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Housing Policy and Internal Movement
of Population: A Study of Kwun Tong,
a Chinese New Town in Hong Kong

C. Y. Choi

SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE
THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY
OF HONG KONG

Suggested citation:

Choi, C. Y. 1977. *Housing Policy and Internal Movement of Population: A Study of Kwun Tong, a Chinese New Town in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Occasional Paper No. 62, Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

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C.Y. CHOI
in collaboration with
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February, 1977

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Preface

The research which forms the basis of this report is financed by a grant under the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations' Program in Support of Social Science and Legal Research in Population Policy. The Chinese University of Hong Kong provided institutional support.

Three major tasks were completed during the 2½ year period since the research program on this project started in September 1974. These tasks were: (1) an analysis of internal movement of population in Hong Kong and public housing policies and development; (2) a survey of Kwun Tong residents; and (3) an analysis of social organization in Kwun Tong.

The first task was completed in September 1975, the outcome of which was a report entitled "Urbanization and Re-distribution of Population in Hong Kong". This report, submitted separately to the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in September 1975, forms the basis of a paper soon to be published by the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population in their volume - "Urbanization and Internal Migration - Case Studies".

The second task was a representative sample survey of Kwun Tong residents for the purpose of tracing their migration and occupational history and relating these to housing policies. The field-work of this survey was conducted between December 1975 to April 1976. Records of public housing estates were also used in conjunction with survey results; but inspite of efforts spent in obtaining and analysing these records, their unreliability and lack of details have severely minimized their usefulness. Results of the survey are presented in this report.

The third task was greatly assisted by data collected over the years on Kwun Tong organizations by the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Much of Chapter VI of this report are drawn from these information.

We gratefully acknowledge the grant from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and the support from the Chinese University of Hong Kong through its Social Research Centre (Director: Rance P.L. Lee). The Kwun Tong Christian Family Service Centre provided office space as our field station during the survey, and we are grateful for this.

Dr. Y.K. Chan of the Social Research Centre provided much valuable assistance when I was away from Hong Kong. He supervised the administration of the survey as well as the processing of survey data. I am indebted to him.

C.Y. Choi

February 1977

IntroductionA. The Research Problem

This research on housing policy and internal movement of population in Kwun Tong, Hong Kong, arises from the recognition of the importance of housing and land policies in their influence on the movements and distribution of population and in their effect on the general livelihood and the quality of life of the people. While in a general sense, Hong Kong is not different from other metropolises (i.e. land and housing policies are vital in the shaping of the living environment in any city), the degree of importance and influence which housing and land policies have perhaps exceeded those in many other cities. Several factors contribute to this unique situation in Hong Kong.

First, post-War population pressure had been exceedingly high. Hong Kong grew, through massive refugee-migration, from a mere 650,000 in 1945 to over 2.0 million by 1951. The immense housing and other demands created by this addition of over 1 million population meant that massive and concerted government efforts were needed to provide the bare minimum in housing and other necessities. Willingly or unwillingly, the government has been involved in the provision of large scale public housing since the end of the War.

Second, Hong Kong's land area is small - about 404 sq.ml. in total, of which 357 sq.ml. is in the New Territories leased from China for 99 years until 1998. Much of the urban development had been confined to Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon Peninsula. Political considerations have certainly affected the progress made in the development of the New Territories, although the Lion Rock Mountain ranges is a natural barrier separating the New Territories from Kowloon. This confinement of development has meant a high degree of urban congestion and very high population and activity densities in the built-up areas. The dispersion of this population and the de-centralization of industries to the New Territories have become an increasingly urgent task for the government.

Third, the scale of public housing effort is perhaps unprecedented except in some countries in the communist-socialist bloc. The 1975-76 Annual Report of the Hong Kong Housing Authority estimated that almost half of Hong Kong's 4.4 million population now live in public housing estates. (Housing Authority Annual Report 1975-76, p.9) This proportion is expected to increase further as more building programs are completed. This

scale of public housing program has resulted in a situation where government public housing policy has immediate and important effect on the livelihood of a very large number of the population. Policies regarding public housing will decide for a large proportion of population where and how they will live, and also influence their employment and recreational activities.

This unique housing situation provides a good opportunity for the investigation of the impact of housing policy on the movement of population and on the nature of communities formed in public housing environments. This research is therefore aimed at studying these aspects and to identify problems of adjustment and adaptation in public housing environments.

B. The Research Program

The choice of Kwun Tong as the research site is mainly based on the following two considerations.

1. Kwun Tong is the first planned new town, and is providing dwelling for an estimated

580,000 population in 1976.¹ According to the 1971 census, about 79 per cent of its population lived in public housing estates (57 per cent in Resettlement Estates and 22 per cent in Government Low-Cost Housing Estates; these classifications were renamed in 1973 as Group A and Group B Estates respectively). Only 13 per cent of the population were in private dwellings. The figures for 1976 when they become available would most likely show an even higher proportion in public housing estates, given the accelerated building program in recent years in Kwun Tong. Several other districts contain similar proportions of public housing residents, but Kwun Tong is the largest and most rapidly developed new town in Hong Kong. With a history of rapid growth and development, Kwun Tong is ideally suited for this study. A description of the development of Kwun Tong is presented in Chapter III.

1. Preliminary 1976 census population figures. Kwun Tong consists of the Lei Yu Mun and Ngau Tau Kok Census Districts.

2. A substantial amount of research work has been done on Kwun Tong by the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong and other organizations since 1970; these information and research data are available to present study as supplements to original data collected for the study. Earlier research will facilitate the interpretation of results and will place this study into its proper context.

Apart from these secondary sources, there are essentially 3 types of information used in this study of Kwun Tong. The first is statistical data available from censuses which are conducted at 5-yearly intervals. These data are used in the reconstruction of the story of Kwun Tong's growth. The second type of information are records of population movement kept in each public housing estate, these records show the number and the timing of in and out-movements of population. Unfortunately the coverage and reliability of these records is hard to ascertain and there is considerable under-recording, especially of out-migration. Nevertheless, they are useful in tracing broad trends of movement in and out of the estates in Kwun Tong.

The third type of information is data collected in a large scale survey of Kwun Tong. This survey, - a representative study - of 1293 households, was conducted during December 1975 and April 1976.

A technical report on the method and the questionnaire used in this survey is given in Appendix I. This survey was designed to collect data on:

- (a) the movement of population in both the private and the public housing sector;
- (b) the determinants and consequences of the movement into Kwun Tong; particularly in terms of occupational adjustments;
- (c) changes in social and family life in Kwun Tong; and
- (d) subjective evaluation of livelihood in Kwun Tong.

Results of this survey are utilized in conjunction with census data and Housing Estate records in the analyses presented in this report.

C. Organization of the Report

As a preliminary to the project, a general overview of population movements in Hong Kong was made. This overview of population movements included a brief historical analysis of events pertaining to the growth of the population and to the development of Hong Kong's public housing policy. Through this overview, the importance of Kwun Tong, as a satellite town, and of public housing can be seen in their proper context. Chapters II and III of this report describe the public housing program and the development of Kwun Tong respectively.

The analysis of data from Housing Estate records provide the base for Chapter IV on the peopling of Kwun Tong. Housing Estate records are supplemented by relevant data collected in the survey in this analysis of population growth and stability in Kwun Tong. The extent and nature of out-migration of families and individuals are also described.

The extraction, transfer and analysis took several months and a number of problems were encountered:

1. Data of the estates were of different quality, and the assessment of the

relative accuracy of each set of data was difficult; and

2. Statistical data system differed from estate to estate and the extraction of these data to form a common pool was problematic.

There is obvious under-reporting of out-migration of individuals from household units because the decrease in the number of residents in a household unit may, in terms of regulations, result in a transfer of that household to a smaller dwelling unit. It is also known that some households who had in fact moved out, against regulations, kept the entitlement of their dwelling units and sub-let their units to other households. These sources of under-reporting give rise to considerable unreliability to Housing Estate statistics, but when used in conjunction with survey data they are useful in tracing the broad trend towards population stability in Kwun Tong.

The survey provides information for Chapter V on family and individual adaptation to the new environment. This chapter concentrates on occupational mobility, income and consumption, and the general quality of life in the neighbourhood.

The community of Kwun Tong as a whole is analyzed in Chapter VI in terms of community organizations. Chapter VII concludes this report with an assessment of the impact of housing policy on the development of Kwun Tong as a community.

II

Public Housing Program in Hong Kong

A. Refugee Influx, Growth and Distribution

The end of the Second World War saw two important waves of in-migration of population into Hong Kong. In May, 1945, the Japanese occupation forces enumerated some 650,000 persons in Hong Kong (Szczepanik, 1955). Immediately after August 1945 when Japanese occupation in Hong Kong ended, a big migration wave brought back a large number of former residents who had sought refuge during the War in China. This wave is estimated to have continued for two years and the number is estimated to be around 690,000 (Szczepanik, 1955). While the distinction between a new migrant and a "returnee" is difficult to make and the estimates from other sources vary, (Hong Kong Government Annual Report 1956; Hambro, 1955) there is no doubt that this wave was massive and quickly boosted the total population to almost the post-War level of about 1.5 million.

As soon as this wave of returnee had subsided, a new wave occurred, this time caused by political change in China which first drove the nationalist government into South China and then in late 1949 to Taiwan. Estimates on the volume

of this second wave of refugee migration are also varied, but the total number is generally believed to be around 600,000. The net result of these two waves of inflow was the addition of more than 1 million population to Hong Kong in a brief ten year period. By 1951 the official estimate of the total population was over 2 million. Even if this is considered too high, the 2 million mark was certainly attained in late 1952 (Choi, 1977, forthcoming).

Table 1

Population Growth in Hong Kong

Census Areas	1931	1961	1966	1971	1976	
Hong Kong Island	48.7	32.1	27.8	25.3	23.4	
Kowloon	28.7	23.2	18.6	18.2	17.0	
New Kowloon	2.7	27.2	36.2	37.6	36.9	
Tsuen Wan	0.6	2.7	5.5	6.9)	
Yuen Long	3.2	4.3	3.4	4.4)	
Tai Po	4.8	4.4	4.1	4.1)	21.4
Sai Kung	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.5)	
Islands	2.1	1.2	1.0	1.0)	
Marines (Boats)	8.3	4.4	2.8	2.0	1.3	
Total Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Total Population* ('000 persons)	840	3,129	3,708	3,937	4,390	

* exclude "transient population"

By 1961 when the first post-War census was taken, the population of Hong Kong had reached 3.1 million. Birth rate was high, reaching a peak in the mid-1960s when yearly births exceeded 100,000, and there was a continuation of in-migration from China. In the five-years 1961-66, another 600,000 was added, and the population rose to 3.7 million. Fertility began to fall significantly after 1965 and rapidly in the seventies. The growth rates in the last 10 years average about 2.0 per cent a year although yearly rates fluctuated greatly depended on the level of in-migration. The pressure of population on almost all facilities had continued to be high throughout the whole post-War period.

Compounded with the problem of high population growth is the uneven geographic distribution of population. Seventy-seven per cent of the total population can be found on the island of Hong Kong, in Kowloon Peninsula and New Kowloon. These built-up areas together only constitute 11 per cent of Hong Kong's total land area.

By 1961, the population on the Island had grown to over one million, but its proportion fell from the pre-War 49 per cent to slightly over 30 per cent in 1961 and continued declining to about 23 per cent in 1976. Aided by the building

of mass public housing, New Kowloon developed rapidly; its population jumped from 22,000 in 1931 to 353,000 in 1961 to 1.5 million in 1971 and to 1.6 million in 1976. Almost 37 per cent of the total population now live in New Kowloon.

The importance of Hong Kong Island as a residential area declined. Between 1961 and 1966, population growth on the Island had only been slight and for the period 1966-71, it actually declined. Between 1971 and 1976, there was a growth of 30,000, or 6.3 per cent of total population growth in the whole of Hong Kong. The proportion of the total population in Hong Kong Island is 25.3 per cent in 1971 and this provides a sharp contrast to the very low share of growth for the period 1971-76. Similarly, the proportion of population residing in Kowloon Peninsula declined from 23.2 per cent in 1961 to 18.2 per cent in 1971, and to 17 per cent in 1976.

There was also an important decrease in the number of persons living on boats. The 1961 census counted more than 136,000 of them, by 1971, there were 80,000, and by 1976, there were only 59,000. This decline was partly because of the attraction of land employment and partly because of the mechanization of the fishery industry.

The New Territories, apart from Tsuen Wan, remain relatively sparsely populated although the areas around Tai Po and Yuen Long have had substantial increases of population. New towns around Shatin and Tuen Mun (near Yuen Long) are now being constructed. These areas are expected to grow rapidly in the next few years when construction of these new towns is completed.

The 1976 census shows that the rapid growth in New Kowloon has declined in the period 1971-76. Much of New Kowloon had already been developed; and only Lei Yu Mun (part of Kwun Tong) had important growth in this period.

The growth of New Kowloon and new towns in the New Territories has been the result of massive development of public housing. Public housing are not limited to these areas; they are also found in Hong Kong Island and in Kowloon Peninsula. But the lack of land in built-up areas has made it necessary to build public housing in the fringes.

Table 2

Growth of New Kowloon and Designated New Towns
in the New Territories 1971-76
('000 population)

	1971	1976	% of population in Public Housing (1971)*
New Kowloon (Total)	1,479	1,619	
Cheung Sha Wan	259	278	
Shek Kip Mei	190	173	
Kowloon Tong	22	27	
Kai Tak	555	566	76.3
Ngau Tau Kok	231	244)
Lei Yu Mun	222	331) 78.9
New Territories (New Towns)	311	519	
Tsuen Wan New Town	266	449	72.0
Tuen Mun New Town	21	33	
Sha Tin New Town	24	37	
New Kowloon and N.T. New Towns	1,790	2,138	
% of Total Land Population	46.4	49.4	

* 1976 figures not available but will probably be slightly higher.

Indirect estimates of net migration for census areas for 1961-71 have shown substantial out-migration from almost all areas on Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Peninsula (Choi, 1975). The area of largest decline is the Central District on the island; old residential buildings gradually make way for new commercial and banking development. Sheung Wan and Sai Wan as well as Wan Chai are also areas of substantial net migration loss. These are old and congested areas. Some of the out-migration is probably the result of the destruction of old buildings and the transfer of their populations to public housing estates in newer areas, but there were also some out-migration to better private residential areas.

Similarly, the whole of Kowloon Peninsula experienced net loss in migration. The net loss in Tsim Sha Tsui, the tourist area on the tip of Kowloon Peninsula, was very heavy, resulting in an absolute decline in population for both the periods 1961-71, and 1971-76. In New Kowloon, the old areas (first stage of government public housing) of Cheung Sha Wan and Shek Kip Mei also experienced heavy net loss. While Shek Kip Mei sustained a loss in population for both census periods, Cheung Sha Wan had a slight increase in 1971-76.

During 1971-76, eight areas experienced absolute decline in population and they are either old areas ready for re-development or areas rapidly becoming important business districts.

Table 3
Areas of Population Decline, 1971-76
('000 persons)

Areas	1971	1976	% decline
Hong Kong Island			
Central	23	17	26
Sheung Wan	68	56	18
Wan Chai	143	126	12
Shaukiwan	163	161	1
Kowloon			
Tsim Sha Tsui	74	57	23
Yau Ma Tei	205	182	11
Mong Kok	171	160	6
New Kowloon			
Shek Kip Mei	190	173	9

Looking at the pattern of population movement from a broad perspective, it is fairly clear that among districts where no public housing estates have been developed, only a few retained their natural increase. For the majority, the amount of loss in net migration has more than balanced natural increase to create a decline in population. Many of the areas of decline are old areas, too congested to absorb any further increase in population and the movement towards newer areas is inevitable. Public housing and the development of new towns are central in this re-distribution of population.

B. Housing and Provision of Housing

In Hong Kong, the difficulty in providing enough housing of minimum standard is not new and is a problem as old as its history. As early as 1882, the government saw the necessity of commissioning a report on the solutions to the housing and sanitary problems (Chadwick, 1882). The problems were never resolved. Another study on the same topic was commissioned in 1902 (Chadwick, 1902). Various recommendations for legislation were proposed but these laws also failed to provide solutions

(Pryor, 1973:20). In 1923, and again in 1935, the Housing Commission recommended that the government undertakes the development of areas for buildings in Kowloon, and that low cost housing schemes should be made available. As before, little action was taken to follow these recommendations (Pryor, 1973:21). By 1937, the massive influx of refugees began as people from South China fled the Japanese invasion. This has made any implementation of the recommendations even more difficult.

The post-War situation differed from the pre-War situation in one critical aspect. The post-War housing problem was of an overwhelming magnitude. The hundreds of thousands of refugees setting up sheds and huts on the hillside and on roof tops presented a problem not only of accommodation, but also of health, of fire, and of other natural disasters, as well as of public order (Hopkins, 1970:22-24). So immense was the housing problem that the government after the war discarded its policy of relying upon private builders to provide most or all of the housing units. The government created a Resettlement Division under the Urban Services Department to look into the possibility of resettling the refugees. After two disastrous fires in 1954, a Resettlement Department was

set up to provide temporary but immediate housing for the 50,000 fire victims. The massive program of resettlement began initially to provide housing for victims of natural disasters and for occupants of dangerous dwellings but later also to resettle squatters.

In 1953, the government estimated the number of squatters at around 300,000 (Hong Kong Government Annual Report, 1956:14). Thereafter the number increased. By 1959 there were about 500,000 squatters; in 1964 they had increased to 550,000. After 1964, the number fell to 443,000 (Hopkins, 1971:279). In recent years, the squatter population has continued to drop, but only slowly. In 1973, there were still an estimated 275,000 squatters (Hong Kong Government Annual Report, 1973:100). At its peak in 1964-1965, the population of squatters formed about 20 per cent of the metropolitan population. These figures are of great significance in view of the effort the government has already put into resettling the squatters. In 1956, two years after the fires of 1954, 69,000 persons were resettled in government multi-storied estates. By 1964, the number of resettled persons was 544,200, and in 1968 the number of persons residing in government housing estates

increased to almost 1 million. With such a large number of persons resettled, the squatter population might be expected to have declined rapidly and that by 1964 almost all squatters would have been resettled. This did not happen, and it is clear that there were constant new additions to the squatter group.

Unlike the situation in many cities in Southeast Asia, the squatters in Hong Kong are not migrants from rural areas. According to surveys done in the 1950s (Johnson, 1966), roughly one half of all squatters consisted of families whose heads were born in Hong Kong or were residents in Hong Kong since 1946 or before. The demand for housing was great. Twenty per cent of urban housing was destroyed in World War II and private development after the War had been slow until the mid 1960s. This pushed the rentals up beyond the reach of many poorer families (Munder, 1969). One author concluded that "many of the new migrants since the war crowded older residents out of their accommodation in tenements and took their place" (Hopkins, 1970:285). A survey in 1963 showed that half of the squatters interviewed were living in private tenements before they became squatters and 45 per cent of these

reported that they chose squatting to gain accommodation either rent free or with a low rent (Hopkins, 1970:286).

In 1963, a "Working Party on Government Policies and Practices with regard to Squatters and Public Housing" estimated that potentially as many as 100,000 persons might be added to the squatter population each year from various sources: dangerous buildings and premises deemed unsuitable for dwelling (44 per cent), natural growth (42 per cent) and natural disaster (9 per cent), and others. The report of this Working Party also estimated that there might be 25,000 additional persons each year through natural increase among those already resettled.

In view of the tremendous pressure, the government accelerated its building program of public housing. The Resettlement Department established in 1954 acquired a permanent status in 1958, and immediately raised the target of rehousing 50,000 persons a year to 100,000 and planned to build resettlement blocks of higher quality. The earliest buildings in the mid 1950s were seven-storied H-shaped blocks, with communal washing and toilet facilities on each floor. The rooms varied in size from 86 square

Table 4

Number of Authorized Accommodations in Public Housing,
By Types of Housing, 1955-1976*

Year	Resettle- ment Estates	Low Cost Housing	Housing Authority	Housing Society	Total	Per cent of Hong Kong Population
1955	85	-	-	6	91	4
1959	230	-	17	28	275	9
1961	360	-	39	37	436	14
1964	702	-	128	52	882	25
1965	740	67	133	83	1,023	28
1966	830	67	134	96	1,127	31
1967	944	83	138	102	1,267	34
1968	1,025	127	149	108	1,409	37
1969	1,071	161	167	112	1,511	39
1970	1,094	188	205	116	1,603	41
1971	1,148	258	218	125	1,749	43
1972	1,176	33	218	125	1,850	45
1973**	1,183	514		128	1,825	44
1974	1,181	565		120	1,866	44
1975	1,180	607		121	1,908	44
1976	1,165	662		127	1,954	44

* not including so-call "Cottage Areas" which had an estimated population of 43,000 at March 1976.

** there is a break in the statistical series with the establishment of the new Housing Department which absorbed all activities formerly under the Resettlement Department and the Housing Authority.

feet to 152 square feet, but most of them were 120 square feet designed to house families of 4 to 5 persons. Children under 10 years of age were considered half an adult. These buildings, called Marks I and II, were meant to be temporary, and construction of more of this type was suspended in 1964. Since then in later designs called Marks III to VI, slightly better facilities were provided, including toilets and water taps in the units. Each unit also has a private balcony for laundries and for cooking. In 1964, following the 1963 Working Party report and a subsequent White Paper, a long-term resettlement building policy was formulated. The yearly target of resettlement was raised again, to 150,000 a year; and in 1966, the 24 square feet per person rule was amended by 35 square feet per person.

The number of persons resettled increased rapidly. In 1964, 10 years after the first resettlement estates were built, about half a million persons were accommodated. By 1969, five years later, over 1 million were resettled, representing about one quarter of the total Hong Kong population.

There are three other important housing agencies apart from the Resettlement Department. The one with the longest history is the Housing Society, which was established in 1951 with a low-interest government loan. The Housing Society designed its self-contained flats on the basis of 35 square feet per adult, and these flats were primarily intended for families whose income was under HK\$400 per month. This was subsequently increased to HK\$1,250 per month in 1970. Primarily a private effort, the Housing Society's building program has been slow relative to the two other housing agencies. Nevertheless, by 1967, over 110,000 persons were housed in the Society flats. Although numerically less impressive, flats designed by the Society are of higher quality and contain private toilets, kitchens, and balconies. This design later served as a model for the Resettlement, Housing Authority, and Low Cost Housing estates.

The second important housing agency, the Housing Authority was established in 1954 with a government loan on a similar basis as the Housing Society. But the management of the Authority was under the control of the Urban Council, about half the members of which are appointed by government and half elected. Again, similar to the Housing

Society, self-contained flats were designed for the lower to middle income families - those earning between HK\$500 to HK\$900 per month, subsequently raised to HK\$1,250 per month in 1970. Other factors, such as degree of overcrowding and sharing, were also taken into account as criteria for tenant selection. With a larger initial government loan, the Housing Authority had a more rapid building program, and in 1969, Authority estates housed a total of 164,000 persons. Both the Housing Authority and the Housing Society depended on government for the allocation of sites, and the lack of suitable sites was a constant deterrent to more rapid expansion.

The Authority won the confidence of the government, and in 1962 the government made more funds available to it. Since then the building rate increased relative to the Housing Society. Moreover, at the same time, the government decided to build another type of public housing - the Low Cost Housing - and passed the management of these estates to the Housing Authority. The Low Cost Housing estate units were designed and built by the Public Works Department and were intended to be of similar quality as the Authority units. Different from the Resettlement estates, which were intended primarily for squatters and the homeless created by natural disasters,

the Low Cost Housing estates were for the lower income groups. In this sense, the criteria for tenancy were similar to those of the Housing Society and the Housing Authority.

By 1975, over 1.9 million persons were housed in the various types of public housing. This was 44 per cent of Hong Kong's total population, making the public housing project of Hong Kong one of the most ambitious in all non-socialist countries.

The existence, at least until 1973, of four different public housing bodies is certainly one indication of the lack of coordination and ~~far-sighted~~ planning for housing provision in Hong Kong. Admittedly, the urgency of the problem made it necessary for the government to accept and encourage any private agency to build low-cost units on a large scale; but the initial reluctance of the government to become the landlord of a substantial proportion of the people is another factor which led to an inability to coordinate the various efforts in a more systematic way. A Housing Board was set up in 1968 as a liaison between the various bodies; only in 1973 was a new Housing Department established to centralize the activities of the Resettlement Department and the

Housing Authority. Even then, the Housing Society still maintains its independence. A new Housing Authority, however, was created in 1973 which advises government on all aspects of housing including the private sector. The Housing Department is established under the new Housing Authority.

C. Location Problems - The Concept of Industrial New Towns

Almost all public housing is built as estates, that is, as a cluster of buildings housing from a few thousand to tens of thousand persons. The largest single estate houses more than 100,000 persons. In the newer public housing estates, the ground floor of each building is used for commercial purpose, for shops of various kinds. Market places, schools, playgrounds, social welfare agencies, banks, post offices, and other community services are also located within the estates. Apart from work, employment, and some recreation, the estates are almost self-sufficient communities. Consequently sites of considerable size are needed for their construction. Because the urban build-up areas are already congested, most of the estates are built in the fringes of the urban area, on the south side of Hong Kong Island, in New Kowloon, and, more recently, in the New Territories. Much of

the redistribution of population towards these areas is thus the result of the location of public housing estates; and government policies on allocating sites for this purpose will more or less determine, in a broad sense, the pattern of population distribution in Hong Kong in the future.

While many of the earlier housing projects were developed primarily as an immediate relief to housing shortages and therefore had not taken proper consideration of other social and economic aspects such as community facilities and employment location, later projects were designed with a view to establish integrated and partly self-sufficient industrial new towns. Not only are many community facilities provided within or adjacent to public housing estates plans for these estates often include the provision of factory sites for industrial development. The availability of a large pool of labour force in nearby estates is an added attraction to industries in these new towns.

These developments offer solutions to the relief of residential overcrowding and to a more rationalized location of Hong Kong's rapidly developing industries. Many small scale industries previously located in overcrowded residential areas

have been assisted to relocate to new premises in new towns. Establishments of larger-scale enterprise are also assisted because suitable sites are now available. The earlier new towns, i.e. Kwun Tong and Tsuen Wan, have now become Hong Kong's main industrial centres.

In 1972, Hong Kong Government announced a ten-year housing plan to house a further 1.5 million population which, according to the Hong Kong Housing Authority, would provide "permanent self-contained accommodation, in a reasonable environment, for virtually everyone in Hong Kong" (1973-74 Annual Report, p. 11). Although some of these new housing developments would be re-developments of older estates, large portion of it would be the further development of new towns in the New Territories. Tsuen Wan New Town is expected to house about 860,000 persons, Sha Tin New Town to house 524,000 persons and Tuen Mun New Town to house 486,000 persons. Concurrent with these major new towns, plans for the market towns of Tai Po, Fanling, Shek Wu Hui and Yuen Long are being formulated for their development with a target population of 264,000 (Hong Kong Annual Report, 1976, p. 88-89). The projected population for these developments in the New Territories is estimated to

be over 2.1 million, or more than twice the population size in 1976. This population target is expected to be achieved by 1985 (Hong Kong Annual Report, 1976, p. 7).

A system of industrial-residential new towns is rapidly becoming the mode of living in Hong Kong. The overcrowded and appalling conditions of many older build-up residential areas guarantee a continued demand for low cost public housing. While rent and purchase price of private dwelling units are beyond the reach of many (and would still rise) public housing in one of these industrial new towns is often the only realistic answer.

The concept of industrial new towns has emerged over a considerably long period of time in which solutions to the dual problem of residential congestion and industrial land shortages were tried and tested. Re-development of built-up areas would not have opened up enough land for the building of sizable new towns. The necessity to build fast for large number of people left no choice but to open up new sites. When new sites are formed, it is possible to integrate industrial and residential development planning. It is in this context that Kwun Tong as the first planned industrial new town is developed and tried.

III

The Development of Kwun Tong

A. The Growth of Kwun Tong - Economic Aspects

Proposals for the development of Kwun Tong was made in the 1950s when government attempted to provide more industrial sites for the booming industry. Available land at that time was already fully occupied and industrialists urged government to take early action (Kwun Tong Kaifong Association, 1975, p. 74). An Inter-Departmental Committee was established in 1954 and this Committee recommended Kwun Tong as the site for the first planned industrial development. There are several reasons for this choice (Y.K. Chan, 1973, p. 9).

1. Kwun Tong was a refuse dump and the 1,000 squatters could be cleared without much difficulties.
2. The geological structure facilitated site formation - the hills north of Kwun Tong were badly eroded and could be levelled easily. Soil excavated could be used to reclaim land from the sea.
3. Kwun Tong is adjacent to the Kowloon build-up area and this close contact is an advantage because Kwun Tong was not planned to be fully self-sufficient.

4. Strategically located, Kwun Tong could be linked to other part of Kowloon by an improved road system and to Hong Kong Island by sea.

The recommendations of this Inter-Departmental Committee was accepted and work began in late 1954. In 1956, government published the "Kwun Tong Development Plan" which proposes the development of Kwun Tong to house about 120,000 persons (Kwun Tong Kaifong Association, 1975, p. 7). The plan also provided for a commercial centre with shops, offices, schools, cinemas, markets and other public amenities, four residential areas, a public park and a swimming pool.

Industrial sites released by government were keenly sought after by industrialists. Factories and high rise factory buildings were quickly built. As early as 1958, production in some factories had already started.

The building of public housing schemes had also started in 1958-59; the first was "Garden Estate", a Hong Kong Housing Society project which completed its stage one building program in 1960 and stage two program in 1966. These two stages in total provided dwelling for about 7,000 people.

The former Resettlement Department of the government also started its building program in 1958.

In 1961, the Kwun Tong area, comprising of Ngau Tau Kok and Lei Yu Mun census districts, had a population of 81,000. By 1966, the population had grown to 252,000 and further to 553,000 by 1971. The 1976 census counted 575,000 persons in Kwun Tong, the majority (over 78 per cent) lived in public housing estates. In a brief 20 years, Kwun Tong has become a major residential complex of more than half-a-million population.

Industrial growth has been even more rapid. Y.K. Chan has estimated that up to 1971, private investment in building cost alone was over 1,000 million dollars; this is several times more than the estimated amount which government spent on reclamation and site formation (Y.K. Chan, 1973, p. 14). Much of these investment had been on industrial development. From 1961 to 1970, the number of factories on reclaimed land alone increased from 100 to 308 and the number of employees increased from 15,000 to 72,300 in the same period. In June 1971, over 1,600 factories were operating in Kwun Tong which accounted for about 8.4 per cent of all industrial undertakings in Hong Kong, and producing

about 20 per cent of Hong Kong's manufacturing products. Kwun Tong factories are mainly export-oriented; about 62 per cent of all produce are exported.

V. Mok has summarized the basic characteristics of Kwun Tong registered factories. Using 1971 data from the Department of Labour, he found that factories in Kwun Tong were predominantly small; more than 70 per cent employed less than 50 employees. But more than half of all employed worked in large factories of over 200 workers (V. Mok, 1972, p. 12). Table 5 below shows the average number of employees by type of industry.

Table 5

Size Distribution of Kwun Tong Registered
Factories by Type (1971 data)

Industry	No. of factories	Average No. of employees per factory	% of employees (% distribution)
Mining	8	71	0.5
Food	33	72	2.2
Textile	308	94	27.1
Apparel	163	77	11.7
Wood	88	22	1.8
Paper	80	33	2.5
Rubber	68	48	3.0
Chemical	19	33	1.1
Plastic	272	36	9.0
Non-Metal	13	41	0.5
Basic-Metal	19	33	0.6
Fab. Metal	174	44	7.2
Machinery	150	142	19.8
Others	105	121	11.8
Services	52	25	1.2
All industries	1,552	68	100.0

Source: Adapted from V. Mok, 1972, p. 7-14.

In terms of work force, textile, machinery and apparel industries are most important, employing 58.6 per cent of the total work force. Included in the category of "others" in the newly emerging electronic industry which had very rapid growth since 1971. There were in 1975, 79 electronic factories in Kwun Tong employing 16,400 workers; the average number of employees per electronic factory is over 200. The apparel industry also had impressive growth; the number of factories in 1975 rose to 334 employing 24,000 workers. These fast-growth industries are export-oriented and are vital foreign currency earners. Kwun Tong now has an estimated 2,300 factories, and employs about 17 per cent of all industrial workers (Kwun Tong Kaifong Association, 1975, p. 55).

It could very well be expected that Kwun Tong industries draw much of their work force from local residents. This, however, is not entirely the case. A 1970 survey reported that only 48 per cent of all employees actually lived in Kwun Tong and the rest commuted from other areas (V. Mok, 1972, p. 44). While 60% of all "general" workers were recruited from within Kwun Tong, only 24 per cent of all clerical and managerial ones were recruited locally.

Similarly, among the working population in Kwun Tong, only 54.4 per cent worked locally, the rest commuted to other localities for employment. This exchange of labour force between Kwun Tong and other areas shows that much of the work created in Kwun Tong was of skilled and unskilled blue-collar type and those who were not in these occupations had found it necessary to work outside of Kwun Tong. It also reflects the very rapid growth of Kwun Tong which had not left enough time for adjustments.

B. The Growth of Kwun Tong - Social Aspects

The rapid influx of factories and population generated a very heavy demand on all types of services.

Commercial undertakings rapidly grew and shops are established both in public housing estates and in private multi-storied buildings. Demand for shop space was so intense that the first or second floor was sometimes used for commercial purposes. In public housing estates, ground floor space was usually reserved for shops which served the residents of the estates. A large number of street hawkers, legal or illegal, complemented and competed against these shops.

Schools and the provision of some community services were part of the overall plan for many public housing estates and for the whole of Kwun Tong. However, the building of schools had not progressed as quickly as the influx of population. While a majority of primary school children attend local schools in Kwun Tong, a large majority of secondary school students - 73 per cent in 1971 - had to travel outside of Kwun Tong for their education (Y.K. Chan, 1973, p. 46). There were, in 1975, 20 secondary schools offering 17,000 school places, and over 100 primary schools offering over 98,000 school places (Kwun Tong Kaifong Association, 1975, p. 16). Plans are formulated to build more technical secondary schools to train unskilled persons for Kwun Tong's industries. The majority of the schools are private schools, although about a third are subsidized. There were only two government-operated day schools in 1971.

Social welfare agencies and community organizations began to be developed in public housing estates. Before 1963, all social welfare agencies in Kwun Tong were sponsored by voluntary and religious bodies. Since then, government sponsorship and assistance had been given to these organizations. The Social Welfare Department

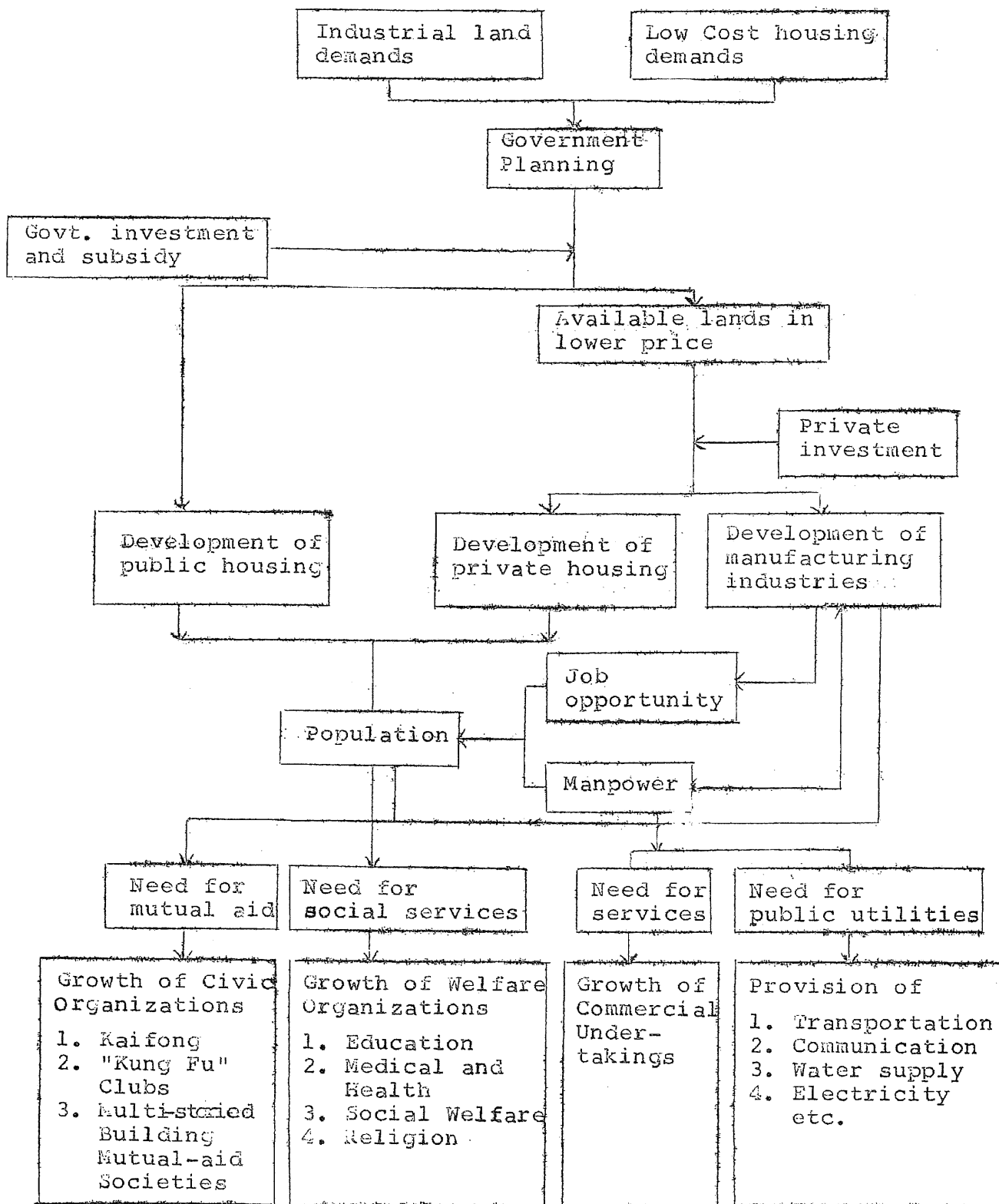
and the Hong Kong City District Office have offices established in many public housing estates and are providing direct service to individuals and a co-ordination service to other organizations.

There are at present more than 50 organizations active in Kwun Tong, covering the fields of welfare, housing, mutual aid, neighbourhood, youth activities, health care, trade union relations, and religion.

An excellent description of their development is summarized in a chart by Y.K. Chan (Y.K. Chan, 1972, p. 28) and is reproduced below with slight modifications:

Chart 1

The Development of Kwun Tong



One significant point in the growth of organizations is that almost all of these organizations are formed with initiation and resources external to Kwun Tong. Government agencies, of course, are executive arms of the central government; welfare organizations are part of the overall Hong Kong networks which, while taking Kwun Tong special conditions into consideration, are nevertheless external to Kwun Tong. Civic organizations, as we shall see later, are inactive and have very narrow and restricted support.

C. The Role of Housing

The 2 most important aspects in the development of Kwun Tong are the provision of industrial land which led to the growth of industries and the provision of public housing which provided low cost residential units for about $\frac{1}{2}$ a million population in Kwun Tong. In 1971, the number of population residing in all public housing estates in Kwun Tong was 357,000. Their distribution is as follows:

Table 6

Population in Kwun Tong Public Housing Estates,
1971

Estates	Households	1971 Census Population	1971 estimated population*
Ping Shek	4,317	22,802	25,360
Wo Lok	2,181	12,204	12,540
Upper Ngau Tau Kok	5,750	35,780	37,670
Kwun Tong(L.Y.M.R.)	1,198	7,156	7,270
Ko Chiu Road	(established 1972)		-
Garden Estate	3,438	20,641	21,350
Yau Tong	3,215	17,243	20,860
Lam Tin	10,033	51,432	28,270
Kwun Tong(T.F.R.)	9,387	44,446	56,840
Lower Ngau Tau Kok	9,158	48,863	54,490
Jordan Valley	3,487	15,589	20,160
Sau Mau Ping	17,311	81,300	(not available)
All estates	69,475	357,456	-

* Data supplied by Housing Authority. These estimates are presumably based on authorized number of residents.

The estimated population for 1971 differs (in all cases exceeds) the census 1971 population because a small number of persons who although authorized to reside in a public housing unit had not done so for a variety of reasons. Some of these will be investigated in the next Chapter (IV) of this report.

The growth of population in these public housing estates had been very rapid during the 1960s when building programs were completed. The period after 1970 show a gradual stabilization of population levels with some estates losing population. Some of the older estates were built ten to fifteen years ago, and the children of the residents are now grown, some of them are now beginning to move away from these estates. Government policy aiming to reduce overcrowding by the provision of more space per resident is also effective in reducing the number of occupants in some of the estates.

Table 7

Stabilization of Public Housing Population*
in Kwun Tong, 1973-76

Estates	1973	1974	1975	1976
Ping Shek	27,385	27,322	27,511	27,183
Wo Lok	12,288	12,173	12,149	11,910
Upper Ngau Tau Kok	37,477	37,154	36,891	36,428
Kwun Tong (L.Y.M.R.)	6,806	6,439	6,456	6,337
Ko Chiu Road	17,378	19,875	22,127	22,302
Garden Estate	21,110	22,230	(22,230)	(22,230)
Yau Tong	27,185	27,098	26,695	26,448
Lam Tin	67,985	76,177	86,504	91,867
Kwun Tong(T.P.R.)	55,405	54,289	53,893	52,091
Lower Ngau Tau Kok	54,930	55,058	55,515	55,294
Jordan Valley	19,456	18,953	18,760	17,604
Sau Mau Ping	116,501	123,659	125,501	129,069
All Estates	463,906	480,427	(494,232)	(498,763)

* Authorized population.

Source: Housing Authority, Annual Reports 1973/74,
1974/75, 1975/76.

The number of authorized residents in all estates increased by about 350,000 between 1973 and 1976, or 7.5 per cent in three years. Some of this represent further completion of estate building programs (e.g. Lam Tin), but much of it represent natural increase.

Although public housing building programs appear to have reached a saturation point, and further development appears to be restricted to the private sector, the importance of public housing in Kwun Tong is evident. Over 80 per cent of Kwun Tong's residents now live in public housing.

IV

The Peopling of Kwun Tong

A. Population Movements - Movements into Kwun Tong

The previous chapter has shown that the timing of population influx into Kwun Tong is directly determined by the completion of the building of public housing estates. The long waiting list for public housing testifies to the extent of Hong Kong's housing shortage.

The residential movements into these public housing estates are not entirely voluntary. The Resettlement Estates (now called Group B Estates), by regulation, resettle those who urgently need immediate housing. Under urgent circumstances, there is very little left for the individuals to choose from. Thus, government officials decide the location of their settlement, depending on the availability of vacant units. A large proportion of Kwun Tong's residents had moved to Kwun Tong through this process of allocation. The other three types of public housing accept applications from eligible families. Eligibility criteria include monthly income, number of persons in the household, urgency of need for housing assistance etc. Formerly different criteria were applied to different types

of housing, but these were unified since 1973 after the new Housing Department assumed responsibility of the former Resettlement Department and Housing Authority. Although in theory, individual households can apply for particular types of units to suit their own requirements, the allotment of units to applicants is determined more by the availability of vacant units than by individual choice. In theory, it is possible for an individual household to reject an offer; but in practice, the waiting list is so long that if one rejects an offer of a relatively undesirable located unit, one might have to wait for as long as four to five years before another offer could be made again. The urgency of housing has made it necessary for individual families to accept almost any offer.

The origin of Kwun Tong's residents is, therefore, very diverse. Our 1975 survey indicated that many (12%) have moved to Kwun Tong from as far as Hong Kong Island, and many had moved many times previously before they finally moved to Kwun Tong. The average frequency of residential movement since marriage is 2.2 times but over 30 per cent moved 3 times or more.

Table 8

Frequency of Residential Movement of Households
since Marriage, 1975 Survey

Frequency	N	%
Nil	124	10.1
1	395	32.1
2	315	25.6
3	180	14.6
4	97	7.9
5	43	3.5
6	22	1.8
7	55	4.4
Total	1231*	100.0

* 62 cases of one-person household excluded.

Many of those who moved frequently had moved within Kwun Tong, frequently as squatters until public housing was available to them, and this explains the large proportion of households had Kwun Tong as their previous residence.

Kai Tak is adjacent to Kwun Tong and many households had Kai Tak as their immediate previous place of residence. These two areas together account for 46 per cent of all areas of previous residence.

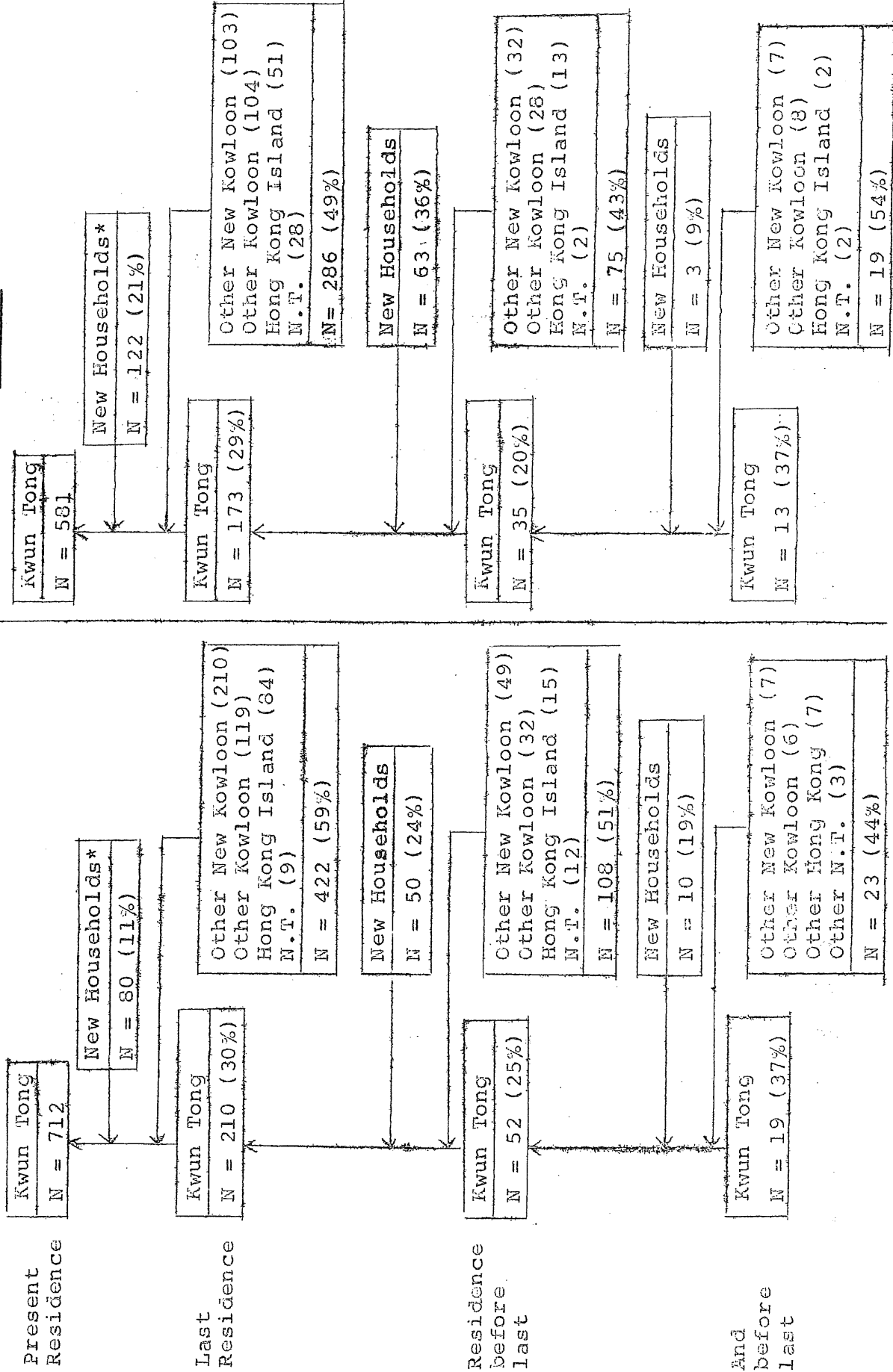
There is only a slight difference between those in private housing and those in public housing; this difference is a higher proportion from Kai Tak and a lower proportion from the New Territories for those now residing in public housing.

The following chart shows the history of residential movement of Kwun Tong households.

Former Place of Residence of Kwun Tong's Households, 1975 Survey

Public

Private



* New Households are those who have never lived elsewhere after arrival in Hong Kong or after marriage.

Movements within Kwun Tong are important as a component of total movements; 30% (public) and 29% (private) of all previous moves, and 25% (public) and 20% (private) of all moves before the previous one within Kwun Tong. The establishments of new households are also important, but they are more significant in the private sector. Single persons who live in public housing Group B (former Resettlement) estates could be granted, upon marriage, units in Group B estates for the new households, but they are not eligible to apply for Group A estates. New households which are allocated units in public housing estates are not many.

Much of the movements within Kwun Tong are movements from the private sector to the public sector (55%). Movements from public to private are much less frequent (2%) and indicate the stability of residents in public housing estates. Low rent would appear to be the main factor. There are also considerable movements (32%) within the public sector and these represent the transfer of temporary government housing schemes (called Licensed Areas or Cottages) to the estates and the reallocation of suitable units within estates to households whose size had changed.

Among those who moved from other areas to Kwun Tong, 79% had moved from a private dwelling outside of Kwun Tong to a public housing estate. Many also moved to a private estate (13%). But again very few moved from public housing elsewhere to a private dwelling in Kwun Tong. Transfers within public housing sectors were also infrequent (7%) among those who had moved in from outside of Kwun Tong.

Table 9

Percentage Distribution of Movements by Types and by Place of previous residence, 1975 survey

Type of Move	From Kwun Tong & Kai Tak	From other Areas	All Origins
	Weighed* %	Weighed* %	Weighed %
Private-Private	11	13	12
Public-Private	3	1	2
Private-Public	55	79	66
Public-Public	32	7	20
Total %	100	100	100
N	601	491	1092

* The sampling fraction differed between public and private sectors, the weighed percentage corrects the over-sampling of private housing sector.

Overall, public housing acted as destination for 86 per cent, and private housing for only 14 per cent of all moves. The public-to-private movements were rare and are insignificant in total movements. Much of the private housing in Kwun Tong were occupied by households which previously were in private housing.

The reasons for the above pattern of movement are not difficult to find. Public housing development is of much larger scale than private development and rent in public housing is often only a fraction of the market rent. In spite of the small size of public housing units, they are often larger than rooms and bed-spaces in the private units. The reasons for moving to Kwun Tong are often stated "space" and "demolition". In the private sector, 39 per cent of all those who moved into Kwun Tong said that "space" was the important factor for their moves and 20 per cent mentioned "demolition". This pattern does not vary between this district of last residence although the lack of "space" as a motivation to move appears to be strongest (53%) among those from New Kowloon, and "demolition" the strongest (31%) among those from Hong Kong Island. These differences, however, are slight. A large proportion (41%) have moved to a

self-contained flat in Kwun Tong from rooms/bedspaces elsewhere; this represents an important step in social upward mobility. Some have become owners of flats although the number involved is small.

Table 10

Type of Residence before moving to Kwun Tong, 1975 Survey*

Type of last residence	Public		Private	
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Private</u>				
Flat	31	(5)	165	(36)
Room	146	(23)	181	(39)
Other Private	83	(13)	42	(9)
Temp. Structure	222	(35)	16	(4)
<u>Public</u>				
Group A	21	(3)	16	(4)
Group B	88	(14)	36	(8)
Cottages	41	(7)	3	(1)
Total	632	(100)	459	(101)

* Excluding 202 cases of new households.

In the public sector, many more were from temporary structures, bedspaces, rooftop, and sheds etc. This is necessarily so because public housing was designed to resettle persons in need of housing.

Development of public housing started earlier than private housing in Kwun Tong, this is reflected in the year of settling in Kwun Tong. While 54 per cent of all public housing residents had moved to the last residence before 1970, only 36 per cent of private housing residents had done so. Only 7 per cent of public housing residents had moved in during the last two years, while 13 per cent of private ones had moved in during 1975-76. On average (weighed), about 7.7 per cent of all residents moved in during the two years 1975 and 1976, 32.4 per cent during 1970-74 and the rest (about 60 per cent) before 1970. The earliest residents had already been in Kwun Tong for more than 20 years.

B. Population Movements -Movements within Kwun Tong and out of Kwun Tong

In a community as new and as rapidly growing as Kwun Tong, one does not expect much

out-migration from the community. Neither does one expect much out-migration from the public housing estates because public housing units are already a big improvement over private units of similar cost and rent. Nevertheless, our survey and records from public housing records made available to us show some out-migration both from Kwun Tong and from public housing estates.

Two types of out-migration can be delineated - single-person and household. While the survey, by definition, could not include households which had moved away, the public housing records show the extent of this migration within the public housing sector. The following table shows household and single-person migration by estates as revealed in public housing records.

Table 11

Out-migration of Persons and Households from thirteen Public Housing Estates in Kwun Tong, 1971-74

Estates	Households		Single	Ratio (2/3) (4)	Male per 1,000 females (5)
	No. (1)	Persons included (2)	Persons No. (3)		
Garden (H.S.)					
1971	98	585	-	-	913
1972	95	559	24	23.3	983
1973	133	790	246	3.2	863
1974	173	1,104	59	18.7	965

/Cont'd ...

Estates	Households		Single Persons	Ratio (2/3) (4)	Males per 1,000 females (5)
	No. (1)	Persons included (2)	No. (3)		
Ping Shek (A)					
1971	21	107	127	0.8	472
1972	29	144	282	0.5	449
1973	33	186	201	0.9	697
1974	25	131	155	0.8	634
Wo Lok (A)					
1971	13	82	160	0.5	635
1972	18	104	269	0.4	541
1973	23	136	89	1.5	705
1974	27	167	149	1.1	775
Upper Ngau Tau Kok (A)					
1971	35	543	148	3.7	698
1972	68	401	357	1.1	627
1973	26	175	400	0.4	529
1974	63	394	302	1.3	653
Kwun Tong (L.Y.M.R.) (A)					
1971	34	226	-	-	769
1972	14	73	35	2.1	612
1973	30	157	121	1.3	635
1974	32	175	71	2.5	864
Yau Tong (B)					
1971	23	134	32	4.2	663
1972	30	130	46	2.8	583
1973	43	296	118	2.5	663
1974	39	249	344	0.7	617

/Cont'd ...

Estates	Households		Single Persons	Ratio (2/3) (4)	Males per 1,000 females (5)
	No. (1)	Persons included (2)	No. (3)		
Lam Tin (B)					
1971	34	183	102	1.8	966
1972	32	163	87	1.9	656
1973	101	630	112	5.6	927
1974	136	925	336	2.8	905
Kwun Tong (T.P.R.) (B)					
1971	70	498	99	5.0	931
1972	90	655	86	7.6	921
1973	95	638	116	5.5	948
1974	41	302	271	1.1	684
Lower Ngau Tau Kok (B)					
1971	45	319	53	6.0	801
1972	78	478	136	3.5	754
1973	65	363	249	1.4	769
1974	59	363	593	0.6	668
Jordan Valley (B)					
1971	41	246	1	-	861
1972	50	353	-	-	982
1973	29	221	164	1.3	886
1974	42	446	7	-	904
Sau Mau Ping Lower (B)					
1971	63	343	131	2.6	1043
1972	40	224	142	1.6	896
1973	36	228	182	1.3	898
1974	67	399	528	0.8	772
Sau Mau Ping Upper (B)					
1971	25	142	90	1.6	922
1972	31	185	153	1.2	927
1973	39	215	233	0.9	1005
1974	73	457	382	1.2	808

Source: Public Housing Estate Office records

Although the undercount of persons and households makes the interpretation of crude numbers and trends difficult and impossible, the ratios of household to single person out-migration show that there is a wide range of patterns. In some estates, such as Ping Shek and Wo Lok, the number of single persons out-migrated exceeded those included in household ones. In others such as Yau Tong and Kwun Tong, the out-migration of households involved a larger number of persons than single-person out-migration. In general, the extent of household out-migration is more significant than that of single-persons.

The sex-ratios consistently show more female out-migration than male ones, and this reflects the importance of marriage as a reason for leaving the family among single-person moves. This also reflects the fact that some sons, when they get married, stay in their family of origin together with their brides. Public housing regulations permit certain categories of male children (usually eldest son) to stay in their parents' dwelling unit after marriage. In Hong Kong, the proportion of extended families such as these is about 25 per cent (F.M. Wong, 1974, p. 31), and although there is a trend towards the

"nuclear" type of family, there is considerable desire among parents, to stay with their sons on retirement (Choi, 1975).

Marriage migration of individuals does not totally represent out-migration, other "motivations" for out-migration include work, overcrowding and transportation problems. Data from the 1975 survey show that apart from marriages, overcrowding is an important reason for members of households to move away. Thirteen per cent of movements away from public housing estates are of this type.

Much of the movements away from their family of origin are movements to the private sector; this is true regardless of the original type of housing. Overall, 49 per cent moved to "rooms" and similar accommodations in the private sector. There is, however, an important proportion (38%) among the public sector who moved within this sector.

Table 12

Type of Housing to which the First Out-Migrant
had moved, 1975 Survey

Destination: Type of Housing	Origin Public		Private		Total Weighed Distribution
	No.	%	No.	%	%
Flat	10	10	21	34	13
Room	42	42	25	40	41
Other Private	8	8	6	10	8
Group A	10	10	3	5	9
Group B	28	28	5	8	25
Cottage	2	2	-	-	2
Temp. Structure	2	2	2	3	2
All types	102	100	62	100	100

This reflects some successful effort within public housing in the absorption of population growth. But the trend is clear; when the sons/daughters have grown up (regardless of whether these households are in the private or public sector), they move to the private sector and occupy poor housing. Only very few, (particularly among public housing households) could afford to rent/buy a flat when they moved away from their household of origin. This implies a large proportion of the newly married who, because of unavailability of public housing and high rent in the

private sector, had to be satisfied with just rooms or even less.

The choice of location is also very much limited. A large proportion found rooms and other accommodations in Kwun Tong (33 per cent) and in nearby Kai Tak (13 per cent) while others moved back to older private residential areas (17 per cent to Kowloon Peninsula, 3 per cent to other New Kowloon etc.).

This pattern of out-migration of young adults suggests a migration cycle process which is probably unique to urban environments where public housing dominates the housing scene. This migration cycle involves the following steps:

1. Population growth creates intense housing shortage, this shortage become more severe when old private units becomes unfit for dwelling.
2. Government builds public housing in the periphery of built-up areas to provide low cost dwelling units for people affected by housing shortage.

3. Massive transfer of population and families from built-up areas to the periphery occurs as public housing programs are completed.
4. Families in public housing estates grow and their children reach the ages of marriage and form independent households. Congestion in public housing units prevents the formation of joint families, and although the married sons/daughters as well as parents/parents-in-laws might wish to reside together, this is not possible in most cases.
5. Continued severe housing shortage makes it difficult for housing authorities to provide additional units for these married sons and daughters; the long waiting list of applications from the private sector for public housing exerts great demand.
6. For reasons of marriage, change of location of work or simply of the desire to live independently, young adults will need to move back to the private housing sector. Since rent is high, they will have to satisfy with inferior accommodation.

7. Some of the older built-up areas which were vacated earlier when the population moved to public housing estates, would now have been re-developed. New residential buildings would have been built. These new developments provide some housing for those who now move back to these areas from public housing estates.

There is not enough evidence to measure the extent of this migration cycle, but there is no doubt that this exists and will become prevalent as more children grow to adulthood.

Data from our survey also indicate that, in both private and public dwelling units, some members of households spend several nights a week away from their family; many spend as many as four nights a week away from home. For many purposes, living away from home for such long periods of time could be considered having moved away. The survey counted 13.4 per cent of all households having at least one person in the household who frequently spends nights away from home (3 per cent having more than one member). The stated reasons for staying away are overwhelmingly "close to work and school", and imply the acute problems involved in transportation

to other areas from Kwun Tong; but the congested housing condition is certainly another reason, although it is not stated as such. Almost all those who stay out frequently stay with friends and very few stay with relatives. This is true among those in public housing and also among those in private housing.

A significant finding concerning living away from home is that many are male heads of households. In total, 3 per cent of all households interviewed had their male heads living away from home for more than 3 nights in a week. In the private sector, this is 38 per cent of all persons who frequently live away from home, and in the public sector, where there are also considerable sons who do likewise, male heads are 22 per cent of the total.

The problems of adjustment, which might arise when the male head is often away, have not been investigated thoroughly and should constitute one important topic of social research in Hong Kong.

C. Demographic profile of the Population

Hong Kong has a young population and this is reflected in Kwun Tong.

Table 13
Age-Distribution of Kwun Tong's Population

Age Group	Hong Kong 1971 Census	Hong Kong 1975 Estimate	Kwun Tong 1975 Survey
Under 15	35.8	31.4	33.0
15-29	24.3	29.4	29.2
30-44	18.1	15.8	16.0
45	14.3	14.7	13.3
60+	7.5	8.7	8.5
Total Population	3.9m	4.4m	7134*
Sex-ratio	103.3	106.4	102.3

* Number of persons included in the sample of 1293 households.

In 1975, over 30 per cent of the total population is under 15 years of age and about 8 per cent is under the age of 5. Compared with the situation in 1971, however, this reflects a continued fall in fertility in the 1970s. The increase in the proportion of those aged over 60, as indicated both in our 1975 survey and in the 1975 estimate for Hong Kong, reflects the consequences of age-structural changes and less significantly a further improvement in the reduction of mortality. In these aspects,

Kwun Tong had an experience very much similar to that for the whole of Hong Kong. The age-structural characteristics of Kwun Tong's population do not differ from the overall Hong Kong ones.

"Place of origin" characteristic in Kwun Tong differs slightly from that of the Hong Kong general population. Comparing with 1971 census figures (the most recent), results of our survey show higher proportion of those from Chiu Chow (21 per cent against 9.9 per cent) and lower proportion of those who claim Hong Kong as their origin (0.43 per cent versus 4.7 per cent). To a very slight degree, this reflects the selectivity of the population which moved to Kwun Tong. The over-representation of those of Chiu Chow origin is the result of the resettlement of squatter areas many of which were predominantly of Chiu Chow origin into Group B estates. Twenty-five per cent of Group B estate households are of Chiu Chow origin.

Selectivity of population characteristics is most distinct in terms of education, occupation and income. These three characteristics are inter-related and because public housing is designed for those in the lower income group, the Kwun Tong population differs significantly from the overall Hong Kong

population in these aspects. Only 18 per cent of all male household heads in the sample had completed high school or higher education. Within Kwun Tong, the difference between those residing in private housing and those in public housing is very sharp. Among heads of households in the private sector, 54 per cent had high school or higher education; this contrasts with only 12 per cent among those in the public sector.

Occupation differentiation is similarly sharp between those in the private and the public housing sectors. Unemployment is 5.7 per cent among heads of households in the public housing estates and only 1.2 per cent among those in the private ones. The following table shows the difference between the two groups.

Table 14:

Occupation Distribution of Heads of Households
by Types of Dwelling, 1975 survey

Broad Category of Occupation	Private (%)	Public (%)
Professionals	6.8	0.2
Clerks	31.6	8.0
Skilled	9.9	7.7
Machine Operators	23.9	36.8
Unskilled	4.6	19.2
High level services	11.4	1.6
Low level services	11.8	26.5
All categories	100.0	100.0

The proportions in lower occupations such as the unskilled, machine operators and low level services are significantly higher among those in the public sector than among those in the private sector; consequently, the opposite is true for higher occupations. Household income follows this general pattern. Over 60 per cent of private households earn more than HK\$2,000 a month, while only 15 per cent of public housing households do so.

The general pattern of differentiation appears to be the settling of population of the lower classes, mainly working class, in public housing estates. Those in the private housing are of slightly higher classes many in the white collar occupations. However, the overall socio-economic status of the Kwun Tong population is generally of working class and corresponds to the economic structure of Kwun Tong as an industrial area.

Adaptation and Adjustment

A. Occupational Mobility

The concept of Kwun Tong as an industrial-residential new town includes the expectation that when people move into Kwun Tong, they will attempt to find jobs within Kwun Tong and minimise the need to commute to work. In an earlier section, it was already pointed out that about half of Kwun Tong's residents work outside Kwun Tong and that about half of those who work in Kwun Tong in fact come from outside. This creates severe demand for transportation and is reflected in the very congested roads leading into and out of Kwun Tong.

Our survey has also shown that change of jobs since moving into Kwun Tong is rare. Eighty-eight per cent of all households had no change in jobs since moving in, 10 per cent had one change and only 2 per cent had more than one change of job. Among those who had changed their jobs, the major reasons were "former employer's business declined" and "promotion to higher income". Only one person mentioned "inconvenient transportation" as the major reason for change of job. Apparently, location of work is not an important factor in the decision to change one's work in Kwun Tong. It is known that many heads

of households of Kwun Tong spend many nights a week away from home so that they can be close to their place of work. Harmonious relationship between employers and employees and among colleagues, and a sense of security in familiar surrounding appear to take precedence over location in the choice of jobs. The lack of choice in Kwun Tong, particularly in white collar work, also severely limits the possibility of successful job transfers for these workers.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that location of work is unimportant in all circumstances. Many young adults in Kwun Tong have found their first jobs in Kwun Tong's diverse industries.

Our survey data show extreme stability in occupational change, and much of these changes do not involve upward or downward occupational mobility. Retirement, changes from being employed to unemployed etc. are important categories of change.

Table 15

Occupational Stability (per cent no change) of
Heads of Households by Occupational Groups and
Types of Housing, 1975 Survey

Occupation at beginning of period	Before and immediately after moving to Kwun Tong		After moving to Kwun Tong and at time of survey	
	Private	Public	Private	Public
(Industries)	%	%	%	%
Manufacture	92	92	92	87
Construction	92	97	93	77
Commerce	90	91	100	86
Transp. Comm.	96	96	94	86
Services	95	89	93	94
All industries	92	91	93	85
(Occupations)				
Professionals	100	-	94	-
Clerks	97	88	97	83
Skilled	98	97	91	90
Machine Operators	89	93	97	88
Unskilled	87	90	80	83
High level service	94	86	91	90
Low level service	89	89	93	91
All occupations	93	91	94	87

Overall, occupational stability is more intense among those in private housing than among those in public housing. This is true both in the first period (at the time of moving into Kwun Tong), and in the second period (between then and at the time of our survey). Among those in private housing, occupational stability remains strong; but among those in public housing, the proportion of heads of households who changed their occupation increased since moving into Kwun Tong.

Classified by occupational groups, the rate of change is highest among unskilled workers in the construction industry. Machine operators and clerks are also less stable than skilled workers and those in the service industries. The high degree of stability among those in low level services is significant, and indicates the difficulties involved in moving from one occupational class to another. Although this is not a study designed to measure rates of occupational mobility, our analyses, so far, indicate very low level of intra-generation mobility. Unfortunately, no data are available on inter-generation mobility, but higher rates of mobility can be expected between generations because the younger ones now have more educational and occupational opportunities.

The fact that Kwun Tong could not provide appropriate and adequate opportunities for its residents could be considered a natural outcome of its development. As an industrial town, much of the work generated is of course industrial in nature. Residents of Kwun Tong searching for work other than those related to manufacturing would not find much opportunities there. On the other hand, Kwun Tong's population is mainly of the working class. Relatively poor-educated, this population does not provide a convenient pool from which high level management/ executive personalities could be found.

B. Income and Consumption

There has been a marked improvement in income earned by Kwun Tong households since they moved to Kwun Tong. Current median income is around HK\$2,000 a month for private housing households and HK\$1,300 for public housing households. A large part of the increase in income is, of course, the result of the continued prosperity of Hong Kong. The increase in income has not been accompanied by similar level of inflation; this represents, therefore, a real improvement in the standard of living. Another major reason for the rapid increase in household income is the increase in the number of

household members who work. As young children of Kwun Tong families grow to adulthood, they join the work force and their income becomes an important part of household earnings. Earlier research into the socio-economic support of high fertility in Hong Kong has shown that parents expect and receive a portion of their working children's income regularly, and this expectation is considered generally normal and justified (Choi, 1975).

Table 16

Proportion (%) of Households in which the Incomes of the Heads are less than Household Incomes, 1975 Survey

Monthly Household Income (\$HK)	Housing Types		Both Types
	Private	Public	
Less than 500	33	43	42
500-999	20	26	23
1000-1499	50	59	58
1500-1999	56	89	85
2000-2999	55	93	83
3000+	52	100	71
All Income	50	58	57

Generally, the higher the household income, the higher is the proportion of households in which the income of the head is less than the household income and the larger is the margin of this difference. Among those households which earned more than HK\$1,500 per month, more than 50 per cent of private households and more than 80 per cent of public households are of this type. The margin of this difference is considerable; household income is often double the income of the head alone.

Significant improvements in earnings are experienced among residents in both public and private households. The proportions of heads of households who improved their income when they moved to Kwun Tong are around 24 per cent and 15 per cent for private and public households respectively. But during the period since they moved to Kwun Tong, these proportions are 30 per cent and 38 per cent respectively for the two groups. Only a few household heads had a decrease in income and many were people who were the retired at the time of interview. If income of the entire household is considered, the proportions of households which experienced an improvement are 39 per cent and 59 per cent respectively.

Respondents of our survey were asked the proportion of household expenditure supported by the head alone. Results show that about 25, 30 per cent of household heads support less than half of the total household expenditure.

Table 17

Proportion (%) of Household Expenditure supported by the Head alone by Housing Type, 1975 Survey

Proportion supported by Head alone	Before moving to Kwun Tong	Immediately after moving to Kwun Tong	At time of survey
	<u>Private Housing</u>		
Nil	8.5	8.6	10.2
25%	1.5	1.2	3.3
26-50%	13.8	15.7	17.7
51-75%	12.7	13.9	13.8
76-90%	6.8	8.6	8.4
91-100%	56.8	51.6	46.6
	<u>Public Housing</u>		
Nil	6.3	8.6	12.2
25%	1.6	2.0	4.0
26-50%	9.4	10.9	19.4
51-75%	7.3	10.3	13.2
76-90%	7.6	9.7	14.8
91-100%	67.9	58.4	36.5

The decrease in importance of the head is more marked in the public housing group than in the private housing group. At the time of survey, only 36.5 per cent of public housing heads provided total or near total support in relation to household expenditure.

This decline in the number of single bread-earner households is also evident in a household expenditure survey conducted by the Census and Statistics Department of the Hong Kong Government. This survey, which was conducted in 1972/73, shows that the average number of income earners in a household was 2.0 while the average number of persons in a household was 5.4 (Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, October 1974, pp. 52-53). It is certain that the average number of income earners in public housing households would be significantly larger than that in private housing households.

Public and private housing households differ not only in income pattern but also in expenditure pattern. This is expected because public housing costs much less than private housing, but the difference is also because of a difference in the level of spending. In general, public households spend less. According to the Government expenditure survey, 57.4 per cent of private households spend between HK\$1,500 - 3,000

per month in contrast to 35.9 per cent of public households.

Data from our survey show that the proportion of expenditure in housing among private households is twice more than that among public ones. Public housing assistance substantially lowers housing costs; more than 95 per cent spent less than 20 per cent of their total expenditure on housing.

Table 18

Proportion (%) of Expenditure spent on Housing and Food by Housing Type, 1975 Survey

Proportion spent	Private		Public	
	Food	Housing	Food	Housing
Less than 10%	0.7	26.8	-	66.0
10-19%	6.9	23.2	1.6	29.4
20-29%	18.1	24.8	5.0	3.0
30-39%	27.8	16.1	11.5	0.6
40-49%	22.9	6.9	23.5	0.2
50-59%	17.1	2.0	31.9	0.6
60%+	6.5	0.2	26.5	0.2
All Proportions	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average % spent	38%	21%	52%	9%

Food of all types, is a main item in expenditure (38 per cent among private households and 52 per cent among public households). It appears that the lower the household income, the higher is the proportion spent on food. This is consistent with international comparisons and is also indicated in the Government's 1972/73 survey. Among households earning less than HK\$1,500 a month, 56.6 per cent of their expenditure is on food; this proportion is even higher (63.1 per cent) among public households of the same income category.

There appears to be very little difference in the household expenditure pattern before and after moving into Kwun Tong. The moving into Kwun Tong public housing estates from the private sector has usually meant a change from poor make-shift accommodation to a somewhat permanent dwelling unit which offers the basic amenities such as water and electricity. In many cases, this has meant a change from paying no rent (squatters and roof-top residents etc.) to the payment of a small monthly rent (between \$100 - \$200 a month). For those who moved to a private residential unit in Kwun Tong, there is often a small improvement in housing standard, for example, from sharing a flat to occupying a complete unit, or to home ownership. In many of these cases, the

rent or repayment of mortgage requires a larger outlay of expenditure than before. In both types of households, only a very small proportion experienced a drop in housing expenditure when they moved to Kwun Tong. Fifty-seven per cent of all households experienced an increase in housing expenditure when they made the move to Kwun Tong and only 11 per cent claimed that there was a decrease.

Between the time of movement into Kwun Tong and the time of the survey, 74 per cent felt that there was a further increase in housing expenditure. This is mainly the result of slight increases in public housing rent. Twenty-two per cent felt that there was no change in housing costs and two per cent said that there was an actual decline. But answers to a direct question about whether or not the increased housing costs were "worthwhile" indicate that many households were willing to pay higher housing costs because their housing standards had improved, even if more improvements need to be made. Among private households, 90 per cent now felt that their present housing costs were worthwhile in contrast to 78 per cent who thought the same way about their previous housing costs. Among public households, these proportions are 87 per cent and 81 per cent respectively.

Food costs have risen gradually and continuously in recent years and this is reflected in the overwhelming agreement that their food budgets had risen. Much of these increase in housing and food costs were met by the general rise in household income, not significantly in terms of the increase of the household heads' income, but rather in terms of an increase in the number of income-earners in a household. There is certainly a general improvement in the standard of living in all aspects of livelihood, and this is particularly the case among public households which are greatly assisted by the cheaper rent.

C. Quality of Life and the Neighbourhood

The improvement in the standard of living is reflected in almost all items about the quality of life. The following table shows the contrast between livelihood before and after moving into Kwun Tong.

Table 19

Proportion (%) of Households who were satisfied with several main aspects of Life before and after moving to Kwun Tong, 1975 Survey

Satisfied with	Private		Public	
	Before	After	Before	After
1. Living Space	29	61	21	37
2. Kitchen	31	69	17	47
3. Supply of Consumer Goods	71	77	71	81
4. External Environment	38	58	37	50
5. Fresh Air	37	55	39	64
6. Garbage Disposal	50	69	29	59
7. Community Services	44	61	35	63
8. Youth Recreation	34	45	22	60
9. Adult Recreation	23	16	25	33
10. Transport (Work)	66	68	66	65
11. Transport (School)	73	74	72	78

Improvements in living space and kitchen facilities were more markedly felt among private households than among public households. Although there had been some improvements, only less than half of public households felt that these two essential aspects were adequate. This indicates the continued congestion

and overcrowding in public housing and that more improvements are necessary. Although it is obviously difficult to ascertain the level of demand in terms of space and other household facilities, it is likely that the desired levels would not be great given the extreme congestion which had long been experienced by these households before they moved to the public housing estates.

As it is now, public housing units do not provide separate rooms, and the whole family lives in one room, sometimes having their beds separated by screens, sometimes without any separation. Double-decked beds are ubiquitous. There is no privacy at all in these units. Plans in some newer public housing estates (not in Kwun Tong) include rooms, but these are not available in any quantity and are a great deal more expensive in rent. Cooking is done in the narrow balcony which contains also the toilet, and this is one of the main reasons for the complain about inadequate kitchen facilities in public housing estates. Nevertheless, this arrangement is already considered by many as an improvement over the past.

Improvements are also felt in respect to the three items on the environment - shops, external environment and fresh air. These are more strongly felt among public housing estates where prior planning provides shopping facilities and adequate air flow between blocks of units.

Community facilities are similarly better provided in public housing estates than in private housing buildings, although garbage disposal remains a major problem for both. As we shall see in a subsequent section, many community organizations are established in public housing estates rather than in the private sector.

There is not enough improvement in transportation to work and to school; facilities for recreation such as playgrounds etc. are lacking. A large proportion of private households actually felt that adult recreation facilities are now less adequate compared with before.

There are a number of regulations which restrict or control the use of public housing units. They relate to restrictions about alteration of internal fittings, changes in the number of residents in the unit etc. Although a significant proportion of households expressed the desire that flexibility be

allowed in relation to the improvement (internal) of their dwelling units, the majority either approved of these restrictions or felt that some regulations were necessary. This expression of partial agreement is partly a reflection of the feeling of satisfaction in the overall improvement of housing standard (compared with the past) and partly the high level of tolerance among people who are accustomed to crowded living environment.

Table 20

Opinion of Respondents about Restrictive Regulations in Public Housing Estates

Regulations	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)
1. No alteration in internal fittings	27	39	34
2. Need permission to change household size	33	29	38
3. Government has right to increase rent	58	30	12
4. Government has right to inspect units	15	43	42
5. Repainting of units restricted	27	47	26
6. No pets	12	16	72
7. No charcoal/ firewood	5	17	78
8. No sub-renting	4	22	74

The items which are agreed upon by most respondents are mainly those concerned with sub-letting of their units and with the hygienic conditions of their buildings - regulations regarding the keeping of pets, the use of charcoal/firewood etc. Even the periodic revision (increase) of rents is accepted by almost half of the respondents as a legitimate responsibility of the government. This high level of acceptance or tolerance of regulations is indicative of the understanding among residents that such regulations are necessary in high density public housing.

The general level of satisfaction among residents regarding their dwelling units is shown by the large majority who have little desire to move out of their present units. Among private households, 81 per cent, and among public households, 85 per cent expressed little desire to move out. Low rent and the possibility of getting even smaller units at present cost are the main reasons for staying - 30 per cent among private households and 50 per cent among public ones. Another important reason is that they are accustomed to the present dwelling environment.

While material environment has certainly improved, this is not so with neighbourhood relations. Satisfactory neighbourhood relations were felt by only a small proportion of households. This proportion was higher before they moved to Kwun Tong.

Table 21

Proportion (%) of Households who claimed improvement in Neighbourhood Relations

Items	Private		Public	
	Before	After	Before	After
1. Neighbourhood Harmony	77	74	84	85
2. Visit Relatives	69	61	64	58
3. Visit Friends	69	62	54	60
4. Neighbourhood Greetings	78	73	92	92
5. Help from Neighbours	18	11	23	20
6. Ease in borrowing Small Money	80	54	94	85
7. Sharing Concerns	47	36	55	53

Part of the reason for the lack of improvement in neighbourhood relations among public housing could be explained in terms of policies regarding allocation of public housing units. While in many

cases, whole areas (e.g. squatter villages) were resettled in one particular public housing estate and therefore old neighbourhood relations remain strong; there were also many individual households who were individually allocated available units among other unfamiliar households. It would take time before these new neighbours develop cordial relationships. If their background and former experiences are different, intimate neighbourhood relations may be slow to develop. In the case of public households, there is a slight improvement in neighbourhood harmony but a lower proportion felt at ease in obtaining help or borrowing small sums of money.

Among private households, there is a general decline in the proportion who claimed improvement in neighbourhood relations in terms of all items. This could reflect not only the recency of their movement into Kwun Tong but also the lesser need for neighbourliness in an industrial society. Irrespective of the type of housing, residents tend to keep their old friendship rather than create new ones in their new place of residence.

VI

The Kwun Tong Community

A. Formal Organizations

brief investigation into the family and individual life of Kwun Tong residents shows the great concentration of most social activities within the household/family. The most important pastime for both private and public households is the nightly television. Almost every family in Hong Kong owns a television, a great majority own the colour variety. Five television channels provide numerous types of entertainment ranging from classical Chinese opera folk stories, comics, to Western modern music and dances. Fifty-five per cent of all respondents ranked television as the most frequent pastime, while 15 per cent mentioned no particular single pastime which occupied their leisure hours. The lesser pastimes such as playing mahjong, window shopping etc. were mentioned by only a small minority of the respondents. Much of the television viewing and mahjong playing are of course done at home. The lack of recreational facilities for both adults and the young could possibly be one of the reasons, but this could also simply be the great attraction of television. Picnics/swimming in the summer are important for the young, but the adult generation

often spend much of their leisure time at home. Visiting friends and neighbours has become less frequent since the households moved to Kwun Tong, and travelling to the main build-up areas for recreation is even less frequent. Only 5 per cent of respondents said that they had significant contacts with their neighbours in terms of recreation.

It appears that community activities are rare and insignificant, and this has unexpectedly given the numerous community organizations now established in Kwun Tong to provide the venue for such neighbourhood/community interactions.

A comprehensive survey of social welfare, religions and civic organizations in Kwun Tong was carried out by the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1971 and the results show that most of these were sponsored by government or other outside organizations. Although they are designed to serve the Kwun Tong community, they are very much controlled and regulated by their headquarters located outside of Kwun Tong and involve little local initiation.

Analyses of the main types of formal organizations are shown below:

1. Productive Organizations (Factories)

Industries in Kwun Tong depend much on outside investments, foreign market and imported raw materials. On the input side, 93.8% of factories are under the control of Hong Kong consortiums and investments are not originated in Kwun Tong. 46% of machinery in Kwun Tong factories are imported from foreign countries, as well as 74% of input materials. Among the remaining (16%) raw materials or semi-finished products, 13.6% come from other districts of Hong Kong; only 2.4% are supplied by sources in Kwun Tong residents - most of them being skilled workers or labourers. On the output side, it is impossible to estimate the percentage of industrial products being exported because of the variation in forms and types of industry. However, textiles, wearing apparels, plastic products, fabricative metal products and other manufacturing industries account for 70% of the Kwun Tong total production in terms of number of employees. The products of these major types of industries in Kwun Tong are mainly for exportation, only a small proportion is consumed in Kwun Tong.

Kwun Tong depends on the exterior world on both the input and output sides; it is rather a functional and inseparable part of the Hong Kong

industrial society than an independent industrial community.

2. Health Organizations

Medical facilities (doctors, nurses and hospital etc.) are provided mainly from outside of Kwun Tong. Many Kwun Tong Western doctors live outside of Kwun Tong and have another practice located in other areas. They spend only part of the day or certain days in a week in their Kwun Tong practice. Chinese herbalists, however, are mainly residents in Kwun Tong and serve solely the residents of Kwun Tong. There is one major hospital in Kwun Tong - the United Christian Hospital with 560 beds. Much of the construction and running cost of the hospital was raised from outside of Kwun Tong (the Government, the Jockey Club and overseas donations). Kwun Tong contributions are a very small part of the total cost of the hospital.

3. Social Welfare Organizations

A fairly exhaustive survey of social welfare agencies in Kwun Tong shows that these agencies are mostly sponsored by Government, religious or voluntary bodies. Ninety-one per cent have originated outside of Kwun Tong, and their financial resources have come primarily from outside, with only 12.9% from local donations. Decision making and recruitment of

personnel are mainly handled by the headquarters or committee members of whom almost 90% are residing outside Kwun Tong. However, the services provided by these social welfare organizations are almost 100% for the clients living in Kwun Tong. What these data suggest is that, the social welfare organizations, as seen from the input side, are heavily dependent upon the outside, while, when seen from the output side, they are oriented towards Kwun Tong clients.

4. Religious Organizations

A religious organization survey in 1972 found that only 11 per cent of them are independent while 87 per cent are branches of various religious bodies in Hong Kong or abroad. About one-third of Kwun Tong's religious organizations depend on local members' donations while the rest are dependent of their headquarters or government for financial support.

These organizations are places of worship for the local population although only a minority of Kwun Tong residents are regular attendants, Kwun Tong religious organizations also sponsor other activities such as social functions, welfare services, education, health care centres etc., the most important one being education, particularly kindergartens and primary schools.

Activities sponsored by these organizations are mainly for residents of Kwun Tong, 92.4 per cent of all participants are Kwun Tong residents.

5. Political Organizations

Kwun Tong is an administrative district of Hong Kong; it is not a local government area. All major government departments have branch offices in Kwun Tong since 1963. These branch offices are field administrative units of the Hong Kong Government. The Kwun Tong City District Office came into existence in 1968 but did not have its own office in Kwun Tong till February 1969. According to the City District Officer Scheme originated by the Secretary for Home Affairs in 1968, the purpose of this scheme is "to provide the public with a local manifestation of the Government". The City District Office is a multi-functional bureaucracy of which the primary responsibility is politically to bridge the gap of communication between the Government and the local citizens, and administratively to coordinate the fragmented field units on a geographically-based area.

Almost without exception, in all government organizations, the personnel and financial resources are recruited and provided by the central government; the major decisions are also made outside Kwun Tong,

although the local field agencies have often actively participated in the process of decision-making of particular issues. It is true that the Kwun Tong political institutional system means more than just government organizations. However, because other non-governmental political organizations, such as Kaifong associations, industrial organizations, trade unions, and traditional district organizations, lack either political interests or organizational capacity, the government is unquestionably the predominant political organization. More specifically, the major political functions, such as interest articulation and political communication, are primarily provided, though not monopolized, by the Government. The political community of Kwun Tong is, from any point of view, a partial system subordinating to the Hong Kong Colonial Administration.

6. Civic Organizations

The civic organizations are those voluntary organizations, such as Kaifong and multi-storied building associations. Among these civic organizations, Kaifong is the most known and probably the most active one. These kinds of organizations are of intermediate nature, working between the government authorities and the people. Officials of these organizations

are all honorary, most of them are celebrities in Kwun Tong or in other parts of Hong Kong whose donations make up 2/3 of the revenue of the associations.

The associations are run by the executive committees which comprise of one chairman, several vice-chairmen, and committee members. All chairmen and top committee members either live or work inside Kwun Tong. Nearly all the members are residents of Kwun Tong, whose membership fees contribute another 1/3 of the revenue of the associations.

Multi-storied building associations are another kind of civic organizations somewhat peculiar to Hong Kong society. Their major function is to take care of the management and maintenance of the buildings. However, they have the potential to be developed as socio-political grass-root action units in the urban setting, although they are far from being active because of the lack of professional staff and resources. In principle, all residents and owners of multi-storied buildings are members of the associations; and the establishment of each association usually follows the occupancy of the building. By 1971 there were 24 such associations.

7. Mutual Aid Committees

The origin of Mutual Aid Committee (MAC) is relatively recent; they are initially motivated by City District Offices (a government agency) in 1973 to organize for the prevention of violent crimes and for keeping the buildings and surroundings clean. MACs are administered under City District Offices, but unlike the Kaifong and multi-storied building associations, are not registered under the Registration Ordinance and therefore do not have similar legal status.

Member households of a private residential building and of public housing estate "block" can form MACs. The establishment of early MACs was promoted and assisted by City District Officers, but later ones were mainly established at the residents' own initiatives. In the period 1973 to 1976, about 2,000 MACs have been established in the whole of Hong Kong, and Kwun Tong has 267 of them, covering almost 95 per cent of the total Kwun Tong population.

The stated aims of MACs are limited:

1. Improve the security against crimes
2. Maintain cleanliness.
3. Improve the management of the buildings.

But actual functions also include the provision of recreational activities and other community services.

Costs are met by fees collected from resident households. Every household, by definition, is automatically a member of the MAC, but the collection of fees remains a difficult job for these committees.

During the three years since their establishment, MACs mushroomed and spreaded; the issues of violent crimes and cleanliness were of top urgency in Hong Kong's high rise apartment buildings. In the public housing estates, vigilance teams were formed under MACs to patrol during the evening; and in private buildings, security gates were fitted and night watchmen were employed. Buildings and grounds were kept clean by volunteers. These two major functions were carried out with much enthusiasm and the MACs were fully supported by the residents.

To a certain degree, some sense of community spirit and feelings of belonging were fostered in the process of promoting MACs. In many cases, the functions of Kaifong and multi-storied building associations were performed by MACs, and there were obvious cases of overlapping leadership between these organizations. But it is still early to see if MACs can further expand their activities to cover other traditional functional areas of other civic organizations.

B. Kwun Tong as a Community

The above description of Kwun Tong's formal organizations shows that much of community organization work have been externally initiated and supported. Local motivation for organization ha been weak. The linkages between organizations, either through financial arrangements, organizational net-work or personnel overlap, are either weak or non-existing.

In our survey, we asked respondents to identify three persons whom they considered leaders in Kwun Tong and to name three organizations in which these leaders worked. Results show that very few (5%) were able to name either one leader or one organization correctly. The majority (95%) were not able to identify any leader and his organization. This vagueness about Kwun Tong's organizational structures is further illustrated when only 12.1 per cent thought that there would be many potential Kwun Tong leaders able to organize the residents in case of emergency. Ninety-five per cent of respondents said that they had never or rarely participated in community activities and 96 per cent had little knowledge of the developmental history of Kwun Tong.

This attitude of indifference to Kwun Tong is closely related to and consequential of the wide activity sphere of its residents. The conclusion drawn from an extensive survey of activities of Kwun Tong residents was that they relate more to areas outside Kwun Tong than within Kwun Tong. Thus,

".... intra-Kwun Tong social communication flows, such as telephone traffic, interchange of working population, and transportation are not as frequent and important as the social communication flows between Kwun Tong and other parts of the Colony. Furthermore, the input-output analysis of major institutional systems shows fairly consistently that almost all of them are heavily dependent upon the outside for supply of personnel, financial resources or raw material. What these data indicate is that Kwun Tong as a geographic area has no marked discontinuity of social communication flows and institutional transactions from outside, thus making no relative separateness or boundaries between Kwun Tong and other parts of Hong Kong. Moreover, people who move to Kwun Tong as a place to live are primarily provided by

push factors rather than by their own choice. Statistics show a low identification of residents of Kwun Tong with the place they live. Roughly speaking, Kwun Tong has no clear socio-psychological boundaries of its own. It is rather a functional part of the Hong Kong metropolitan city than a community."

(A. King and Y.K. Chan, 1972, p. 32)

Residents of Kwun Tong do not see themselves as being distinct from those of other areas of Hong Kong. When asked to compare the social status and money income of Kwun Tong residents with others, about half could not give any answer and another 25 per cent said they were similar. Only a small proportion (10 per cent) said they were generally poorer and of slightly lower social status.

Several implications can be drawn from the above analysis:

1. Although some residents have been residing in Kwun Tong for a relatively long period of time (some over 15 years), many are new in the community. This recentness has not provided them with enough time for the development of a "community consciousness".

2. While the above is, at least, partly true, the lack of community participation is nevertheless an obvious result of the failure of local organizations to attract local support. This failure is not merely because of the "neutrality" or indifference of the residents, but should also be interpreted as a result of the large scale entry of external organizations which fulfil many of the community requirements.
3. Kwun Tong, as an industrial new town, is necessarily a functional part of Hong Kong, and as such it is difficult to develop an identity of its own. There is no historical uniqueness about Kwun Tong and there is no common point of reference to which Kwun Tong residents can identify themselves with.
4. Although Kwun Tong can be described as a poorer section of Hong Kong, and perhaps of lower social status, this is common to many other parts of Hong Kong; Kwun Tong cannot be identified as a particularly deprived area.

5. Given the above, whatever effort and policies on the part of the Government or other organizations to create a sense of community spirit will face great difficulties.

The conclusions reached in the Chinese University Survey of Kwun Tong's organizations and activities remain applicable today.

VII

Conclusion

This has been a report on Kwun Tong New Town -- the first of Hong Kong's large scale experiments in new town and public housing development. The report has concentrated on the effect of housing policy on the movement of population and on the formation of the Kwun Tong community.

Almost 50 per cent of Hong Kong's present 4 million population live in public housing estates and a large proportion of public housing are constructed as part of new town development in Kwun Tong, Kwai Chung and Tsuen Wan. More new towns are being developed in the New Territories and new town population will eventually be about 25 per cent of the total Hong Kong population.

The role which public housing and new towns play in the economic and social life of Hong Kong's population cannot be over-estimated. The future distribution of population and industries is nearly totally dependent on the location of public housing and new towns, thus influencing transportation, land use and other economic developments in the regions affected by these new towns. Social and family life too will be greatly influenced by the type of physical

environment in these public housing estates and the facilities provided in the new towns. The Kwun Tong study gives us some clues as to what life in Hong Kong's new towns would be like if present policies continue.

It is beyond doubt that public housing in Kwun Tong is a great improvement over the shabby squatter huts and congested tenement flats which many Hong Kong residents have to be contended with. Although critics can rank Hong Kong's public housing as "primitive" by most "objective" standards, there is nevertheless some indication of satisfaction from Kwun Tong's public housing residents.

There are, however, several emerging problems:

1. With children now growing to adulthood, extreme congestion and transportation problems have caused many adult children as well as male heads to spend several nights a week away from home. In some households, this has meant early separation of adult children from the family before they are married; and in other households, this has meant the regular absence of the father from the family.

This, together with the increasing rate of entry into the labour force for adult children and women, will have important influence on the Hong Kong family.

2. Present housing policy accepts applications for public housing from families and not from individuals. Adult children reaching marriageable age will need to move away from public housing and to "return" to private housing upon marriage. This results in a migration cycle involving 2 generations - the parents generation moving from the private housing sector to the public, usually from old build-up areas to newly developed areas, and the children generation making the return moves, although private buildings in the old build-up areas may now be re-developed.
3. As the standard of living slowly rises, there will also be a rise in the level of demand concerning space and the quality of dwelling units. What is being offered at present is perhaps adequate now, especially when they are compared with the past, but the level of tolerance

among residents in regard to space and quality of their units may not continue for long. This problem will become specially acute if the private housing sector shows rapid improvements. In the recent one or two years, there has been substantial upgrade of private housing qualities and this can be expected to continue. It is perhaps reasonable to expect those who become dissatisfied with public housing to move out to private ones. But this could lead to the gradual stratification of the society into two layers - the wealthy ones living in private residential buildings and the poor in public housing. This is not the situation now, and should not be in the future. It is important to improve the quality of public housing, even though this may imply an increase in rent. Given the increased income and the very low proportion of expenditure spent on public housing, it is reasonable to assume that those residing in public housing units are willing to pay slightly more for better accommodation.

4. The story of Kwun Tong has indicated that a "community" consciousness/spirit has not developed inspite of efforts on the part of social organizations and the Government. The lack of local initiatives for organization and the non-existence of local leadership are perhaps ~~other reasons~~, but the necessary functional relationship between Kwun Tong and other parts of Hong Kong makes the emergence of a separate identity difficult. The development of primary relationship in an industrial society is often not based on residential proximity; Kwun Tong is not an exception, and neither can other Hong Kong new towns be expected to be so. But certain improvements can be made in the provision of employment, education and recreation so that commuting for these activities can be minimized.

Kwun Tong is a city in itself, if only in terms of population size. If Kwun Tong is administered as a city, various economic and social policies would be co-ordinated as much as possible. There is a case for Hong Kong to establish "regional" administration units (or New Town administrations)

in its governmental structure so that policies concerning housing, industry, transport, education etc. can be co-ordinated for the benefit of the regions. Perhaps, Kwun Tong, being near the main build-up areas, is not suitable for separate administration, but other new towns would benefit from the experience of Kwun Tong.

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Appendix I

The Survey Methodology

A. Preparation

A preliminary questionnaire of the survey was drafted in the spring of 1975. Two pretests (about 50 cases for each) were carried out in the summer of 1975 by our research assistants, for the purpose of modifying the preliminary questionnaire and the method of approaching the respondents under study. The final version of the survey questionnaire with about 200 questions and lasting for approximately 45 minutes for each interview, was constructed in October 1975. By that time, permission was also granted by the Housing Department and the Hong Kong Housing Society to interview dwellers in public housing estates.

Eighty fieldworkers/interviewers were recruited from among social sciences students at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. A series of training sessions were given to these student-interviewers in December 1975. They were informed about the nature and scope of the study, and were trained with the appropriate techniques of interviewing in the Hong Kong setting. After the training sessions, each student-interviewer was asked to carry out four

interviews. . More assignments were given to those whose performance in these four interviews were satisfactory. To facilitate the administration of the survey, which included the organization of interviewers, editing and cross-checking of completed questions, etc., staff were stationed at the Kwun Tong Christian Family Service Centre during the survey period (December 1975 to February 1976).

Prior to the survey, letters explaining the nature and purpose of the survey were sent to eligible respondents selected in our sample to solicit cooperation.

B. The Sample

A sample of housing units covering both private and public housing was drawn. Included in this sample were (a) private apartments and tenements; (b) group A public housing estates (formerly Government Low Cost Housing estates and Housing Authority estates) and Housing Society estates; and (c) group B public housing estates (formerly Resettlement estates). These housing types account for over 95% of all housing units in Kwun Tong. Taking interviewing expenditure and tolerable bias into account, we estimated that about 1,200 completed interviews would

be reasonable for the survey. Since precision in population sub-divisions was necessary, sampling by stratification was most preferable and was actually employed. Housing type and location (sub-area) were used as criteria for stratification; they are important variables in the study.

Below is a brief technical description of the sample:-

Element:

Households with married couple or member(s) ever married.

Interviews were conducted either with the household head or with his/her spouse.

Sample units:

Housing units (census definition: living quarters) flats, in private housing (apartment or tenement)

Units, in public housing

In private housing, more than one household might be found in one housing unit. In such case, the interviewer selected that household a member of which happened to open the door. The total number of households dwelling in that unit was noted.

Criteria for stratification:

Housing type and location (sub-area).

Sample frame:

Clusters of housing units (a block in public housing estates and the whole building in private housing) were first selected. Housing units of the needed number were then drawn randomly (Table A).

C. Procedure and Response

The survey began in mid-December, 1975, when addresses of sample housing units were given to interviewers. The total number of addresses given out exceeded the number of households needed for the survey because we expected a unsuccessful rate of 30% according to past experiences based on previous surveys undertaken by the Social Research Centre. As all student interviewers worked only on a part-time basis, and mostly during weekends, the survey was not completed until mid-March. The response rate was 71.8%. Among the remaining 28.2%, most were refusal cases (11.2%) and not-at-homes after at least three calls at different times of the day (9.2%). The other unsuccessful cases included incompletions, non-samples, demolitions, etc. (Please see Table B). Eligible respondents in public

housing estates were generally more willing to respond to the interview and those in private housing were more reluctant (response rates were 81.5%, 76.4% and 65.8% for group A public housing, group B public housing, and private housing, respectively).

D. Data Processing

Coding of the completed questionnaires began in April 1976, and was completed at the end of May. Validation of data commenced as soon as the coded questionnaires were transcribed onto code sheets. The code range for each variable was defined and a computer program for range check was prepared. A total of 12,930 punched cards were delivered to the computer for range check in June. The result showed that some of the variable ranges were wrongly defined and that there were some coding and punching errors. The errors were corrected and the data were ready for analysis in mid-July. By the end of July, marginal distributions of each variable were prepared. A data book was compiled by October 1976.

Table A

Total Population and Sampled Population
by Housing Type

Housing Type	No. of Estates	No. of Blocks (1)	No. of Housing Units	No. of Blocks drawn	No. of Housing Units drawn (2)
Group A Public Housing	6	57	20,615	8	233
Group B Public Housing	6	144	64,564	11	733
Private Housing	-	144	14,833	21	1,005
Total	12	345	100,012	40	1,971

(1) Blocks in both public and private housing all contain unequal number of housing units.

(2) More housing units than required were drawn as non-response was expected and a supplementary list of sample units was needed.

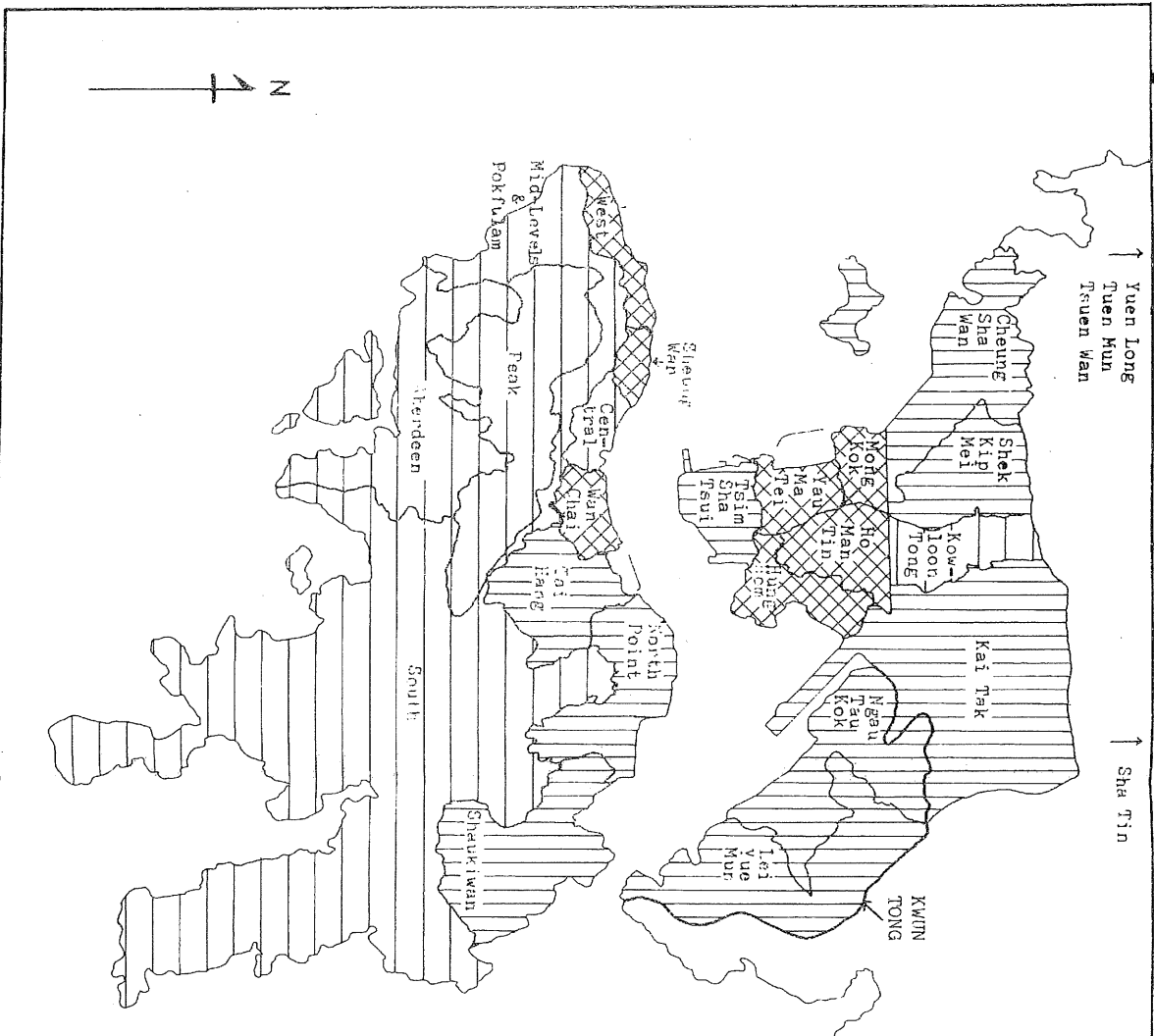
* Sampling fractions are approximately 1/112 for Group A, 1/88 for Group B public housing units and 1/15 for private dwellings.




Table B

Successful and Unsuccessful Cases by Housing Type

Housing Type	Address of Housing Units Given out	Returns						Successful rate (%)
		Completed interviews	Incompleted interviews	Not-at-home after 3 calls	Refusal	Non-sample demolitions		
Group A Public Housing	232	189	-	12	17	14	81.5	
Group B Public Housing	686	524	5	62	54	41	76.4	
Private Housing	882	580	4	92	131	75	65.8	
Total	1,800	1,293	9	166	202	130	71.8	

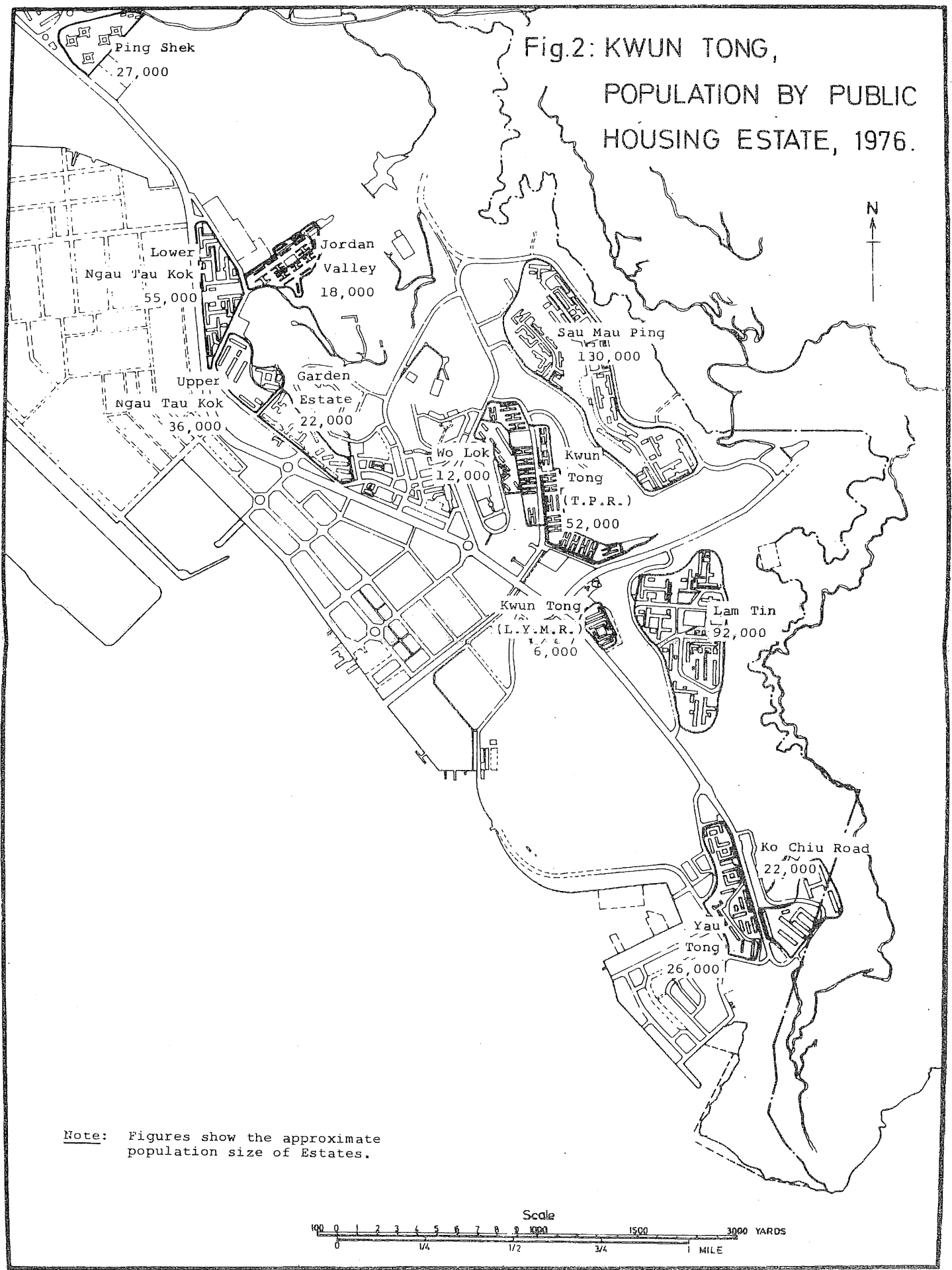
Fig. 1 : HONG KONG, POPULATION DENSITY BY CENSUS DISTRICT, 1976.



LEGEND		
	> 50,000 persons/sq. km.	
	25,000 - 50,000 persons/sq. km.	
	< 25,000 persons/sq. km.	
Census Area/District	No. of Persons (in thousands)	Persons per sq. km.
HONG KONG ISLAND		
Central	17	16.2
Shoung Wan	56	80.7
West	146	96.0
Mid-levels & Pokfulam	54	10.7
Peak	8	0.9
War Chai	126	99.8
Tai Hang	102	28.7
North Point	193	47.8
Shaukiwan	161	29.5
Aberdeen	141	17.0
South	22	0.6
KOWLOON		
Tsui Sha Teui	57	29.4
Yau Ho Tei	182	117.6
Mong Kok	160	144.3
Hung Hom	214	110.6
Ho Nan Tin	135	55.7
NEW LOWLOON		
Cheung Sha Wan	278	47.6
Shek Kip Mei	173	48.9
Kowloon Tong	27	10.8
Kai Tak	566	40.7
Ngau Tau Kok	244	48.4
Lei Yue Mun	331	32.6
NEW TERRITORIES		
Tsuen Wan New Town	449	18.6
Tuen Mun New Town	33	2.1
Yuen Long Township	39	35.0
Sha Tin New Town	37	2.7

SOURCE
Census & Statistics Department, "1976 By-Census: Basic Facts," Hong Kong, 1976, p. 3. (MimeoGraphed.)

Fig.2: KWUN TONG,
POPULATION BY PUBLIC
HOUSING ESTATE, 1976.



Note: Figures show the approximate population size of Estates.