density, noise and living quarters.

When questioned on ways to solve this "big problem", however, a significant difference between the "traditionalists" and the "deviates" is again manifest. The "deviates" opted more often for complex solutions involving efforts by government, institutions, as well as by the citizens of the community. The "traditionalists", on the other hand, frequently mentioned efforts by only one of the three bodies - $X^2 = 10.05$ (4d.f.) - significant at .05 level. The inference from this again indicates-the change that is taking place in Hong Kong - a change from a society organized along particularistic lines to one organized universalistically, in which the same individual may assume several specified roles.

One last group of items in the survey data sheds light on attitudes and behavior of the respondents. The data centers on the concept of efficacy. Respondents were asked how much power they think they have to affect changes in three spheres - Kwun Tong, their families, and their own lives. There were also asked to give an opinion about how much they thought they could do to change an unfair government regulation. The statistical findings are presented in Table 6.

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Table 6

Results of Chi-square Tests of Significance
Comparing "Deviates", "Middle" and "Traditionalists"
in the Area of Efficacy

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Item	Value of X^2
Efficacy: Kwun Tong	1.43
Family	24.27(2)*
Own Life	25.34(2)*
Power to change unfair government regulation	11.95(2)**

( ) Number of degrees of freedom
*   Significant well beyond the .001 level
** Significant beyond the .01 level

The above findings show that the respondents do differ
significantly regarding their feeling of potency in relation to their
families and their own lives, and even in their feelings about their
own abilities to affect government action. The "deviate" exhibits a
higher efficacy.

This leads to the conjecture that these feelings of power,
even if only potential, would already put the "deviates" in a "doer"
category. Doing "something" about a problem is a value orientation
associated with Western societies, whose orientation to life, and
to nature, is active rather than passive. It is in direct opposition
to the traditional Chinese orientation to nature, and to life, which
stressed harmonious living with people, social institutions, nature,
and authority.

Summary and Conclusions

The main objective of this study was the examination of a sample of Chinese living in Hong Kong in order to determine if and to what extent changes have occured in its cultural and societal content. Two conceptual models - Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's value-orientation schema and Talcott Parsons' pattern variable schema - were deemed to be useful in this connection. The first, in the examination of values held by members of the sample and, particularly, those governing interpersonal relationships; and the second, for the analysis of its social organization.

Using the value-orientations model, one could describe traditional Chinese society as one which considers human nature as a mixture of good and evil. It advocates harmonious living within nature and within society. It is oriented toward the state of "being" rather than "doing", focuses its gaze upon the past and stresses the lineality of interpersonal relationships.

Described in terms of the pattern variable model, Parsons himself suggests, and he is supported by numerous statements by others, that traditional Chinese society was organized along particularistic-achievement values.

A traditional Chinese values scale was constructed from the Kwun Tong "Life Quality" survey data in order to ascertain the degree of adherence to these by the respondents. The respondents were then divided into three groups according to their concurrence with or deviation from these values. The three groups were labelled - "traditionalists", "middle", and "deviates". Validation of this grouping was then carried out by use of statistical tests of significance which compared the scale scores with other data provided in the survey relating to traditional values. The test results led to the acceptance of the scale as a valid instrument for the measurement of deviation from traditional values.

The test results, moreover, show the trends of change among
the Chinese population of Hong Kong. The indications are that tradi-
tional values are diminishing in their dominance for the Hong Kong
population. The tests indicate a "sliding away" from the ancient
path prescribed by traditional values.

Analysis of the sample shows that deviation is to be found
among the younger and better educated of the respondents. The
"deviates" also exhibit greater feelings of potential power over the
course of their lives - in other words they tend to view themselves as
"doers". Since they were also found to be less family oriented, they
show an inclination to break away from the values prescribed by
tradition regarding interpersonal relationships.

In their approach to problems and their solution, the
"deviates" tend to select more complex methods of solution, thus
exhibiting a universalistic orientation to life where individuals
and institutions function at specific and time-bound roles.

In the light of the two theoretical models, and the
findings, it seems clear that the ordering of value-orientation
specific to traditional Chinese culture is undergoing change.
The interpersonal relationships dominant in traditional society which
stress the family connections in the present and through the generations
of its history are gradually becoming less paramount. It would seem
safe to conclude that they are being replaced by individualism, which
their feelings of potency would seem to indicate.

The process of modernization in Hong Kong must affect its
social organization, and indeed the particularistic nature of tradi-
tional Chinese social organization would hinder this process if it
were to remain dominant. The findings of this study indicate that
the society is gradually being reorganized along different lines -
the values dominant in industrial societies which follow the
universalistic-achievement model. Hong Kong could not have achieved
its stunning economic success had its social organization remained
true to traditional precepts. Mobility, which means the availability

of human resources where they are needed, and which is the prime
prerequisit of an industrial society would erode any particularistic
basis of society and replace it with a universalistic one. According
to Bell:

> "Modern life is a world of change. Because it brings large
> numbers of persons into the market place ... the modern world
> is in distinct ways extraordinarily different from all pre-
> vious cultures, folk and traditional." 46

This is a particularly apt description of what is happening in Hong Kong
society which is leaving the traditional culture behind and forging a
new image for itself.

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    Bell, Daniel, "The Measurement of Knowledge and Technology," in
Sheldon, Eleanor Bernert and Moore, Wilbert E. (Eds.), Indicators
of Social Change, New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1968, page 146.

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