



香 港 中 文 大 學  
社 會 研 究 中 心

The Rise and Growth of Kwun Tong:  
A Study of Planned Urban Development

Chan Ying-keung

**SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE**  
**THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY**  
**OF HONG KONG**

**Suggested citation:**

Chan, Ying-keung. 1973. *The Rise and Growth of Kwun Tong: A Study of Planned Urban Development*. Hong Kong: Occasional Paper No. 30, Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Social Research Centre

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF KWUN TONG: A STUDY  
OF PLANNED URBAN DEVELOPMENT

by

CHAN Ying-keung

August, 1973.

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

I like to acknowledge the help of the Research Assistants and clerical staff of the Centre. They were very diligent in providing all the necessary services to complete the study.

## Contents

	<u>Page</u>
I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u> .....	1
II. <u>BACKGROUND AND BASIS FOR RAPID DEVELOPMENT, KWUN TONG NEW TOWN</u> .	4
1. Urbanization, Industrialization, and Industrial New Towns ..	4
2. Desired Development Pattern for Hong Kong .....	6
3. Kwun Tong as the Site Chosen for First Planned Development .	9
4. Forces Operating in the Rapid Development in Kwun Tong .....	10
(A) Government as Policy Maker, Planner and Entrepreneur ..	11
(B) Investment from Private Enterprises .....	14
(C) Contributions of Voluntary Agencies .....	15
(D) The People as Beneficiary .....	17
III. <u>IMPORTANCE OF KWUN TONG AS A FUNCTIONAL PART OF HONG KONG</u> .....	20
1. Kwun Tong as a Huge Human Cluster .....	20
2. Manufacturing Industry in Kwun Tong .....	22
3. Kwun Tong as Supplier and Employer of Large Working Force ..	24
IV. <u>IS KWUN TONG A WELL PLANNED COMMUNITY?</u> .....	27
1. Physical Aspects .....	28
(A) Overcrowding and High Density Development .....	28
(B) Environmental Beauty .....	32
(C) Transportation and Communication .....	33
(D) Landuse .....	36
2. Social Aspects .....	38
(A) Social Composition .....	39
(B) Employment Opportunity .....	44
(C) Education .....	46
(D) Social Welfare .....	47
(E) Medical and Health Services .....	47
(F) Recreation .....	48



	<u>Page</u>
V. <u>KWUN TONG AS THE PROTOTYPE NEW TOWN IN HONG KONG?</u> .....	52
1. High Density Development .....	53
2. New Towns, More Spaces for Industry .....	56
3. Employment and Community Services .....	58
4. Others .....	59
VI. <u>CONCLUSION</u> .....	62
<u>APPENDIX: PHYSICAL BOUNDARY OF KWUN TONG</u> .....	66
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> .....	69

## Tables

	<u>Page</u>
1 Number of Schools and Enrolments by Type, Kwun Tong and Hong Kong (1971) .....	16
2 Growth of Wearing Apparel, Textiles, and Machinery & Equipment Industries in Hong Kong .....	23
3 Number of Establishments and Employees of Selected Industries in Kwun Tong .....	23
4 Residents' Attitude towards the Physical Environment .....	31
5 Indexes of Diversity ( $A_w$ ) within Working Populations for Kwun Tong and Its Subdistricts .....	40 & 41
6 Indexes of Diversity ( $A_p$ ) of Working Populations between Sub-districts in Kwun Tong .....	42
7 Residents' Attitude towards the Socio-Economic Situation .....	45
8 Population Density in New Towns: Completed, Under Development, and Scheduled .....	55
9 Allocation of Industrial Land in New Towns .....	57

## Figures

	<u>Between Pages</u>
1 Population Density & Ratio of Gross Floor Area/District Area ...	29 & 30
2 Kwun Tong, Areal Divisions .....	67 & 68

## I. INTRODUCTION

Certainly, Hong Kong is "one of the most fascinating economic curiosities in the world today".<sup>1</sup> In fact, Hong Kong, though facing the decline of its traditional entrepôt trade and economic recession in 1951 when the United Nations laid embargo to strategic goods to China, has successfully developed its manufacturing industry and undergone rapid economic development in the past two decades. Apart from the economic expansion, Hong Kong has also experienced rapid urbanization in the last 20 years, with its rapid changing urban landscape and booming new towns which would amaze any visitor.

Actually, economic growth, urbanization and the population expansion in the Colony are interrelated. Hong Kong's success in industrialization after 1951 may be mainly due to the influx of capital and technical know-how of Chinese, mostly Shanghainese, cheap labour provided by the migration flow from mainland China plus high local natural growth of about 3% annually, and the availability of a mechanism for marketing Hong Kong products overseas.<sup>2</sup> But, for the rapid growing manufacturing industry, problems of land shortage for industrial use and the infiltration of small industrial units into previous residential areas must be solved. Huge squatter areas which have provided dwellings for refugees and some local people, lying on the fringe of the city and being obstructions to further urban expansion, must be cleared; the chaotic, overcrowded situation of the older tenement buildings in urban Hong Kong should be improved. And at last, "the need for large-scale reclamation to provide land for housing and industry has .... drawn the government into involvement with land allocation and ultimately into recognition if the necessity for urban planning."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> N.C. Owen, "Economic Policy in Hong Kong" in K. Hopkins (ed.), Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony (Hong Kong: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), P. 141.

<sup>2</sup> E.H.P. Brown, "The Hong Kong Economy: Achievements and Prospects", in Hopkins (ed.), Ibid., pp. 1 - 20.

<sup>3</sup> D.J. Dwyer (a), "Introduction" in D.J. Dwyer (ed.), Asian Urbanization: A Hong Kong Casebook (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Press, 1971), p. 5.

However, urbanization in Hong Kong differs from that in other countries in Southeast Asia. Urbanization in Hong Kong goes on hand in hand with rapid economy expansion, and this is in sharp contrast to other Southeast Asian countries where large cities grow because of high birth rate and migration from rural areas, but are experiencing very slow economic growth.<sup>4</sup> The rapid economic growth in Hong Kong during the past two decades is mainly due to rapid industrialization; and the young manufacturing industry in Hong Kong does require more industrial land for further expansion. Thus, besides planning for the relocation of population in overcrowded areas, the government had to plan for more space for industry. As one of the unusual structural features in Hong Kong's economy, the industrial and commercial sector is proportionately very large and employ the major part of the working population.<sup>5</sup> When the government plans for new residential and industrial areas, the desirable approximation of industrial location and residence of their possible employees must be considered. Hence the government has gradually begun to give up the laissez-faire official policy towards the use of land for urban and industrial purposes, large scale reclamations have been carried out, planned layouts have been imposed to further urban development, and thus out came the industrial new towns. Kwun Tong,<sup>6</sup> lying at the eastern end of Kowloon Bay, is commonly known as "Hong Kong's first completely planned new town".<sup>7</sup>

Kwun Tong, an urbanized area which did not come into existence until the late 1960's, is now a district which provides dwellings for half a million people, and sites for more than 1550 large and small factories. These figures will continue to increase at least for some years to come since there is still space, mostly reclaimed areas, for erection of more residential and industrial buildings.

---

<sup>4</sup> B.F. Hoselitz, "Urbanization and Economic Growth" in D.J. Dwyer (ed.), The City as a Centre of Change in Asia (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 3 - 15.

<sup>5</sup> Owen, op. cit., p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> For more details of the physical boundary, please see Appendix I.

<sup>7</sup> D.C.Y. Lai & D.J. Dwyer, "Kwun Tong, Hong Kong: A Study of Industrial Planning", Town Planning Review, 35:229.

Physically, Kwun Tong is a rather isolated district, but economically and socially, it is a functional part of urban Hong Kong rather than an independent community, as being concluded in one of our previous studies.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Kwun Tong was not originally designed as a self-contained community, this district was "needed primarily to provide additional industrial land to make up for the shortage in the existing urban areas and is, rather, an industrial satellite that depends to a large extent on its connection and linkages with adjacent Kowloon".<sup>9</sup> Thus the growth of Kwun Tong should be considered as part of the urban process in Hong Kong rather than an independent urban development within the Colony.

Without question, the development of Kwun Tong was carried out under government planning scheme and traits of planning can be easily discovered from the physical layout of the district. But other than the physical setting, how about the planning in social and psychological aspects? Did a general plan taking various aspects into consideration exist? Was the rapid development well planned and carried out successfully? To what extent did government and private organizations contribute to the construction of the area? What are the main factors governing the rapid development? What is government's philosophy in urban planning? And can we consider the status quo of the district as a success or failure of planned, or at least partly planned, development? These questions would probably be interesting not only to planners, but to all social scientists as well. We attempt to draw tentative answers to the above questions in the following pages.

---

<sup>8</sup> A.Y.C. King & Y.K. Chan, "A Theoretical and Operational Definition of Community: The Case of Kwun Tong" (Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, A01-07-0-1, 1972).

<sup>9</sup> J.M. Wigglesworth, "The Development of New Towns", in Dwyer, (a) op. cit., pp. 52 - 53.

## II. BACKGROUND AND BASIS FOR RAPID DEVELOPMENT, KWUN TONG NEW TOWN

"In some parts of the world" as pointed out by G. Breese in 1966, "industrialization and urbanization have gone hand in hand and have developed together"; and in fact, that has been observed in Hong Kong. Certainly, "there is often a coincidence of industrialization and urbanization, the causal relationships are not at all clear", and "contemporary urbanization invariably precedes industrialization except in obvious cases such as the establishment of new towns ...".<sup>10</sup> Searches into factors operating in the processes of urbanization and industrialization and the "causal relationships" between them may be of great interest to social scientists; however, the focus of our present study is on the common product of both processes, the industrial new towns with special reference to the Kwun Tong case in Hong Kong which is actually an outcome of rapid industrialization and urbanization in the past two decades.

### 1. Urbanization, Industrialization and Industrial New Towns.

On the line of ecological processes, at a given stage of urbanization, "the tendency for human beings and institutional agencies to move away from the centre of the city"<sup>11</sup> will occur. Decentralization may be due to overcrowding, high land value, traffic congestion, and other intolerable situations in the central area. And "the outward movement of urban residences, of urban services, and commercial establishment, and of light industries ... have made it possible for huge agglomerations to keep on growing without the inconveniences of proportionate increases in density."<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> A. Breese, Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), p. 5 & pp. 51 - 53.

<sup>11</sup> A.B. Hollingshead, "Human Ecology" quoted in Breese, Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> K. Davis, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World." (1955), in H.M. Mayer & C.F. Kohn (eds.), Readings in Urban Geography (The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 67.

The decentralization of residences and institutional agencies, particularly of industrial establishments into the periphery of large cities, introduces development of residential and industrial suburbs or satellites and forms huge metropolitan aggregates. In many cases, satellite towns may be self-contained in some degree; however, they are more or less dependent on the large city; and new residential or industrial districts lying in or at the periphery of large cities are planned to a certain degree. In a study carried out in 1947 by R.L. Wrigley Jr., he pointed out that in the United States, several types of industrial districts were found: some industrial lands developed by large corporations were carefully planned; another type of expansion, partly planned and common to most large cities, is the subdivision improved with paved streets, sewage, and water mains and lighting facilities, and then sold piece by piece to manufacturers and others for industrial development. The latter type is quite similar to that of Kwun Tong. Though Wrigley admitted that platting streets and installing public utilities before selling an industrial subdivision is not an unusual practice, he also mentioned that large districts in the United States where no investment had been made in residential property, housing estates of considerable size where plant employees may either purchase or rent units have been built.<sup>13</sup> Certainly the decentralization of residences and industrial establishments have taken place in many metropolitan areas; usually they are not put into close approximation to each other. Even in the Multiple Nuclei Model of urban landuse proposed by C.D. Harris & E.L. Ullman<sup>14</sup> in 1945, the residential and industrial suburbs are separated from each other, (except in the city, where heavy industrial sector is located near the lower class residences). Thus, commuting problem of the working population may arise.

---

<sup>13</sup> R.L. Wrigley, Jr., "Organized Industrial Districts" (1947), in Mayer & Kohn (eds.), Ibid., pp. 478 - 495.

<sup>14</sup> C.D. Harris & E.L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities", Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 242 (1945) : 9 - 17.

In many aspects, an industrial new town where investment have been made either by government or private agencies to erect residential buildings for plant employees and flourished with adequate public utilities and social services would be better than the development of physically separated residential and industrial suburb districts. And it is doubtlessly true in Hong Kong where obviously as a concept, "satellite towns of the classic type do not in fact work in the limited physical area of Hong Kong and that all attempts to create them have so far failed".<sup>15</sup> Actually, to design an industrial new town is not a new idea, Tony Garnier, a French architect, designed a hypothetical industrial town simply called Cite Industrielle in 1917, and in his proposed layout, both residential and industrial sectors were included.<sup>16</sup> And examples in reality can be illustrated by Trafford Park, Slough Estates, the Letchworth and Welwyn communities in England.<sup>17</sup> Hereunder, we are going to investigate why new industrial towns like Kwun Tong and Tsuen Wan should be developed in the case of Hong Kong, and why Kwun Tong in particular the first site chosen for the development of a new industrial town.

## 2. Desired Development Pattern for Hong Kong.

Since the early 1950's, Hong Kong has experienced dramatic urban growth. In inner-city areas around the harbour, available lands for domestic or industrial uses were long exhausted. Feeling the pressure from increasing demand on more spaces for further urban development, government attention has been turned to the possibility of creating new urban centres in rural areas of the Colony.

---

<sup>15</sup> J.A. Prescott, "Hong Kong: the Form and Significance of a High-Density Urban Development", in Dwyer (ed.), Asian Urbanization, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> G.E. Cherry, Town Planning in its Social Context (London: Leonard Hill, 1970), pp. 36 - 37.

<sup>17</sup> Wrigley, Jr., op. cit., p. 480



The development of Hong Kong industry has become the new pillar of Hong Kong's economy after the decline of China Trade following the out-break of the Korean War. By 1953, Hong Kong's industrial boom had reach the stage where factory sites in existing industrial areas were at saturation point. Though the Government seemed to feel that a return of China Trade would solve Hong Kong's economic problems, there had been a pressure from the industrialists on the government for more cheaper lands and concentrated industrial areas for factories. In response, the government did recognize the importance of industry and an inter-departmental committee was subsequently formed in January, 1954 to explore possible sites suitable for industrial development.<sup>18</sup>

Industrial development and the invasion of small industries in domestic tenements are not the only causes for deterioration of the environment of inner-city areas. The unprecedented refugee influx and the rapid natural growth of the population have caused massive housing deficiencies. Older tenement buildings in the urban areas were facing intolerable overcrowding situations, and those who could not afford a living quarter, which might be of unimaginably small size, began to occupy hill slopes in northern Kowloon and on Hong Kong Island. "At its peak in 1953, a belt of squatter camps, each containing up to 50,000 people and comprising in all over 300,000 squatters, enveloped Northern Kowloon."<sup>19</sup> As a result, the government had to find its way out in release of pressure on new industrial sites that were urgently demanded, in amelioration of the urban environment, and in resettlement of the squatters which would make available more spaces in the urban fringe for further development. But how?

---

18 Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd, Kwun Tong Today (Hong Kong, 1969), p. 5.

19 Dwyer (a), op. cit., p. 4.

"The creation of new urban centres in backward regions, or the strengthening of existing ones, has become an important feature of regional planning both in developed and developing countries",<sup>20</sup> but the desired development pattern for the Government can be best described by J.A. Prescott's paper in 1971, "... one cannot but recognize that the present and future development of this small city region lies directly in the path of Megalopolis rather than in any concept of a central urban area plus self-contained new development ...", "... it would appear that Hong Kong, having achieved an urban concentration, would not, indeed probably could not, willingly change in the direction of independent new towns but should develop from the advantages so achieved, structured by modern mass transport. It would consider itself as a whole, as a system, rather than as a series of towns in a hierarchial grouping".<sup>21</sup> Hence in each of these "new towns", or in the cases of Kwun Tong and Tsuen Wan - "virtual extensions of the enlarged urban areas of Kowloon and New Kowloon",<sup>22</sup> industrial lands were provided for factories of various sizes. Low Cost Housing and Resettlement Estates were built for people of lower-middle and lower classes; miniature commercial centres were created, public utilities and social services had been provided in tolerable but minimum sense; the purpose of providing new factories sites helped release pressure of overcrowding in inner-city, and resettlement of squatters have been fulfilled.

Actually, the development pattern adopted so far can be justified as: (1) within such a limited surface of less than 500 sq. miles, land is too valuable and it is not possible to develop dispersed suburban residences; (2) industrial establishment should be city-oriented or close to existing urban areas, otherwise, enormous investment would be required for transportation facilities and other public utilities; (3) what have to be developed as first priority would be

---

<sup>20</sup> Dwyer (b), "Introduction" in D.J. Dwyer (ed.), The City as a Centre of Change in Asia, op. cit., p. viii.

<sup>21</sup> Prescott, op. cit., pp. 13 & 19.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

housing for lower class population, squatters, rather than upper class residences located in a "green belt"; (4) to minimize the commuting problem, housing for workers would be best located close to factories; (5) high-density urban development is possible since "... Hong Kong has had the advantage of taking a large agrarian based immigrant population and converting it into an urban multi-storey densely-packed community. The population had little preconception of what urban life meant or would mean and had adapted to whatever it found".<sup>23</sup>

### 3. Kwun Tong as the Site Chosen for First Planned Development.

Both Tsuen Wan and Kwun Tong are now the most important industrial new towns in Hong Kong; and Tsuen Wan has even a slightly longer development history over Kwun Tong. Nevertheless, Kwun Tong has been the first "planned" industrial new town. Reasons for which the Interdepartmental Committee proposed Kwun Tong as the first site for planned development have been obvious: (1) The place where now stands Kwun Tong Town was used as a refuse dump 20 years ago, with only about 1,000 people squattered in the vicinity,<sup>24</sup> to resettle such a small number of population would not be difficult. (2) The geological structure facilitated lands formation - the hills north of Kwun Tong Town were badly eroded and could be easily levelled into terraces (providing housing sites), with excavated earth to be used for reclamation (providing industrial sites) which could also be easily carried out in the shallow Kowloon Bay with the construction of a 1,000 ft. embankment. (3) Since Kwun Tong was not, as we have already pointed out, planned to be a self-contained new town, it had to depend to a certain degree on the Central Urban Area of Hong Kong and Kowloon for many social services - actually this has been true,<sup>25</sup> thus its immediate contact to Kowloon peninsula was really advantageous.

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Wah Kiu Yat Po, 8-4-1973.

<sup>25</sup> King & Chan, op. cit., pp. 18 - 26.

(4) Furthermore, by improvement of the road system, Kwun Tong could be linked more easily than other outlying areas to existing wharfs and those in construction (e.g. the Kwai Chung Container Berths); and with its location at the eastern end of Victoria harbour, transportation of raw materials and finished products were facilitated by means of barges.

The proposal for Kwun Tong Development was approved by the Government and endorsed by Colonial Office, the H.K.\$10,000,000 cost of the entire project came from Hong Kong Development Funds. Work began at the end of 1954, and "in a short span of less than 20 years, Kwun Tong is now one of the miracles of Hong Kong's 130-year history of development...",<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. Forces Operating in the Rapid Development in Kwun Tong.

In 1956, the government set up a Kwun Tong Advisory Committee to report on the Kwun Tong development, and in November, based on findings of the committee, the government published the "Kwun Tong Development Plan" which earmarked the area for further development into an industrial town of 120,000 people.<sup>27</sup> However, in 1971, Kwun Tong had grown into a much larger township, of about 450,000 population.<sup>28</sup> Actually there is no need to recount the details of the subsequent development of Kwun Tong as detailed descriptions of the development history of Kwun Tong have appeared in many papers and research reports.<sup>29</sup> To look into the forces in operation in the development would be more interesting and worthwhile.

Any place experiencing industrialization may probably face some problems which are common in either national or regional level - problems in capital formation and attraction, technical know-how in management and production, labour supply, availability of raw materials

---

<sup>26</sup> Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Unpublished 1971 Census Data, Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>29</sup> Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., op. cit., pp. 4 - 23; Lai & Dwyer, op. cit., pp. 299-310; also Y.K. Chan (a), "The Growth Pattern of Organizations in Kwun Tong" (Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, A09-07-6-1, 1972), etc.

and energy, transport, utilities and services, marketing, etc.<sup>30</sup> However, judging from these criteria, Kwun Tong had no advantage over other suburban districts in Hong Kong that could make it experience such a rapid development. As an industrial area, Kwun Tong has been disadvantageous, like the whole Hong Kong, of having virtually no raw materials, fuel or power; important inputs in Kwun Tong industry such as capital, cheap labour, technology have been also available for other areas in Hong Kong. What made the difference was the availability of lands, particularly industrial lands which had been the most important locational factor for industries in Hong Kong. This has diversified the investments of manufacturers to this particular area, either to establish or to transplant their factories in Kwun Tong. And as a further step, the Government's commitment in providing housing for workers in the district has also brought the pool of labour resource close to Kwun Tong's industry, and has stimulated the subsequent urban development.

Though it is always difficult "to quantify historical, political, and physical factors with significant reliability";<sup>31</sup> however, based on empirical data, we can still see clearly how the government, private enterprises, voluntary agencies, and the population have played their role in the development history of Kwun Tong.

(A) Government as Policy Maker, Planner, and Entrepreneur.

As mentioned previously, it was the industrialists who urged the government to provide new sites for the booming industries; however, it was the Interdepartmental Committee who made the proposal that Kwun Tong be the choice of the site for a new industrial town, and it was the government who worked out the original "Kwun Tong Development Plan" based on findings of the Kwun Tong Development Advisory Committee.

---

<sup>30</sup> A.B. Mountjoy, Industrialization and Underdeveloped Countries (London: Hutchinson Univ. Library, 3rd. ed., 1969).

<sup>31</sup> R.S. Mathieson, "Urbanization Processes: A Markov Chain Approach" in Dwyer (b), op. cit., p. 67.

But the major contributions of the government to the development have been in providing industrial lands, public housing and utilities to a certain extent (the conditions in public housing and the adequacy of utilities, will be discussed in a later section).

In a period of 10 years, from 1956 to 1966, site formation in Kwun Tong provided 641 acres of lands of which 154 acres were solely for industrial uses. Actually, from 1957 onward, Kwun Tong was the major supplier of industrial lands till the industrial lands in Kwai Chung Reclamation (totally 986 acres when completed) in the Tsuen Wan complex became available to industrialists in 1966/67.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, terms of lease have been more favorable in Kwun Tong - Term of lease was 20 years, commencing 1st July, 1955, renewable for a further 20 years on the payment of another premium; the price could be made, according to the purchaser's wish, in a lump sum or by instalments over a period of up to 20 years at 5% interest, where as all industrial lots other than those in Kwun Tong or Tsuen Wan would be payable in four equal instalments free of interest spread over two years from the date of sale.<sup>33</sup>

May be it is profitable for industrialists to invest in Kwun Tong owing to the favorable terms of lease, but it is even more profitable for the government in land provision. According to calculations based on data revealed by the Accountant General,<sup>34</sup> in a period of 10 years, from April 1956 to March 1966, land sales in Kwun Tong Reclamation alone brought a total sum of \$97 million (Hong Kong Dollars) to the government - about 11.3% of the total income from land sales; and up to March 1972, the total sum was \$120 million, or 7.7% of the total revenue from land sales of the same period. The total revenue of \$120 million does not include the outstanding premia, only the amount actually received when premia are payable by instalments have been

---

<sup>32</sup> Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Reports, 1965, 66, 67 (Government Printer, Hong Kong), p. 45, p. 53 p. 52, respectively.

<sup>33</sup> Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report 1963, (Government Printer, Hong Kong), p. 176.

<sup>34</sup> Accountant General, Annual Report(s) 1955/56 - 1971/72 (Government Printer, Hong Kong).

included. However, this sum already can cover the total government expenditure - \$116.4 million in Kwun Tong up to March 1972, on non-recurrent public works including reclamations in Kwun Tong Industrial Zone, Yau Tong and Kowloon Bay, as well as site formations of housing zones, constructions of roads and other transportation facilities, drainage and sewage system, etc. Actually, the total non-recurrent expenditure of public works done in the Industrial Zone of Kwun Tong Town has been estimated to be about \$50 million, lands auctioned off in Kwun Tong Reclamation (mostly for industrial use) gave the government a return of \$120 million. Thus in comparison, Kwun Tong Reclamation alone has given the government a profit of more than 100% in 17 years, without taking into account the returns of outstanding premia, lands not yet auctioned off, direct and indirect taxes from industrial establishments, etc. Judging from this, it is not surprising why the government, disappointed by the low prices of land auction in early 1957 (\$5.6 per sq. ft.), had eased the terms of lease of industrial lands in Kwun Tong in mid-1957. These included the cutting down the area of lot auctioned which was previously ever 10,000 sq. ft. each, lifting restrictions on the types of industry for particular lots, and solving the problems of water and electricity supply,<sup>35</sup> all to attract industrialists and real estate developers.

In Kwun Tong, not only the speed with which development has been carried out is remarkable, but also the close integration of governmental housing policies with the provision of industrial land.<sup>36</sup> Besides planned for public housing estates, priorities have also been given to industrialists for building hostels for their employees. "Industrialists who needed space for hostels were not required to bid at auctions - only to sign a contract with the government, and land could be obtained at half the upset price of \$10",<sup>37</sup> (for residential land the upset price was \$10 per sq. ft.). Thus this also stimulated

---

<sup>35</sup> Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>37</sup> Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., op. cit., p. 8.

investments from industrialists towards the development of Kwun Tong. Since 1959, six Resettlement Estates have been built in Kwun Tong; and in 1971, the 56,818 resettlement units (without counting the resite and resettlement huts) were housing 258,814 persons.<sup>38</sup> Lands for Low Cost Housing Estates, (other than Government Low Cost Housing Estates) have been granted to Hong Kong Housing Authority and Hong Kong Housing Society by private treaty at concessionary terms, at prices roughly one-third of market value.<sup>39</sup> In 1971, all Low Cost Housing Estates in Kwun Tong together provided 16,927 units and housed 87,096 persons.<sup>40</sup> In the 1971 census, 77.4% of the 446,830 Kwun Tong people were living in these public housing estates which accounted for 28.4% of the total capacity of public housing estates in Hong Kong. The large lower-middle and lower class population resettled or attracted to the public housing in Kwun Tong might not only be a rich labour resource for the industry; the growth of population and manufacturing industries have intensified the needs for services and utilities, and in turn lead to multiplications and improvements.

(B) Investment from Private Enterprises.

Though it is impossible to estimate how much money private enterprises have invested in Kwun Tong, it is absolutely true that the amount which private enterprises have invested in the district has much surpassed the investment which has so far been made by the Government. Without counting the large amount of capital for land and equipments, only the cost of constructions, up to the end of 1971, was recorded to be H.K. \$550,181,175 - \$156,026,885 and \$394,154,290 (or \$165,381,343 and \$434,837,511 at 1964 prices) for domestic and industrial/godown buildings respectively.<sup>41</sup> That is more than 4 times the estimated cost (\$116.4 million) for the Government in reclamation and preparing Kwun Tong. In fact, manufactures have made enthusiastic investments in Kwun Tong.

---

<sup>38</sup> Unpublished 1971 Census Data, Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>39</sup> Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report, 1958 (Government Printer, Hong Kong).

<sup>40</sup> Unpublished 1971 Census Data, Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>41</sup> Unpublished Data, Public Works Department, Hong Kong.



It can be seen from the applications for land. Up to 1965, the total area of land applied for was 9,000,000 sq. ft., which was 4½ times of available land.<sup>42</sup> And according to a previous survey,<sup>43</sup> 92.2% of factories in Kwun Tong are run by local Hong Kong consortiums. Without these enthusiastic manufacturers who have invested so much in Kwun Tong, whatever effort the Government might have made, Kwun Tong could have hardly undergone such a rapid process of urbanization and industrialization.

(C) Contributions of Voluntary Agencies.

Religious bodies, and secular voluntary agencies have been important contributors to the industrial district and have played a very important role in the development history. Their contributions are always appreciable, particularly in three major sectors of social services - education, medical and health, and social welfare services.

In April 1971, among the 129 day schools in Kwun Tong, only 1 primary school and 1 secondary school were of Government sponsorship. Most of the rest were grant/subsidized schools (under auspices of religious or secular voluntary bodies) or private schools. Furthermore, the only Government technical secondary school was opened in 1970, 12 years after the beginning of massive immigration. As we compare the numbers of establishments and enrolments of Government, grant/subsidized and private schools in Kwun Tong with that of the whole Hong Kong, we can find Government schools and students enrolled in them were in smaller proportions, and figures for grant/subsidized schools were much higher in Kwun Tong (see Table 1). The Government, instead of making more direct commitment to education in the district, has shifted the burden to religious bodies and secular voluntary agencies through the way of giving subsidies to schools.

---

<sup>42</sup> See note 27 above.

<sup>43</sup> Economic Organizations Survey, Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, 1971.

Table 1. Number of Schools and Enrolments by Type, Kwun Tong and Hong Kong (1971).

Type	Establishment						Enrolment							
	Kwun Tong <sup>(1)</sup>				H.K. <sup>(2)</sup>		Kwun Tong <sup>(1)</sup>				H.K. <sup>(2)</sup>			
	Junior & Second Primary		Secondary		Total		Total		Junior & Second Primary		Secondary		Total	
	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%		
Government Day School	1	1	2	1.6	137	4.8	2040	239	2279	2.3	135269	10.7		
Grant/Subsidized Day School	51	6	57	44.2	733	25.9	76680	3533	80213	79.8	563125	44.5		
Private Day School	57	13	70	54.2	1960	69.3	14591	3386	17977	17.9	567313	44.8		
Total	109	20	129	100	2830	100	93311	7158	100469	100	1265707	100		

Sources: (1) Unpublished data in Education Department.

(2) Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report 1971, Government Printer, Hong Kong.

For medical and health services in the district, the first western medical clinics established there were nearly all sponsored by voluntary organizations. Government clinics were rare and started late - the first one was opened in 1963. By the end of 1971, there were 70 clinics in Kwun Tong (not including dental clinics, laboratories and maternity homes). Among them, 43 (or 61.4%) were run by private practitioners, 24 (or 34.3%) were sponsored by religious or secular voluntary organizations, while only 3 (4.3%) were government clinics.<sup>44</sup> Besides, the United Christian Hospital, the only hospital in Kwun Tong which is planned to be partly opened by October of this year, is sponsored by the Protestant Churches. And again, voluntary organizations are more contributive in providing medical and health services in Kwun Tong.

<sup>44</sup> Health System Survey, Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, 1971.

In general, social welfare services are needed earnestly by lower class working people. In Kwun Tong, however, the number of social welfare agencies was not impressive before 1966, and those first established were sponsored by religious and secular voluntary organizations. The first two government agencies in Kwun Tong Town were opened in 1963 and 64 respectively, and the largest and most important one - Kwun Tong Community Centre, was not started until 1969. By the end of 1971, the number of social welfare agencies in Kwun Tong made up a total of 44, of which only 8 (18.2%) were government agencies, the rest were all religious and voluntary agencies - 14 and 22 in number respectively.<sup>45</sup>

The contributions of religious bodies and secular voluntary organizations in Kwun Tong during the past 15 years might not have directly speeded up urbanization and industrialization; however, the effort they have made in ameliorating social services in the district have certainly weakened the environmental push factors and strengthened the pull factors to migrants in choosing Kwun Tong as a destination.

(D) The People as Beneficiary.

Here we refer the "people" of Kwun Tong to those actually residing in the district, of whom most are lower class working people. As we have mentioned before, over 77% of the Kwun Tong population were living in public housing during the 1971 census - 57.9% in Resettlement Estates and 19.5% in Low Cost Housing Estates. Those Resettlement Estate dwellers were nearly all, whether willingly or not, resettled from other places to Kwun Tong. They were usually former dwellers of squatter huts or old tenement buildings whose dwellings had to be cleared or demolished for redevelopment under Government policy. For the 19.5% population living in Low Cost Housing Estates, according to Housing Authority and Housing Society regulations, they were also of middle-lower or lower classes having a family income not more than \$1,250 per month (income of family members other than the household head was counted as half).<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Social Welfare Agencies Survey, Social Research Centre, 1971, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong; also Y.K. Chan, "The Growth Pattern of Organizations in Kwun Tong", op. cit.

<sup>46</sup> Hong Kong Housing Authority, Annual Report 1971/72 (Government Printer, Hong Kong), p. 4.

When the low cost housing units were made available to them in Kwun Tong, it would be most unlikely for them to refuse the offer (rents ranging from \$53 a month for 4-person units to \$205 a month for 13-person units in 1970),<sup>47</sup> for the rent has been much lower than they had to pay for a private apartment.

Since the above two categories of dwellers form the majority of the Kwun Tong population, it would not be surprising that in the 1971 census, results show only 4.6% of the working population in Kwun Tong were of upper or middle level occupations - these include administrative, executive and managerial workers, senior officials in government services, artists, draughtsmen and technicians, professional staff and qualified technologists; and the mean and median of income of the Kwun Tong working population were much lower than the figures for Hong Kong total.<sup>48</sup>

Though the income of the residents of Kwun Tong has been relatively low, the needs for social services are as intensive as in other places, and this has evoked the rapid development of social welfare, education, and medical services in the district. However, they could hardly initiate or financially support these major social services. Both the personnel and financial resources of social welfare agencies, western health organizations, schools and religious organizations come either wholly or largely from outside, though clients or members of these organizations are mainly Kwun Tong residents.<sup>49</sup>

Furthermore, the ordinary people in Kwun Tong are not enthusiastic participants of Kaifong Associations, which are of intermediate nature working between the government and the ordinary people, and to promote the welfare of the community. In 1971, of the 12 Kaifong associations, there were only a total of 6,100 ordinary members, less than 1.5% of the total population.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Hong Kong Housing Board, Report 1970 (Government Printer, Hong Kong), p. 19.

<sup>48</sup> Unpublished 1971 Census Data, Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>49</sup> King & Chan, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

Thus far, we can sum up by saying that Kwun Tong Industrial District has been developed for the dual-purpose of providing spaces for the rapid growing Hong Kong industry as well as rehousing a large population who had been living in poor environment. In the Kwun Tong case, the government has played the role of policy maker, planner, and entrepreneur; private enterprises have been the most important investors in the economy; religious bodies and secular voluntary organizations are major contributors in social services. The people have always been passive; instead of being active in building up their community, they are merely beneficiary.

### III. IMPORTANCE OF KWUN TONG AS A FUNCTIONAL PART OF HONG KONG

For the case of Kwun Tong, maybe all the government sought was "to provide some usable land badly needed for all purposes, some social and economic overhead, and then let development take its natural course",<sup>51</sup> or as pointed out in the previous sections, Kwun Tong is more a functional part of Hong Kong rather than a self-contained community; it is unquestionable that 17 years after its development history began, Kwun Tong has become a portion of the Hong Kong metropolis of particular importance, as justified by its population size, industrial development and the pool of labour supply as well as employment opportunities.

#### 1. Kwun Tong as a Huge Human Cluster.

According to the 1971 census, more than 446,000 people were living in Kwun Tong District (Secondary planning unit 2.9). Among them, 258,814 persons (57.9%) were living in Resettlement Estates, and 87,096 persons (19.5%) were living in Low Cost Housing Estates, while only 57,503 persons (12.8%) were living in private apartments and tenement buildings. The rest were mostly residents of cottages, less than 2,000 persons were living in the industrial zone.<sup>52</sup> In 1971, Kwun Tong accounted for 11.35% of the total Hong Kong population; on a comparatively small surface (less than 3000 acres), Kwun Tong had a much larger population than any other important industrial district - Tsuen Wan, or the whole Yuen Long Area,<sup>53</sup> for instance. (The population of these 3 districts were 446,830, 271,892 and 174,891 respectively during the 1971 census).

Though Tsuen Wan has a longer development history than Kwun Tong, with its factories and textile mills established dating back to the late 1940s, its speed of development could hardly match that of Kwun Tong in the past 10 to 15 years. Between the 1961 and 1971 census,

---

<sup>51</sup> V. Mok, "The Nature of Kwun Tong as Industrial Community: An Analysis of Economic Organizations" (Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, A03-07-1-1, 1972), p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Unpublished 1971 Census Data, Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>53</sup> The Census Area of Tsuen Wan includes Tsuen Wan Town, Kwai Chung, Tsing Yi and Ma Wan, and that of Yuen Long includes Yuen Long Town and adjacent rural areas.

Kwun Tong had experienced very rapid population expansion, with an increase of 457% over the ten-year period, or increased by 18.7% annually. As for the same period, the population of Tsuen Wan had slightly more than tripled (+225.6%), with an average annual increase rate of 12.6%.<sup>54</sup>

The rapid growth of population in Kwun Tong is mainly due to the realization of large public housing schemes, which provide residences for those lower income groups who have been living under intolerable housing conditions in other districts or whose former living place is no longer available. No matter how these people have been attracted to Kwun Tong or resettled there, without the provision of resettlement or low cost housing estates in Kwun Tong, how and where to house the large number of people (estimated up to the number of 250,000 persons)<sup>55</sup> would be a big problem.

To some extent, we can say that the development of large housing schemes in Kwun Tong has been rather successful, since the majority of the Kwun Tong residents (74%) thought that the living environment in the area was better than their previous residence.<sup>56</sup>

Actually, over 90% of the present Kwun Tong families were previously living in overcrowded urban areas of Hong Kong and Kowloon.<sup>57</sup> The development of Kwun Tong has released the pressure of overpopulation on older urban areas and indirectly has facilitated the redevelopment/renewal process in older portions of the metropolis.

---

<sup>54</sup> Calculation based on 1961 and 1971 Census Data (published and unpublished), Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>55</sup> In the Life Quality Survey undertaken by the Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong in 1971, 52% of respondents answered that their family moved to Kwun Tong because the former place were no longer available and another 18% answered either because of the living conditions in general or the low rent or for conveniences concerning working place.

<sup>56</sup> In our Health System Survey, op. cit., 73.8% respondents felt that the living environment in Kwun Tong was better than their previous residence, 14.1% felt it was the same, and only 12.1% felt it was worse.

<sup>57</sup> 73.1% from Kowloon and 20.5% from Hong Kong Island, Life Quality Survey, op. cit.

## 2. Manufacturing Industry in Kwun Tong.

Kwun Tong as commonly known, was designed to be an industrial satellite; in fact, Kwun Tong had undergone very rapid industrial development during the past years. From 1961 to 1970, on the reclaimed area alone, the number of factories had increased from about 100 to 808, with an average annual increase rate of 26.1% and the number of employees increased from about 15,000 to 72,300 in the same period - an average annual increase rate of 19.1%. As compared with the figures for the whole Hong Kong, establishments increased by 11.7% and employees increased by 7.8% annually from 1961-1972. On the average, Kwun Tong has marked much higher scores.<sup>58</sup> Though the increase of factories and number of employees have slowed down in recent years; however, for the Kwun Tong District as a whole, the number of factories still increased by 22.6% annually and the number of employees increased by 12% annually from 1968 to 1971 (3 years average).<sup>59</sup> In June 1971, 1,619 factories were operating in the Kwun Tong District which accounted for 8.4% of all industrial undertakings in Hong Kong. This was higher than the figure for Tsuen Wan which was only 7% of the Hong Kong total. And these factories in Kwun Tong were employing 15.8% of the working force in industries and occupied 17.34 of total industrial floor area of Hong Kong.<sup>60</sup>

Among all kinds of manufacturing industries in Hong Kong "wearing apparel" and "machinery & equipment" are the most important items for exportation. In 1972, these items accounted for 40.1% and 14% respectively of the Hong Kong total exports in terms of money. Also, wearing apparel, textiles, and machinery & equipment industries were employing more than half of the total working forces in industry in 1972, - 23.1%, 19.5% and 14% respectively. Actually, they have been the fastest expanding industries from 1961 to 1972 (see the following table).

---

<sup>58</sup> Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report(s) 1961-1972 (Government Printer, Hong Kong), calculations based on statistics provided in appendices.

<sup>59</sup> Calculations based on unpublished data held in Labour Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.



Table 2. Growth of Wearing Apparel, Textiles, and Machinery & Equipment Industries in Hong Kong.

	No. of Establishments			No. of Employees		
	1961	1972	Increase	1961	1972	Increase
Wearing apparel (Except footwear)	840	3364	+300.3%	45389	143189	+215.5%
Textiles	876	3110	+255.0%	68825	120900	+ 75.7%
Machinery & equipment	577	1496	+159.3%	27581	86219	+212.6%
All industries	6356	21386	+236.5%	271713	619684	+128.1%

Source: Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Reports 1961, 1973, Government Printer, Hong Kong, Appendix.

These industries are also the most important industrial undertakings in Kwun Tong, 42% of factories in Kwun Tong belong to these three categories, and are employing 56.8% of the total number of workers in Kwun Tong factories. Regardless of the fact that Kwun Tong accounts for only 8.4% of industrial undertakings and employs only 15.8% of the total working force in industry, very heavy proportion of undertakings and employees of wearing apparel, textiles, machinery & equipment industries are located in Kwun Tong. Figures in the following table can give us a clear picture about this.

Table 3. Number of Establishments and Employees of Selected Industries in Kwun Tong.

	Establishments			Employees		
	No. in Kwun Tong	% of all factories in Kwun Tong	% of factories of the same category in H. K.	No. in Kwun Tong	% of all factory workers in Kwun Tong	% of workers in the same industry in H. K.
Wearing apparel (Except footwear)	191	11.8	7.3	13087	13.7	10.8
Textiles	333	20.6	12.2	25002	26.1	19.7
Machinery & equipment	152	9.4	11.7	16273	17.0	22.2

Source: Unpublished data held by Labour Department.

N.B. Figures for June 1971.

Thus the major industries in Kwun Tong, such as wearing apparel, textiles, machinery & equipment, and even plastic products are also the most important industries in the manufacturing sector of Hong Kong's economic activities. Furthermore, the industrial products in Kwun Tong are heavily export-oriented as shown by the result of one of our previous surveys,<sup>61</sup> and have their importance in Hong Kong's economy.

In general, manufacturing establishments in Kwun Tong contribute nearly 1/5 of the total sales and work done in Hong Kong manufacturing industry. According to the 1971 Census of Manufacturing Establishments,<sup>62</sup> Kwun Tong factories contributed 18.25% of the total sales and work done of all Hong Kong factories - H.K.\$3,294,194,000 out of H.K.\$18,048,720,000. Among the sales and work done in Kwun Tong factories, 61.74% or H.K.\$2,034,000,000 were for exports (17.35% of total value of Hong Kong industrial products exports) and 38.26% or H.K.\$1,260,194,000 were for local sales (19.92% of the Hong Kong total) including both finished and semi-finished products. From these figures, we can see how important Kwun Tong is as an industrial satellite of Hong Kong.

### 3. Kwun Tong as Supplier and Employer of Large Working Force.

Though the population of Kwun Tong is comparatively young, the dependency ratio<sup>63</sup> of 0.89 is much higher than the 0.76 for the Hong Kong population, yet 40% of Kwun Tong people are working, same proportion as that of the Hong Kong population;<sup>64</sup> thus it means either there is a higher proportion of people aging from 15 to 59 in Kwun Tong, or more children and aged persons in Kwun Tong are working.

---

<sup>61</sup> Mok, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>62</sup> Census & Statistics Department, 1971 Census of Manufacturing Establishments (CME) (Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1973), pp. 482 - 483.

The CME district No. 9 covers the Kwun Tong Area now under our study and Rennie's Mill Village lying outside of Kwun Tong according to our definition. However, Rennie's Mill Village is not an industrial area.

<sup>63</sup> Children (0-14) + Aged (60 & over)  
Adults (15-59)

<sup>64</sup> Compiled from 1971 Census Data (published and unpublished), Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

Among the residents of Kwun Tong, more than 176,000 persons are working, and most of them, about 167,000 persons, are engaged in manufacturing, trade or service industries. Actually, the working population of Kwun Tong can provide more manpower than are needed by its industrial, trade or service undertakings. In mid-1971, factories in Kwun Tong employed 95,896 workers, with the additional 6,627 persons working in trade or service, (not including services provided by government)<sup>65</sup> it made up the total of 102,523 employees; that were much outnumbered by the 167,000 Kwun Tong residents engaged in the same economic activities. As we focus on the most important economic activity in Kwun Tong, namely the manufacturing industry, we find that most employees in factories were manual workers - 84,240 persons out of 95,896.<sup>66</sup> However, among Kwun Tong residents, about 104,000 persons could be classified as manual workers.<sup>67</sup> And we can say in principle that Kwun Tong has a more than sufficient labour force, particularly in categories of blue collars.

Therefore, it would be natural that some Kwun Tong residents work outside the district. But what have surprised us is the large amount of Kwun Tong people working outside - there were only 43.5% of Kwun Tong residents working in Kwun Tong, other 56.5% worked in other districts or without fixed working place; also, males were less attached to the production activities of the district in general and there was no significant different between occupations in terms of working places.<sup>68</sup> A conservative estimation of Kwun Tong people working outside would be not less than 90,000 persons.

As many of its residents are working outside, establishments of all kinds of Kwun Tong also employ large amount of people from other districts. Among the factories employees, 47.1% were residing outside of Kwun Tong<sup>69</sup> and personnels of social welfare agencies, religious, and

---

<sup>65</sup> Unpublished data held in Labour Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Calculation based on unpublished 1971 Census Data, Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>68</sup> King & Chan, op. cit., pp. 34, 37, & 38.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

western health care units came also largely from outside districts. In other words, Kwun Tong has employed at least 48,000 persons from outside.<sup>70</sup>

It is not our intention here to find out how and why exchange of manpower between Kwun Tong and other districts exists in such a large scale. However, the above figures show us that Kwun Tong is a big manpower source, it supplies workers not only to its own economic activities but also to establishments outside the district; at the same time, Kwun Tong opens employment opportunities to its residents as well as people from other parts of Hong Kong.

In summing up our discussions in this section, there is good evidence to show that Kwun Tong, owing to its large public housing capacity, manufacturing industry, labour supply and employment opportunities in industry, has become an important functional part of the Hong Kong metropolis.

---

<sup>70</sup> Estimate based on mid-1971 unpublished data held in Labour Department, Hong Kong.

#### IV. IS KWUN TONG A WELL PLANNED COMMUNITY?

In the case of Kwun Tong, it has been proved successful in developing the manufacturing productivity and in providing housing for a large population in a short span of time, and it has been claimed by the authority as "the most advanced new town" in the Colony.<sup>71</sup> However, besides its importance in manufacturing and in housing, has Kwun Tong been a well planned urban area? To what extent its development has been planned? And can it be considered a successful case in planned urban development? These questions would be difficult to answer. There is no neat and definite criteria for any measurement, and what is unacceptable to a western society may be considered satisfactory by the local people. In principle, urban planning should attempt to design a physical environment which brings elements such as political, economical, physical, etc. into the soundest and most harmonious plan for the development and renewal of the urban area as a whole.<sup>72</sup> However, in many cases, as pointed out by H.J. Gans,<sup>73</sup> the profession of planning sees itself as planning for the community, but deals with only a portion of that community, and city planning has concerned itself primarily with buildings and the physical environment, and only secondarily with the people who made use that environment. Moreover, it sometimes even pays no attention to the social structures, institutions, culture and subcultures, social economic classes, age-groups and political blocs which are the fabric of society; the people are seen only as occupants of dwellings, offices, factories and moving vehicles. Not much attention has been pay to how they use these facilities; the people are little more than artifacts.

Some defaults of city planning in the United States, as revealed H.J. Gans in his study, may also be the weak points of urban planning in Hong Kong. Hereunder, through close examination of the Kwun Tong development and its status quo, in both physical and socio-economic aspects, we intend to find out whether Kwun Tong New Town has

---

<sup>71</sup> Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report, 1973 (Government Printer, Hong Kong), p. 93.

<sup>72</sup> J.N. Jackson, Survey for Town and Country Planning (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1968), p. 11.

<sup>73</sup> H.J. Gans, "Planning for people, not buildings", in M. Steward (ed.), The City: Problems of Planning (Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 363 - 384.

been really planned for the people, to help them solve their problems and realise their goals, as H.J. Gans believes what planning should be,<sup>74</sup> or the planners just impose their expertise and values on the people assuming that these former squatters and rural dwellers are totally ingorant of what urban life in a planned new town is like. It is also interesting to see in what way local urban planning could be done better.

#### 1. Physical Aspects.

The necessity of planned urban development imply the laissez faire policy in urbanization has disadvantages and would creat problems in both social and physical aspects in a community. Should priority be given to the people and only secondarily to the physical environment in the planning process? Anyhow, a community/new town soundly planned in physical settings is important for the well being of the people who live and work there. Without a good physical environment, any community, even well planned in socio-economic aspects, cannot be viewed as perfect.

In a planned new town, many defaults observed in older urban areas should disappear, - such as overcrowding, too high building density, lack of environmental beauty, traffic congestion, shortage of suitable site for certain institutions, invasion of small industries and commercial establishments into residences, pollution and nuisance, etc. Here, we are going to see whether these problems exist in Kwun Tong or not.

##### (A) Overcrowding and High Density Development.

Though Kwun Tong has been a newly developed district, the degree of overcrowding is high, in the census districts of Ngau Tau Kok and Lei Yue Mun which together form the Kwun Tong District now under study, the degree of overcrowding is above average (1.19 and 1.72 respective; H.K. average = 1.00) and that for Lei Yue Mun is the highest of the Colony. However, the degree of sharing is low, it is below the

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

average (0.78 and 0.74 respectively; H.K. average = 1.00) Lei Yue Mun has the lowest degree of sharing and Ngau Tau Kok the fifth lowest.<sup>75</sup> This difference between the degree of overcrowding and sharing is quite natural since in Kwun Tong, 80.2% of living quarters belong to the category of public housing (R/E 61.8%, L.C.H. 18.4%), and general speaking in Hong Kong, public housing, though more overcrowded than private housing, its degree of sharing is low.<sup>76</sup> In older Resettlement Estates, Mark I, II, & III, each resident has only 24 sq. ft. living space, while in new Resettlement Estates and all Low Cost Housing Estates, the living space for each resident is 35 sq. ft., but it is still lower than in most private housing. That is why areas such as Chai Wan, Shek Kip Mei, Kai Tak, and Kwun Tong where major Resettlement Estates are situated, are the most overcrowding areas. However, in public housing, where a room is defined as a living quarter, and normally occupied by one household, sharing appears to be negligible.<sup>77</sup>

---

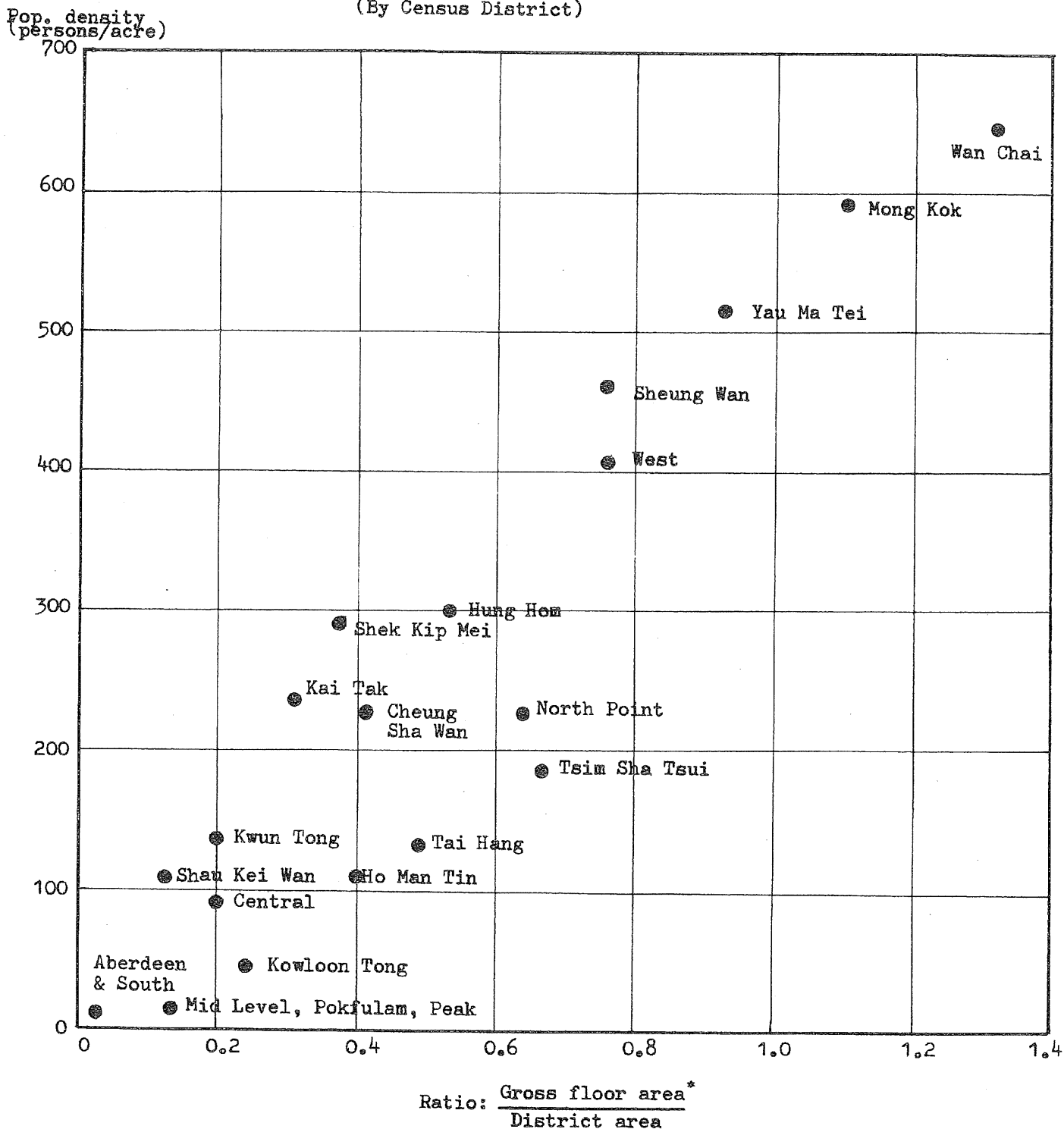
<sup>75</sup> Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics (Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1973), Jan. 1973, section 12.

The degree of overcrowding is measured by the average gross residential floor per person or its reciprocal, the degree of sharing is meant the number of households occupying each living quarter.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., pp. 65 & 67.

FIGURE 1  
 POPULATION DENSITY AND RATIO OF GROSS FLOOR AREA/DISTRICT AREA  
 (By Census District)



Source: Census & Statistics Department:-

1. Report of the By Census 1966, Government Printer, Hong Kong.
2. Hong Kong Population & Housing Census, 1971 Main Report, Government Printer, Hong Kong.
3. Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, Jan. 1973, Government Printer, Hong Kong, p.65.

\* The gross floor area includes only living quarters in permanent structures and which were found to be occupied during the census period.



In Fig. 1 where density of population and the ratio of gross floor area (of living quarters) over the district's area have been shown, we can find that the population density and the gross floor area-district area ratio for Kwun Tong district are relatively low, lower than many old urban areas such as Sheung Wan, Western District, Mong Kok and Yau Ma Tei, and only higher than Central, Mid Level/Pokfulam/Peak, Aberdeen/South, etc. However, the population density and low gross floor area-district area ratio are not contradictory to the high degree of overcrowding in Kwun Tong, because there is still vast waste lands on the slope between the existing urban area and the hill ridge. Besides, there are the Yau Tong and Kowloon Bay Reclamation to be developed and the large area of Kwun Tong Industrial Zone is not used for residential purpose. All these help lower the average population density and the gross floor area-district area ratio for Kwun Tong District. If we narrow down our scope to certain sub-districts in Kwun Tong, the picture will be different. In the commercial/residential zone (private housing), most of the buildings are having ten or more storeys, and in the Resettlement and Low Cost Housing Estates zone, buildings are of 15 to 25 storeys, except these in the Kwun Tong R/E, Jordan Valley R/E, Yau Tong R/E North, Garden Estate Phase I, Wo Lok Estate Phase I and Kwun Tong Low Cost Housing Estate which had been developed in an earlier stage and having 7 or 8 storeys. Because of the presence of high buildings and the limited living space for each person - 24 to 35 sq. ft. in public housing, and with over 90% of the half million population living in private multi-storey buildings and public housing estates, the population density is naturally high. This means there are over 400 persons per acre in the commercial/residential zone, and over 1,000 persons per acre in all public housing areas, some of which, such as Ngau Tau Kok Resettlement Estate, even attain the 3,000 persons per acre level.<sup>78</sup> And under such conditions, the problem of overcrowding is certainly unavoidable, it is not surprising that the majority of the residents in this New Town feels that the size of their living quarter is inadequate (see Table 4, item 2).

---

<sup>78</sup> Calculation based on unpublished 1971 census data held in Census & Statistics Department, Hong Kong.

Table 4. Residents' Attitude towards the Physical Environment

	M <sup>*</sup>	S.D. <sup>#</sup>
1. Satisfaction with general conditions of life in respondent's residential area	0.35	0.968
2. Adequacy of the size of the living quarters for respondent's household	-0.13	1.074
3. Adequacy of garbage removal in area	-0.29	1.247
4. Adequacy of sewage system in area	-0.22	1.112
5. Cleanliness in general of the area of respondent's residence	-0.35	1.211
6. Quality of the general maintenance in respondent's building	-0.11	1.087
7. Adequacy of public transportation between area and Kowloon	-0.38	1.167
8. Adequacy of the ferry service to and from Kwun Tong	0.28	0.919
9. Traffic congestion is a problem in area	0.26	1.211
10. Adequacy of parking spaces for private cars in area	-0.05	0.927
11. General conditions of noise in area	-0.05	1.103

Source: Life Quality Survey, Social Research Centre, C.U.H.K., 1971.

\* In the Life Quality Survey, a five-point scale (from +2 to -2) e.g. +2, very adequate; 0, average; -2, very inadequate; was used to measure the attitudes of the respondents from domestic households. Here 'M' represent the mean of scores.

# S.D. = Standard Deviation

Not only the residential buildings, industrial buildings in Kwun Tong have high building density as well; and 22.21% of factories there were found having 6 storeys or more during the 1971 Census of Manufacturing Establishments,<sup>79</sup> which was much higher than the Hong Kong average of 13.33%. Actually, Kwun Tong was the only district with more than 20% of its factories belonging to the category of 6 storeys and over.

High-density urban development is one way to deal with the problems provoked by the rapidly expanding large population and the shortage in lands, as pointed out by J.A. Prescott.<sup>80</sup> However, it is illogical that a "new town" should be characterized by a high degree of overcrowding, though the average population density and gross floor area-district area ratio have been low.

(B) Environmental Beauty.

Apart from its industrial landscape in the industrial zone, the housing area located at the north eastern part of Kwun Tong Road and Lei Yue Mun Road can hardly be considered to be beautiful. Not mentioning the gloomy appearance of old type resettlement blocks in Kwun Tong R/E and Jordan Valley R/E, and the quasi slums situated near and just right in the commercial/residential zone - e.g. the Hong Ning Road Resite area, in general, Kwun Tong is lacking of parks and recreational grounds. Though the authority has planned 115 acres of public open spaces capable of intensive use in Kwun Tong,<sup>81</sup> yet among these proposed spaces, only the 11.5 acres Tsui Ping Road Recreation Ground has come into existence. Also, there are many pieces of local open spaces left within Kwun Tong Town and on sites of public housing estates; however, these plots are neither pretty nor desirable for recreational uses.

---

<sup>79</sup> Census & Statistics Department, 1971 Census of Manufacturing Establishments, op. cit., pp. 478 - 479.

<sup>80</sup> Prescott, op. cit., pp. 12 - 19.

<sup>81</sup> Public Works Department, Crown Lands and Survey Research Office, Planning Branch, Hong Kong, Private communication.

Even worse, many have been occupied by structures of hawker stalls.<sup>82</sup> In southern Kwun Tong, famous for its sea-food, Lei Yue Mun is a tourist area for Hong Kong people; however, street lights and public conveniences are still missing there, and before any further development can be expected, efforts have to be made in amelioration of the environment - as pointed out by the Kaifong Welfare Association.<sup>83</sup>

In addition, though the opinions of residents have been rather diverse, the majority tended to feel that the garbage removal service and sewage system in the area were inadequate. In general the cleanliness of the area and the quality of the general maintenance in their buildings were not satisfactory (see Table 4, items 3 to 6).

(C) Transportation and Communication.

As mentioned in Chapter III section 3, the interdependence of working force between Kwun Tong and other urban areas is great. To facilitate the daily transfer of the population, good transportation facilities would be necessary. Land commuters depend much on regular bus services in and out of Kwun Tong, though there are services of light-buses, taxis and "pak-pei". In the early 1960, bus services were rather limited, there was only one bus route linking Kwun Tong town and Kowloon City Ferry Pier (No. 11B), and two other routes linking Ngau Tau Kok to Sham Shui Po (Nos. 2A & 6D); buses from Tsim Sha Tsui and Jordan Road Ferry Pier reached only the northern periphery of Kwun Tong - former Ngau Chi Wan bus terminus at the junction of Clear Water Bay Road and Kwun Tong Road, (Nos. 5, 9, 13, & 14). Since then, the Kowloon Motor Bus Company has made much effort to improve the bus services for Kwun Tong. In 1962, there were three new bus routes (Nos. 2B, 2C, & 2D) linking Kwun Tong Town to Mong Kok Ferry Pier, Lok Fu and So Uk. Later, more bus routes have linked Kwun Tong to Kowloon and penetrated into different subdistricts in Kwun Tong: Yau Tong to Ngau Chi Wan (No. 11D) and Sau Mau Ping to Kowloon City Ferry Pier (No. 13A) in 1965; Kwun Tong Ferry Pier to Hung Hom Ferry Pier (No. 5B) and Lam Tin to Choi Hung (No. 14A) in 1967; Upper Sau Mau

---

<sup>82</sup> Findings of the General Hawker Survey, Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, 1971.

<sup>83</sup> Wah Kiu Yat Po, 6-11-1972.

Ping to Kwun Tong Ferry (No. 13B); Yau Tong to Jordan Road Ferry Pier and Kwun Tong Ferry Pier (No. 14 extended & No. 14B) in 1968; Ngau Tau Kok to Mong Kok (No. 11A); Tsim Sha Tsui to Kwun Tong Town (No. 1A); Kwun Tong Town to Wang Tau Mom (No. 11C); Sau Mau Ping to Kwun Tong Ferry Pier and Mong Kok (Nos. 13C & 13D); Lam Tin to Hung Hom Ferry Pier; Tsz Wan Shan and Kwun Tong Ferry Pier (Nos. 15, 15A, & 15B) in 1969 and to Tsz Wan Shan and Lei Yue Mun (Nos. 3D & 14C) in 1971; Kwun Tong to Kennedy Town (No. 101) in 1972, etc.<sup>84</sup> At present, there are 16 bus lines linking Kwun Tong and other districts (including one cross harbour line) and 5 bus lines linking different subdistricts within Kwun Tong itself. Thus far, residents in Kwun Tong still find public transportation between Kwun Tong and Kowloon inadequate, though ferry services to and from Kwun Tong has been proven rather satisfactorily (see Table 4, items 7 & 8).

The first ferry route, linking Kwun Tong with North Point and run by the Yaumati Ferry Company, Ltd., went into service since Oct. 1963. Later, in 1964, another ferry route operated by another company between Kwun Tong, Cha Kwo Ling, Lei Yue Mun and Shaukiwan went into service. Since mid-1972, there has been direct ferry linkage between Kwun Tong and Victoria; and since this year, passengers can also travel from Hung Hom to Kwun Tong via North Point on the same ferry without paying extra fee. But it would be a great surprise to many people in knowing that the ferry pier in Kwun Tong was not completed until mid-1972, many years after the operation of ferry services to and from Kwun Tong. The Town Planning board has provided for three piers to be built at Kwun Tong, one for public vessels, one for passenger ferries, and a third for vehicular ferries. However, the public pier completed in Oct. 1961 has ever since been used as the ferry pier, which had no cover until the end of 1967. The ferry pier was finally completed in mid-1972, but the vehicular pier is still an unknown<sup>85</sup> - probably the Yaumati Ferry Company Ltd. will carry out the construction

---

<sup>84</sup> Wah Kiu Yat Po, Hong Kong Year Book(s) 1960-1973 (Wah Kiu Yat Po, Hong Kong), Chapter on Public transportation services, Kowloon.

<sup>85</sup> Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., op. cit., p. 10.

work and have it completed before the end of 1973 with the approval of the Government.<sup>86</sup> It is hard to understand why such important constructions for public interest have been carried out so slowly in a rapidly growing industrial satellite as Kwun Tong.

Moreover, the inadequacy of road facilities in Kwun Tong remains as a great problem. The only land linkage of Kwun Tong to Kowloon has always been the 120-ft. wide Kwun Tong Road running from Ping Shek to Lei Yue Mun, but the traffic volume has always been great; a daily total of more than 85,000 vehicles (two-ways) was recorded by the check point located outside Ping Shek.<sup>87</sup> Traffic congestion has been unavoidable especially during morning and evening rush hours, and now the landroute connecting Kwun Tong with Kowloon represents "one of the biggest bottlenecks in the traffic system".<sup>88</sup> Besides, shortage of parking spaces in Kwun Tong is also a growing problem, - private cars regularly parked in the areas were 7 times as many as the designated parking spaces, and goods vehicles 5 times more than their parking spaces in late 1970;<sup>89</sup> it has been not only inconvenient for the residents, but for loading and unloading of raw materials and finished products of factories as well.

Many residents thought traffic congestion was a problem in Kwun Tong (see also Table 4, item 9), and the majority (56%) of industrial management even felt that the road facilities in Kwun Tong had been inadequate or very inadequate.<sup>90</sup> Regardless of the new road connecting Lung Cheung Road in the rear of Choi Hung Estate, which cannot do much help, it is very unlikely that the problem can be solved in the near future before the completion of a 4-laned tunnel linking Kwun Tong with To Kwa Wan and passing under the Kai Tak Runway in early 1975.<sup>91</sup>

---

86 Ming Pao, 7-6-1973, p. 9.

87 Public Works Department, Traffic and Transport Survey Unit, Hong Kong, unpublished data for Feb. 1972.

88 Prescott, op. cit., p. 13.

89 Wigglesworth, op. cit., p. 55.

90 Economic Organizations Survey, op. cit.

91 Wah Kiu Yat Po, 25-5-1972, p. 2-1.

Different from transportation, the communication facilities in Kwun Tong seems rather sufficient, among the industrialists, 70.8% thought the communication facilities provided were satisfactory.<sup>92</sup> In fact, besides the regular post service, there were 55,333 telephone lines in Kwun Tong in summer 1971. The total number of telephones was 60,235, of which 14.6% were business telephones and 85.4% were residential telephones.<sup>93</sup> Thus on the average, there was one residential telephone for every 1.6 household and there were more than 8,700 telephones for all industrial, trade and services organizations (about 2000 in total)<sup>94</sup> in the district.

However, for the industrial satellite which depends much on the overseas markets, and therefore its industrial establishments have to contact frequently with foreign firms, service of telegraph was missing until 1969 when the Cable & Wireless Ltd. agreed to open a public counter in Kwun Tong.<sup>95</sup>

(D) Landuse.

The landuse pattern in Kwun Tong has much been affected by "zoning" in the planning process, which has segregated different urban functions into different sectors. The industrial zone located between the water-front and Kwun Tong Road provides sufficient lands for industrial use as well as adequate wharf and warehouse facilities.<sup>96</sup> Because only the industries which do not cause smokes are permitted, severe problems of air or sound pollution are unlikely to appear (see also Table 4, item 11).

---

92 Economic Organizations Survey, op. cit.

93 Information provided by the Hong Kong Telephone Company Ltd., in May 1972, (data not including Ping Shek Estate).

94 Mid-1971 unpublished data held in Labour Department, Hong Kong.

95 Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., op. cit., p. 17.

96 In Economic Organizations Survey, op. cit., only 40% of industrialists felt the wharf facility was inadequate and about 36% thought warehouses were inadequate.

As for commercial undertakings, besides space for small establishments in Resettlement Estates located in areas remote from the Town Centre, a commercial zone of 14 acres situated round Yue Man Square, extending northward to Ngok Yue Shan and bounded by Luen On Street, Yuet Wah Street at the eastern and western ends respectively was supposed to serve the Kwun Tong District. When the Kwun Tong Development Advisory Committee proposed this commercial zone in Jan. 1960,<sup>97</sup> it was re-estimated that Kwun Tong would be developed into an industrial town of 250,000 population. However, 10 years after, Kwun Tong District in 1971 had already about 500,000 population, and the original planned 14 acres commercial zone has long been too small and not sufficient for its commercial development. Moreover, the present commercial zone is surrounded by domestic housing estates, there is little possibility for further expansion. Because of high demand for commercial premises, high rents have been resulted.

Though the private multi-storey buildings in Kwun Tong are for both commercial and domestic purposes, it is lower-floor premises, particularly ground-floor spaces which are most demanding. However, a very high proportion of space in the private housing is for domestic use - a large number of buildings have 75% or more of their space for residential use.<sup>98</sup>

Besides the shortage of space for business in the commercial zone, lack of suitable sites for certain institutions in old type Resettlement Estates, such as Kwun Tong R/E and Jordan Valley R/E, is also a problem. Actually schools and welfare agencies have to made use of the roof-tops or limited space on ground floors to provide services for the local people.

---

<sup>97</sup> Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>98</sup> Y.K. Chan (b), "Spatial Distribution of Organizations in Kwun Tong" (Social Research Centre, The Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, A10-07-6-2, 1972), p. 27.



May be "problems of industrial infiltration into residential units have so far largely been ignored",<sup>99</sup> it seems that industrial or commercial infiltration in Kwun Tong is true only to a small degree. Firstly, in public housing, suitable spaces have been provided for small commercial undertakings; secondly, there are rigid restrictions for industrial undertakings in all Low Cost Housing Estates, and in Resettlement Estates (besides flatted Resettlement Factory Buildings), only family workshops are found. Small factories and storages are often found in private housing, but evidently, the degree of invasion is not great - among buildings having industry or storage infiltration, more than half of them are having under 5% of space used for these purposes.<sup>100</sup>

Thus far, we can see that the physical planning in Kwun Tong is far from ideal. Because of the high density development policy, residences, particularly those public housing estates, are too overcrowded. Cleanliness is a problem in many parts and the whole district is lack of environmental beauty. Though communication facilities are satisfactory, transportation has always been a great problem for people who have to travel daily between Kwun Tong and Kowloon. Road construction has been slow and constantly lag behind rapid urban development. However, the landuse zoning has been rather successful, except the planned commercial zone appears to be too small. Segregation of different urban functioning sectors has protected residential areas from serious sound and air pollutions which have been quite often problems in industrial areas. Also there is only limited infiltration of commercial or industrial into areas designed for residential use.

## 2. Social Aspects.

Planners when planning for a community will unavoidably face problems of social composition, provision of employment, social services and other public utilities besides physical design; and it is also their responsibility to develop plans that can solve these problems. But how about the case of Kwun Tong? Hereunder, we are going to envisage the social planning of Kwun Tong in different aspects.

---

<sup>99</sup> Dwyer (a), op. cit., p. 6

<sup>100</sup> See note 98 above.

## (A) Social Composition.

As pointed out by A. Buttimer,<sup>101</sup> in the western world, despite a continuing ideological predilection for "social balance" and "integration", there is considerable empirical evidence on the wish of people to live with people of their own class; and therefore scholars as Willmott and Gans suggested that one should plan for one-class neighbourhood within mixed class communities, in other words, to plan for block homogeneity and community heterogeneity.

Since most of residences in Kwun Tong are public housings, the residents in these public housing estates have been selected and most of them are from lower-middle or lower social classes (see also Chapter II, section 4. D). Therefore, as viewed from socio-economic aspects, the residents of Kwun Tong are quite homogeneous, and the working population is dominated by semi-skilled and unskilled occupations which can reflect a relatively lower income.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> A. Buttimer, "Community", in Steward (ed.), op. cit., p. 205.

<sup>102</sup> According to Life Quality Survey, op. cit., the distribution of working population by occupation category are: 1.1% of upper/middle level positions; 11.9% of skilled worker & minor supervisory staff; 86.5% of semi-skilled & unskilled blue-collar/white-collar occupations, & unskilled blue-collar/white-collar occupations; 0.5% of agriculture & fishing.

Table 5. Indexes of Diversity ( $A_w$ ) within Working Populations for Kwun Tong and Its Subdistricts

Sub- districts	Occupations		Upper, middle level positions	Skilled worker & minor super- visory staff	Semi-skilled & unskilled occupations	Agriculture & fishing	Total	S= $x^2$	$A_w=1 - S$
	x	$x^2$							
Ping Shek	0	(0)	0.131 0.017	(14)	0.869 0.755	0 0	107	0.772	0.228
Ngau Tau Kok	0.004	(2)	0.061 0.004	(25)	0.935 0.874	0 0	404	0.878	0.122
Jordan Valley	0.021	(2)	0.085 0.007	(8)	0.894 0.799	0 0	95	0.806	0.194
Kwun Tong Town	0.047	(20)	0.184 0.034	(78)	0.769 0.591	0 0	422	0.627	0.373
Kwun Tong R/E	0	(0)	0.127 0.016	(37)	0.870 0.757	0.003 0.000	293	0.773	0.227
Sau Mau Ping	0	(0)	0.135 0.018	(56)	0.865 0.748	0 0	412	0.766	0.234
Lam Tin	0.003	(1)	0.093 0.009	(26)	0.895 0.801	0.009 0.000	277	0.810	0.190
Yau Tong	0	(0)	0.083 0.007	(14)	0.863 0.745	0.054 0.003	168	0.755	0.245
Cha Kwo Ling	0	(0)	0.080 0.006	(2)	0.920 0.846	0 0	25	0.852	0.148

- To be cont'd -

Table 5 (Cont'd)

Kowloon Bay	x	0	(0)	0.143	0.857	0	(0)	14	0.756	0.244
	$x^2$	0		0.021	0.735	0				
Lei Yue Mun	x	0	(0)	0.250	0.750	0	(0)	12	0.626	0.374
	$x^2$	0		0.063	0.563	0				
Kwun Tong Total	x	0.011	(25)	0.119	0.865	0.005	(12)	2229	0.762	0.238
	$x^2$	0.000		0.014	0.748	0.000				

Source of Data: Life Quality Survey, Social Research Centre, C.U.H.K., 1971.

Where:  $x$  = Proportion in the population (total = 1)

$S$  = Index of similarity

$A_w$  = Index of diversity within the population

Table 6. Indexes of Diversity (A<sub>b</sub>) of Working Populations Between Subdistricts in Kwn Tong

	Ping Shek	Ngau Tau Kok	Jordan Valley	Kwun Tong Town	Kwun Tong R/E	Sau Mau Ping	Lam Tin	Yau Tong	Cha Kwo Ling	Kowloon Bay	Lei Yue Mun
Ping Shek		0.179	0.212	0.308	0.227	0.230	0.210	0.239	0.200	0.236	0.320
Ngau Tau Kok			0.159	0.270	0.178	0.183	0.157	0.188	0.135	0.190	0.297
Jordan Valley				0.295	0.211	0.215	0.192	0.221	0.170	0.222	0.308
Kwun Tong Town					0.308	0.310	0.295	0.321	0.277	0.315	0.377
Kwun Tong R/E						0.230	0.209	0.238	0.190	0.236	0.315
Sau Mau Ping							0.213	0.242	0.193	0.240	0.317
Lam Tin								0.219	0.170	0.220	0.306
Yau Tong									0.199	0.248	0.332
Cha Kwo Ling										0.201	0.290
Kowloon Bay											0.321
Lei Yue Mun											

Source of data: Life Quality Survey, Social Research Centre, C.U.H.K., 1971.

If we adopt the method proposed by S. Lieberman to measure the diversity of the Kwun Tong working population,<sup>103</sup> the index of diversity ( $A_w$ ) for Kwun Tong working population as a whole is very low (0.238), that means the probability of obtaining unlike characteristics when two persons are randomly paired, is very low. As the working population is regrouped by subdistrict according to their residences, the  $A_w$  also remains low (see also Table 5), with none of them exceeding 0.4, only in Kwun Tong Town Area where nearly all Kwun Tong's private housings are located, the  $A_w$  is higher than other subdistricts. Even when data are drawn from different subdistricts, and the indexes of diversity between working populations ( $A_b$ ) of different subdistricts are calculated, results also show that the probability of obtaining unlike characteristics when two persons are randomly paired, one from each subdistrict, remains low (see also Table 6), which is always under 0.35. The indexes are slightly higher when Kwun Tong Town is paired with other subdistricts.

The low indexes of diversity for Kwun Tong as a whole, for each subdistrict and between subdistricts, mean that the socio-economic composition of the Kwun Tong People is very simple and homogeneous in both intra-district and inter-district level; and since the majority of Kwun Tong working population is of semi-skilled or unskilled workers, thus we can say in general that these people are of relatively low socio-economic status.

It is not our intention here to dig deep into the question of whether homogeneous or heterogeneous community should be planned for. However, previous studies have revealed that in Kwun Tong "the biggest problem of all lies in their virtual one-class structure" and "the elite of the community are not present".<sup>104</sup> The community is lack of binding forces, and the people are not enthusiastic in participation of local activities or raising issues concerning improvement of their environment.

---

<sup>103</sup> S. Lieberman, "Measuring Population Diversity", American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, No. 6, (1969): 850 -862.

Diversity is operationally defined as the probability of obtaining unlike characteristics when two persons are randomly paired.  $A_w$  = indexes of diversity within a population;  $A_b$  = indexes of diversity between two populations, with data drawn from several substantive area, etc. For more details, please see the article.

<sup>104</sup> See note 15 above.

## (B) Employment Opportunity.

Besides the provision of spaces for manufacturing industry, the development of Kwun Tong Industrial Satellite aims in providing housing and employment to meet the need of the lower income groups. But the exchange of working population between Kwun Tong and other districts has been great, - a lot of Kwun Tong residents are working outside the district and other districts are also providing manpower for the Kwun Tong factories (see above Chapter III, section 3). However, we can neither say (1) Kwun Tong does not provide employment opportunities for its people, nor (2) Kwun Tong is in shortage of manpower; the question is why there exists an exchange of manpower in large scale.

Actually, in the eyes of Kwun Tong people, the employment opportunities and wages in the Kwun Tong District are neither too good nor too bad, but just about average. The same is true concerning their comments about working conditions in Kwun Tong industries (see also Table 4, items 1 - 5). Therefore, if they can get better offers from establishments in other places, there is no reason for them to stay in Kwun Tong. Also, the development history of Kwun Tong is still short, the first generation immigrants who have been working in other firms would most unlikely to change their employment to Kwun Tong, unless Kwun Tong factories can offer much better terms. Consequently, many factories in Kwun Tong do have difficulty in staff recruitment, particularly recruitment of production staff.<sup>105</sup> And the policy of most factories (about 75%)<sup>106</sup> in paying no traffic allowances to workers also makes the recruitment of outside workers more difficult.

It is true that jobs have been created in Kwun Tong; also true is the realization of large public housing estates. However, the unbalanced structure of emphasizing strongly on manufacturing with little attention on the white-collar sector leads to the outflow of white-collar workers to other districts. Even blue-collar workers are very often attracted by better terms offered by factories outside. So, efforts ever been made in minimizing commuting have proven failed, in spite of fair employment opportunities in manufacturing industry in Kwun Tong.

---

105 In Economic Organizations Survey, op. cit., 63.6% of industrialists answered the recruitment of production staff were "difficult" or "very difficult".

106 Ibid.

Table 7. Residents' Attitude towards the Socio-Economic Situation

	M <sup>*</sup>	S.D. <sup>#</sup>
1. Employment opportunities for men in area	0.25	0.881
2. Employment opportunities for women in area	0.45	0.946
3. Wages for men in area	0.07	0.796
4. Wages for women in area	0.15	0.777
5. Working conditions in Kwun Tong industries	0.29	0.791
6. Quality of primary education in area	0.37	0.812
7. Quality of secondary education in area	-0.28	0.880
8. Quality of trade and vocational education in area	-0.05	0.784
9. Effectiveness of community centres in area	0.09	0.754
10. Adequacy of welfare agencies in area	-0.14	0.856
11. Adequacy of social services provided in area	-0.11	0.816
12. Adequacy of day nurseries in respondent's neighbourhood	-0.16	0.840
13. Adequacy of services for old people in area	-0.22	0.897
14. Adequacy of Western medical facilities in area	0.24	0.993
15. Adequacy of facilities of Chinese medicine	0.03	0.891
16. Adequacy of dental facilities in area	-0.40	1.004
17. Adequacy of recreational facilities in area	-0.21	1.018
18. Adequacy of entertainment facilities in area	-0.25	1.001

Source: Life Quality Survey, Social Research Centre, C.U.H.K., 1971.

\* In the Life Quality Survey, a five-point scale (from +2 to -2, e.g. +2 means very good, +1 means good, 0 means average, -1 means not good and -2 means very bad) was used to measure the attitudes of the respondents from domestic households. Here 'M' represents the mean of the scores.

# S.D. = Standard Deviation.



## (C) Education.

As for the provision of education in a community, according to standards adopted by the Planning Branch,<sup>107</sup> there should be one classroom for every 450 persons in the primary sector; and one classroom for every 600 population in the secondary sector. For a community like Kwun Tong, with about 450,000 population (1971 census), there should be 28 schools with 24 classrooms each and 70 schools with 30 classrooms each in primary sector; and 25 secondary schools, 3 standard grammar schools and 3 technical schools with 24 classrooms each according to the adopted planned standard.

In mid-1971, there were 109 day primary schools in Kwun Tong (number including primary courses offered by secondary schools),<sup>108</sup> though they might vary in number of classes and enrolments, and some were operating on undesirable sites - e.g., roof-tops in old type Re-settlement Estates, but by large primary education provided in the district has been sufficient. Their quality was considered to be fair by the residents (see also Table 7, item 6). But in the same period, only 17 secondary schools were found (including 1 technical school and 1 school offering both grammar and technical courses).<sup>109</sup> The number of schools is far from sufficient as compared with the planning standard. Also, the number of classrooms, particularly in the 11 private secondary schools, did not reach the planned number of 24. In general, residents were not satisfied with the quality of secondary education and vocational training available in the district (see Table 7, items 7 & 8). In other words, Kwun Tong depends heavily on outside for secondary education, and actually, 73% of children pursuing secondary education are enrolling in schools in other districts.

---

<sup>107</sup> See note 81 above.

<sup>108</sup> Unpublished data held in Education Department, Hong Kong.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

(D) Social Welfare.

Social welfare services are most demanded in lower income working class communities. Therefore, in more recently built Resettlement Estates such as Sau Mau Ping and Lam Tin, one Estate Welfare Building has been built for every 50,000 population, within which different individual agencies operate. However, in old type Resettlement Estate, e.g. Jordan Valley, there are no reserved sites for social welfare agencies. Regardless of the fact that some social welfare agencies have faced difficulties in obtaining suitable sites and enough spaces, 4 social welfare agencies have been established in Kwun Tong District, with number of staff ranging from under 5 to over 50. They provide services from family welfare service, child-care services, rehabilitation, to probation and vocational trainings.<sup>110</sup> However, the residents did doubt the effectiveness of community centres in general, and the majority still thought that welfare agencies in the area and the social services in general provided were inadequate, so as day nurseries and services for old people. (see also Table 7, item 9 - 13). It seems that for the well being of the people, more efforts still have to be made on social concerns.

(E) Medical and Health Services.

Though many residents in Kwun Tong felt that both Western and Chinese medical facilities, except dental facilities, were adequate in the district (see also Table 7, items 14 - 16), yet the Western medical services has been far from enough as compared with the planning standard. Not mentioning the shortage of dentists which is a general problem in Hong Kong, if we apply the standard adopted by the Planning Branch - one standard urban clinic for every 100,000 persons and one polyclinic for every 500,000 persons and 4.25 hospital beds for every 1,000 persons,<sup>111</sup> then Kwun Tong should have 4 or 5 urban clinics, 1 polyclinic and 1 hospital with 1,900 beds.

---

<sup>110</sup> Chan (b), op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>111</sup> See note 81 above.

So far, there is no hospital in Kwun Tong. A community hospital aided by the government - the United Christian Hospital, is still under construction and can only be partly in use by October, 1973. Moreover, for the construction of the hospital with 560 beds, the hospital authority have to raise funds from local churches, schools, residents, in addition to donations from overseas, the Hong Kong Jockey Club and the government aid.<sup>112</sup> At present, there are only one government general clinic - the Kwun Tong Jockey Club Health Centre, and one government-aided rehabilitation centre of the Hong Kong Society for Rehabilitation. For general medical and health services, the half million population have to depend much on the private practitioners who are concentrating in Kwun Tong Town, and on religious or secular voluntary clinics which are evenly distributed in every subdistrict, as well as nearly two hundred traditional Chinese medicine practitioners.<sup>113</sup>

(F) Recreation.

As already pointed out previously in this chapter, Kwun Tong is lack of parks or recreation grounds. For the recreation and entertainments of the 450,000 population, there are only three cinemas located in the Kwun Tong Town Centre, and several mahjong schools - if we also take them into account. The Tsui Ping Road Recreation Ground, with swimming pools and football pitches, is the only public open space capable of intensive use. A stadium in Cha Kwo Ling and a country park have been proposed, but so far neither of them is under development.<sup>114</sup> For recreation and entertainments, Kwun Tong residents depend much on facilities provided by other districts. Therefore, it would not be surprising that they thought that recreation and entertainment facilities in the district were not adequate (see also Table 7, items 17 & 18).

---

<sup>112</sup> South China Morning Post, 13-3-1972.

<sup>113</sup> For more details, see Chan (b), op. cit., p. 12

<sup>114</sup> See note 81 above.

Thus far we can see that Kwun Tong is a quasi-homogeneous working class community; fair enough jobs have been created in the vicinity, but not necessarily have met the need of the residents; therefore, large scale commuting between Kwun Tong and outside cannot be avoided. Social services, including education, social welfare services, medical/health services, and even entertainment and recreation have always been insufficient. In the planning process, the authority has reserved sites for institutions of social services, furthermore, special arrangements have been made for welfare buildings and schools in new public housing estates, but more often than not, it has been religious or secular voluntary bodies, whether subsidized or not, who have initiated and taken the responsibility of providing social services (see above Chapter II, section 4C). As revealed in one of our previous reports,<sup>115</sup> very often provision of such services were not actively considered until urgent needs had been created. Therefore either because of limited government involvement or the provision of services could not keep pace with the rapid population growth, or a combination of both, social services provided in Kwun Tong have been inadequate.

Many defaults we have observed in Kwun Tong should not, theoretically speaking, happen to a "planned new town". Experienced planners involved in both physical and social planning of any new community should not let problems such as traffic congestion, lack of environment beauty, insufficient public utilities, inadequate social services, etc., which are so often black spots in older urban areas, become troubles to residents in a new planned urban district. However, these are now problems in Kwun Tong. Does it imply that Kwun Tong has not been sagaciously planned?

In the Kwun Tong case, things may be considered as planned, or only partly planned as viewed from different aspects at various levels. The government district development plans usually indicate clearly where residences, both private and public, commerce, and industries should be located; in other words, the landuse pattern in a new town is always carefully designed and planned. But on the other hand, though sites for community services are usually reserved and provided, very often it is not clearly indicated who would take the responsibility of developing these services. Furthermore, in industrial districts such

---

<sup>115</sup> Chan (a), op. cit.,

as Kwun Tong and Tsuen Wan, the authority "waited until industrial development had created an urgent need for more housing, better roads, additional sewage and other services before it set about providing them".<sup>116</sup> Besides the provision of services lagging behind, the uncertainty of whether the industry would attract workers from the district itself and whether the factories workers would be housed in the vicinity is another problem. In developing new towns, the government should take a more active role other than zoning, site formation and providing public housing. The "old doctrine" as pointed out by W.J. Smyly years ago,<sup>117</sup> "of waiting for private development before constructing public services as works contingent upon development has had particularly damaging effect" should have long been given up.

In Kwun Tong, may be it is true that the planners could not have made sagacious plans since the population has grown so rapidly in a short span of time.<sup>118</sup> In 1956, the Kwun Tong Development Advisory Committee estimated Kwun Tong would develop into an industrial town of 120,000 people, in 1960, re-estimation showed the population of Kwun Tong would reach 250,000,<sup>119</sup> but about 450,000 people were recorded in the 1971 census. On the other hand we must not forget that more than 80% of residences in Kwun Tong are public housing estates, of which more than 50% are Resettlement Estates. Since the construction of Resettlement Estates and Low Cost Housing Estates have always been under government planning, there is no reason why the authority and the planners could not foresee the population expansion nor provide enough public services at an earlier time.

---

116 Lai & Dwyer, op. cit., p. 300.

117 "Tsuen Wan Township", Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 33, No. 9, (1961), p. 404.

118 Y.F. Hui, Seminar on Kwun Tong Community Development organized by Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 29-11-1970, Wah Kiu Yat Po, 1-12-1970.

119 See note 27 above.

Lastly, we have to point out that unusual high density occurs not only in Resettlement Estates in Kwun Tong, but in similar types of housing all over the Colony. Maybe the working class community can tolerate higher density development, or that these people may even look for higher densities in their new housing environment than others as believed by some scholars,<sup>120</sup> and to many of them the present Resettlement Estates already means improvements. However, for the good of previous slum or old tenement building dwellers, much have to be done than just providing them with minimum facilities as they are moved to a new environment.

---

120 R. Rothenberg - "Elimination of Blight and Slums" in Steward (ed.), op. cit., pp. 130 - 154; also Buttimer, op. cit..

V. KWUN TONG AS THE PROTOTYPE NEW TOWN IN HONG KONG?

To understand how "new towns" are developed, we should know who are in charge of Town Planning and what are the Town Planning process in Hong Kong? Actually, two governmental bodies in Hong Kong are mainly responsible for town planning. They are the Town Planning Board (chaired by Director of Public Works and comprising eight official and five unofficial members) and the Land Development Planning Committee (chaired by the Deputy Colonial Secretary and comprising seven official members). Under these two bodies, there is the Planning Branch of the Crown Lands and Survey Office. In Hong Kong, there are three main levels of planning - (1) the Colony Outline Plan; (2) statutory outline zone plans; (3) departmental plans in the form of planning guides, outline development plans and planning layouts.

The Colony Outline Plan prepared and revised under the guidance of the Land Development Planning Committee provides a framework for all other planning activities. Then, on the advice of Land Development Planning Committee and instruction from the Governor, the Town Planning Board will prepare plans for various areas to be developed or redeveloped. Once the drafted plans are approved by the Governor-in-Council, they become statutory documents. Later, department planning guides for developing rural areas and outline development and layout plans for developing urban areas (indicating road patterns, landuse and other requirements) are prepared. If they are approved by the Land Development Planning Committee, they will be adopted by the Director of Public Works when they are in the urban area, or by the District Commissioner when they are in the New Territories.<sup>121</sup>

All urban renewal, improvement, or new towns development plans go through similar planning process. However, besides the task of planning, government involvement in building up a new urban area is to some extent limited. It is the government's sole responsibility in land formation and provision of roads, water and drainage systems. But the Government always share building development with private enterprises.<sup>122</sup> Very often, social services have been under auspices of

---

<sup>121</sup> Abstracted from Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report, 1973, op. cit., pp. 91 - 92; also Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Town Planning (in Chinese), (Government Printer, Hong Kong).

<sup>122</sup> Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report, 1973, Ibid., p. 94.

religious or secular voluntary bodies; and provision of many public utilities are laid into the hands of private enterprises. As can be seen clearly in the previous chapters, this is actually the case of Kwun Tong. However, Kwun Tong has been considered to be successfully developed by large. Even in a locally held conference, most delegates conceded that there were important lessons of general applicability in the Hong Kong experience in developing new towns like Kwun Tong.<sup>123</sup>

There is no reason why the authority would not adopt plans similar to Kwun Tong for other new towns. Hereunder, we are going to compare with Kwun Tong new towns both under development and scheduled in various aspects.

#### 1. High Density Development.

New towns in Hong Kong are all of considerable large size in terms of population. In Tsuen Wan, Tuen Mun (Castle Peak) and Shatin, the population has been expected to be about one million on full development. In these new towns, high population density and high degree of overcrowding can be expected, since a large population has to be transplanted to limited space - actually shortage of space is a common problem in Hong Kong. Furthermore, in each of these new towns important portions of land have to be reserved for industrial use. The gross population density (expected population/gross area of total development) for Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun and Shatin is estimated to be 475 to 533 persons per acre (see also Table 8), except Tsuen Wan which comprises Tsuen Wan Town, Kwai Chung and Tsing Yi and covers a much large areas, the population density will be about 400 persons per acre when fully developed. Moreover, in these new towns, the majority of the population will be housed in public housing estates when completed (in Kwun Tong 72%, Tsuen Wan 65%, Tuen Mun 50%, except Shatin - about 38%).<sup>124</sup> As the standard set so far for public housing estates is 35 sq. ft. for each person,

---

<sup>123</sup> Dwyer (b), op. cit., p. XV.

<sup>124</sup> Calculation based on data provided in Hong Kong Government's Hong Kong Annual Report, 1973, op. cit., p. 94 and Wiggleworth, op. cit., pp. 48 - 69.



there is reason to believe that in these new towns, high degree of overcrowding similar to that for Kwun Tong will be observed. Again, if we calculate the population density for the residential area only, the density for Kwun Tong will be as high as 1,682 persons per acre, and in others, the density will also well over 1,000 persons per acre (except Tsuen Wan, see also Table 8).

In fact, new town development in Hong Kong is very different from that in the western world. In England for example, where new town development is not limited by spaces, environmental beauty has never been neglected - Crawley, 30 miles south of London, developed in 1947 on an area of 6,000 acres, at present has a population of about 70,000 persons. Thus much lower population density is observed. Though Crawley has its industrial zone, none of the residences is further than 1 mile from the rural field. With sufficient community services, it is a pleasant place to live in.<sup>125</sup>

Besides the residences, in Kwun Tong and Tsuen Wan, flatted factories are predominant, as a planning standard of 350 workers per gross acre of industrial land has been set for new town,<sup>126</sup> therefore, intensive use of industrial lands can be expected in new towns under development.

---

125 Wah Kiu Yat Po, 28-6-1973.

126 Public Works Department, Crown Lands and Survey Office, Planning Division, Tsuen Wan Outline Development Plan, (1966), p. 2.

Table 8. Population Density in New Towns: Completed, Under Development &amp; Scheduled

	Kwun Tong <sup>a</sup>	Tsuen Wan <sup>b</sup>	Tuen Mun (Castle Peak)	Shatin
A. Total development area	1,190	3,499	1,843	2,173
Population on full development	568,010	1,394,480	984,000	1,033,000
Gross population density (persons/ ac.) for development area	477.3	398.5	533.9	475.4
B. Total area of planned residential zones (acres)	323	1,714	586	747
Population expected in residential zones	543,140	1,271,630	924,000	915,400
Population density in residential zones (persons/ac.)	1,682.8	741.9	1,576.8	1,225.4

Source: Hong Kong Government, Crown Lands and Survey Office, Planning Branch,  
1. District Outline Development Plan - Kowloon Planning Area 13, 14 & 15, 1966.

2. Tsuen Wan and Outline Development Plan, 1966.

3. Castle Peak Outline Development Plan, 1966.

4. Shatin Outline Zoning Plan, 1966.

N.B.

a Figures for area excluding Tertiary Planning Units 2.9.6, 2.9.9 (not included in our study), also 2.9.1 and part of 2.9.5 - Kowloon Bay (including in our study, statistics not available).

b Including Tsuen Wan Town, Kwai Chung and Tsing Yi.

## 2. New Towns, More Spaces for Industry.

Since industrial development has vital importance to the Hong Kong economy, and spaces are always in great demand for its development; therefore, in new towns, whether existing, developing, or scheduled, important portions of land have been reserved for industrial use (see also Table 9). Shatin was originally planned to be a new residential new town; however, judging from the current situation, the development plan of Shatin has been revised and industries, particularly light industries, will be developed in the new townships.<sup>127</sup> According to the government standard,<sup>128</sup> in an industrial township such as Tsuen Wan, the ratio of industrial workers to total population would be 1 : 5, this means in an industrial towns of 500,000 population there would be 100,000 industrial workers, and the average density of workers per gross acre of industrial land is 350 persons; thus 286 acre of industrial land would be provided. In Table 9, we estimate the acreage of industrial land required according to the planning standard, and compare with the acreage of planned industrial land in various new towns. Results show that the acreages of actually planned industrial land has been less than the estimates derived from the planning standard (except Tsuen Wan). This implies either the ratio of industrial workers to total population would be lower than 1 : 5 or the average density of workers per gross acre of industrial land would be higher than 350 persons. But it seems that the latter case is more likely, as in Kwun Tong the ratio of industrial workers to total population is 1 : 4.7, but the density of workers per gross acre of industrial land is 510 persons. May be it is still too early to say what the ratio and the average density would be when the other new towns are completed. Anyhow, from the outline development plans, we do find a rather heavy proportion of development area has been reserved for industrial use (see also Table 9), and the proportion is even higher for other new towns than for Kwun Tong. In other words, there will be more space for industrial use in developing and scheduled new towns other than Kwun Tong, both in terms of acreage and percentage of the total development area in each of them.

---

<sup>127</sup> Sing Tao Jih Pao, 7-12-1972.

<sup>128</sup> See note 126 above.

Table 9. Allocation of Industrial Land in New Towns

	Kwun Tong <sup>a</sup>	Tsuen Wan <sup>b</sup>	Tuen Mun (Castle Peak)	Shatin
Expected population on full development	568,010	1,394,480	984,000	1,033,000
If the ratio of industrial workers to the population 1:5, then the number of industrial workers will be	113,602	278,896	196,800	206,000
If the average density of industrial workers per gross acre of industrial land = 350, then the average of industrial land will be	324.57	796.91	562.29	590.28
Acreage of planned industrial land	186.29	1071	360	467
Proportion of planned industrial land to total development area	15.7%	30.6%	19.5%	21.5%

Source: Hong Kong Government, Crown Lands and Survey Office, Planning Branch:

1. District Outline Development Plan - Kowloon Planning Area 13, 14, and 15, 1966.
2. Tsuen Wan and Outline Development Plan, 1966.
3. Castle Peak Outline Development Plan, 1966.
4. Shatin Outline Zoning Plan, 1967.

N.B.

a Figures for area excluding Tertiary Planning Units 2.9.6, 2.9.9.(not included in our study), also 2.9.1 - Kowloon Bay (included in our study, statistics not available).

b Including Tsuen Wan Town, Kwai Chung, and Tsing Yi.

### 3. Employment and Community Services.

The authority mentions in the 1973 report that "for new towns, care is taken to balance population with the provision of employment and community facilities, so creating a compact self-contained township where travel is unnecessary".<sup>129</sup> However, the self-containedness of new towns would be questionable - our discussions in previous chapters have revealed that Kwun Tong is not a self-contained community, and there is no sufficient evidence showing that the other new towns will differ much from Kwun Tong in many aspects, including employment and community services.

All new towns are planned to accommodate mainly people from lower and lower-middle classes, and the major economic activity in these area is manufacturing industry which provides important working opportunities for blue-collar workers but there is a lack of balance in white-collar sector. Theoretically speaking, the manufacturing industries in these new towns can attract workers from lower and lower-middle class people in the vicinity; but in Kwun Tong, we have found that nearly half of the blue-collar workers were working outside for one reason or another, and the industries employing many workers from outside district (see above Chapter V, section 2). Moreover, there is a lack of working opportunities for white-collar workers of lower income group which are rather numerous in Kwun Tong. Therefore commuting problem is unavoidable. Since the authority is aiming at developing industry in all other new towns as in Kwun Tong for the provision of employment, and little attention has so far been paid to the employment opportunity for white-collar workers, plus the uncertainty of attractiveness of local factories to the residents, very probably, these industrial new towns may face the same commuting problems, regardless of the fact that there may be sufficient jobs provided in the area.

In Hong Kong, standards have been formulated in providing community services such as education, social welfare, medical and health services, etc., for new towns as mentioned in Chapter IV, section 2C, D, & E.

---

<sup>129</sup> See note 122 above.

District development outline plans so far published also show that sufficient spaces have been reserved for these purposes; and eventually, welfare buildings and schools would be built by the authority in public housing estates (except in old Mark I & II Resettlement Estates). In Kwun Tong, however, many schools, clinics, and social welfare agencies are found under the auspices of voluntary bodies, and the provision of these services always lag behind the needs of the people. In other new towns, though enough spaces have been reserved for the development of community service, again, there is no clear indication whether more of these organizations providing services to the community will under government sponsorship. If we must wait until voluntary bodies take up the responsibility to develop these services, very likely obvious time lag between supply and demand, as in Kwun Tong, will again appear.

#### 4. Others.

Besides the above-mentioned necessities, there are many other facilities which are indispensable for each area under development - e.g., recreation/entertainment, commercial/business, transportation and public utilities.

According to the government standard, there would be 15 - 17.5 acres of district open spaces for every 100,000 people in the new towns,<sup>130</sup> calculations based on the district outline development plans shows that the planned district open space for new towns has been well over the requirement by standard except Tsuen Wan (Kwun Tong 28.3 acres for every 100,000 population, Tsuen Wan 13.8, Tuen Mun 22, Shatin 20.6). But experience in Kwun Tong shows the fulfilment of the requirement cannot catch up with the need created by the rapid growing population, therefore, in newly developed new towns - e.g., Tuen Mun, green belt and recreation facilities are developed before an urgent need is created by the occupants.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> See note 81 above.

<sup>131</sup> Sing Tao Jih Pao, 8-2-1971.

As pointed out in Chapter IV, section 1D, the 14 acre central area for business and commercial undertaking in Kwun Tong has been too small and lacking space for expansion, yet district outline development plans show there are larger central areas in other new towns (Tsuen Wan 116 acres, Tuen Mun 31 acres, Shatin 45 acres) and pressure from limited space for commercial undertakings can be expected to be lightened.

Among new towns, whether completed, under development or scheduled, Shatin most likely will have a best transportation network. At present, to communicate with Kowloon, there exist already the Kowloon-Canton railway, the Tai Po Road and the highway through Lion Rock Tunnel; in the future, a second Lion Rock Tunnel will be built and double-track will be laid for the railway section between Shatin and Kowloon.<sup>132</sup> As for Tsuen Wan, there are two road linkages to Kowloon, the Castle Peak Road and Kwai Chung Road, and the bridge connecting Kwai Chung and Tsing Yi will soon be completed. But in Kwun Tong, 17 years after the development, the four-lane Kwun Tong Road is the only land route to Kowloon, and terrible traffic congestion can hardly be solved before the completion of the tunnel linking Kwun Tong with To Kwa Wan in 1975. Tuen Mun may face the same problem in land transportation unless improvement, e.g., widening the Castle Peak Road, will be carried out in time; otherwise its development will be hindered.

At the beginning of its development, factories in Kwun Tong faced many difficulties - shortage of labour supply, lack of water and electricity supply, etc., because it was industry who developed first in the area, and followed later by public and private housings and other utilities. Now in other new towns public housings will be constructed in an early stage of development so as to stimulate industrial, commercial and private housing development - e.g. Tuen Mun Resettlement Estate (in Tuen Mun), Lick Yuen Low Cost Housing Estate (in Shatin), and Low Cost Housing Estates of Kwai Chung (in southern Tsuen Wan). In Tuen Mun, before the completion of the Resettlement Estate, road network, sewage

---

<sup>132</sup> Sing Tao Jih Pao, 24-12-1972.

system and a water filtration plant have been constructed;<sup>133</sup> others such as the construction of Hawker Bazaar and "Cocked food stall" Bazaar in Tuen Mun, fire station and bus terminus in Kwai Chung, sewage treatment plant in Shatin,<sup>134</sup> at an early stage of development can indicate, at least to some degree, improvement in coordination of work in building up a new town.

It is obvious that the authority has adopted plans similar to that of Kwun Tong for other areas; all new towns in the Colony have the dual-purpose of providing more spaces for industrial and residential development, and the manufacturing industry in each new town has been expected to provide sufficient employment opportunities for the dwellers, besides high density development is being repeated in Tsuen Wan, Tuen Mun and Shatin. Certainly more attention has been paid to the provision of many utilities at an earlier stage of the development in newly developed new towns, and better coordination of work in building up a community can be observed. However, towards a better planned community, many improvements still have to be made. Not mentioning the high degree of overcrowding and closeness of industrial zone to residential areas which are common in Hong Kong because of the shortage of usable lands for expansion, at least, the government should involve itself more in the provision of community services instead of laying most of them into the hands of voluntary bodies; otherwise the development of community services will very probably repeat the Kwun Tong pattern which is not to be recommended.

---

<sup>133</sup> Wah Kiu Yat Po, 6-3-1969.

<sup>134</sup> Sing Tao Jih Pao, 8-2-1971 & Wah Kiu Yat Po, 3-1-1972.



## VI. CONCLUSION.

Kwun Tong, commonly known as the first "new town" in Hong Kong and created in the eastern part of New Kowloon, is now near its completion after 17 years of rapid development. The proximity of Kwun Tong to urban Kowloon, its sparse population in the early 1950's, and its suitable physical situation for reclamation and leveling, etc., turned the government's decision to select Kwun Tong as the site for the first new town. The dual-purpose, under government planning, of providing more industrial lands for the expanding manufacturing industry which has been of vital importance to the Hong Kong economy, and to house thousands of people from squatters and old tenement buildings, has been achieved.

It was the government who initiated and planned the Kwun Tong development, and it was also the government who took care of reclamation and lands formation, construction of road system and provision of public housing. But it was the investments from private enterprises that have provoked manufacturing industry to flourish and make Kwun Tong one of the most important industrial areas of Hong Kong. Though contributions from both government and private enterprises undoubtedly have importance throughout the development history of Kwun Tong, efforts made by voluntary bodies, both religious and secular, in providing various social services also have their special importance to the lower-middle and lower working class community.

What Kwun Tong amazes people is its rapid development, its intensive manufacturing activities, being home for half a million people and a considerable working force. However, it would be too crude a conclusion to say that an urban development plan has been successfully carried out, a conclusion simply drawn from the population size and the numbers of factories and employees or products so far attained, without considering other aspects. In a previous paper we have already pointed out Kwun Tong as whole is a dependent system subordinating to the large Hong Kong system, people who moved to Kwun Tong were primarily provoked by push factors rather than their own choice. In their view, Kwun Tong is nothing more than a living place; and among Kwun Tong residents, they have low identification with their community and few effort have been

made in community building.<sup>135</sup> As a new urban area is being planned, it is not necessary to plan it as an independent community; but at least requirements of certain basic community services should be fulfilled. In the Kwun Tong case, results of our empirical research show that community services are inadequate both in the eyes of researchers and Kwun Tong residents. Education, medical/health services, etc., depend much on the large Hong Kong system. Furthermore, the high degree of overcrowding, lack of environmental beauty, recreation and entertainment facilities, the problem of traffic congestion, shortage of spaces for commercial/business undertakings, all these problems reflect that an urban district is neither sufficiently nor well-planned.

According to the planning standard and the district development plans, the provision of many facilities should be quite enough - roads, ferry piers, open spaces, and institutions giving different kinds of services, and sites have been reserved for their development. However, the realisation of these various services have always lagged behind the needs of the local population and industry. The growing speed of population and industry has well been taken as the excuse for "unforeseen" shortage of community services; but actually, this should not be the case. Since the majority of Kwun Tong people are living in public housing estates, and all factories have been established on leased crown lands with the approval of the authority, there is no reason why the amount of community services should appear inadequate at any specific period of time, as the authority plans for the development of public housing, as well as provision of industrial lands at every stage of development. Or we can say that though sufficient community services have been planned, they are usually not implemented before urgent needs have been created; in other words, the plan has not been carried out successfully. Moreover, the attempt of creating enough jobs in the district for the residents so as to reduce the commuting inconvenience has been proven a failure - jobs in Kwun Tong factories are sufficient in number, but many of them are taken by workers from outside, while many workers residing in Kwun Tong are employees of establishments outside the district.

---

<sup>135</sup> King & Chan, op. cit., p. 32.

In spite of all shortcomings so far observed in the case of Kwun Tong, similar development plans have been adopted for other new towns in Hong Kong. Tsuen Wan, Tuen Mun, Shatin all have the dual industrial-residential purpose, and the same standards in provision of various community services - education, clinics, recreational facilities, etc., have been adopted. Since public housing will be dominant in the residential sector, high degree of overcrowding can also be expected. But in other new towns, there are certain improvements in development process - at least on the government side: more attention has been paid at an early stage of development to road system, water supply, and more open spaces for recreational use. However, it seems that the government's philosophy of urban planning has not been changed much. In all new towns, the government is responsible in land formation (which is profitable when lands are leased by auction), provision of roads, water, drainage and sewage systems, while building development (except public housing), is to be shared with private enterprises. Many social services will be very probably again under the auspices of religious or secular voluntary bodies and the provision of many public utilities are to be laid in the hands of private enterprises. Although it is still too early to say whether new towns such as Tuen Mun or Shatin will face the same problems of inadequacy in community services, and obvious time lag between supply and demand, but it is not unlikely if the government again does not get more involved in the provision of various kinds of community services, directly or indirectly, other than just giving out sites for their development.

It is not our intention here to figure out what an ideal new town for Hong Kong should be. But judging from development so far carried out in the Colony, we would like to suggest, regardless of whatever pure residential or residential-industrial, homogenous or heterogeneous a new town may be, physically, more living spaces should be allocated to each occupant so as to lower the degree of overcrowding, transportation system and other public utilities should better be developed before urgent needs are created, open spaces for intensive

recreational purposes. In other words, better coordination of construction progress in new towns are needed; socially, education, medical/health and social welfare services must be adequate, and more efforts have to be made in eliminating the time lag between supply and demand; commuting should also be reduced through better employment structure in the community. Lastly, we have to point out that Kwun Tong, marked by its virtual one-class structure, is lack of binding forces, residents are not enthusiastic in participation of local activities or raising issues concerning any improvement of their environment. Then, the question of how to enforce, psychologically, the sense of belonging into the mind of residents to their community, in Kwun Tong and other new towns under development, really call for further studies.

APPENDIX: PHYSICAL BOUNDARY OF KWUN TONG

Kwun Tong, covering an area of about 3000 acres, is a newly developed industrial district. Physically, the district is rather isolated; it lies at the eastern end of the Victoria Harbour, separated from the Kowloon Peninsula by Kowloon Bay and Hammer Hill. The chain of Kwo Pui Shan, Black Hill and Devil Peak form a natural barrier and serve as the east, north-eastern boundary of the district. At the north, Clear Water Bay Road separates Kwun Tong from Wong Tai Sin District where the only land transportation route - Kwun Tong Road, connecting Kwun Tong and other districts of Kowloon passes through.

Government town planning schemes have been in operation in the district; thus very clear zoning of various landuse is observed. Generally speaking, the Kwun Tong District comprises several sub-districts differed in characteristics, and the boundary of area under study coincides with that of the planning unit 2.9 (see Fig. 2); except that the area lying north of the New Kowloon and New Territories boundary has been excluded.

At the centre of Kwun Tong District, north of Kwun Tong Road and bounded by Hong Ning Road and Hip Woo Street, locates the Commercial Centre which covers 14 acres of land.

Manufacturing industries occupy a large area located at the south of the commercial centre, between King Yip Street and Hoi Bun Road; this industrial zone is now prolonging north-westward to the Kowloon Bay Reclamation Area.

The outer zone including the subdistricts of Ngau Tau Kok, Jordan Valley, Sau Mau Ping, Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate, Lam Tin and Yau Tong, is mainly made up of Resettlement Estates. Low Cost housing estates are situated in the periphery of the Commercial Centre; except Ping Shek which is situated at the junction of Kwun Tong Road and Clear Water Bay Road.

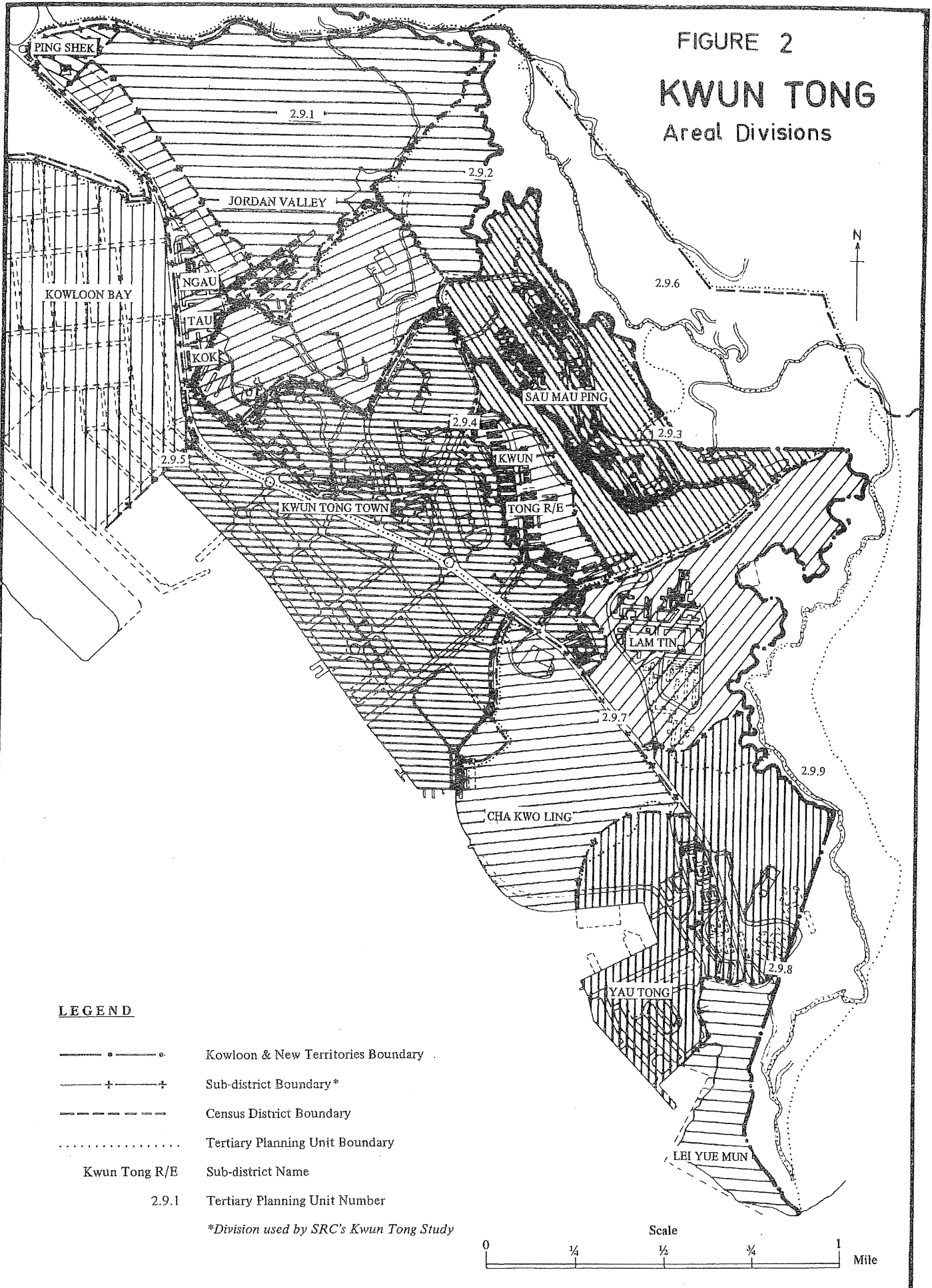
Cottages and squatters scatter in the subdistricts of Cha Kwo Ling, Lei Yue Mun and Kowloon Bay, as well as hill slopes and flattened vacant lands in other subdistricts.

Certainly, Kwun Tong District can be subdivided into several subdistricts according to the different characteristics of the population, landuse pattern and functions. Government Departments have various subdivision systems for their own usage but none of them is found suitable for our study. For example, the Census and Statistics Department has divided the Kwun Tong District into two census districts - Ngau Tau Kok and Lei Yue Mun. But the north-eastern part covers an area which is not within the New Kowloon Boundary; and subdividing the whole district into two parts may be too simple for our study. As mentioned above, the area under our investigation coincides with the secondary planning unit 2.9 except that we have excluded the tertiary planning units 2.9.6, 2.9.9 and part of 2.9.3, 2.9.4, 2.9.7, 2.9.8; since these parts are lying beyond the New Kowloon boundary and are generally uninhabited. Besides, some areas of different characteristics are combined into one tertiary unit - Cha Kwo Ling Village, Kwun Tong Low Cost Housing Estate and Lam Tin Resettlement Estate are combined into 2.9.7; Kwun Tong Industrial Zone, Kowloon Bay Reclamation Area and Ngau Tau Kok Resettlement Estate are combined into 2.9.5. That is why we do not follow tertiary planning unit boundaries when we are making our own subdivisions.

Based on our field observations, Kwun Tong can be subdivided into 11 subdistricts. These subdistricts may differ in functions (residential, commercial or industrial), population compositions and characteristics, housing conditions, and in geographical location (e.g. Kwun Tong Low Cost Housing is attached to Kwun Tong Town and separated from the Lam Tin Resettlement Estate which is located uphill).

Subdivision boundaries may run along roads (e.g. Kwun Tong Road divides Kowloon Bay and Ngau Tau Kok), or based on land lot division lines if we find it necessary. Sometimes we use natural boundaries such as water courses or hills, particularly in the northern part of the District where no other obvious land marks such as roads and buildings can serve as boundaries. Boundaries may also coincide with tertiary planning unit boundaries in some places (see figure 2).

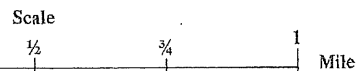
FIGURE 2  
**KWUN TONG**  
 Areal Divisions



**LEGEND**

- • — • — • — Kowloon & New Territories Boundary
- + — + — + — Sub-district Boundary\*
- — — — — Census District Boundary
- ..... Tertiary Planning Unit Boundary
- Kwun Tong R/E Sub-district Name
- 2.9.1 Tertiary Planning Unit Number

\*Division used by SRC's Kwun Tong Study



Hereunder is a brief description of each subdistricts:-

<u>Subdistrict</u>	<u>Major components</u>
1. Ping Shek	Ping Shek Low Cost Housing Estate
2. Jordan Valley	Jordan Valley Resettlement Estate Jordan Valley Resettlement Factory Jordan Valley Resite/Class II Areas
3. Ngau Tau Kok	Ngau Tau Kok Resettlement Estate Ngau Tau Kok Government Low Cost Housing Estate Ngau Tau Kok Resettlement Cottage Area Kai Tak Mansion Ngau Tau Kok Industrial Area
4. Kwun Tong	Commercial Centre Private domestic building area Wo Lok Low Cost Housing Estate Kwun Tong Government Low Cost Housing Estate Hgok Yue Shan Class II Area Hong Ning Road Class II Area Industrial Area
5. Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate	Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate
6. Sau Mau Ping	Sau Mau Ping Resettlement Estate Scattered Cottage
7. Lam Tin	Lam Tin Resettlement Estate Scattered Cottages
8. Cha Kwo Ling	Cha Kwo Ling Village Sai Tso Wan Village Kwun Tong Tsai Mining Lot
9. Yau Tong	Yau Tong Resettlement Estate Ko Chiu Road Low Cost Housing Estate Yau Tong Village Sam Ka Tsuen Yau Tong Industrial Area
10. Lei Yue Mun	Lei Yue Mun Village Ma Wan Village Ma Pui Village Lin Nam New Village
11. Kowloon Bay	Kowloon Bay licensed/resite Area Cottage-factory Area (cleared) Reclamation Area.



BIBLIOGRAPHYBooks and Articles:

- Breese, A., Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries, Prentic-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1966.
- Burton, T.L. (ed.), Recreation Research and Planning: A Symposium, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1970.
- Cherry, G.E., Town Planning in its Social Context, Leonard Hill, London, 1970.
- Davis K., "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World" (1955), in H.M. Mayer & C.F.Kohn (eds.), Readings in Urban Geography, The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. 59 - 68.
- Dwyer, D.J. (ed.), Asian Urbanization: A Hong Kong Casebook, Hong Kong Univ. Press, Hong Kong, 1971.
- Dwyer, D.J. (ed.), The City as a Centre of Change in Asia, Hong Kong Univ. Press, 1972.
- Harris, C.D., & E.L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities", The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 242, 1945, pp. 7 - 17.
- Hopkins, Keith (ed.), Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony, Oxford Univ. Press, Hong Kong, 1971.
- Jackson, John N., Survey for Town and Country Planning, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., London, 1968.
- Kahn, Alfred J., Theory and Practice of Social Planning, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1969.
- Kwun Tong Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd., Kwun Tong Today, Hong Kong, 1969.
- Lai, D.C.Y., & D.J. Dwyer, "Kwun Tong, Hong Kong: A Study of Industrial Planning", Town Planning Review, No. 35, pp. 299 - 310.
- Lieberson, S., "Measuring Population Diversity", American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, No. 6, 1969, pp. 850 - 862.
- Mountjoy, A.B., Industrialization and Underdeveloped Countries, Hutchinson Univ. Library, London, 2nd., 1969.
- Owen, W., The Metropolitan Transportation Problem, The Brooking Institution, Washington, D.C., Revised Ed., 1966, 4th Printing, 1969.

- Park R.E. & E.W. Burgess, The City, The Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1970.
- Shevky, E. & W. Bell, "Social Area Analysis" (1955) in G.A. Theodorson (ed.), Studies in Human Ecology, Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, 1961, pp. 226 - 235.
- Smith, D.M., "A Theoretical Framework for Geographical Studies of Industrial Location", Economic Geography, Vol. 42, April, 1966, No. 2, pp. 95 - 110.
- Steward, Murray (ed.), The City - Problems of Planning, Penguin Books Ltd., 1972.
- "Tsuen Wan Township", Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 33, No. 9, 1961, p. 404.
- Vance, James E., Jr., "Housing the worker: The Employment Linkage as a Force in Urban Structure", Economic Georgraphy, Vol. 42, No. 4, 10/1966, pp. 294 - 325.
- Waterston A., La Planification de Développement, Tendances Actuelles, Editions France-Empire, France, 1968.
- Weber, Max, The City, D. Martindale and G. Neuwirth (trans. & eds.), The Free Press, New York, 1958.
- Wrigley, R.L. Jr., "Organized Industrial Districts" (1947), in H.M. Mayer & C.F. Kohn (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 478 - 495.

Public Documents:

- Accountant General, Annual Report(s) 1955/56 - 1972/73, Government Printer, Hong Kong.
- Census Commissioner, Report of the Census 1961, Vol. II, Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1962.
- Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Statistics, 1947-1967, Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1969.
- Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, Government Printer, Hong Kong, From 1970.
- Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report, Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1973.
- Census and Statistics Department, 1971 Census of Manufacturing Establishments, Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1973.
- Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Annual Report(s), 1956-1973, Government Printer, Hong Kong.
- Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong Town Planning, (in Chinese), Government Printer, Hong Kong, undated.
- Hong Kong Housing Authority, Annual Report 1971/72, Government Printer, Hong Kong.
- Housing Board, Report 1970, Government Printer, Hong Kong.
- Public Works Department, Crown Lands & Survey Office, Outline Development Plan(s), for Kowloon Planning Area 13, 14, & 15, Blue Prints, Plan Nos. L.K. 13/49g, L.K. 14/19c, L.K. 14/20c, L.K. 15/32a, 1966.
- Public Works Department, Crown Lands & Survey Office, Castle Peak Outline Development Plan, Blue Print, Plan No. LCP/33b, 1966.
- Public Works Department, Crown Lands & Survey Office, Planning Division, Tsuen Wan and District Outline Development Plan, Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1966.
- Public Works Department, Crown Lands & Survey Office, Planning Division, Sha Tin Outline Zoning Plan, Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1967.
- Singapore Housing & Development Board, First Decade in Public Housing 1960-69, 1970.
- Wah Kiu Yat Po, Hong Kong Year Book(s) 1960-1973, Wah Kiu Yat Po, Hong Kong, Chapter on Public Transportation Services, Kowloon.

Research Reports of Social Research Centre, the Chinese University of Hong Kong:

- Chan, Y.K., "The Growth Pattern of Organizations in Kwun Tong",  
A09-07-6-1, 1972.
- Chan, Y.K., "The Spatial Distribution of Organizations in Kwun Tong",  
A10-07-6-2, 1972.
- King, A.Y.C. & Chan Y.K., "A Theoretical and Operation Definition of  
Community: The Case of Kwun Tong", A01-07-0-1, 1972.
- Lee, H.M., "Social Welfare Organizations in Kwun Tong", A04-07-2-1,  
1972.
- Lee, R.P.L., "Population, Housing, and The Availability of Medical &  
Health Services in An Industrialising Chinese Community",  
A07-07-3-3, 1972.
- Mok, V., "The Nature of Kwun Tong as an Industrial Community: An  
Analysis of Economic Organizations", A03-07-1-1, 1972.