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A Theoretical and Operational  
Definition of Community:  
The Case of Kwun Tong

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OF COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF KWUN TONG

by

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## A Theoretical and Operational Definition of Community: The Case of Kwun Tong

### I. Objectives

This paper aims at first constructing a definition, both conceptual and operational, of "community." Against such a definition, we shall examine in what sense and to what extent Kwun Tong can be called a community. On the basis of available data pertaining to this community, we shall also attempt to predict the future development of Kwun Tong.

Our interest is an attempt not to work out a universal definition of community, but rather to define and designate the type of community we are studying. It is believed that without a clear understanding of what type of community Kwun Tong is, any study we undertake in Kwun Tong can hardly make any general propositions, thus inevitably leading to an idiographic analysis. Consequently, defining the nature and type of community to which Kwun Tong belongs is of prime importance for the whole Kwun Tong Industrial Community Research Programme\*

### II. Theoretical Definition of Community

We do not know how many definitions have been given to the term community, but we know for certain that there has been no universal definition. One social scientist writes: "The term community has been used in referring to stable, small, autonomous, largely self-contained units, such as colonies of pioneer settlers, primitive tribes, villages, and immigrant areas. Again the same term has been used to designate large, complex, interdependent urban areas -- such as Manhattan or Harlem; or highly specialized and subsidiary areas, such as a 'Gold Coast' or a 'ghetto community.' We also find towns called communities, and cities or 'great metropolises' called communities."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, 4th Edition. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p.514.

From this, one can find how vague the term community is used. The term community should be abandoned unless a more analytically precise and methodologically operationable meaning is given. The vagueness of the term community is probably primarily due to the fact that every social scientist is inclined to define it from his own discipline's vantage point of view. As a matter of fact, human ecologists have used the concept of natural area as the frame of reference for studying community; and for anthropologists, the concept of culture; for economic geographers, the concept of market area; for the student of language, the concept of speech pattern, etc. It seems to us that a most integrated view of community comes from sociologists. Sociologists do indeed consider community as one of the major subjects for study. Among sociologists, Ferdinand Toennies is probably the first one who has given the term community a systemic thinking. Toennies uses it to refer to a highly integrated, intimate group of people living together.<sup>2</sup> According to Kingsley Davis, a community is "the smallest territorial group that can embrace all aspects of social life." Davis' view is that to be a community two criteria must be satisfied: one is physical criterion, that is, territorial proximity; he writes, "In short, although the form of the community varies from one society to another, there is always a community which utilizes in its social structure the possibilities of territorial proximity." The other is social criterion, that is, social completeness. He argues, "the community cannot be partial, cannot be identified with any particular institution or group by which it is constituted, for it consists precisely in the inter-institutional and inter-group connections that give to the whole its cohesion."<sup>3</sup> We are not going to quote all "significant" sociological definitions of community. Perhaps it is worthy to mention another rather recent one offered by Alex Inkeles. In Inkeles' words,

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2 F. Toennies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft; trans. C.P. Loomis, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (N.Y: American Book, 1949).

3 K. Davis, Human Society (N.Y: The Macmillan Co. 1949), pp.310-12.

"A community exists (1) when a set of households is relatively concentrated in a delimited geographical area; (2) their residents ~~exhibit~~ a substantial degree of integrated social interaction; and (3) have a sense of common membership, of belonging together which is not based exclusively on ties of consanguinity."<sup>4</sup>

Taking into account of the views of Toennies, Davis and Inkeles, we might define community by three analytical criteria. First, physical criterion: a community is a delimited geographical area which has a territorial identification. Second, social criterion: the people in that delimited geographical area exhibit a substantial degree of internal interaction or social communication in all major institutional fields. Third, psychological criterion: the people in that delimited geographical area share a sense of common bond, a sense of identity and belonging. (They will call it "we" if they speak of people of their geographical area; they will call it "home" if they speak of their territorial unit.)

In order to sharpen the concept of community it is advisable to see what a community is not. Among sociologists it is not always clear how community is different from another kind of human grouping area, namely, society. True enough, the definition of society is by no means more universally agreed upon than that of community. However, sociologists' conceptualization of society is more promising than is the case of community. Marion Levy proposes, in The Structure of Society, four criteria which must be met by a group before it may be considered a society: The group must be capable of existing longer than the life span of the individual; it should recruit its new members at least in part by means of sexual reproduction; it should be united in giving allegiance to a common complex "general system of action"; and that system of action should be "self-sufficient."<sup>5</sup>

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4 Alex Inkeles, What is Sociology? (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p.68.

5 Marion Levy, The Structure of Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p.113.

Talcott Parsons gives a more abstract definition of society by employing his theory of social system. He writes, "A society is a type of social system, in any universe of social system, which attains the highest level of self-sufficiency as a system in relation to its environment." "Treating societies as wholes by no means exhausts the possibilities for empirical application of the concept of the social system. Many social systems such as local communities, schools, business firms, and kinship units are not societies, but rather sub-systems of a society."<sup>6</sup> It is clear enough now that the concept of self-sufficiency is the key to the understanding of society; or the most critical point in making it different from community. Edward Shils has made illuminating points by saying that "a social system is a society if it is predominantly not part of a larger society." To put it differently, a social system is a society if it is self-contained. However, self-containedness or self-sufficiency, it is recognized, is a relative matter. "Thus, we see that complete self-sufficiency is not an absolute prerequisite for a social system to be defined as a society." Shils continues, "To be a society, a social system must have its 'center of gravity' within itself, i.e., it must have its own system of authority within its own boundaries. It must also have its own culture."<sup>7</sup> It is for this reason that a Chinese village is a community, but not a society. It is not autonomous, politically and culturally speaking. It is a community precisely because it is part of a larger social unit, the national society.<sup>8</sup>

Thus far, it should be clear that a community is not self-sufficient; it is part of a larger unit, be it a national society or a

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- 6 Talcott Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp.10, 1.
- 7 Edward Shils, "Society and Societies: The Macro-Sociological View" in T. Parsons (ed) American Sociology (N.Y: Basic Books, 1968), pp.287,290.
- 8 Cf. Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956); George M. Foster, "What is Folk Culture", American Anthropologist 55: 159-173; and C.K.Yang, A Chinese Village in Early Transition (Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1959).

metropolitan city. The definition of community, in the last analysis, is not its self-sufficiency; it is rather its relative separateness from the larger whole. We must also be aware that a community, being part of a larger whole, is bound to have continuous interaction or communication with the larger unit for existence. Here, it becomes analytically vital for us to be reminded that a community is composed of many basic institutions which can be viewed as systems in themselves or sub-systems of a community. Thus, a community will have its political system, economic system, religious system, educational system, health system, etc. It is in this form of sociological reasoning that we conceptualize community as a composite of multiple systems. Of all institutional fields, some may be more self-sufficient; while others may be less self-sufficient, or more reliant on the external larger unit. That is, the multiple systems of community might have different interdependence relations with the larger whole. Because (1) a community is a composite of multiple systems; and (2) each system has its interdependence relation with external units, then, the community might have various boundaries with external metropolitan city, which may or may not coincide. It should be mentioned here that the boundaries of the multiple systems are not static or fixed but are dynamic and ever changing. In addition, we should be aware that some systems might be more important than others. The political and economic systems, for example, might be more important than, say, educational or health systems. As a result, some systems' boundaries are more critical or strategic than others.

To recapitulate, a community is not self-sufficient; it is not a whole in itself. In addition, it is not autonomous in political and cultural aspects. Needless to say, all these negative statements are said in an absolute sense. In a relative sense, a community, according to the definition given above, should, however, have a recognizable geographical area; an internal network of social communication; and a sense of identity from its residents. But how can this definition of community be operationalized?



### III. Operationalization of the Definition of Community

How can the theoretical definition of community be operationalized and applied to Kwun Tong? It is actually a question of how to deal with the problem of boundaries. There are boundaries which are physical as well as socio-psychological in nature. In so far as the physical boundary of Kwun Tong is concerned, there is little difficulty in demarcation. In fact, Kwun Tong's physical boundary coincides with its administrative one. (We will discuss this later in detail.) But the administrative boundary is largely artificial, and does not often coincide with the natural areas or socio-psychological boundaries.<sup>9</sup> To define or to operationalize the socio-psychological boundaries is far more difficult; they are less tangible. And here the problem of boundary becomes subtle and challenging. In fact, it is this kind of problem which has attracted the interest of social scientists. Robert Chin, for instance, has, employing general system concepts, given an operational definition of boundary as follows: "The line forming a closed circle around selected variables, where there is less interchange of energy (or communications, etc.) across the line of the circle than within the delimiting circle."<sup>10</sup> Using this definition, socio-psychological boundaries, though certainly not as sharp as physical ones, can be identified. Socio-psychological boundaries are relative rather than absolute. As stated above, a community can be conceptualized as a composite of multiple systems with each system having its own internetwork of social communications with external units, therefore, a community will have many relative boundaries marked with varying degrees of discontinuity or self-containedness.

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9 James W. Felser, Area and Administration (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1949, second printing 1964), p.4.

10 Robert Chin, "The Utility of System Models and Developmental Models for Practitioners", in Warren Bennis, Kenneth Benne and Robert Chin (eds), The Planning of Change (N.Y: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, second ed. 1969), p.300.

Among social scientists Karl Deutsch may be the most innovative theoretical methodologist who has successfully developed tools to account for the problem of boundary which are methodologically sound both in theoretical and empirical sense. Deutsch, developing his own previous brilliant work employing the theory of communication and control in the study of nationalism and social mobilization<sup>11</sup>, focuses upon transactions and other forms of social communication in his analysis of the integration of political communities. He has emphatically suggested that transaction flows can be powerfully used as quantitative indicators of social communication. Methods such as statistical analysis and content analysis are applied to mail flow, telephone traffic, and other measurable transactions to demonstrate the efficacy of the communication approach.

Deutsch writes:

"One could analyse the daily behavior of people to find out to what extent they belonged to a particular community. From this it followed that one could think of communities partly in terms of the probability of mutual transactions between residents because their transactions would be more frequent or important within these communities than any others"<sup>12</sup>

In this study of Kwun Tong, we, mainly following Deutsch's transactional approach, will examine the boundary of Kwun Tong by looking into the telephone traffic, physical movements through commuting (sea and land), together with the use of input-output transactional analysis of economic, political, religious, health and other institutional systems. Particular attention will be given to the ratio of intra-community to inter-community social communication flow --- Intra/Inter ratio -- which will be a powerful indicator of community boundary. In studying community boundary by employing transactional approach, it is advisable to get a measure of

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11 K.W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (Cambridge: Technology Press, and N.Y: Wiley, 1953).

12 K.W. Deutsch, "Communication Theory and Political Integration" in P.E. Jacob and J.V. Toscano (eds) The Integration of Political Communities (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1964), p.50.

aggregate transactions to construct a weighted index. Telephone traffic is one index, but how about commutings and input-output transactions of institutional activities? If a whole series of plus or minus signs on every one of these indicators is discovered, we might expect to develop some overall indicators for this boundary. It is legitimate for us to say that if we find out, according to the weighted index, that the intra-Kwun Tong social communication is more frequent or important than the inter-communication between Kwun Tong and the Hong Kong metropolitan city, then, Kwun Tong is more or less a community. If the weighted index shows that the intra-Kwun Tong communication is less frequent or important than the inter-communication between Kwun Tong and the Hong Kong metropolitan city, then, Kwun Tong can hardly be called a community against the definition given above.

Community boundaries, moreover, are not static; they are changing over time. The socio-psychological boundaries of Kwun Tong 17 years ago might be different from that of to-day, and they will change in the future. The transactional approach asks: what is the trend over time? It is an approach which is particularly useful in longitudinal studies. In the case of Kwun Tong, if the trend of transactions toward self-containedness (i.e., high Intra/Inter ratio) is found, then, we might expect Kwun Tong to become more and more a community. On the contrary, if the opposite trend of transactions is found (i.e., the Intra/Inter ratio is becoming increasingly lower), then, we might predict that Kwun Tong will become more and more a functioning part of the Hong Kong metropolitan city with its boundaries gradually disappearing. Here, one thing should be borne in mind is that a community, as stated above, is a composite of multiple systems; each system might have its Intra/Inter ratio different from the others. In other words, we should not assume that all indicators of transactions will change in the same direction. In reality, one indicator might show a move toward more self-containedness, the other might show a trend toward the opposite direction: de-communitization. There emerges a

cross-pressure phenomenon.<sup>13</sup> And it is also here that we must be reminded again that one indicator might be more critical or strategically vital than the other. Thus, we have to pay special attention to the qualitative aspects of transactions; we might have to assign different weights to different indicators. The question whether Kwun Tong is a community or whether Kwun Tong is becoming more and more (or less and less) a community can be, at least partly, settled by addressing ourselves to the above mentioned questions.

#### IV. The Method of Procedure

Kwun Tong, covering an area of more than 1,200 hectares, is a 17 years old industrial district. Physically, the district is rather isolated; it lies at the eastern end of Victoria Harbour, separated from Kowloon Peninsula by Kowloon Bay and Hammer Hill. The chain of Lwo Pui Shan, Black Hill and Devil Peak form a natural barrier and serves as the east, north-eastern boundary of the district. In the north, Kwun Tong is separated from Wong Tai Sin District by Clear Water Bay Road. Kwun Tong Road is the only land transportation route linking Kwun Tong and other parts of Kowloon Peninsula. And this only and tangible road gives people a feeling, mistakenly or not, that Kwun Tong is a separate socio-physical entity. However, before we come to the conclusion of how Kwun Tong District or the Kwun Tong community can be defined, we should undergo the study of different boundary issues mentioned above: namely, the physical boundary, the social boundary, and the psychological boundary.

With regard to the method of this study, special attention is given to the ratio of Intra/Inter social communication flows, as well as the percentage of input-output transactions of various kinds of social

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<sup>13</sup> K.W. Deutsch, "Transaction Flows as Indicators of Political Cohesion" in Jacob and Toscano (eds), op cit, pp.75-97.

institutional systems. This is primarily a quantitative analysis. However, in case statistics are incomplete or lacking, or quantitative data are not of significance, complementary qualitative analyses will be employed. Hereunder, three groups of boundaries will be discussed separately, hoping that the community-ness of Kwun Tong can thus be ensued.

1. Physical boundary.

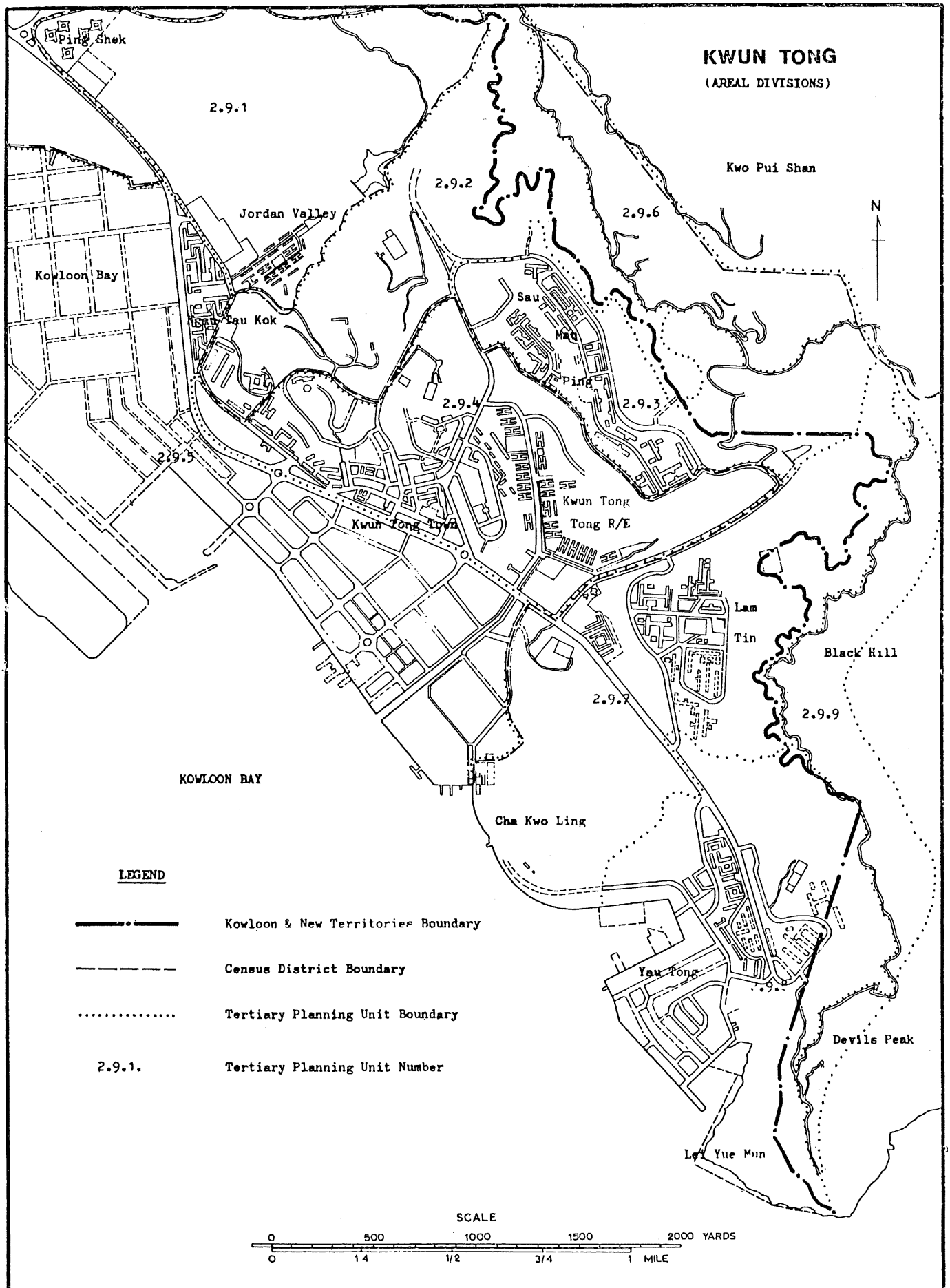
The physical boundary often coincides with the administrative boundary. Administrative area is largely artificial in that it does not coincide with natural clusters or socio-psychological areas. Since administration is not a unitary or homogeneous entity, therefore, more often than not, there may be several administrative functional units, thus creating several administrative boundaries. As a matter of fact, Government Departments of the Colony have various division and subdivision systems for their own usage, thus creating several different physical boundaries for Kwun Tong. For example, the Census and Statistics Department has divided Kwun Tong District into two census districts - Ngau Tau Kok and Lei Yue Mun. In other words, a district named Kwun Tong does not exist in the division system of the Census and Statistics Department.

The government secondary planning unit 2.9 coincides with the area under investigation in our study; but the tertiary units (sub-divisions of unit 2.9) 2.9.6, 2.9.9, and part of 2.9.3, 2.9.4, 2.9.7 & 2.9.8 are lying beyond the New Kowloon boundary and are generally uninhabited.

The administrative area of the Kwun Tong City District Office coincides with the secondary planning unit 2.9 in general, but since 1972 it covers also the Rennie's Mill Village lying outside Kwun Tong and on the other side of Black Hill.

The Kwun Tong Post Office serves an area extending from Ping Shek Estate, south of Clear Water Bay to Lei Yue Mun, but the area lying east of Anderson road is not covered.

Fig.1: Physical Boundary of Kwun Tong



The Kwun Tong Police Station opened in 1965 was first a part of Wong Tai Sin Division, and then became a new Police Division in 1966. Now the Kwun Tong Police Division covers not only the so called Kwun Tong District, but also the south-east of Choi Hung Estate. The small station at Rennie's Mill Village is also under the control of the Kwun Tong Division.

From the above we find that the administrative boundary of Kwun Tong changes according to the definitions of Government Departments. The conflicting or inconsistent administrative boundaries of Kwun Tong made up by Government Departments have different administrative and functional rationales, and should not concern us too much. What the physical boundary defined in this study is confined to the Government planing unit 2.9 in general, except we exclude the uninhabited part lying outside the New Kowloon boundary (see Fig. I). And the major task to be done is to investigate the socio-psychological boundaries of Kwun Tong through analysing the inter/intra flow of social communications against the above-mentioned physical boundary; in other words, we attempt to examine whether or not there are socio-psychological boundaries congruent with the physical boundary of Kwun Tong.

## 2. Social Boundary

In this section, we will discuss the social boundary by examining (A) the inter/intra ratio of various forms of social communications: telephone communication, the commuting patterns; and (B) the ratio of input-output transactions of various institutional systems, along the line of thinking spelt out in the preceding pages.

A. Inter/Intra Ratio of Social Communication Flows:

(1) Telephone Communication.<sup>14</sup>

In summer 1971, there were 55,333 telephone lines in Kwun Tong. The total number of telephones was 60,235, of which 14.6% were business telephones and 85.4% were residential telephones.<sup>15</sup>

Based on a survey taken during four normal working days (24 hours/day, Sunday and Public holiday not included), the Telephone Company records showed that a daily average total of 415,846 calls were made by Kwun Tong subscribers, of which 140,187 calls were made to other Kwun Tong subscribers, 275,659 calls were made to subscribers outside Kwun Tong.

In the same period, a daily average total of 375,501 calls were made by all subscribers in Hong Kong (including Kwun Tong) to Kwun Tong subscribers, of which 235,314 calls were made by subscribers outside Kwun Tong (see also Table 1):

Table 1: Telephone communication within Kwun Tong and between Kwun Tong and other districts

(1) Kwun Tong to Kwun Tong	140,187	(21.53%)
(2) Kwun Tong to other districts	275,659	(42.33%)
(3) Other districts to Kwun Tong	235,314	(36.14%)
<hr/>		
Total communication	651,160	(100.00%)

Source: Hong Kong Telephone Company, summer 1971.

<sup>14</sup> Before we envisage the statistics on telephone communication of the district, we must note that according to Hong Kong Telephone Company's definition, Kwun Tong District comprises the area from Ngau Tau Kok to Lei Yue Mun only (Ping Shek is not included).

<sup>15</sup> Information provided by the Hong Kong Telephone Company Ltd. in May, 1972.



Statistics show that the telephone communication between subscribers of Kwun Tong is much less frequent than that between Kwun Tong subscribers and outsiders.  $2/3$  of calls from Kwun Tong subscribers were made to other districts, and about  $2/3$  of calls to Kwun Tong subscribers were made in other districts.

The daily total of communication within and in/out of Kwun Tong were 651,160 calls. Among these calls only 21.53% were intra-community calls while 78.47% were intercommunity calls. In other words, the telephone communication between Kwun Tong residents and outsiders is more frequent than telephone communication between Kwun Tong residents themselves. Again, calls from Kwun Tong to outsiders are more frequent than calls made to Kwun Tong from other districts (see Table 1).

Based on the above finding, we may say that Kwun Tong residents need to communicate intensively with the larger Hong Kong society and, at least from the evidence of telephone communication pattern, Kwun Tong is not self-contained; it integrates itself with the Hong Kong metropolitan area.

(2) Commuting Patterns.

The daily movement pattern of population in Kwun Tong may serve as an important indicator revealing the interdependence of Kwun Tong and other parts of the Colony. The commuting pattern suggests the degree of interdependency between Kwun Tong and the remaining sectors of the Hong Kong metropolitan city. Thus, the degree of self-containedness of Kwun Tong will be partially disclosed and this helps us to define its social boundary. By commuting pattern we refer primarily to the regular daily movement of employed persons between their residential places and their workplaces. Since the school may be regarded as the "workplace" of school children and the movement to and from it is of a regular and daily occurrence, schooltrips will also be taken as one aspect of commuting. Other travel movements such as social or recreational, shop-

ping or business trips, because of their irregular nature, will be excluded in the present study. In the following, we will examine the interchange of working population, the schooling and the transportation flow of both land and sea.

a. Interchange of working population.

Based on the Life Quality Survey,<sup>16</sup> we find out that among the working population, those working outside Kwun Tong are much more in number than those working in their own district; 43.5% of economically active residents work in Kwun Tong -- while 56.5% of residents work in other districts or are without fixed working place (see also App. A).

In the Health System Survey,<sup>17</sup> though only male and female household heads are taken into account, statistics also show consistent results in the working place distribution of economically active persons: 44.4% work in Kwun Tong, while 55.6% work outside Kwun Tong or are without fixed working place. (See also App.B). But when we consider male and female household heads separately, the results will be quite different. We discover that only 32% of active male household heads are working in Kwun Tong while 68% of female household heads are working in the District. It seems that females have less commuting, they are more attached to the production activities of the District in general.

According to the Labour Department records (Summer 1971), about 96,000 persons are employed by factories in Kwun Tong District; weighted results of the Factories Survey<sup>18</sup> show that among these employees, 52.9% are residents of Kwun Tong (see also App. C).

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16 Social Research Centre (Summer 1971), under the direction of S. Shively

17 Social Research Centre (Spring 1972), under the direction of R. Lee

18 Social Research Centre (Summer 1971), under the direction of Mok Oi

Information on the distribution of residing places of employees in other institutions of Kwun Tong may be incomplete. But when we compare the above-mentioned survey results on working places of Kwun Tong residents, and residing places of Kwun Tong factory employees, conclusion may be drawn in the following way: (1) More than half of the manpower in manufacturing industries of Kwun Tong District is supplied by the local population. (2) Less than 45% of the economically active residents of Kwun Tong are working in their own district. (3) Quantitatively speaking, labour force in Kwun Tong may be sufficient for the production activities of the district, but for one reason or another, a large number of working population residing in Kwun Tong are working outside.<sup>19</sup> All these data suggest that there is a very high degree of interdependency, in terms of manpower supply and demand, between Kwun Tong and the other parts of the Hong Kong metropolitan city.

b. Schooling.

Again, based on the Life Quality Survey, we find that it is very common for boys and girls in Kwun Tong to attend schools in the same district, while only about 1/5 of these children enroll in schools outside of Kwun Tong. In other words, children attending schools within and outside Kwun Tong are in a ratio of 4:1.<sup>20</sup> It seems that the educational system, particularly in the sector of kindergarten and primary education, is rather self-sufficient in Kwun Tong. But, if secondary and university education are considered, Kwun Tong is absolutely undeveloped, and is dependent upon the outside educational institutions.

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19 Further investigation can be carried out on this topic.

20 For more detailed information, please see the paper "Spatial distribution of organisations in Kwun Tong", Y.K. Chan, Social Research Centre, Aug. 1972.

c. Transportation Flow.

Estimates based on our sample surveys (Life Quality Survey, Health System Survey and Factories Survey) give us approximate figures on commuting.<sup>21</sup> Everyday (week days only), more than 87,000 residents of Kwun Tong go to work in other districts. With an addition of more than 35,000 schools boys and girls, it makes a total of about 122,000 persons who have to travel to either their working place or school everyday. Besides, at least 45,000 factory employees residing in other parts of the Colony come to work in Kwun Tong daily.<sup>22</sup> Thus, large-scale daily migration flows in and out of the district appear, placing a heavy burden on the transportation system linking Kwun Tong to other districts. Anyhow, it is clear that the out-commuters are much more than the in-commuters in number. This can be counter-checked with land and sea transportation records.

On land (see also App. D): In a period of six years (from 1965 to 1971), the traffic flow frequency has increased by more than 200 %; the annual average daily total increases from 34,146 in 1965 to 77,370 in 1971.<sup>23</sup> Everyday, during the morning peakhours (7 a.m. to 9 a.m.) out-flowing traffic exceeds the in-flowing traffic by 10% of the total; in the evening peak-hours (6 p.m. to 8 p.m.) the situation reverses.

By sea (see also App. E): Records (May 1972) on ferry passengers also show clear difference in number between people going in and out of Kwun Tong. In the morning (6:30 a.m. to 9:30 a.m.) much more people are going out of than into Kwun Tong; in

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21 Exact figures will be known when results of the 1971 census are made available.

22 Still we have to add the number of workers who dwell in other districts but are employed in organisations in Kwun Tong.

23 Based on information from Traffic and Transport Survey Unit, P.W.D.

the evening, the importance of passenger volumes reverses in direction. This observed pattern coincides with that of land traffic flows: both the sea and land traffic show a consistent pattern that the out-going working population are more numerous than the in-coming working population

Following our preceding discussions on commuting patterns, conclusion may be drawn in this way: with regard to the large-scale daily movements of working population and the fact that more Kwun Tong residents are working outside than within the district, we will say that Kwun Tong and other parts of the Colony are closely interdependent for manpower as well as in economy. However, schooling, another factor which provokes cross-boundary travel, has shown a sign of self-containedness or independence.

Thus far, we can sum up by saying that according to our findings on the inter/intra ratio of social communication flow, Kwun Tong can hardly be considered as a community: (1) the inter-community telephone communication is much more intensive than the intra-community calls; (2) more than half of the District's working population are employed in other parts of the Colony; and (3) nearly half of the District's labour come from outside. For a clearer vision of the intra/inter ratio of social communication flow, a summarized statistical picture is given in the following table:

Table 2: Telephone Communication and Commuting Patterns Within Kwun Tong and between Kwun Tong and Other Districts

Telephone communication:	Intra-community Calls	--	21.53%
(daily - weekdays only)	Inter-community Calls	--	78.47%
Working places of Kwun Tong economically active population:			
	In Kwun Tong	--	43.5%
	Outside of Kwun Tong	--	56.5%
Working places of Kwun Tong economically active male household heads:			
	In Kwun Tong	--	32%
	Outside of Kwun Tong	--	68%

Table 2: (Cont'd)

Location of schools attended by Kwun Tong school children:		
In Kwun Tong	--	80%
Outside of Kwun Tong	--	20%
Residing places of Kwun Tong factories' employees:		
In Kwun Tong	--	52.9%
Outside of Kwun Tong	--	47.1%

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The weighted index shows that there is a very high degree of interdependency between Kwun Tong and the remaining sector of the Hong Kong metropolitan city; there are no signs of marked discontinuities of social communication flow between Kwun Tong and other parts of the Colony. Instead, there are ample indicators showing that Kwun Tong is a functioning part of the Hong Kong metropolitan city; the telephone traffic and commuting patterns all show that Kwun Tong is highly dependent upon outside for one reason or another. However, it should be remembered that nearly half of the working population do live and work in Kwun Tong, and to them, Kwun Tong will be reasonably considered as a most relevant locality to which they belong.

B. Input-output Transactions of Institutional Systems:

Another way to tackle the problem of social boundary is by examining the input-output transactions of various institutional systems. As pointed out above, a community can be conceptualized as a hodge-podge of multiple systems, with each system having *its own* boundary. To investigate to what degree Kwun Tong can be considered a community is, in one sense, to investigate to what degree the major institutional systems are independent in their own terms. Since the

institutional needs are primarily performed by formal organisations, therefore, it is advisable to look into, based on results of our sample surveys, the question of input-output transactions of economic, health, social welfare, religious, civic, and political organisations.

(1) Economic (factories) organisations.<sup>24</sup>

In summer 1971, more than 1,600 factories (8.4% of the Hong Kong total) have been established in Kwun Tong, employing about 100,000 workers or 15.8% of the Hong Kong industrial work force.

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 or Chinese patronage, but the 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, in general terms, the percentage of industrial products being exported because of the variation in forms and by type 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, and number of factories. The products of these major types of industries in Kwun Tong are mainly for exportation (detailed statistics are given in App. F), only a small proportion is consumed in Kwun Tong.

Based on our data, we can say, from the point of view of industrial activities, 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.

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<sup>24</sup> Figures based on Factory Survey, Social Research Centre, Summer 1971.

(2) Health Organisations

Though the distribution of residing places of herbalists and physicians are unknown (no information from the Health System Survey). Anyhow, we can say that western-trained physicians in Kwun Tong concentrate less their strength in the district -- 51.2% of them also work in other places, while 92% of Chinese herbalists only work in one health care unit in Kwun Tong.

Chinese health care units are more numerous than western ones, (175 to 101), but the weekly average number of cases attended by each unit is less: Chinese - 100.2, western - 243.4. This is also true with the number of medical practitioners in each unit (1.02 to 102).<sup>25</sup>

Health care units in Kwun Tong serve mainly the residents of the district. 98% of Chinese health care units and 97.6% of western health care units respond that their patients come mainly from Kwun Tong itself.

Most patients residing in Kwun Tong would only attend health care units in Kwun Tong. 74% of respondents<sup>26</sup> who have attended any clinic during the past three years show that they usually attend clinics within the district. The health care units in Kwun Tong may be insufficient or poorly equipped, however, nearly 40% of male or female household heads think that the medical and health care system in the district is good. We might say that the health system of Kwun Tong has a mixed degree of interdependence with the outside; the Western health system has,

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<sup>25</sup> Health System Survey (phrase II), Social Research Centre, May 1972.

<sup>26</sup> Health System Survey (phrase I), Social Research Centre, Jan., 1972.



as seen from the input side, a high degree of interdependence with the outside, while the Chinese health system has a very low degree of interdependence with the outside. And when seen from the output side, both the Western and Chinese health systems are oriented toward Kwun Tong residents.

In Kwun Tong, a community hospital - the United Christian Hospital - is now under construction. This is the first hospital to be built in the Kwun Tong District (up on the hill near Sau Mau Ping). Expected to be completed in June and partly in use by September 1973, this hospital will have 560 beds and serve mainly the people in Kwun Tong; and special attention will be paid to casualties in factory accidents. But patients from other districts will also be admitted.

HK\$46.6 million is needed for the construction. The hospital authority has been promised about HK\$40.3 million from the Government, the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club and overseas donations. An earlier campaign has raised about HK\$3.8 million from local churches and schools. But HK\$2.5 million is still needed (as mentioned by the South China Morning Post on March 15, 1972) and a massive campaign has to be launched in April 1972. Kaifong Associations in Kwun Tong have formed a special committee for fund raising. Between April 25 and May 10, variety shows will be arranged for this purpose.

(3) Social Welfare Organisations:

A fairly exhaustive survey of social welfare agencies in Kwun Tong<sup>27</sup> shows that whether these agencies are sponsored by Government, religious or voluntary bodies, 90.9% of them are

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<sup>27</sup> Social Research Centre (summer 1971), under the direction of Miss H.M. Lee.

originated outside of Kwun Tong, and their financial resources come primarily from outside, with only 12.9% from local donation. 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 organisations are almost 100% for the clients living in Kwun Tong. What these data suggest is that, the social welfare organisations, as seen from the input side, are heavily dependent upon the outside, while, when seen from the output side, they are oriented toward Kwun Tong clients, with the exception of some rehabilitation centres and probation centres whose clients may come from any part of Hong Kong.

(4) Religious organisations.<sup>28</sup>

In the Religious Organisations Survey (January 1972), we find out that only 11% of these organisations are independent while 87% are only branches of various religious bodies in Hong Kong or abroad. About 1/3 of Kwun Tong religious organisations depend on local members' donations as the main financial resource, while others are dependent on (at least partly) headquarters or Government supports.

These organisations are places of worship for the local population. 88.7% of their members are residents of Kwun Tong. However, the organisations also sponsor other activities in the district: such as social activities, welfare services, education, health care services etc.... Besides religious activities, the most important activity being sponsored by them is education, particularly kindergarten and primary school education.

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<sup>28</sup> Figures based on Religious Organisations Survey, Social Research Centre Jan.1972.

Activities sponsored by these organisations are mainly for residents of Kwun Tong, 92.4% of the participants of these activities are residents of the district.

What these data indicate is that the religious institutional system, in so far as the Western religious organisations are concerned, is, as seen at least from the output sides, highly independent or autonomous.

#### (5) Political Organisations<sup>29</sup>

To begin with, Kwun Tong is an administrative district of Hong Kong Government; it is not a local government. All the major Government Departments have branch offices in Kwun Tong since 1963. These branch offices are field administrative units of mother organisations located in Hong Kong. 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 Chinese Affairs in 1969, 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 Departmental field units on a geographically-based area.

Almost without exception, of all the government organisations, the personnel and financial resources are recruited and provided by the Headquarters; the major decisions are made also outside Kwun Tong, although the local field agencies have often actively participated in the process of

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29 Figures based on Political Organisations Survey, Social Research Centre, Spring 1972.

decision-making. True, the Kwun Tong political institutional system means more than just government organisations. However, due to the fact that other non-governmental political organisations, such as Kaifong associations, industrial organisations, trade unions, and traditional district organisations, lack either political interests or organisational capacity, the government is unquestionably the predominant political organisation. 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 symbolized by the Governor. It is small wonder to observe a growing trend when people's demands, legitimate or illegitimate, unmet by the local organisations they will march to, or to stage a sit-in before, the Governor's House wherein lies the political authority.

(6) Civic Organisations<sup>30</sup>

The civic organisations here denote those voluntary organisations, such as Kaifong and Multi-storey Building Associations, and district organisations. Among these civic organisations, Kaifong is the most known and probably the most active one. These kind of organisations are of intermediate nature, working between the government authorities and the ordinary people. The primary function of the civic organisations is integration, or social solidarity. Of the 12 Kaifong associations we studied, in 1971,

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<sup>30</sup> Information from interviews with Kaifong Association and Multi-storey Building Associations, Social Research Centre, Winter 1971.

there are a total of 376 officials, 19 employees, and 6,100 members. The officials are all honorary positions, including Hon. Life President, Hon. President, Hon. Advisers, Hon. Legal Advisers, Hon. Life Advisers, and even such titles as Hon. Medical Advisers. They are celebrities in Kwun Tong or in other parts of the Colony whose donations make up 2/3 of the revenue of the associations. The associations are run by the Executive Committee which comprises one Chairman, several vice-chairmen, and Committee members. Except for one Chairman who lives and works outside Kwun Tong, 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-storey building association is another kind of civic organisation somewhat peculiar to Hong Kong society. The major function of MSB is to take care of the management and maintenance of the building, however, it has the potential to be developed as socio-political grass-root action units in the urban setting, although as it stands now it is far from being active owing to the lack of professional staff and other reasons. In principle, all residents and owners of multi-storey domestic buildings are members of the associations; and the establishment of each association usually follows the inhabitation of the building. By 1971 there were 24 such associations.<sup>31</sup> Both the Kaifong and MSB's services are rendered for the local residents of Kwun Tong. The civic organisations, seen both from the input and output sides, are predominantly Kwun Tong-based and have a very high degree of self-containedness.

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<sup>31</sup> Kwun Tong Community Centre records, 1971.

Thus far, we can sum up by saying that according to our findings on the input-output transactions of various institutional systems, the question whether or not Kwun Tong can be considered a community becomes rather complicated and difficult to answer. What the data show are (1) nearly half of factories' labour force come from outside Kwun Tong; and industrial investments also come primarily from consortiums originated from outside; (2) both the personnel and financial resources of social welfare organisations, religious organisations, and political organisations come either wholly or largely from outside; though clients or members of these organisations are mainly Kwun Tong residents; (3) the personnel and financial resources of the civic organisations, and to some extent the health organisations, come mainly from Kwun Tong; (4) from the output aspect, all these organisations, except industrial organisations, provide their services of one kind or another primarily for the local residents of Kwun Tong. The following Table will give us a clearer view on the input-output transactional patterns of various institutional systems:

Table 3 Input-output Transactions of Institutional Systems

	Input (from Kwun Tong)			Output (to Kwun Tong)		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>
Economic Organisations (Factories) Input: Raw materials personnels Output: finished products		x	x			x
Health Organisations Input: western Chinese Output: services	x		x		x	
Social Welfare Organisations Input: finance and personnel Output: services			x		x	
Religious Organisations Input: finance and personnel Output:		x			x	
Political Organisations Input: Output:			x		x	
Civic Organisations Input: Output:	x				x	

From the above Table, we can see that all the major institutional systems: economic, health, social welfare, and political, are heavily dependent upon the outside for material, personnel, and financial resources; in other words, they are either dependent or are partial systems inseparable from other parts of the Hong Kong metropolitan city. It suggests strongly that the major institutional needs of the people in Kwun Tong cannot be satisfied without the support from outside, thus, showing no marked discontinuities of exchange of energy and power between Kwun Tong and other parts of the Colony. This findings, together with the findings on the ratio of inter-intra social communication flows, consistently show that the over-all indicator for the social boundary of Kwun Tong is on the minus side, that is to say, Kwun Tong is more a functioning part of the Hong Kong metropolitan city than a community with a high degree of self-containedness. Although there are some signs on the plus side, for example, high intra-Kwun Tong flow of schooling and high intra-Kwun Tong input-output transactions of the civic organisations, yet, they are relatively unimportant when compared with other indicators.

### 3. Psychological Boundary:

At last, we come to examine probably the most intricate boundary problem of all, i.e., the problem of psychological boundary. The psychological boundary of a community is most intangible and difficult to define. It is primarily a question of identity of residents to the geographical area they live. Do the residents show signs of concern, liking, or affection for their living area? MacIver and Page have the view that the major defining element of a community is the presence of "community sentiment," that is, an awareness of sharing a way of life as well as the common earth. According to MacIver and Page, the community sentiment consists of the following elements: (1) a common interest in what belongs to us, as members of a community, and what we belong to - that is, the obligations and responsibilities that hold us within an

accepted social order; (2) a "we-feeling," whether based on interests or sentiment; (3) a "role-feeling," or recognition by each member that he has a function to fulfill in the reciprocal exchange of the social scene; (4) a "dependency-feeling," which involves both a physical dependence for the satisfaction of physical wants and a psychological dependence for the satisfaction of spiritual and other social needs.<sup>32</sup>

We have not squarely dealt with the question; there is no empirical data for us to project the degree of sense of belonging of the residents in Kwun Tong. However, it is a popular view that there is a lack of a sense of belonging among the people in Kwun Tong District; and this is a major issue occupying the mind of the community leaders. In this study, we nevertheless have some data which can help us to clarify this issue to some extent.

In the Life Quality Survey, respondents are enquired about the reasons for their family to move into Kwun Tong. Results show that the majority of in-migrations are provoked by push factors rather than pull factors. By push factors we refer to those factors which are mainly out of one's own control. By pull factors we refer to those factors which are mainly out of one's free choice. If one's moving into Kwun Tong is provoked by push factors, we might say that he has no or at least low identification with Kwun Tong, while if one's moving into Kwun Tong is provoked by pull factors, we might say with some degree of certainty that he has some positive identification with Kwun Tong. The following Table shows the distribution of push and pull factors for the in-migration of Kwun Tong residents.

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32 See Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis (N.Y: Rinehart, 1949), pp.8-11. 291-309.



Table 4: Reason for respondent's family move to the area in first place

<u>Push factors</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Pull factors</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Former place not available etc.	553	51.9	Living conditions in general	68	6.4
Former place too small	194	18.2	Present place more secure	23	2.2
Assigned here (e.g. Govt. employees quarter, etc.)	20	1.9	Rent low	59	5.5
Cannot find another place	8	0.8	Closed to family member	20	1.9
Water-land migration	7	0.7	For convenience concerning working place/occupation	63	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>782</b>	<b>73.5</b>		<b>233</b>	<b>21.9</b>

Don't know 19 1.8%

No Answer 31 2.9%

Source: Life Quality Survey (Summer, 1971)  
Social Research Centre.

Statistics of table 4 show that more than 73 per cent of the households being interviewed respond that their moving into Kwun Tong is provoked by push factors: nearly 52 per cent say that it is because their former place is no longer available for one reason or another. This is expected since more than half of the District's population are living in resettlement estates. They are resettled there because their former residence have been demolished or cleared. Another nearly 20 per cent say because their former place is too small. And only about 22 per cent of all residents moving into Kwun Tong are provoked by pull factors; such as better living conditions, low rent, more security, proximity to family and working convenience. Perhaps we can say: for a 3/4 proportion of families, moving into Kwun Tong is not out of their own will; they have to move into the District simply because they have no alternative choice. It implies that Kwun Tong is not an area having particular attraction to a very large percentage of population dwelling in it. However, 1/4 of families which have moved into Kwun Tong are out of their own choice, and thus have a sense of positive identification with it. True enough, their choice of the place they live might mean only an identification with sub-district, or even the particular zone in which their houses are located, rather than with the whole area called Kwun Tong.

In the same survey, we have also asked residents' present feeling about their living area. (The results are shown in Table 5). Statistics of Table 5 show that only 1/3 of the respondents like living in Kwun Tong and would like to live there for a long time to come, while 60 per cent say they would not like either to live there for a long time or would like to move out if possible. Another small percentage of people say though they do not like living there for the time being, they would like to stay in Kwun Tong and try to make it a better place to live. What these figures indicate is that almost 2/3 of the residents show dislike for or no identification with Kwun Tong, while 1/3 show some degree of identification with the District.

Admittedly, these limited data do not allow us to make a definite statement about the degree of psychological identification of the residents with Kwun Tong, but, it does show clearly enough that the residents' sense of belonging with it is considerably low. Thus, it is permissible for us to say that the psychological boundary of Kwun Tong as a community is far from being clear-cut.

Table 5: Statement which best express respondent's present feeling about living in area

I like living here and I would like to live here for a long time to come	380	35.7%
I like living here but I would not like to live here for a long time	377	35.4%
I do not like living here but I have no choice. I would like to move out of here if I could.	262	24.6%
I do not like living here but I would like to stay here and try to make it a better place in which to live	32	3.0%
Don't know	3	0.3%
No answer	11	1.0%
<hr/>		
Total	1065	100.0%

#### VI. Summary and Conclusion

In this paper, we have first tried to give an analytically more precise and methodologically operational definition of community. A community is not characterized by self-sufficiency; it is part of the larger whole. However, a community has a relative separateness from the larger whole in physical and socio-psychological aspects: it has a recognizable geographical area, an internal network of social communications and a sense of identity. This definition is operationalized by employing the transactional approach in studying the ratio of inter/intra social communication flows and the input-output exchange of various institutional systems.

Using this definition, we have examined Kwun Tong to see whether or not and in what sense it is a community. Our method is primarily a quantitative one, while some qualitative analyses have been used whenever statistical data are incomplete or lacking.

According to our findings, the intra-Kwun Tong social communication flows, such as telephone traffic, interchange of working population, and transportation flow by land and sea, are not as frequent or important as the social communication flows between Kwun Tong and other parts of the Colony. Furthermore, the input-output transactional analysis of major institutional systems shows fairly consistently that almost all of them are heavily dependent upon, as seen from the input side, the outside for supply of personnel, financial resources or raw materials. What these data indicate is that Kwun Tong as a geographical area has no marked discontinuities of social communication flows and institutional transactions from outside, thus marking 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 provoked by push factors rather than factor out of 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 functioning part of the Hong Kong metropolitan city than a community.

Admittedly, our study is far from being an exhaustive one: we have not been able to get data on mail flow; on input-output transactions of other institutional systems, e.g., recreational system, commercial system and others. In addition, data on psychological boundary are also very limited and incomplete. Despite these limitations, however, the data do allow us to state with a significant amount of certainty that Kwun Tong has a high degree of interdependence with other parts of the Colony in economic (industrial), political and other institutional fields. More specifically, Kwun Tong as a whole is a dependent system subordinating to the larger Hong Kong system.

What we have said in the preceding pages is an approximate picture of Kwun Tong as it stands. But, what was Kwun Tong in the past and what will Kwun Tong be in the future? In other words, what is the trend over time? Is Kwun Tong moving toward more integration with the Hong Kong metropolitan city or is it moving more toward a community marked with increasingly clear-cut boundaries? We do not have comparable data of Kwun Tong in the past; nor are we able to make a predictable statement on its future in rigid, probabilistic terms. However, if we can make a comparable study five or ten years later, then, we will be able to tell the trend of Kwun Tong with a higher degree of certainty. As of now, we may venture to say that it is primarily due to its physical separateness that Kwun Tong strikes people as a community: it is connected with other parts of the Colony by one, and only one land route. If in the years to come other land routes are to be built or the subway<sup>33</sup> is constructed, Kwun Tong will be moving toward more integration with the Hong Kong metropolitan city. But, it must be reminded that in our findings there are some opposing signs which show that Kwun Tong is a living place with which about one-third of the population identify, and in some institutional aspects it has become fairly autonomous, especially on the output side. Furthermore, as based upon our limited empirical data and impression, Kwun Tong itself is quite heterogeneous; the intra-variations of Kwun Tong sub-districts are very great. Some subdistricts have more important and frequent mutual transactions between residents and outsiders than the intra-Kwun Tong flows of social communication. A further study on intra-variations of sub-districts is called for. After all, Kwun Tong is a fairly new district. The basic patterns of social life have not been institutionalized yet; there is ample room for new social forces to operate in determining the modus vivendi and nature of Kwun Tong.

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33 A 3,000 ft., 4-laned tunnel linking Kwun Tong with To Kwa Wan District and passing under the Kai Tak Runway has been approved by the Government. The date of completion has been set for early 1975 and the cost is estimated to be around HK\$120,000,000. (See Wah Kiu Yat Pao, 25 April, 1972; p.2-1)

App. A Working places of Kwun Tong Residents.

In the Life Quality Survey, 1065 households have been interviewed. In these households, 2,447 persons are economically active, thus making an average number of economically active population in each household of 2.3 persons. From the same sample survey, findings on the distribution of working places of Kwun Tong residents are shown in the following table.

Working Population (in the sample) by Working Place

	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>%</u>
Working place not fixed	110	4.5
Working in Kwun Tong	976	39.9
Working outside	1157	47.3
No answer	204	8.3
<hr/>		
Total	2447	100.0

Projection: Kwun Tong residents working in Kwun Tong -- 43.5%  
Kwun Tong residents working in other districts or without  
fixed working place -- 56.5%

With confidence probability of 95%, margin of  
error (d) = 2%

App. B Economically active household heads (both sex) by working place and subdistrict.

In the Health System Survey, 702 households have been interviewed. In these households, we recorded the working places of male and female household heads. For both sexes, 825 persons responded that they are economically active. Proportions of these people working in and outside Kwun Tong are as follows:

<u>Sub-district</u>	<u>Working Place</u>			
	<u>In Kwun Tong</u>		<u>Outside of Kwun Tong and not fixed</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Ping Shek	14	30.43	32	69.57
Ngau Tau Kok	59	35.75	106	64.25
Jordan Valley	18	48.65	19	51.35
Kowloon Bay	4	57.14	3	42.86
Kwun Tong Town	75	44.12	95	55.88
Kwun Tong R/E	60	63.83	34	36.17
Sau Mau Ping	70	41.92	97	58.08
Lam Tin	37	42.53	50	57.47
Yau Tong	20	52.63	18	47.37
Cha Kwo Ling	3	60.00	2	40.00
Lei Yue Mun	6	66.67	3	33.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>366.00</b>	<b>44.36</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>55.64</b>

Projection: Household heads working in Kwun Tong -- 44.4%  
 Household heads working outside Kwun Tong or without fixed working place -- 55.6%  
 With confidence probability of 95%, margin of error (d) = 3.3%

Figures also show difference between sub-districts in terms of proportion of their residents working in Kwun Tong. Such difference is statistically significant (Chi square test: Degree of freedom = 10,  $\chi^2 = 27.6$ , Probability value  $< 0.01$ ). Ping Shek and Ngau Tau Kok have the lowest proportion of residents working in Kwun Tong. It seems that these two sub-districts located near the entrance of Kwun Tong are less dependent on the Kwun Tong community.



App. C Working place of economically active male and female household heads by occupation.

When we consider the male and female household heads separately (also based on the Health System Survey) the results will be quite different. Among 603 economically active male household heads, only 32% are working in Kwun Tong; but 68% of the 234 female household heads are working in the district. It seems that females are more attached to the production activities of the district in general (see also the following table).

<u>Occupation</u>		<u>Working Place</u>					
		<u>Kwun Tong</u>		Outside of Kwun Tong and not fixed		<u>Total</u>	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Upper, middle level positions	M	7	30.4	16	69.6	23	100
	F	1	33.3	2	66.7	3	100
Skilled worker & minor staff	M	24	33.3	48	66.7	72	100
	F	8	72.7	3	27.3	11	100
White collar semi-skilled and unskilled	M	26	32.1	55	67.9	81	100
	F	13	72.2	5	27.8	18	100
Blue collar semi-skilled	M	74	31.5	161	68.5	235	100
	F	84	81.6	19	18.4	103	100
Other semi-skilled occupations	M	21	39.6	32	60.4	53	100
	F	6	46.2	7	53.8	13	100
All unskilled occupations	M	38	28.4	96	71.6	134	100
	F	48	57.1	36	42.9	84	100
Agriculture & fishing	M	2	40.0	3	60.0	5	100
	F	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	100
Total	M	192	31.8 <sup>a</sup>	411	68.2 <sup>a</sup>	603	100
	F	161	68.8 <sup>b</sup>	73	31.2 <sup>b</sup>	234	100

a. With confidence probability of 95% margin of error (d) = 3.4%

b. With confidence probability of 95% margin of error (d) = 5.9%

Besides, we discover that there is no significant difference between occupations in terms of working places for active males (Chi square test, degree of freedom = 6,  $X^2 = 2.49$ , probability value = 0.8).

But the difference between occupations of active females in terms of working places is statistically significant (Chi square test, degree of freedom = 6,  $X^2 = 18.47$ , probability value = 0.01).

Those females working in Kwun Tong are mostly skilled workers, minor staffs, white semi-skilled/unskilled, blue collar semi-skilled, and other unskilled workers.

App. D Land transportation

Kwun Tong Road is the major land route which connects Kwun Tong and other parts of Kowloon and the New Territories. During last year, an average daily total (Monday - Friday) of 78,500 vehicles (all type) passed the check point located outside Ping Shek Estate, 72% of the traffic were recorded during the period of 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. And during the peak hour (5 p.m. to 6 p.m.) an average total of 5,060 vehicles were counted (two-way flow), of which less than 1/3 (31%) were goods vehicles or vans, others were all passenger-carrying vehicles (from motor cycles to double-deck buses).

In a period of six years (from 1965 to 1971), the traffic flow frequency have increased by more than 200%; the annual average daily total increased from 34,146 in 1965 to 77,370 in 1971.

Still more interesting, a survey carried out in Feb. 1972 by the P.W.D. shows that during the morning peak hour of journey to work (from 7 a.m. to 8 a.m.), there are much more vehicles going out of Kwun Tong as compared with those flowing in . In the evening, between 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. (supposed to be time of the return of out-going workers), the situation is reversed. (see also the following table)

Location : Kwun Tong Road (Outside Ping Shek Estate)

Date : February 24, 1972. (Thursday)

Hours	To Kwun Tong	From Kwun Tong	Two-Way
06 - 07	947	1171	2118
07 - 08	2393	3158	5551
08 - 09	2119	2520	4639
09 - 10	2769	2677	5446
10 - 11	2707	2699	5406
11 - 12	2406	2766	5172
12 - 13	2209	2244	4453
13 - 14	2426	2517	4943
14 - 15	2667	2803	5470
15 - 16	2678	2745	5423
16 - 17	2834	2681	5515
17 - 18	2734	2908	5642
18 - 19	2673	2444	5117
19 - 20	2155	1953	4108
20 - 21	1720	1612	3332
21 - 22	1608	1439	3047
22 - 23	1625	1411	3036
23 - 24	1541	1217	2758
00 - 01	985	726	1711
01 - 02	503	432	935
02 - 03	299	259	558
03 - 04	162	157	319
04 - 05	94	111	205
05 - 06	170	371	541
Total	42424	43021	85445

Source: Traffic and Transport Survey Unit, P.W.D.

App. E Sea Transportation.

We have also undertaken the counting of ferry passengers during three consecutive working days in May 1972. In the morning, the peak-hours of traffic flow was located between 7 a.m. to 9 a.m., while in the evening, it was located roughly between 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. Though we cannot distinguish occasional passengers from regular commuters, plus the difference between the commuting pattern of school children and that of working people, statistics of ferry passengers (see table on next page) in the morning (6.30 a.m. to 9.30 a.m.) still show a clear difference in number between people going in and out of Kwun Tong -- much more people going out of than into Kwun Tong. This observed pattern coincides with that of land traffic flow in the morning and is consistent with our assumption that the out-going working population are more numerous than the in-going working population.

In the evening, the importance of passenger volume reversed in direction, but the difference was negligible. May be an extension of time in counting (to 8 p.m. or ever later) would yield a better result.

Among the four ferry routes linking Kwun Tong and Hong Kong Island, only the one between Shaukiwan and Kwun Tong had a different temporal pattern -- more in-coming passengers were observed in the morning. The reason is: factory workers residing in Chai Wan Resettlement Estate or Shaukiwan would take this route to go to their working place in Kwun Tong, and these people are rather numerous.

Commuting Pattern by Sea

Time	Lei Yue Mun to Sau Ki Wan	Sau Ki Wan to Lei Yue Mun	Kwun Tong to Sau Ki Wan	Sau Ki Wan to Kwun Tong	Kwun Tong to North Point	North Point to Kwun Tong	Kwun Tong to Central	Central to Kwun Tong
<b>Morning</b>								
6:30 - 7:00	590	277	232	230	1420	598	217	8
7:01 - 7:30			353	318	2719	928	501	40
7:31 - 8:00	445	181	293	787	2277	1094	882	116
8:01 - 8:30			188	925	1376	1558	1143	124
8:31 - 9:00	245	122	169	607	1202	1763	621	223
9:01 - 9:30			100	242	802	913	341	203
<b>Total</b>	1280	580	1335	3109	9796	6854	3705	714
<b>Afternoon</b>								
4:30 - 5:00	89	111	120	94	480	543	100	91
5:01 - 5:30	78	313	374	189	1289	1101	203	338
5:31 - 6:00	105	219	603	176	1750	1565	232	270
6:01 - 6:30	98	233	714	188	1795	1050	237	390
6:31 - 7:00	112	220	410	195	1057	1313	134	601
7:01 - 7:30	85	239	282	213	730	1307	69	196
<b>Total</b>	567	1335	2503	1055	7101	6879	975	1886
<b>Morning</b>	Out From Kwun Tong	In To Kwun Tong						
	16116	11257						
<b>Afternoon</b>	11146	11155						

Source: Social Research Centre Survey, May 16, 1972 - May 17, 1972.

App. F Percentage of products for exportation and local consumption (in value of the total production)  
by type of industry

Industry	Exportation	Local consumption	
		Kwun Tong	other districts
manufacture of food, beverage & tobacco	1.3	65.8	32.9
manu. of textiles	54.5	4.0	41.5
manu. of wearing apparel (except rubber & plastic footwear)	76.4	0.1	23.5
manu. of wood, wood products & furniture	19.5	9.3	71.2
manu. of paper products, printing & publishing	5.0	34.3	60.7
manu. of rubber products	65.8	4.7	29.5
manu. of chemical products	45.0	8.3	46.7
manu. of plastic products	65.7	1.8	32.5
manu. of glass & other non-metallic products	34.0	26.4	39.6
iron & steel & non-ferric basic products	24.3	22.2	53.5
manu. of fab. metal products	56.0	4.6	39.4
machinery & equipment	33.7	3.3	63.0
other manufacturing industries	59.1	2.6	38.3
services	0	15.4	84.6

Source: Factories Survey, summer 1971, Social Research Centre,  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong.